

**High reputation - low priority?**  
Reading habits in multilingual Kenya.

Dissertation  
zur Erlangung der Würde des Doktors der Philosophie  
der Universität Hamburg  
vorgelegt von

Christine Pawlitzky  
aus Bremen

Hamburg 2005

1. Gutachterin: Prof. Dr. Mechthild Reh
2. Gutachter: Prof. Dr. Ludwig Gerhardt

Datum der Disputation: 28. Juni 2005

This thesis would not have been possible without the involvement and interest of the numerous informants in Nyeri District and Kisumu District, who contributed information to this study and shared ideas and time with me. My foremost and sincere thanks go to them.

My professional debt in the research work is to my supervisor Prof. Mechthild Reh in Hamburg and to Nathan Oyori Ogechi, Prof. Kembo-Sure and Prof. Kimani Njogu in Kenya.

Furthermore, I would like to express my appreciation to the *Friedrich Naumann Foundation* for generously funding my research project with a PhD scholarship (means of the *Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung*).

I feel indebted to the Kenyan *Ministry of Education, Science and Technology* for granting me the permission to do field research in Nyeri District and Kisumu District. Also, my gratitude goes to the *Kenyan National Library Service* for allowing me to examine their facilities and to their staff for sharing specialized knowledge on reading with me.

I am grateful to my research assistants Grace Opondo, Mary Atieno, Milton Mao, Peter Ndegwa, and Zipporah Wuthaya for their work and enthusiasm for the project. Also I would like to thank Peris Nyamwira Wambugu and Ruth Achieng for their interest and assistance in the field. Back in Hamburg Walt Elder took on the task of improving my literacy skills in American English and Sarah Liebherz provided support and advice on statistical analysis – many thanks to them.

I cannot overstate my appreciation for Grace Opondo with Charles & kids, Lily Mwita with Robert & kids, Florence Muinde & kids and Richard Atuti with Eunice & kids for their hospitality and for providing a home far away from home. My warmest thanks go to them.

My fellow PhD students Andreas Bartelt, Christiane Simon, Christine Glanz, Regina Feindt, and Rosemarie Zink read and commented on major parts of this thesis, listened and understood when things got rough, and compensated work with cheerful get-togethers – a big thank you! For their moral support and encouragement I would like to thank Birgit Hellwig, Sauda Barwani & Ridder Samsom. Special thanks go to Sauda for pushing in the end.

Loads of thanks to Nicolai Panke for being there though being far and Ulf Schieke & Doerthe Beer, who had always been next door providing first aid in all sorts of crises.

Last but not least, I would like to thank my parents Heidemarie & Rainer Pawlitzky and my sister Annett Pawlitzky for their absolute support and backing.

Thank you.

---

Acknowledgements	i
Table of contents	iii
<b>1 Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 Is there a reading culture in Kenya?	1
1.1.1 Limited readership	5
1.1.2 The promotion of reading	9
1.2 Relevance of the study	13
1.2.1 Research objectives	14
1.3 Structure of the thesis	16
<b>2 Reading research – theory and methodology</b>	<b>17</b>
2.1 Defining the subject - the concept of reading	17
2.2 Literature review	19
2.2.1 Socio-scientific reading research	20
2.2.2 Neighboring fields of research	25
2.2.3 Summary	33
2.3 The uses and gratifications approach	35
<b>3 Reading habits in Nyeri District and Kisumu District</b>	<b>44</b>
3.1 The reading environments of the research sites	44
3.1.1 Reading in the Central Highlands: Nyeri District	46
3.1.2 Books at the shores of Lake Victoria: Kisumu District	68
3.2 Talking about reading - approaching the subject	80
3.2.1 Research design	80
3.2.2 Findings	88
3.2.2.1 Terms and language use – borrowing or codeswitching?	88
3.2.2.2 Concepts of reading	96
3.2.3 Summary	103
3.3 Reading across the lifespan	104
3.3.1 Research design	104
3.3.2 Findings	112
3.3.2.1 Types of readers	113
3.3.2.2 Factors impacting on reading	140
3.3.3 Summary	152
3.4 Surveying reading	155
3.4.1 Research design	155
3.4.2 Findings	166
3.4.2.1 The language of reading	166
3.4.2.2 Attitudes towards reading	182
3.4.2.3 Reading and leisure	186

---

<b>4 Conclusions</b>	200
4.1 Reconsidering the research objectives	200
4.1.1 The social image of reading	200
4.1.2 Current reading habits and the functions of reading	201
4.1.3 Impacts on reading habits	204
4.1.4 Reading in a multilingual setting	207
4.2 Reconsidering the literature on reading	208
4.3 Relevance of findings	211
4.3.1 Implications for reading promotion and book production	212
4.3.2 Contribution to reading research	218
4.4 Prospects for further research	219
<b>References</b>	224
<b>Appendices</b>	
Appendix 1: Interview guide – group interviews	
Appendix 2: Observation sheet – group interviews	
Appendix 3: Dossiers of research assistants	
Appendix 4: Transcript – group interview	
Appendix 5: Keyword-set	
Appendix 6: Interview guide – one-on-one interviews	
Appendix 7: Observation sheet – one-on-one interviews	
Appendix 8: Transcript – one-on-one interviews	
Appendix 9: Questionnaire (Q1) English, Swahili, Kikuyu, Luo	
Appendix 10: Questionnaire (Q2) English, Swahili, Kikuyu, Luo	
Appendix 11: Summary of survey results 2001	
Appendix 12: Summary of survey results 2002	

## 1 Introduction

This thesis explores voluntary reading habits in the multilingual environment of Kenya. Designed as a case study it focuses on the social image of reading, the functions of reading, the factors impacting on reading habits and the language use in reading among members of the ethnolinguistic Kikuyu and Luo communities in Nyeri District (Central Kenya) and Kisumu District (Western Kenya). By taking a reader-oriented perspective this study adds a new aspect to the discussion on the status of reading in the Kenyan context, which has so far been mainly conducted from the standpoint of publishers.

This chapter raises the question of the existence of a reading culture in Kenya and portrays the background of this study. It summarizes the public discourse on reading in the Kenyan daily press (1.1), introduces the problem of a limited readership in the country (1.1.1), and reviews efforts to promote reading in the Kenyan setting (1.1.2). Furthermore, the relevance of this study is established and the objectives are described (1.2). Finally, the structure of this thesis is outlined (1.3).

### 1.1 Is there a reading culture in Kenya?

*“If you want to hide anything from Africans, hide it in a book.”*  
- Pastor Mensa Otabil in Family TV -  
(*Quotes of the Week, Sunday Nation, July 22, 2001*)

Publishing, books, reading and the promotion of reading are issues of public discourse in Kenya as exemplified by recurring newspaper articles on the topic, some of which are represented through their headlines in the collage in Figure 1. These headings reveal the striking emphasis on reading deficiency abounding in the Kenyan debate. Titles such as “(...) Why don't Kenyans read?” (*Sunday Standard*, July 9, 2000), “Read widely, Kenyans urged” (*Daily Nation*, Thursday June 24, 1999), the attestation of a “culture of poor reading” (*East African Standard*, Saturday September 9, 2000) or even the “lack of a reading culture” (*Sunday Standard*, July 7, 2002) that calls for steps “towards a better reading culture” (*Daily Nation*, September 25, 2001) or “towards making Kenya a nation of serious readers” (*Sunday Standard*, May 14, 2000) give the impression that Kenyans do not read at all.

Figure 1: Collage of Kenyan newspaper headlines<sup>1</sup>



Frequently, authors of these articles reproduce the widespread stereotype of the exam-oriented Kenyan reader claiming: “(...) many forget about books soon after completing their education. Reading for leisure or to acquire knowledge for knowledge’s sake as espoused by Plato, is a rarity.”(*Sunday Nation*, September 10, 2000), “(...) after school or college, Kenyans do not read beyond newspapers.” (*East African Standard*, Thursday September 27, 2001), “many people do not read beyond newspapers and news magazines” (*Daily Nation*, June 18, 2001) and when reading newspapers “most people look at the headline, the morbid politics, who-raped-and-stole-from-whom-and-where, the obituaries, sports and period!”(*Sunday Standard*, August 27, 2000), “(...) very few people would confess

<sup>1</sup> The articles which I used to create this collage were published between 1999 and 2002 either in *Daily Nation*, *East African Standard* or *People* and were accessible in the archives of *Daily Nation* and *East African Standard* in Nairobi.



to having fully read a 200-page novel since graduation.” (*Sunday Standard*, October 15, 2000). Thus, “(...) an urgent need to start cultivating reading in the country” (*Sunday Nation*, September 17, 2000) is identified and former Vice President Saitoti<sup>2</sup> on the occasion of the opening of the 4<sup>th</sup> *Nairobi International Book Fair* (*East African Standard*, September 28, 2001) was cited asking Kenyans “to read constantly with a view to gaining more knowledge and information [and] (...) to transform themselves from the exam-oriented readership to avid readers”.

Little explanation has been given so far on what would constitute such a ‘reading culture’. The concept seems to imply certain levels of frequency, diversity and competency of reading, which must be met in order to qualify for this label. However, no definition has yet clarified what exactly a reading culture comprises. Notwithstanding the vagueness of the idea, it is frequently conceptualized as a goal that Kenyans need to achieve. It sets the line for measuring debit and credit in the current debate on the promotion of reading in African contexts and it is often employed referring to Western societies with an air of superiority towards the supposed non-reading cultures. On the occasion of the opening of the *Children’s World First Festival of Reading and Creativity* in Kisumu in September 2000, for instance, the keynote speaker stated that the developed countries’ success was to be attributed to a rich reading culture and said, “What made possible the Renaissance in Italy and, later, the rest of Europe, what made America shoot up as a new development star in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century was that individual ownership of books carried a certain social status.” (*Daily Nation*, Wednesday September 27, 2000).

Obviously, this way of reasoning stands within the tradition of what Street (1984) called ‘Great Divide’ theories. Authors of these approaches assume major differences (or great divides) between ways of thinking in non-literate and literate societies (Goody & Watt 1963, Goody 1968, 1977, 1987, Ong 1982, Olson 1994). Literate societies are believed to have an intellectual advantage that they use for social, technical, economic and political development. Thus, they are valued as civilized, logical, analytic or modern. Conversely, non-literate societies are said to

---

<sup>2</sup> Prof. George Saitoti was appointed Vice President under President Daniel arap Moi from 1989 to 2002. Since 2003 he is serving as Minister of Education, Science and Technology for the *National Rainbow Coalition* (NARC) under President Mwai Kibaki.

be condemned to simple lifestyles and referred to as primitive, pre-logical, pre-analytic or traditional.

The assumption that literacy leads inevitably to higher forms of thought has been falsified by research of the cognitive psychologists Scribner & Cole (1981). In a study among the Vai people of Liberia, which developed and used their own script, they compared cohorts of non-literates, informants literate in the Vai script but with no experience in formal schooling, literates who attended formal schooling, and those who attended Quranic schooling. They did not find evidence that literacy is a necessary and sufficient condition for logical and abstract thinking, memory or communication skills. They found that formal schooling rather than literacy caused differences in some of the cognitive skills tested among the cohorts (Scribner & Cole 1981: 251). The cognitive effects of literacy aside, it is equally hard to confirm that literacy alone leads to an individual's well being, a society's economic growth or a government's turn to democracy (Rassool 1999: 2). Nevertheless, the "literacy myth" (Graff 1979) lives on, not only in the Kenyan debate on reading and reading promotion.

Street (1984, 1995, 2001), who - among other researchers of the New Literacy Studies (Gee 1990, Barton 1994, Barton & Hamilton 2000) - opposes Great Divide theorists in several aspects, criticizes the notion of what he calls 'autonomous' literacy, that is literacy understood as a single set of cognitive skills (reading, writing and numeracy), which in themselves and regardless of the socio-economic environment are believed to be able to change the social position of an individual. Instead, he suggests an "alternative 'ideological' model" (Street 1984: 95) that understands literacy as social practice embedded in the conceptual framework or world-view of society. He argues that literacy is what people do with it in different social contexts and he suggests multiple literacies rather than one set of skills, as there are multiple uses and functions of literacy within society e.g. print literacy, numeracy, media literacy, computer literacy, business literacy etc. With this alternative model, attention is shifted from the search for universal, ideal types of literacy development to more detailed and focused studies of linguistic and cultural patterns in specific contexts.

---

What follows regarding the discourse on reading in Kenya? <sup>3</sup> Reading is part of literacy with various social uses and functions. The Kenyan newspaper articles cited, for instance, refer to exam-oriented reading, newspaper reading, magazine reading etc. as reading practices in Kenya. Applying Street's ideological model these multiple reading practices embedded in and shaped by the socio-cultural environment of the country constitute nothing else than a reading culture. The initial question regarding the existence of a reading culture in Kenya can thus be answered in the affirmative. What is lacking in the Kenyan context is not a reading culture as such, but a Western type of it. Thus, if the focus is shifted away from the supposed occidental ideal, there is a reading culture in Kenya that can be studied and described in its various aspects including usages, functions, types of readers etc.

### 1.1.1 Limited readership

Indisputably, readership in Kenya is limited and the public discourse rightly identifies illiteracy and poverty as reasons for the limited market (*Sunday Nation*, April 9, 2000). The illiteracy rate for 2000 was estimated at 18% of the population aged 15 years and above (24% female, 11% male) (UIS 2004). In other words, nearly one fifth of the economically active population lacks the ability to read. With an average annual per capita income of 350 USD (figures for 2001, World Bank 2004a) and 52% of the population living below the national poverty line<sup>4</sup> (World Bank 2004b) most people lack purchasing power to access reading material. While the poor are seen to "have a legitimate reason not to access books, the same cannot be said of the whole population" (*Sunday Nation*, September 17, 2000). And it is argued that even those who can afford to buy books do not do so "spending their free time drinking, travelling and politicking" rather than engaging in reading (*Sunday Standard*, July 9, 2000). However, the stereotype of the

---

<sup>3</sup> Because this study focuses on reading habits in Kenya, it concentrates on the Kenyan debate on reading. However, the discourse on reading is not restricted to Kenya or African countries, but held globally by stakeholders of the book industry and educational institutions. Commonly, initiators of the debate pity the marginal role of reading or the decline of reading activity in their countries which do not comply with their normative concept of a reading culture.

<sup>4</sup> „National poverty rate is the percentage of the population living below the national poverty line. National estimates are based on population-weighted subgroup estimates from household surveys.“ (World Bank 2004b).

uninterested African non-reader has been called a “myth” (Kimenye 1990) “based more on anecdotal evidence than extensive research” (Zezeza 1996: 253). Makotsi & Nyariki (1997: 108) remark that “Kenyans may not be book buyers, but they are readers” by pointing to the discrepancy between sales and readership figures found with regard to newspaper reading. The largest newspaper of the country, *Daily Nation*, for instance, has a circulation of approximately 150,000 copies per day. Readership, however, is estimated at 1,500,000 or ten times the amount of sold copies (Makotsi & Nyariki 1997: 108). Makotsi & Nyariki bring up the role of language in reading and argue that the neglect of local languages within publishing rather than the lack of interest in print products is a substantial factor hindering the growth of readership (Makotsi & Nyariki 1997: 19). Obviously, there is a mismatch between the everyday linguistic usage and the language of print products in Kenya.

Approximately 42 languages are spoken in the country, the largest among them Kikuyu (spoken by 21% of the population), Luhya<sup>5</sup> (14%), Luo (12%), Kikamba (11%), Kalenjin<sup>6</sup> (11%), Ekegusii (6%) and Kimeru (6%) (Republic of Kenya 2001b). They are employed in intraethnic communication. However, their use in education is restricted to the first three years of primary school, their usage in the mass media is marginal and they are not employed in official domains such as parliament, administration, judiciary, international business etc. Swahili is spoken by less than 1% of the population as a first language (L1), yet it is widely used in interethnic communication in Kenya. It is estimated to be spoken by approximately 65% of the population as a second language (Webb & Kembo-Sure 2000: 48)<sup>7</sup> and it has spread out in recent years. While Swahili was formerly lim-

---

<sup>5</sup> The Luhya are not a homogenous ethnolinguistic community, but an association of different Bantu-speaking communities including Bukusu, Maragoli, Nyore, Hanga and Wanga (Whiteley 1974).

<sup>6</sup> The Kalenjin group of languages comprise several southern Nilotic languages including Kipsigis, Nandi, Tugen, Marakwet, Keiyo, Pokot, Terik and Sabaot (Heine 1980).

<sup>7</sup> Webb & Kembo-Sure do not provide reference for this percentage. However, Chakava (1992: 141) cites a comparable figure, which goes back to a survey conducted by the Kenyan newspaper *Daily Nation* in 1985. In this survey it was found that 65% of Kenyans speak Swahili as a second language in their daily lives, while 18% use English. However, figures vary between authors. Kembo-Sure (1991: 246) estimates the amount of the Kenyan population able to speak Swahili (in varying degrees of proficiency) at 60%. According to him only 5% of the population can be said to have some command of English. Mohochi (2003: 87) estimates the amount of the Kenyan population able to understand English at 5% too, whereas he states that more than 50% are able to speak Swahili. However, Mohochi too does not provide reference for his estimates.

ited to the urban centers, it is increasingly prevalent upcountry and has penetrated the villages (Ryanga 2001: 24). Additionally, it is frequently employed in oral discourse in official domains such as governmental offices and it is commonly used to communicate government policies to the people. Since 1984 Swahili is taught as a compulsory and examinable subject up to the end of secondary school. Despite its importance in nationwide communication, Swahili was not constitutionally recognized before the draft of a new Kenyan constitution was adopted in March 2004<sup>8</sup> (*Daily Nation*, March 16, 2004). In the draft version of the new constitution Swahili and English are declared official languages. Swahili is additionally defined as the national language of the country (CKRC 2002, Chapter II, Part 9, 1-2).

As an official language English is used in administrative contexts, in court, international business and diplomacy. And it is associated with high education (as it is the media of instruction from form four of primary school onwards and it is especially emphasized in secondary and tertiary education), upward social mobility and prestige. However, according to Webb & Kembo-Sure only 16% of the population speak it as a second language (Webb & Kembo-Sure 2000: 48).<sup>6</sup> Yet, the mass media of the country and especially the print media rely heavily on the use of English. In the print sector 76% of titles listed in *Kenya Books in Print* (KBIP)<sup>9</sup> are published in English, 21% in Swahili<sup>10</sup> leaving 3% of publications to the African languages (KPA 1997). Thus, the majority of Kenyans cannot read the bulk of publications produced in the country; a fact that made Mohochi conclude that “it has become the norm in Kenya to discuss important national issues only with a privileged sector of society” (2003: 92) and that made Ogechi demand to provide information to all citizens in Kenya in a language they understand best as

---

<sup>8</sup> In 1999 the process of modernizing the Kenyan constitution was started by establishing the *Constitution of Kenya Review Commission* (CKRC), which was assigned the task to review the constitution and to propose a new version. In September 2002 the commission launched a draft of the new constitution that was adopted by the *National Constitutional Conference* on 15 March 2004. A deadline set for the enactment of the new constitution, however, was missed at the end of June 2004 due to disagreement on key issues among members of the governing *National Rainbow Coalition* (NARC).

<sup>9</sup> KBIP is the latest official index released by the *Kenya Publishers Association* (KPA), which records all the books that had been published and were in print in Kenya in May 1997.

<sup>10</sup> Book publications in Swahili increased with the introduction of Swahili as a compulsory and examinable subject in schools in 1984, because the educational sector offers publishers the opportunity to sell high amounts of copies. However, in the newspaper and magazine market the use of Swahili remained limited to a single daily newspaper *Taifa Leo*.

a necessary means to respect their democratic, human and language rights (2003: 278).

Multilingualism in Kenya as elsewhere in Africa has so far wrongly been described as “language dilemma” and a problem to the publishing business (Chakava 1996: 98, Altbach 1999: 3). It has been stressed that the diverse African languages - just like the official languages - are usually not spoken by a majority of the population, but that they are restricted to their respective ethnolinguistic communities. Furthermore, the lack of orthographies of African languages has been given as a reason that hinders publishers to venture into the field of publishing in African languages referring to the extra costs that language development would entail (Chakava 1996: 97).<sup>11</sup> If orthographies exist, they are said to need reworking, stating that they do not represent sounds and symbols of the African languages in an adequate way – as they were developed by European missionaries-, making the written languages appear strange to first language speakers (Chakava 1996: 98). In order to reduce publishers’ costs Chakava suggests a monolingual approach and appeals to governments to single out one language and to develop it for usage. Elsewhere, however, Chakava calls for exploring the possibility of publishing more in African languages in order to provide adequate reading material to African readers (Chakava 1996: 165). And it will be argued later (see Chapter 4.3.1) that publishing in African languages and providing adequate reading material in all African languages is not only a necessary means to respect the democratic and language rights of the people, but a prerequisite to extend readership. However, Chakava’s publishing house *East African Educational Publishers* (E.A.E.P.) had 15 titles in African languages backlisted in their 2001 catalogue. Yet, sales rates of titles in African language were far from profitable for publishers as demonstrated by figures that Chakava (1993: 72) provides: in 1987, for instance, the novel *Kaana ngya* by David Maillu (1983, published in Kamba) sold 55 copies, Francis D. Imbuga’s *Lialuka lia vaana va Magomere* (1986, in Logooli) sold 15 copies, the Noma Award winning title *Mwandiki wa Mau Mau ithaamĩrio-inĩ* by Gakaara wa Wanjau (1983, in Kikuyu) sold 43 copies, Aseneth

---

<sup>11</sup> Ogechi (2001: 187) remarks that among the 41 African languages spoken in Kenya only 19 have an orthography. Okwanya (1985: 91) reports that more than half of the languages spoken in Kenya have an orthography. Both authors do not provide references for this information.

---

Odaga's *Ogilo nungo piny kirom* (1983, in Luo) sold 43 copies and *Miaha* by Grace Ogot (1983a., in Luo) sold 84 copies. In contrast, John Kiriamiti's *My life in crime* (1984) sold 9,056 copies, *Son of woman in Mombasa* by Charles Mangua (1986) sold 2,970 copies and David Maillu's *The Ayah* (1986) sold 2,025 copies in the same year. Keeping in mind the current language situation in which African languages are marginalized in official domains, education, and the media and in which they are associated with being unlearned, it is not surprising that publishing in African languages does not thrive.

### 1.1.2 The promotion of reading

Even though literacy is no panacea to enhance social or economic development on an individual or national level (though it has been presented as such in the 1950s and 1970s, Skutnabb-Kangas 1999: vii), reading and writing skills have – despite the emergence of ever new electronic media in today's information age - not lost importance, but have become necessary prerequisites to meet the demands of the new information technologies (Rassool 1999). Furthermore, in most of the African countries, where only few have access to the new media, print media continue to be an important means of communicating knowledge, providing information and facilitating participation in public and democratic discourse (Altbach 1995: 278), thus, showing the importance of the promotion of print literacy skills.

Steps to promote reading in Kenya are not new (although the public discourse on reading habits and reading culture in Kenya seems to suggest the novelty of the issue under discussion). On the contrary, the development of reading was fostered since independence in 1963<sup>12</sup> focusing on three fields of activity: teaching of reading skills, facilitating the availability of reading material and encouraging engagement in reading.

After independence, reading promotion in Kenya as elsewhere in Africa concentrated on the spread of literacy skills (also referred to as 'the eradication of

---

<sup>12</sup>Kenya was part of the British *East African Protectorate* and became the *British Colony of Kenya* in 1920. After a struggle for independence mainly fostered by the *Mau Mau*, a secret society among Kikuyu, that led to a state of emergency between 1952 and 1959, Kenya gained independence in 1963. For a general history of Kenya see e.g. Ogot (1995), Ochieng' & Maxon (1992) and Ochieng' (1989).

illiteracy') and the improvement of educational standards. In 1966 the *Board of Adult Education* (BAE) was established to assess adult education needs and one year later BAE launched the *First National Literacy Campaign* in Kenya (Newell-Jones 2001). In 1979 the newly established *Department of Adult Education* (DAE) started the *National Adult Literacy Programme* (ALP), in which an estimated 3.8 million adults took part between 1979 and 1996 (Newell-Jones 2001). Between 1996 and 2003 the *Kenya Post Literacy Project* (KPLP) was run by DAE in cooperation with *German Technical Cooperation* (GTZ) (Thompson 2001). Since independence, adult literacy rates increased from an estimated 41% of the population in 1970 to 82% in 2000<sup>13</sup> (UIS 2004). In roughly the same time the number of learning institutions on all educational levels in Kenya increased from an estimated 6,000 primary schools and 150 secondary schools in 1963 (Karmokolias & Maas 1997) to roughly 17,000 primary schools and 3,000 secondary schools in 1997 (Republic of Kenya 1998). Net enrolment in primary schools rose from roughly 36% to 68% in 2000/2001 (UIS 2004), net enrolment in secondary schools increased from 3,3% in 1963 (Republic of Kenya 1967: 35) to 23% in 2000<sup>14</sup> (UIS 2004).

Growing activity in the field of education entailed what UNESCO identified in the late 1960s in the young independent African nations as "the book hunger" (Baker & Escarpit 1973) or a scarcity of reading material against the background of an increased demand. Massive imports of books (mainly from the former colonizer Great Britain), monopolized state-run publishing and book donations were early steps to enhance the book supply in Kenya.

It has to be mentioned that from colonial times onwards, book supply and book production in Kenya were organized on a supranational basis aiming at the East African region. In 1947, for instance, the British colonial power founded the *East African Literature Bureau* (EALB) with offices in Dar es Salaam, Nairobi and Kampala. The titles produced by EALB included educational materials both in English and in African languages (Chakava 1995: 384). In 1965 (after the in-

---

<sup>13</sup> Literacy rates refer to the population aged 15 years and above.

<sup>14</sup> Net enrolment is defined as enrolment of the official age group for a given level of education expressed as a percentage of the corresponding population (UIS 2003).



dependence of the East African nations<sup>15</sup>) the *East African Publishing House* (EAPH) was founded with the objective to stimulate cultural growth in East Africa and to foster literary production from authors of the region. And foreign publishers usually ran offices in all three East African capitals to oversee their regional business. This East African orientation of the book sector was enhanced through the foundation of an economic community between Tanzania, Uganda and Kenya in 1967 (known as the *East African Community and Common market*<sup>16</sup>), which aimed at deepening economical, political and social co-operation between the three countries.

As a further step to provide access to reading material, a public library network was established in Kenya starting from the setting up of *Kenya National Library Service* (KNLS) in 1965 and the opening of its first public library in Nairobi in 1969 (KNLS 2004a). In 2003 KNLS ran 7 provincial libraries, 9 district libraries and 17 community libraries<sup>17</sup> in all eight provinces of the country. Mobile library busses, a school book box program and a camel library in the north-eastern part of the country were also part of KNLS' services (KNLS 2004b). However, the rate of development of KNLS' network is still far from sufficiently covering all parts of the country.

Through the emphasis on book imports, state publishing and book donations, local private publishers had long been neglected as important suppliers of adequate reading material and the development of the sector has been slowed down by this neglect (Chakava 1996: 50). Steps to strengthen the local private publisher as a strategy to enhance access to reading material were not taken before the 1990s, when the Swedish *Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation* (DHF) introduced a loan-guarantee program in Kenya (Hamrell & Nordberg 1992: 421), which al-

---

<sup>15</sup> Tanganyika became independent in 1962. In 1964 the United Republic of Tanzania was formed by uniting Tanganyika and the archipelago of Zanzibar. Uganda gained independence in 1962 and Kenya in 1963.

<sup>16</sup> *The East African Community and Common Market* was an economic community between Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda. The British colonial government in 1961 founded its predecessor the *East African Common Services Organization*. Growing political tensions between the East African countries involved, however, led to the closure of the border between Kenya and Tanzania in 1977, which sealed the end of the economic community. *The East African Community and Common Market* was officially dissolved in 1981. In the 1990s the idea of a regional economic community was revived and the re-established *East African Community* became effective in 2000 (Hofmeier 2001).

<sup>17</sup> Community libraries are equipped with books and staff by KNLS while the community provides the necessary infrastructure such as premises and housing (KNLS 2004b).

lowed Kenyan publishers to get loans from cooperating Kenyan banks to realize book projects or to stabilize their businesses.

The vital role the local publisher could play in promoting reading, however, is clearly shown by the active involvement of the book industry in events aiming at the sensitization for the benefits of books and the motivation to read from the 1990s onwards. Through the umbrella organizations of the book industry such as *Kenya Publishers Association (KPA)*<sup>18</sup>, *Council for the Promotion of Children's Science Publications in Africa (CHISCI)*<sup>19</sup>, *National Book Development Council Kenya (NBDC\_K)*<sup>20</sup>, and the *East African Book Development Association (EABDA)*<sup>21</sup> several campaigns were launched to bring the promotion of reading to the public. CHISCI for instance, started organizing the annual *Pan African Children's Book Fair* in 1992 and conducted the *Children's Home Library Campaign* through the installation of discount bookstores for children's literature and a children's book club in 1998 (Bugembe 1998). In 2000 the council organized the *Children's World First Festival of Reading and Creativity* in Kisumu. KPA launched the annual *Nairobi International Book Fair (NIBF)* in 1998. Held annually, it is accompanied by the *National Book Week* celebrations (organized by NBDC\_K), the award show of the KPA sponsored *Jomo Kenyatta Prize for Literature*, and events such as children's reading tents, book exhibitions, seminars and workshops on book related topics. In 2001 EABDA launched a three-year book development project in the East African region including activities such as

---

<sup>18</sup> *Kenya Publishers Association (KPA)* is the umbrella body for book publishers in Kenya. Founded in 1970 its objectives include encouraging the spread of books in Kenya, promote and protect lawful means of publishing and to cooperate with other organizations concerned with the creation, production and distribution of books and to promote public interest in books. Since 1973 KPA awards the regional *Jomo Kenyatta Prize for Literature* (KPA 2002).

<sup>19</sup> Kenyan publishers initiated the *Council for the Promotion of Children's Science Publications in Africa (CHISCI)* in 1988 for the purpose of promoting reading and science culture among children in Africa. The idea was to merge science materials and publish them for usage by children in African countries (INASP 2004a).

<sup>20</sup> The *National Book Development Council of Kenya (NBDC\_K)* was founded in 1997 by several stakeholders of the Kenyan book business including *Kenya Publishers Association (KPA)*, *Kenya Booksellers and Stationers Association (KBSA)*, *Kenya National Library Services (KNLS)*, *Writers Association*, *Kenya Printers and Converters Association (KPCA)*, *Department of Adult Education* (Ministry of Labour and Human Resources), *Kenya Institute of Education (K.I.E.)*, *Kenya Librarian Association* and the *National Commission for UNESCO*.

<sup>21</sup> *The East African Book Development Association (EABDA)* established in 1998 is a regional forum for the co-ordination of book sector activities in East Africa. Its mission is to promote a reading culture in the three East African countries of Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania through the development of all functions within the book chain and to encourage cross-border trade in books (INASP 2004b).

the development of community libraries, organization of media campaigns to promote books and reading and training courses for stakeholders (Makotsi 2001). In October 2003 the *Reading Association of Kenya* (RAK) was launched as an affiliate to the *International Reading Association* (IRA).<sup>22</sup> Although not explicitly connected to the book industry, RAK plans to work together with the major stakeholders of the book industry as well as governmental and non-governmental organizations in order to promote readership in Kenya (*East African Standard*, October 11, 2003). Future plans include reading events, appeals for book donations for the development of community libraries and campaigns to encourage parents to buy books and read to their children.

## 1.2 Relevance of the study

As has been shown, measures to promote reading in the Kenyan context so far relate to the development and improvement of literacy skills, the local production, distribution and availability of reading material and the sensitization for the benefits of books and reading through public events with a special emphasis on imparting a love of reading to children. Yet, as UNESCO rightly points out, “developing the publishing and reading universe requires understanding of all elements comprising the book chain: Literary invention, the respective functions of the publisher, printer, distributor and bookseller, and the reader.” (UNESCO 2003). In other words, steps to promote reading and enhance readership can only be effective, if they are backed by meaningful research. Whereas a number of publications examine the structure and challenges of book production and the book trade in Kenya (Makotsi & Nyariki 1997, Chakava 1992, 1993, 1995, 1996, 1997), no research so far exclusively concentrated on the reader in the Kenyan context. And it is only recently that such studies have been called for (Zezeza 1996: 253, Makotsi & Nyariki 1997: 8, Chirumiko 1999: 14), because gaining and applying accurate knowledge to readers can effectively support the promotion of reading. In this respect this study seeks to fill a gap in the literature and aims to apply its find-

---

<sup>22</sup> The *International Reading Association* (IRA) was founded in 1956 in the United States. Its aim is to „promote high levels of literacy for all by improving the quality of reading instruction, disseminating research and information about reading, and encouraging the lifetime reading habit.“ (IRA 2003). Currently 6 journals are published by the association (*The Reading Teacher*, *Journal of Adolescent & Adult Literacy*, *Reading Research Quarterly*, *Lectura y Vida*, *Reading online*, *Thinking classroom/Peremena*).

ings in the field of reading promotion and book production in the Kenyan context. Furthermore, this case study contributes to reading research in non-Western contexts, an area of research that has so far been rather neglected compared to the host of studies on reading in various Western countries. Thus, results can be used for comparative research purposes as well.

### **1.2.1 Research objectives**

Following from the above it is the general objective of this exploratory case study to reveal empirical information on the voluntary reading of print products in the everyday life of members of the ethnolinguistic Kikuyu and Luo communities in Nyeri District and Kisumu District in Kenya from a reader-oriented perspective. Four aspects are focused on, which result from the aforementioned public debate on reading habits and the information obtainable with regard to reading in the Kenyan context:

- *The social image of reading:* Against the background of the widespread claims found in the public debate on the negative attitudes towards reading and the alleged lack of interest in reading on the side of Kenyans, the prestige of reading is aimed at. Questions to be answered include: How do people think about reading? What kind of connotations does reading have? What do informants associate with reading?
- *Current reading habits and the functions of reading:* Regarding the lack of information on the kind and extent of reading activities pursued by people in the Kenyan context and their motivation to engage in reading, the study attempts to portray the voluntary reading activities informants engage in in their everyday life and seeks to reveal with which intentions informants turn to reading. What do informants read and what motivates them to read e.g. in a book, a newspaper, a magazine etc.? Furthermore, the study aims at revealing information on the role of reading with regard to competing leisure time activities, such as attending to the electronic media etc.

---

- *Factors impacting on reading habits:* A further interest of this study lies in examining factors which impact on the development of reading habits in a negative or positive way, because they are relevant for promoting reading. Thus, it is of interest, how informants remember the development of their reading habits. How they describe influences of the social environment with regard to the development of reading habits. And which impacts on reading habits they face.

- *The language use in reading in a multilingual setting:* Based on the aforementioned discrepancy of oral multilingual language use (characterized by the use of African languages) and the dominance of English in the print media sector (unchallenged by the small amount of publications in Swahili and even smaller in L1), this study aims at revealing information on how individuals cope with the situation. Which languages do informants use for book, magazine or newspaper reading in the multilingual environment of the two research sites? How well do they read in the different languages? What are the language needs and preferences of the informants?

#### ***Restrictions resulting from the research objectives***

Due to the focus on voluntary reading, school going children and students are excluded from this study, as they are assumed to do much of their reading due to requirements of the curriculum rather than on a voluntary basis. Furthermore, texts in casual use like jottings, notes, schedules etc. are not considered, because the subject of this study is not the almost unnoticed reading that happens during the day, but the voluntary reading of print products people decide to engage in and to spent time with.

#### ***Motivation for research sites and target groups***

Kenya was chosen as a host country, because of the active publishing sector and the multilingual setting of the country. From the different African languages Kikuyu and Luo were chosen, because both look back on approximately 100 years of written usage. The availability of religious texts, fiction and non-fiction in both languages made it possible to ask about the use of L1 in reading. If no reading material in L1 had been available, this question would have been too hypothetical to reveal meaningful information on L1 reading. Because speakers of the ethno-

linguistic Kikuyu and Luo communities were aimed at, Nyeri District and Kisumu District were chosen, as they constitute the heartland of both catchment areas.

### **1.3 Structure of the thesis**

The thesis is divided into four Chapters. Chapter 1 outlines the background to this study (Chapter 1.1), establishes its relevance, introduces the research objectives (1.2), and outlines the structure of the thesis (1.3). Chapter 2 defines the concept of reading as the subject examined in the study (Chapter 2.1). Furthermore, it overviews the broader field of reading research (Chapter 2.2) and outlines the uses and gratifications approach as the theoretical frame adopted in this study (Chapter 2.3). In Chapter 3 findings are presented stemming from the analysis of the qualitative as well as the quantitative data collected. Chapter 3.1 provides background information on the environment in which reading activities take place with regard to the geographic and economic set up of the two research sites. Furthermore, it summarizes information on education, language use, the mass media and the book infrastructure in Nyeri District and Kisumu District. In Chapter 3.2 the way the Luo and Kikuyu speakers surveyed talk about reading is discussed by examining the terminology and metaphors related to reading material and the reading activity. Chapter 3.3 discusses information derived through qualitative one-on-one interviews. It introduces different types of readers and highlights factors which impact on reading habits among interviewees. In Chapter 3.4 the results of two standardized surveys are presented, which provide information on the language use in reading, attitudes towards reading, and the role of reading in the wider field of leisure time activities. Finally, findings of this study are summarized in Chapter 4 relating results to the research objectives (Chapter 4.1), findings of Western reading research and other hypothesis found in literature (4.2). The relevance of findings is discussed (Chapter 4.3) with regard to practical efforts of reading promotion and book production (Chapter 4.3.1). Furthermore, the contribution of this study to reading research is assessed (4.3.2). Possible lines of further research are outlined in Chapter 4.4.

---

## **2 Reading research – theory and methodology**

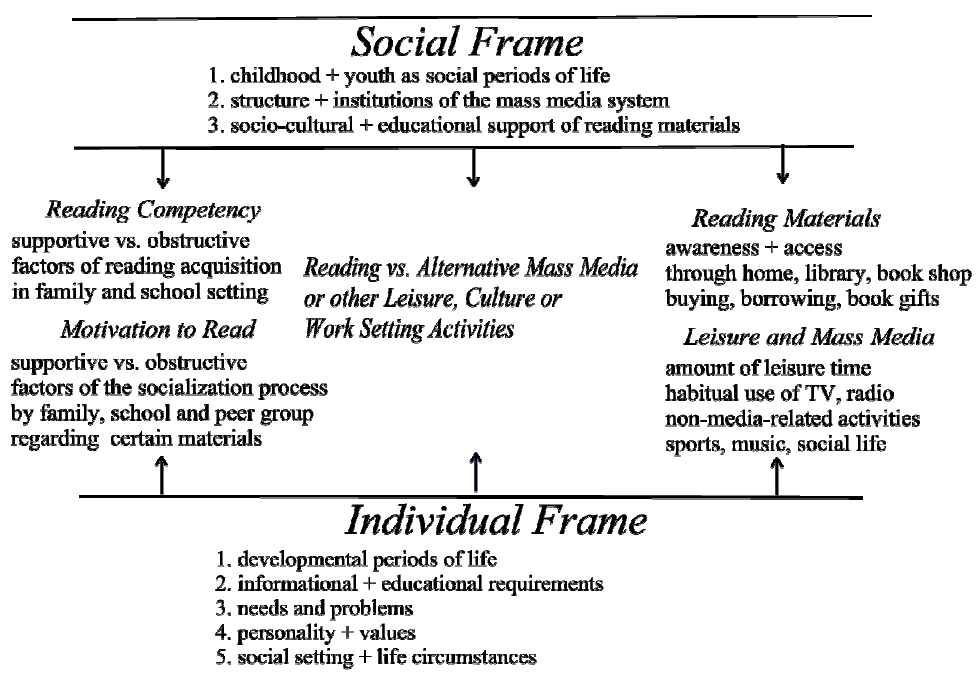
This chapter outlines the field of reading research that forms the broader frame for this study and describes theories and methodologies pertaining to it. It starts by defining the concept of reading as the central subject of reading research (2.1). Then, it reviews the literature (2.2) related to socio-scientific reading research (2.2.1) and neighboring fields of research (2.2.2). Section 2.2.3 provides a summary of results and assumptions of reading research with a focus on studies conducted in African contexts and particularly in Kenya. Finally, the chapter highlights the uses and gratifications approach of mass media research and specifies its utilization and adaptation for the purpose of this investigation (2.3).

### **2.1 Defining the subject – the concept of reading**

Reading seems to be a commonly understood concept. Yet, defining the term reveals its complexity. There are two perspectives on reading: a skill-based view and a social view. In the former sense reading is described as the cognitive process of translating symbols or letters into meaningful words and sentences (Rehm 1991: 176). The ability to read, however, is rarely found in an individual without the ability to also write a text. Reading and writing skills are complementary mental techniques of what is termed literacy. As such, reading relates to the perceptual and writing relates to the productive dimension of literacy skills. From a social perspective reading is defined as social practice. By accessing a text the reader gets involved in an interpersonal or social communication process that is shaped by the social setting in which it takes place (Fritz & Suess 1986: 29).

Several factors influence the reading behavior of individuals. Figure 2 illustrates different domains and elements, which have an impact on reading. In his article on the state and major results of reading research Bonfadelli (1999) explains that the social frame sets socio-cultural values (e.g. social image of reading, esteem for books, value of formal education etc.) and institutional structures (e.g. system of the mass media etc.), which influence the perception of reading and reading material in a society (Bonfadelli 1999: 106).

Figure 2: Factors impacting on reading behavior (adopted from Bonfadelli 1999: 107)



Additionally, individual characteristics (e.g. personality, emotional needs, life history etc.) and personal life circumstances (e.g. home environment, family, peer groups etc.) determine the achievement of the cognitive reading ability and the development of emotional ties to reading. They can support or hamper the development of individual reading habits, which are understood as the frequent repetition of certain patterns of reading behavior (Bonfadelli 1999: 107).

Reading requires the cognitive skill of decoding signs and letters into meaningful words. The level of proficiency of this mental activity is believed to influence the development of reading habits. Bonfadelli (1999: 108) argues, that it is unlikely that reading material is used for other than necessary informational or training purposes, if reading is perceived as difficult and tiresome. If, however, reading is done with ease it is most likely used for pleasure reading. According to him, reading proficiency can thus function as an internal factor of reading motivation. External factors of motivation include experiences with books and reading made during socialization, inspiration from family members, friends, institutions etc.



Furthermore, the supply and availability of reading material impact on reading habits. Individuals have to be aware of the existence of reading material and it must be accessible, so that potential readers can make use of it on a regular basis. Finally, the amount of leisure time and the availability and use of concurrent media-related or non-media-related activities have to be acknowledged in explaining reading habits (Bonfadelli 1999: 108).

Bonfadelli's overview (1999: 107) does not go into the role of language or multilingualism as a determining factor of the reading activity, although language use is very relevant for reading not only in multilingual African, Asian or Latin American countries, but also in European countries with increasing numbers of multilingual inhabitants. The language use in reading relates to all factors previously described. In multilingual social settings, for instance, different languages are typically used in different domains, serve diverse functions and are not equal in status. Language policy determines, which language or languages are promoted through e.g. recognition in formal schooling, the media etc., thereby impacting on the availability of print media and reading achievement in different languages. On an individual level, proficiency in the different languages, their uses and the attitudes pertaining to them may have an impact on language use in reading. In this study, therefore, the language use in reading is emphasized and reading is understood as social practice embedded in a specific socio-cultural framework and influenced by individual features.

## **2.2 Literature review**

As a social phenomenon reading attracts the interest of various scientific disciplines. As it is often the case with multidisciplinary research, difficulties arise as to clearly delineating complementary or overlapping fields of research. Nevertheless, this section gives an overview of the developments and state of the arts differentiating between socio-scientific reading research (2.2.1), which forms the backdrop of this study, and neighboring fields of research (2.2.2), which contribute information to the subject from different research perspectives. Special attention is given to studies conducted in African contexts, especially in Kenya. They are referred to in later chapters when they are related to the findings of this study.

### 2.2.1 Socio-scientific reading research

Socio-scientific empirical reading research developed in Western countries (emanating from the United States) during the 1940s as part of mass media and communication research, which examines the effects of media and the role of media for the individual and the society (Waples, Berelson & Bradshaw 1940, Berelson 1949). It attempts to answer questions such as: Who reads? What type of texts? How much and when? Where and why? And what effects does reading have? In Germany, Great Britain and France research focusing on the social aspects of reading was not published before the 1960s (Fröhner 1961, Escarpit 1961, Groombridge 1964, Giradi, Neff & Steiner 1965, Mann & Burgoyne 1969).

#### *Market research*

The quantity and scope of Western reading research was significantly broadened with the beginning of systematic consumer-oriented market research of the publishing sector and the book trade. These studies aimed at revealing information about the user and purchaser of print products in order to increase sales and profits. Individual publishers occasionally initiated early predecessors of consumer-oriented book-market surveys.

In Germany for instance, the Eugen Diederichs publishing house<sup>23</sup> started in 1914 to add postcards to its books which contained questions to their readers regarding their reading habits and interests. Readers were asked to fill in the cards and to return them to the publisher (Franzmann 1995: 490). Interestingly, the Kenyan author and publisher David Maillu used the same technique in 1975, when he added a reader-questionnaire to his novel *The kommon man, part one* (1975). The poll revealed a predominance of male single readers aged 20 to 40 (Apronti 1993: 42). Nevertheless, commercial marketing research by order of African book publishing companies is rather underdeveloped (Makotsi 2000: 94). In the press sector, however, the *Daily Nation* newspaper commissions readership surveys, because demographic information regarding readership is important for the company not only in satisfying their target audience, but also in attracting ad-

---

<sup>23</sup> Eugen Diederichs (1867-1930) founded a famous publishing house by the same name in 1896. The Eugen Diederichs publishing house promoted the publication of legends and folktales, texts on philosophy, culture and religion stemming from non-European contexts.

---

vertising customers (which are essential to meeting production costs of newspapers and magazines, WAN 2002). During field research for this study it was revealed that readers' profiles were also collected for and used by the Kenyan monthly magazines *Today in Africa* and *Parents*<sup>24</sup> (see Chapter 3.1 for character and content of the two magazines). The *Today in Africa* readers' profile, which was added to a list of advertising rates and which was available from the editor, indicated 59% of male readership, majority single aged 20 to 35, with a secondary school level of education, employed and living in an urban setting. An unpublished market research conducted in 1999 for *Parents*<sup>25</sup> was referred to in an interview with the advertising manager of the magazine (conducted during field research in 2002), who summarized the magazine's readership as consisting of 58% female readers from their late 20s to late 30s. The majority of purchasers are reported to belong to the urban middle and high-income group. Yet, the survey was said to have found that readership significantly exceeds circulation. And readership was estimated at 2,500,000 or 50 readers per sold copy (circulation rate 50,000). In both cases, however, no information was available on sample size, methodology or analytic procedures used in the surveys, thus, reliability and validity are hard to assess.

### ***Competing mass media behavior***

As a result of the spread of television as a pervasive and dominant medium, the scope of reading research broadened to investigate print media use in the wider field of mass media behavior. Following McLuhan's "Gutenberg Galaxy" (1962), in which he predicts the end of the book with the increase of audiovisual mass media and the beginning of digital information technologies, a field of print-media-related research evolved in the late 1970s that examines the impact of television, radio, film etc. on reading habits (Feilitzen 1976, Greenberg 1974, Katz, Gurevitch & Haas 1973).

---

<sup>24</sup> Personal communication with marketing and advertising personnel of the two magazines.

<sup>25</sup> Results summarized by *Parents* advertising manager in personal communication.

For Kenya, similar fears have been expressed by Makotsi & Nyariki (1997: 49), who state that especially books for leisure reading compete with other entertainment media, such as video and computer. They observe that the electronic media seem to be more attractive to many Kenyans than books.

The relation between audiovisual and print media in Western contexts, however, turned out to be more complex than early apprehensions suggested, which assumed that the audiovisual media would simply supersede the reading of print media. A long-term study that examines media-related behavior in Germany between 1964 and 1995 (Berg & Kiefer 1996), for instance, found that the frequency of book reading in general remained considerable stable despite the increasing importance and use of audiovisual media.

On the ground of reading frequency, amount of books read per year, and reading intensity two national surveys on reading habits in Germany (Stiftung Lesen 1993: 2001) identified four types of readers labeled 'frequent readers', 'average readers', 'infrequent readers' and 'non-readers' (Franzmann 2001: 24). A comparison of the two studies even revealed a slight increase of the reading activity between 1992 and 2000 rather than a decline. The portion of frequent readers among the respondents increased by three percent (25% in 1992, 28% in 2000) and the amount of average readers rose by five percent (22% in 1992, 27% in 2000), while at the same time the number of infrequent readers decreased by five percent (25% in 1992, 20% in 2000) and the percentage of non-readers went down by three percent (28% in 1992, 25% in 2000). Differences in media usage between the four reader groups pertain to the variety of media used alongside print. Frequent readers are found to use a wider variety of audiovisual and print media for a wider range of purposes than infrequent readers, which for the most part use television for information purposes (Tullius 2001: 82). The most important difference between frequent and infrequent readers, however, was found regarding the level of education achieved. The percentage of frequent readers in Germany is highest among respondents with a high level of education (high school, university) and lowest among respondents with a lower level of education (Tullius 2001: 62).

The rapid spread of new information technologies such as the computer and the Internet as mass media in Western contexts necessitated to include them in studies on media use. In a second nationwide study on reading habits in Germany (Stiftung Lesen 2001), for instance, it was found that an increase in time spent with computers correlates with both a decrease in reading print media and a decline in watching television, mostly among young male respondents (Boesken 2001: 138). Regarding Internet utility it was revealed that Internet is basically used as an instrument of communication (through email) and quick information. And the majority of respondents, who look at longer texts in the Internet or the computer, report to print out at least parts of the text in order to read them conveniently. Thus, Internet and computer too do not (yet) threaten the existence of print media in Germany (Hippler 2001: 173).

Skepticism regarding the potential of Internet and computer reading to supersede print related literary reading is also expressed in the Kenyan context (*Sunday Standard*, May 27, 2001). However, the very limited access to computer and Internet facilities for the majority of the Kenyan population rather than certain patterns of usage prevent competition between new media and print media.

### ***Socialization and the development of reading habits***

A further line of study in socio-scientific reading research concentrates on the socialization process and the role of the social environment in the development of reading skills and reading habits. Researchers examining the socialization process of readers in Western contexts show that reading behavior like all social behavior is learnt in childhood and adolescence (Groeben & Hurrelmann 2002, Hurrelmann 1993, Bonfadelli 1993). They identify three social institutions that are of major importance for the development of habitual reading: family, school and peer-groups.

The family has been shown to contribute at an early stage to the development of reading skills, e.g. pre-reading, vocabulary, and comprehension skills (Purcell-Gates 2000). Once the ability to read fluently has been cognitively mastered, again home attitudes and circumstances determine whether a person develops a positive or negative attitude towards reading and whether or not reading habits are maintained (Guthrie & Greaney 1991).

Formal schooling is deemed relevant for the development of reading habits, as it teaches the cognitive skill of reading, enhances reading competency and is assigned the task of promoting reading. UNESCO considers four grades of primary education as prerequisites for children to become literate (UNESCO 1990: 10). Yet, its role is ambivalent. Negative influences of schooling on reading habits are reported in research literature as well. While some pupils consider reading assigned by the curriculum as pleasurable and enriching, others report negative attitudes toward reading as a result of being forced to read in class (Bonfadelli 1999: 122). McKenna, Kear & Ellsworth (1995) revealed that attitudes toward recreational as well as academic reading became more negative in American pupils throughout their schooling and found a decline in pupil's leisure time reading over the school years.

As pupils age, peer-group orientation gains more influence (Bonfadelli 1999: 122). Relatively few studies have been conducted in this area. However, Köcher showed that partners or friends, who are reading frequently, tend to enhance the reading frequency of individuals (Köcher 1993: 277).

### ***International studies***

So far, only few comparative studies on an international level have been conducted. In 1990 and 1994 the German foundation *Stiftung Lesen* published results of two international studies examining the reading behavior in 16 countries. Countries of Africa, Asia (with the exception of Japan), and South America are not included in the studies (Stiftung Lesen 1990, 1994). Kaegbein, Lukham & Stelmach (1991) too exclude African and South American countries from their comparative investigation. Only Greaney & Neumann (1990) consider data of reading behavior in Nigeria in their cross-cultural study on the functions of reading among 8 to 13-year-old schoolchildren in 13 countries. They conclude that reading serves similar purposes across different cultures and they identify utility, enjoyment and escape as most important functions of reading among the pupils surveyed.

For single African countries, little academic research focusing on the reader has been carried out. The few studies available are mostly outdated today (Peters 1958, Heissler, Lavy & Candela 1965, DeWet 1970, Omolewa 1974, Kelly 1976, Fouché 1980, Vandewiele 1980).

---

However, some information on reading habits in African contexts can be derived from neighboring fields of research.

### **2.2.2 Neighboring fields of research**

The following section summarizes information on reading from adjacent fields of research including literacy education, publishing and book studies, reception studies or the sociology of literature, and New Literacy Studies.

#### ***Literacy education***

Literacy education, which aims at improving the teaching of reading and writing, developing instruments to systematically and psychometrically measure literacy skills, and supporting children who do not adequately keep up with the norms for learning such skills in school, is an important area of education science as is evident from reviewing the amount of journals that are devoted to the subject.<sup>26</sup> It comprises a wide variety of research fields spanning from cognitive processes in reading (word recognition, visual and auditory perception, dyslexia etc.) to literacy instruction (emergent literacy, reading achievement, family literacy, teacher and school effects on reading, etc.) (Pearson et al. 1984, Barr et al. 1991, Kamil et al. 2000). In line with the recognition of multiculturalism and multilingualism enhanced attention is given to the literacy acquisition of bilingual or multilingual students, the teaching of reading in multilingual settings, and second language learning (Hornberger 2003, Opitz 2002, Beykont 2002, Durgunoglu & Verhoeven 1998, Wagner 1993, Wagner, Street & Venezky 1999). A recent publication by UNESCO Institute of Education addresses the role of language in education providing case studies from multilingual African countries (Ouane 2003). Furthermore, Arua (2003) provides articles on the specific setting and requirements of literacy education in African contexts.

This focus on African countries is of importance, as they have so far been rather neglected in international studies. Only within the frame of the second international reading survey conducted by *International Association for the Evalua-*

---

<sup>26</sup> *Reading Research Quarterly, Journal of Reading Research, Journal of Research in Reading, Journal of Adolescent & Adult Literacy, The Reading Teacher, Research in the teaching of English, Reading Improvement, Child Development* etc.

*tion of Educational Achievement* (IEA) in 1990 and 1991 three sub-Saharan countries (Botswana, Nigeria and Zimbabwe) are among the 32 countries examined (Elley 1992).<sup>27</sup> The study investigates the relation between the reading achievement of 9 and 14-year-old school children and a range of variables including school and teacher factors using reading tests developed for that purpose. The study identifies home environment as the most critical factor in the development of literacy and shows that the amount of voluntary reading and number of reading material in the home is positively correlated with reading achievement (Lundberg & Linnakylä 1993: 93). With regard to the developing countries the study found that pupils from developing nations score considerably lower in reading achievement than students from developed countries and attributes this finding to the lack of reading resources and literacy traditions in the developing countries (Elley 1996: 53). The study, however, is problematic, insofar as it does not discuss the cultural appropriateness of the research instrument employed in the very different settings of the 32 countries that were examined. The reading tests and questionnaires of the study were, for instance, administered in the official languages of the countries surveyed, resulting in very different rates of students to whom this language was a second language. Furthermore, Elley (1996: 44) reports of a question posed in the test that required students to read a bus timetable. Considering the different cultural contexts it is no wonder that French students scored higher in answering that question than Nigerian students did. Nevertheless, Agak (1995) uses the IEA reading test and questionnaire to investigate the relation of reading literacy and academic achievement among 14-year-old schoolchildren in four provinces in Kenya. The study confirms a significant correlation of voluntary reading with both reading performance and academic achievement among the Kenyan pupils surveyed.

Taking up the importance of extensive reading in school and leisure time for reading proficiency and academic achievement, Kembo (1993) suggests setting up class libraries in Kenyan schools and introducing library or reading les-

---

<sup>27</sup> The *Progress in International Reading Literacy Study* (PIRLS) conducted by IEA in 2001 to systematically assess the reading literacy of fourth graders from 35 countries did not include sub-Saharan African countries. However, South Africa and Zimbabwe might be included in the consecutive PIRLS planned for 2006 (IEA 2004).



sons, in order to introduce, discuss and exchange books, thus, promoting reading through guided reading education.

Ogechi (2001) goes into the necessity to strengthen the use of African languages for enhanced adult education in the country. He supports the current practice of starting basic adult education in the L1 of learners, yet he also acknowledges the importance of Swahili as the national language and suggests teaching reading and writing skills in Swahili in adult literacy classes. In order to support adult education programs and to maintain literacy skills beyond literacy classes, he argues a case for an increase in publishing reading material in African languages (which are spoken as L1) and Swahili (which is spoken widely as second languages).

### ***Publishing and book studies***

The publishing sector and the development of the book industry have been given great attention in African settings. UNESCO was mainly involved in assessing book needs and solving the challenges of book production in developing countries from the independence of the majority of African countries in the 1960s on (Behrstock 1991). In 1968 UNESCO held a conference on the book development in Africa, the year 1972 was declared *International Book Year* themed *Books for all* (Barker & Escarpit 1973: ii). And in 1982 UNESCO held the first *World Congress on Books*, which discussed programs for the developing countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America aiming *Towards a Reading Society* (UNESCO 1983). As book production necessitates the development of an audience and a market to sell books, ways to enhance readership and to promote reading were discussed too. The UNESCO book series *Studies on Books and Reading*, which was launched at that time, comprises case studies of the book market and reading development in Kenya, Ghana and Tanzania (Chakava 1982, Djoletto 1985, Bgoya 1986). Further studies on the state of the book industry and the challenges of book production in African countries include Kotei (1982), Pearce (1982), Bgoya (1984), Gedin (1984), Simon (1984), Altbach, Arboleda & Gopinathan (1985), Altbach (1992, 1993, 1995, 1996) Hamrell (1998), Altbach & Damtew (1999).

For Kenya, renowned publisher Henry Chakava<sup>28</sup> analyzed and described the state of the book industry in several publications (1982, 1992, 1993, 1995, 1996, 1997). In his articles he comments from the perspective of a Kenyan publisher on the state of book reading among Kenyans and he identifies illiteracy, language and underdeveloped readership as the main obstacles to the development of book reading habits in African contexts (Chakava 1996: 96).

Chakava acknowledges the developments that have been made in increasing the number of literate persons since independence. Yet, he points to the difficult economic situation of African countries that leads to a situation in which literacy programs cannot be run and followed up properly, thus missing the aim of maintaining literacy skills and expanding readership (1996: 99).

As has been mentioned in the introduction (Chapter 1) Chakava points to the multilingual setting of Kenya as a dilemma to the publisher and calls for identifying one language in multilingual settings to be developed for national communication and publishing. Nevertheless, Chakava does not deny the potential of African languages - among them Kikuyu and Luo - with a prospective audience of some millions of speakers. Yet, he mentions problems with their orthographies which were developed by missionaries and who failed in representing African sounds in adequate symbols making reading difficult and tiresome (Chakava 1996: 98).

The last obstacle to book reading that Chakava dwells on is the underdevelopment of reading habits in general. He cites the stereotype of Kenyans who do not read beyond school or examination purposes and admits that this stereotype is partially true for a generation of older readers, yet changing with regard to younger generations (Chakava 1992: 142). He gives both cultural and historical

---

<sup>28</sup> Henry Chakava is the chairman of *East African Educational Publishers* (EAEP) in Nairobi, founding Chairman of the *East African Book Development Association* (EABDA) member of the management board of *African Books Collective*, Oxford (UK) and member of the international advisory board of *LOGOS: The Professional Journal of the Book World*. He started his outstanding career in the publishing business as part time editor with transnational *Heinemann Educational Books* (HEB) in Nairobi in 1972. In 1976 he became Managing Director of HEB. In the early 1990s Chakava transformed HEB to a Kenyan owned publishing house renamed *East African Educational Publisher* (EAEP) (*Sunday Standard*, April 8, 2001). From 1992 to 2000 he worked as Managing Director of EAEP, then became Chairman of the company. On the occasion of the *Zimbabwe International Book Fair* (ZIBF) 2004 Chakava was honored with the *Award for Life-long Contribution to the African Book Industry* (*East African Standard*, August 2, 2004).

reasons for negative attitudes toward reading in Kenya. Culturally, he says, oral tradition and communal lifestyles, expressed in talking, singing and dancing, are preferred to the private and isolating activity of reading. Historically, he argues, that European missionaries brought books and forced African communities into reading and promised spiritual awards. Thus, reading was not introduced as a pleasurable activity. Additionally, the British colonial education system emphasized reading for achievement e.g. well-paying jobs. Thus, reading is understood as something to gain from (Chakava 1992: 142). Chakava considers these attitudinal factors as less important compared to external factors hindering the development of readership including limited availability of books, high book prices, inadequate reading material in terms of language and content, reading proficiency and lack of a conducive environment for reading (Chakava 1996: 101). As the most important factor limiting the readership, however, Chakava identifies economic hardship and remarks that fighting poverty would automatically increase book reading and book buying habits (Chakava 1996: 106).

A comprehensive study of the Kenyan book trade conducted by Makotsi & Nyariki (1994) confirms this assumption. The study by Nyariki & Makotsi aimed at investigating distribution and marketing problems faced by Kenyan publishers. However, they not only surveyed publishers and booksellers, but consumers too asking them how they usually acquire their books. Based on a survey of 861 consumer interviews they found that interviewees belonging to the highest income group bought more books, attended libraries more often, and had fewer problems in accessing books than interviewees belonging to the lower income groups (Nyariki & Makotsi 1994: 37). Further results of their survey, which used a forced-choice questionnaire, revealed that textbooks are most frequently purchased in bookshops (63%), followed by general books (16%), reference books (9%), comics and magazines (6%), and others (5%). Parents and students mostly buy textbooks, teachers purchase reference books, and the out-of-school population buys general books, comics and magazines. The selection of titles is mainly influenced by 'content' (65%) and 'price' (15%). The majority of interviewees report to buy books in towns, because they are said to be cheaper than in rural bookshops. Street vendors are the most frequently used source for buying books. Asked about the motives for book buying 39% of interviewees report to buy

books for a ‘love of reading’ followed by ‘influence by the teacher’ (23%). The main obstacle consumers mention regarding accessing books is poverty and high book prices. Library attendance, which is supposed to bring relief in that respect, however, is poor and access to libraries in rural areas is limited (Nyariki & Makotsi 1994: 38).

Finally, a recent study by Rotich (2004) examines the textbook buying habits of consumers in Kenya against the background of the liberalization of the textbook market that entailed increasing prices of textbooks. He found that the number of textbooks people have in their homes is positively correlated with the average monthly income. Informants with higher earnings had more textbooks in the house than informants with lower earnings, who were found to prioritize basic needs such as food, shelter, clothing etc. However, the study also established that informants with lower incomes purchased textbooks, if they were convinced that the books are relevant and necessary for the education of their children.

### ***Reception studies and the sociology of literature***

In the field of literary studies readership and reading is investigated in reception studies and the sociology of literature. Emphasizing the material aspect of texts as products, empirical research in literature focuses on e.g. literary content, book production and distribution in relation to the audience and reception of print at different periods of time and in diverse social groups. In the context of African literature, the discussion about African authors and their audience and the relevance of language in this context is well in the fore (Falola & Harlow 2003, Lindfors 2002).<sup>29</sup> Another aspect of reception studies that attracts attention in African literature pertains to popular culture and the reception of mass literature in African contexts (Newell 1997, 2000 & 2002, Bryce-Okunlola 1997, Lindfors 1996, Frederiksen 1991, Arnold 1984, Schild 1980).

From the field of literary studies too comes a study by Griswold (2000), in which she examines the Nigerian novel written in English from literary invention to reader’s reception. Based on the analysis of Nigerian novels written in English and interviews with writers, publishers, booksellers, and readers of that type of

---

<sup>29</sup> For early accounts of this debate see the unauthored articles „Black Writers, White Readers” *Negro Digest*, March 1965 and „The African Writer in Search of his Audience” *Negro Digest* November 1965.

---

novel, she investigates Nigerian novel-readers: how and what exactly they read and what kind of interpretations they make. Griswold reveals that readers in Nigeria, who consume novels written in English, are predominantly well-educated Christian members of the urban middle class from the South of Nigeria. Griswold found that the main obstacle to reading is human distraction, noise, visitors and a general lack of privacy in the house or outside the house in bars. The office, however, is reported to offer the avid reader some space and freedom to read novels. Mostly paperbacks lend from friends or bought on the market are said to be read, whereas visiting the library is hardly found among adult novel-readers. Favored authors include African writers like Chinua Achebe, Wole Soyinka, Cyprian Ekwensi, Buchi Emecheta, Ngugi wa Thiong'o and popular Western writers such as Jeffrey Archer, James Hadley Chase, Danielle Steel etc. Readers commonly interpret the novels as giving insight into real life, realistic people and situations. As such, reading is motivated by the desire to understand the lives of the people described in the novels.

Yigbé (2003) makes another contribution from the perspective of a literary scholar. He reflects on his experiences and observations regarding reading habits in Togo. He argues that despite the increase of educational standards and higher numbers of potential readers in African contexts, orality and listening prevail over reading (Yigbé 2003: 123). And he describes what he calls the 'africanization' of reading and writing, which comprises two strategies: First, the reinterpretation of reading as a collective experience through reading aloud or narrating books (he describes e.g. groups of students gathering in the evenings reading a novel in turns). Second, the fragmentation of reading into small units, which are easy to consume to memorize and to retell (as examples he gives aphorisms on buses and taxis in African public transport). According to Yigbé, the restricted access to reading material due to high book prices necessitates narrating written stories in order to share them. Retelling them then causes their fragmentation and enhances at the same time "a different reading culture"<sup>30</sup> (Yigbé 2003: 125), in which the individual is not occupied for long in isolated reading, but in which the stories read are collectivized through narrating them. In his view, this type of reading

---

<sup>30</sup> Translation by me.

culture benefits from oral tradition, an unwillingness of undemocratic political regimes to promote book production, a lack of press freedom and a lack of uncensored political discourse in African countries. Unfortunately, Yigbé falls into the trap of Great Divide Theories (see Chapter 1) when he claims major differences between orality and literacy. In his view “the problem of oral societies” (Yigbé 2003: 132) lies in being purely sensuous, leaving the masses uninformed and numb, whereas he sees literacy as the only means to facilitate critical thinking and intellectual independence.

### *New Literacy Studies*

From the field of cultural and ethnographic research in communication emerges further information on reading habits. Within the New Literacy Studies approach, researchers attempt to analyze existing everyday literacy practices (understood as social practices) in different cultural contexts (Street 1995). The studies conducted include the works of Heath (1982, 1983) on African-American communities in the United States, Besnier (1995) on the social, ideological and textual characteristics of literacy on a Polynesian Atoll, two volumes edited by Street (1993, 2001) in which literacy practices in various non-Western settings are portrayed. A research project on “Literacy Practices from a Cross-Cultural Perspective” conducted at Hamburg University examines the nature and potential functions of multilingual literacy practices in everyday life in Uganda and Bolivia. Gleich (2004, 2002) describes findings of the project stemming from the Bolivia data, also in comparison to Uganda (Glanz & Gleich 2001). Reh (2002, 2004) and Glanz (2002, 2004) analyze the use of reading and writing in different communities in Uganda. They identify different domains of everyday life, which comprise specific literacy practices. Glanz & Gleich (2001), for instance, show that religious domains e.g. church service or church related groups (Bible study group, choir etc.) promote the use of indigenous languages and multilingual literacy practices both orally and in writing. Reh (2002) shows that in the Ugandan context language use in writing is not strictly diglossic (with a European based official language used by the educated upper and middle class and a local languages used by less educated people) as widely assumed for African contexts. Rather, she found that especially in the middle class local language use in reading and writing is widespread, a fact point-

ing to the potential that African languages could have in the written media of multilingual African countries.

### **2.2.3 Summary**

The literature review showed that Western reading research considers both social and individual factors important with regard to the development of reading habits (Bonfadelli 1999). Social factors assumed to influence the development of reading habits include the social image of reading, opportunities to acquire reading skills (formal, non-formal or informal schooling), availability of reading material (bookshops, public libraries, home libraries etc.), amount of leisure time available and the availability of other mass media. Individual factors comprise the level of cognitive development (reading proficiency), functions of reading (e.g. satisfying emotional or cognitive needs etc.), individual attitudes (towards reading, books, education), former experiences with books and reading and personal life circumstances (family and home environment, peer groups etc.).

Regarding individual factors, Bonfadelli (1999) assumes that the level of reading proficiency impacts on the development of reading habits. If reading is perceived as easy, people engage often in it. If it is perceived as tiresome, it is not practiced much. A study conducted in Germany found that frequent reading habits correlate with a high level of education, whereas infrequent reading correlated with a low level of education (Tullius 2001). A cross-cultural study by Greaney & Neumann (1990) establishes that the functions that reading serves among 8 to 13 year old pupils relate to utility (need for information, knowledge etc.), enjoyment (need for entertainment, humor etc.) and escape (from boredom, difficult life circumstances). Furthermore, the family and home environment is assumed to influence the development of reading skills (Purcell-Gates 2000, Lundberg & Linnakylä 1993) and attitudes towards reading (Guthrie & Greaney 1991). And Lundberg & Linnakylä (1993) found that the amount of reading material in the home, positively correlates with reading achievement. Finally, it is assumed that the development of reading habits is stimulated by partners or friends, who are frequently reading (Köcher 1993, Bonfadelli 1999).

In addition to findings of Western reading research, hypothesis as to the development of reading habits in African contexts in general and Kenya in particular were found in the literature.

With regard to the social frame of reading in African contexts, Chakava (1992) and Yigbé (2003) point to cultural and historical features of African societies that have impact on reading. Both refer to the importance of oral traditions in African societies, in which communal activities such as talking, singing, dancing etc. prevent the individual to engage for long in the isolating activity of reading. Not engaging in longer texts, but limiting reading to short pieces of texts, is referred to as the fragmentation of reading by Yigbé (2003). Chakava (1992) gives historical reasons for an assumed negative attitude of Kenyan towards reading. He argues that reading was introduced by missionaries who promised spiritual award for reading. He believes that reading, therefore, continues to be associated with gaining rather than with pleasure.

Furthermore, the limited availability of reading material in African contexts is highlighted (Chakava 1996, Yigbé 2003, Makotsi & Nyariki 1994). High book prices, economic hardship and the low purchasing power of the Kenyan population are named as main obstacles to access reading material (Chakava 1996, Makotsi & Nyariki 1994). According to Makotsi & Nyariki (1994) high income earners bought more books and more often use the libraries than low income earners. And Rotich (2004) supports their findings and shows that high income earners in Kenya have more textbooks at home and use the library more often than low income earners.

Lastly, Chakava (1996) accounts for the multilingual language setting of African societies. He points to the inadequacy of English as the language in which the majority of reading material is produced as an obstacle to the development of reading habits, as the majority of the Kenyan population is not able to read English. Regarding reading habits in L1 he judges the orthographies of African languages as problematic because – according to him - they do not represent the sounds and symbols of African languages adequately, thereby impacting on the readability of the languages.



---

As individual factors impacting on the development of reading habits, Chakava (1996) refers to the lack of conducive home environment (in terms of electricity, quietness etc.) that would allow concentrating on texts. Human distraction, noise, visitors and a general lack of privacy in the house as an obstacle to reading, is also identified by Griswold (2000), who examines novel-readers in Nigeria. Furthermore Griswold found that Nigerian readers of novels written in English belong to the well-educated, urban middle class. For them, social networks of family and friends are of major importance for accessing reading material, because they offer the opportunity to exchange materials. Finally, Griswold remarks that Nigerian readers interpret novels as giving insight into real life, realistic people and situations and that they report to be motivated by the desire to understand the lives of people described in novels.

### **2.3 The uses and gratifications approach**

The uses and gratification approach of mass media research is adopted in this study, because its research perspective offers a major advantage with regards to the objectives of this investigation. As has been shown, little systematic research has so far been carried out with a focus on the reader in the Kenyan context and most of the judgments on readers and their reading habits stem from anecdotal evidence rather than empirical research. One objective of this case study, therefore, is to reveal information about how members of the ethnolinguistic Luo and Kikuyu community perceive their reading habits, in order to contrast existing stereotypes and claims with readers' self-accounts and to gain insights in the functions of reading in two Kenya contexts. An ideal investigative frame for this purpose was found in the uses and gratifications approach of mass media research, which focuses on the recipient in the study of media-related behavior. Furthermore, the descriptive character inherent in uses and gratifications research is considered fruitful in the attempt to gain a first insight into the current role of reading in the everyday lives of the ethnolinguistic communities examined. The following overview refers in part to summaries provided by Leber (1988) and Rubin (1994) and provides a brief description of the history, the theoretical assumptions, perspectives and methodological procedures of the uses and gratifications approach.

Furthermore, the utilization and adaptation of this approach for the purpose of this study is explained.

### ***History***

The uses and gratifications approach evolved from functional theory<sup>31</sup> in the 1940s in the field of mass media and communication research in the United States (Herzog 1940, Berelson 1949) aiming at analyzing the relationship between mass media and their users. It was formulated in opposition to the tradition of media effects research<sup>32</sup>, which was prominent in the field of communication research at that time. After a period of neglect, the uses and gratifications approach was revived in the 1970s and 1980s examining audience motivation and audience needs (Katz, Gurevitch & Haas 1973, Blumler & Katz 1974, Rosengren, Wenner & Palmgreen 1985, Salvaggio & Bryant 1989). The uses and gratification approach is still applied in mass communication studies, some of which are summarized by Swanson (1992). A new line of study, for instance, focuses on the uses and gratifications of Internet (Kaye 1998, Kaye & Johnson 2002).

### ***Theoretical assumptions***

The uses and gratifications approach is not a coherent theory; rather it comprises several theoretical hypotheses.

Katz, Blumler & Gurevitch (1974: 21) highlight five theoretical assumptions in the field of mass communication and the use of mass media.:

- The audience is conceived as actively and goal-directed choosing between different communication options available.
- Media consumers use the mass media for their own benefits. The individual is seen to have certain needs that it seeks to satisfy ('gratify') by the use of mass media.

---

<sup>31</sup> Functional theory assumes that the actions and phenomena of the social world are functionally interdependent. It considers them as being systematically related in cause chains and circles (McQuail & Gurevitch 1974: 288).

<sup>32</sup> Media effects research dominated in communication research prior to the 1940s. It stressed the manipulative power of mass media and saw the audience as passive receiver of mass media messages. Mass media were understood to have a direct effect (by means of their message or content) on the passive audience. Thus, media messages were seen to be capable of directly influencing the values, opinions and emotions of the audience (Newbold et al 2002: 25).

- Individuals have several needs. In response to these multiple needs, they create a wide range of choices of how to satisfy these needs. As a strategy to meet needs, mass media compete with non-media-related activities, such as face-to-face communication.
- Media users are self-aware of their needs and choices and they are able to explain them verbally, if necessary.
- The audience determines the value of mass media. By choosing to use or not to use certain mass media, each individual values or ignores certain media. Thus, examining media content is less important in mass media research than revealing information about the motivation of people to use certain mass media.

Generally, there are two ways in which the use of mass media can be investigated. It can be seen as the voluntary, conscious behavior of an individual, who has a special purpose for using mass media (McQuail & Gurevitch 1974: 294). This view entails that the individual chooses consciously between the mass media available depending on personal needs and purposes. Or mass media behavior can be understood as a consequence of structural and socio-cultural factors, which determine or constrain its use. Thus perceived, mass media behavior is not a result of a conscious activity, instead it is influenced by structural and cultural constraints of mass media in a given context (McQuail & Gurevitch 1974: 291). The uses and gratifications approach takes the former perspective and emphasizes the idea of a consciously deciding media user. Researchers attempt to reveal what people do with media and why they use media in a certain way. This objective clearly differs from that of media effects research, which aims at gathering information on what the media do to people. However, researchers applying the uses and gratifications approach admit, that concentrating on media users alone reveal information of only one aspect of media-related behavior. Therefore, they describe the role of their user-centered approach as “a complementary to a host of other determining factors such as media availability, work schedules, and social constraints” (Rosengren, Wenner & Palmgreen 1985: 9).

The concept of user needs is central to the uses and gratifications approach. Rosengren (1974: 270) distinguishes between what he calls basic needs,<sup>33</sup> problems and motives. Basic needs include physiological needs, safety needs, a need

---

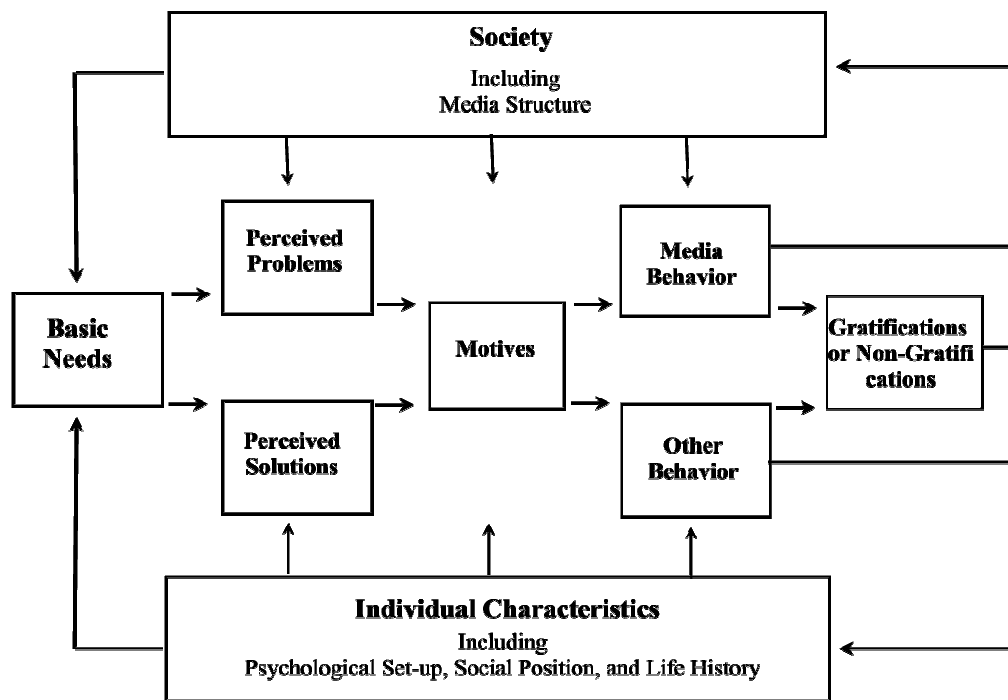
<sup>33</sup> Rosengren’s basic needs go back to the psychologist Abraham Maslow and his hierarchy of human needs (Maslow 1943).

for belonging and love, esteem needs, and a need for self-actualization. Although Rosengren considers these basic needs to be innate, he emphasizes that they are not immune to influences of the social environment. Rather these needs develop in interaction with both individual characteristics (including psychological set-up, social position, life history etc.) and societal characteristics (values and beliefs of society, communication structure, media structure etc.). Through the interaction of basic needs, individual characteristics and society so-called ‘problems’ develop.<sup>34</sup> In order to solve a perceived problem, the individual turns to solutions known and available to her or him to solve the problem. Within the field of uses and gratifications research, media-related problems as well as media-related solutions are of interest to the researcher. Perceived problems and solutions combine to form a motive for action. Although motives may be empirically difficult to distinguish from needs and problems, they are analytically different. The motive results in a certain behavioral action, which may be either media behavior (media use or media consumption) or any other behavior. The behavior chosen results in gratifications (if the perceived problem is solved by a certain behavior) or non-gratifications (if no solution is reached, see Figure 3 on the following page).

---

<sup>34</sup> Not all researchers follow this terminology and a certain inconsistency of the usage of terms is apparent in the field of uses and gratifications research. Katz, Blumler & Gurevitch (1974), for instance, use the term needs indiscriminately to include Rosengren’s “basic needs” and “problems”.

Figure 3: Model of uses and gratifications research (Rosengren 1974: 271)



According to Kippax & Murray (1980: 340) the aforementioned problems (or needs) include:

- *cognitive needs*: especially information, orientation about the surrounding environment as well as the wider context, satisfaction of general curiosity, counseling and advice etc.
- *emotional needs*: entertainment, diversion, stimulation, inspiration and creativity, aesthetic experiences etc.
- *release of social tension und problems*: distraction from boredom, loneliness, isolation, escape from daily life and problems etc.
- *social interaction*: creation of conversational topics, contact to people who read similar topics, exchange about contents etc.
- *media-related social interaction*: substitute companionship (interaction between self and character in the media) etc.
- *structuring of daily life*: habitual activities which structure the day, need or necessity to structure and pass time etc.

Research in uses and gratifications has identified three sources of gratifications related to media use (Katz, Blumler & Gurevitch 1974: 24):

- the content of the media (e.g. watching a specific TV program)
- media use per se (e.g. watching TV)
- the social context that surrounds the media use (e.g. watching TV with the family)

The aspect of effort, or cost and benefit, later supplemented the uses and gratifications approach (Bonfadelli 1999: 105). It was stressed that media usage not only entails gratifications, it also involves expenses. With regard to books and other reading material, costs first relate to the money and time necessary to access or to purchase reading material. Second, the mental effort required for reading causes the reader to spend concentration and cognitive skills in reading.

### ***Methodological procedures***

There are different ways in which needs, motives and gratifications of media use are analyzed in uses and gratifications studies (Katz, Blumler & Gurevitch 1974: 20). The method most often chosen in uses and gratifications studies takes information on user needs and motives as a starting point to reveal which kind of gratification media users seek by using different media. Some studies anticipate user needs (thereby making use of results in social psychology) and attempt to trace to which extent the media or other sources gratify them. Other studies start by empirically collecting data on user needs (e.g. revealed through interviews, surveys etc.) and then proceed to examine how these needs are gratified through exposure to the media. Yet other studies focus on observed gratifications as a starting point and try to reconstruct the needs that are satisfied. Another method focuses on measuring independent variables of media users (e.g. individual variables: age, sex etc.- or social characteristics: socio-economic status etc.) and tries to deduct needs and motives from these variables.

---

McQuail & Gurevitch (1974: 295) recommend researchers to follow four methodological rules in uses and gratifications studies:

- To directly ask viewers, listeners, or readers why they attend to the media.
- To let respondents provide the components of any explanatory framework.
- To focus the inquiry of mass media use on future media behavior and not to direct it to the past.
- To concentrate on the relationship between the mass media and the recipient and to pay less attention to the content of the message.

According to them, these rules methodologically confine the investigator to techniques and procedures of data collection, which encourage respondents to give subjective accounts of their mass media behavior. Therefore, descriptive, qualitative and exploratory procedures are considered more appropriate than controlled experiments and representative surveys. Small scale but detailed studies are favored. A formal hypothesis testing is considered equally inappropriate by them.

McQuail & Gurevitch (1974: 295) highlight the importance of a general scientific open-mindedness and the rejection of explanatory frames different from the ones of the media users. They recommend that data should be collected in the everyday social context of the media users and that all categories and items investigated should be developed from the social environment of the recipients. Research questions should focus on specific groups or specific problems in concrete situations, which involve concrete media. The language or language variety best understood by the target group should be employed in investigations (Elliot 1974: 258).

### *Criticism*

The uses and gratifications approach was criticized for being individualistic and ignorant of the socio-cultural embedding of media use (Elliot 1974: 254). Criticism points to the strong emphasis of the individual media user and the ignorance regarding the structure of mass media and the social and cultural norms and values. Thus, the uses and gratifications approach is blamed for being biased towards the recipient. Furthermore, the assumed level of awareness of an individual regarding media use was questioned. McLeod & Becker (1981: 82), for instance,

argues that all kinds of behavior are influenced by both conscious and unconscious factors. Users self-perception never reveals all factors motivating reading. Other reviewers remark that reported behavior may not correspond with actual behavior (Elliot 1974: 256). Rather than reporting an accurate picture of their reading behavior media users are assumed to report what is socially valued or expected. Thus, methodologically relying on respondents' retrospective and subjective accounts may blur research results (Merten 1984). Barwise & Ehrenberg (1988) show that media use is often habitual, ritualistic and unselective. A fact challenging the assumption of goal-directed, selective media use. Finally, critics of the uses and gratifications approach argue that it lacks a framing theory (Elliot 1974: 256).

### ***The utilization and adaptation of the uses and gratification approach***

This study adopts the assumption of an actively deciding media user. It assumes that readers try to satisfy certain needs by using print media and that they are motivated to actively seek the gratifications they demand. Furthermore, the cost and benefit aspect of media-related behavior is considered, which is assumed to be of importance in the Kenyan context where economic hardship, low purchasing power and low educational standards impact on everyday life. Seizing the aforementioned criticism of overemphasizing the role of the individual while at the same time ignoring the social setting in which media-related behavior takes place, this study describes reading habits in relation to the social and economic environment and media structure found at the two research sites.

Methodologically, it adopts the technique of direct questioning informants with regard to their motivation for reading, needs, preferences etc., thus, assessing reader's subjective accounts. However, it acknowledges the fact that self-accounts of certain behavior are disputable with regards to the correctness of reported activities compared to actual behavior (Bonfadelli 1999: 104). Yet, self-accounts reflect the social values and norms of the groups investigated. The self-image interviewees create and how they want to be seen, provide important information on the value of reading in the social setting or settings investigated. Interpreting reader's self-accounts cautiously asking what they reflect and not mistaking them as facts, thus, can add further information in this study. Additionally, the social



context, in which reading is embedded, is accounted for in this study by relating interview results to the social and economic environment of both research sites.

The study abandons the methodological recommendation of strictly asking about future media behavior rather than directing questions to past media usage. This study accounts for future media usage, but it also asks about present and past reading habits as remembered by the interviewees. This retrospective perspective is necessary in order to fulfill the research objective of revealing information on factors which impact on the development of reading habits.

### **3 Reading habits in Nyeri District and Kisumu District**

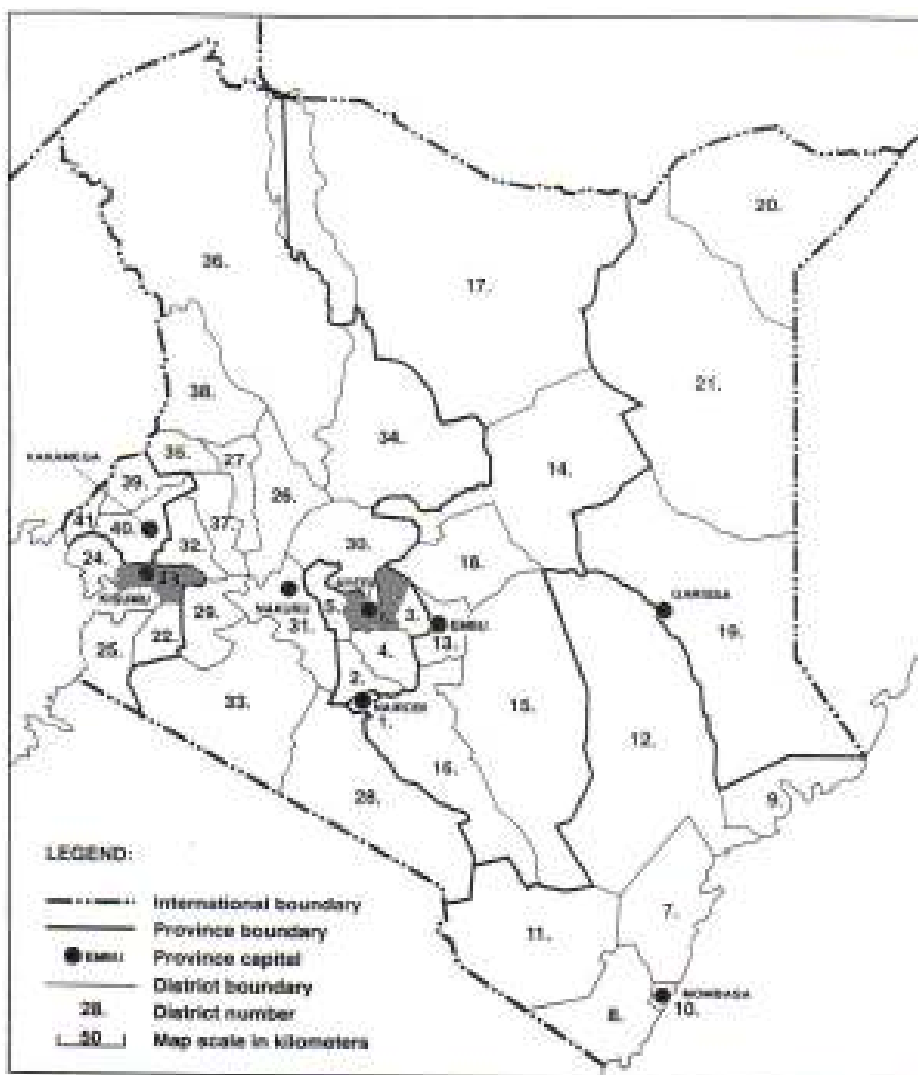
The following chapter presents findings of this study embedded in the socio-economic setting of both research sites. First, the two research sites are portrayed and the mass media structure and the supply of reading material in Nyeri District and Kisumu District are described (Chapter 3.1). In Chapter 3.2 information on how people talk about and conceptualize reading is provided by an analysis of terminology and metaphors that were used in group interviews (Chapter 3.2). In Chapter 3.3 different types of readers are described on the basis of their contemporary reading habits. Their motives and expectations regarding reading are outlined and major developments of and impacts on their reading habits are highlighted. Finally, the role of language in reading is described and reading habits in the broader context of leisure time activities are examined in Chapter 3.4.

#### **3.1 The reading environments of the research sites**

Literacy, reading development, language use, the availability of reading material and the book infrastructure are closely related issues with each element impacting the other. Literacy skills are achieved in a particular language. They are gained through formal or non-formal education or in informal contexts. In multilingual settings, language policy and the educational system determine, which language or languages are taught and promoted. Literacy skills in a particular language, however, can only be sustained through practice and usage. In order to practice reading skills, reading material must be produced in the language or languages the reader knows and these materials must be available. At the same time, reading does not take place in a social vacuum. As a social activity reading is embedded in specific social settings, which have an impact on it. Economy and purchasing power, for instance, determine the capability to buy or produce reading material. The media structure and the range of media competing with print influence the choice to read and the availability of reading material through shops and libraries affect the possibility to read. This chapter, therefore, portrays the geographic and economic set up, educational standards, language setting, the mass media and the book infrastructure at the two research sites, Nyeri District and Kisumu District (marked gray in Figure 4 below). If not indicated otherwise, information pre-

sented is based on observations and investigations conducted in the field and refer to the setting in 2001 and 2002.

Figure 4: District map of Kenya (Republic of Kenya 1994)



Note: Nairobi, as the national capital constitutes both a province and a district. The other provinces are made up of:

CENTRAL	COAST	EASTERN	NORTH EASTERN	NYANZA	RIFT VALLEY	WESTERN
2. Kiambu	7. Kilifi	13. Embu	19. Garissa	22. Kisii	26. Baringo	39. Bungoma
3. Kirinyaga	8. Kwana	14. Isiolo	20. Mandera	23. Kisumu	27. Elgeyo - Marakwet	40. Busia
4. Muranga	9. Lamu	15. Kitui	21. Wajir	24. Siaya	28. Kapeteo	41. Kakamega
5. Nyandarua	10. Mombasa	16. Machakos		25. South Nyanza	29. Kericho	
6. Nyeri	11. Taita	17. Marsabit			30. Laikipia	
	12. Tana River	18. Meru			31. Nakuru	
					32. Nandi	
					33. Narok	
					34. Samburu	
					35. Trans Zoiia	
					36. Turkana	
					37. Uasin Gishu	
					38. West Pokot	

### 3.1.1 Reading in the Central Highlands: Nyeri District

Nyeri District is the largest of the six districts in Central Province. Like the whole of Central Province, Nyeri District is densely populated by 661,156 inhabitants (Republic of Kenya 2001a: xxxiii). It is situated on the moist southwestern and drier western sides of Mt. Kenya. It borders the semi-arid Laikipia Plateau and the eastern slope of the Aberdare Range. Agriculture is the most important sector of the economy. Tea, coffee and food crop farming as well as raising livestock for both dairy and beef production are the most common means of income (Republic of Kenya 1996: 16).

Due to a slow pace of industrialization within the agricultural sector, most farm outputs, excluding coffee and tea, are either consumed unprocessed or exported for further processing (Republic of Kenya 1996: 37). The formal commerce, trade and service sector including boarding and lodging, petrol stations, dry cleaning, retail shops and insurance companies concentrate in the major urban centers: Nyeri<sup>35</sup> (101,238 inhabitants), Karatina (26,337<sup>36</sup>) and Othaya (19,966) (Republic of Kenya 1996: 38). The rate of people working in wage employment in the district is high when compared to national rates. Furthermore, the informal business sector including shoe makers, tailors, blacksmiths, metal workers, hair-dressers, carpenters etc. is growing rapidly in urban areas and rural market centers due to the low capital requirement for starting up businesses and enhanced provision of credits to small-scale business people (Republic of Kenya 1996: 40).

Income from small-scale farming (the sector, which absorbs the majority of the labor force in the district) provides the lowest earnings estimated at around 17,000 Ksh<sup>37</sup> p.a. (or 1,400 Ksh per month, Republic of Kenya 1996: 63). A smaller proportion of the population depends on wage employment in both the private and the public sector and income levels range between as little as 1,500 Ksh per month to above 30,000 Ksh per month). Highest earnings are reported for

---

<sup>35</sup> Without further specifications Nyeri refers to Nyeri town, while Nyeri District refers to the district.

<sup>36</sup> Figure according to the Nyeri District Development Plan 1997-2001 (Republic of Kenya 1996: 15). While the Population and Housing Census 1999 (Republic of Kenya 2001a: 3-1) gives 126,337 inhabitants for Karatina, it is known that this is a typing error.

<sup>37</sup> In 2002 the exchange rate for 1 US Dollar (USD) lied at ~ 79 Kenyan Shillings (Ksh); 1 Euro was exchanged for ~ 76 Ksh.

self-employed urban workers and commercial businesses. Due to the proximity to the national capital Nairobi long- and short-time commuting is common providing higher earnings than obtainable in Nyeri District. Some arid rural areas of the district, which suffer from unfavorable weather conditions, are hit by poverty due to instable incomes from agriculture and a sizeable number of urban slum dwellers and squatter settlers in the urban centers of Nyeri, Mweiga and Karatina fall in the lowest income brackets (Republic of Kenya 1996: 65).

### *Education*

Education through formal schooling, which teaches the cognitive skill of reading, enhances reading competency and is assigned the task of promoting reading, is commonly considered to influence reading habits. In the Kikuyu settlement area the level of education is comparatively high. In 1998 primary school gross enrolment<sup>38</sup> in Central Province lied at 98.2% and was well above the national average of 88.8% (UNESCO 1999). However, this figure should not hide that Central Province - as all other parts of Kenya - faced a serious decline of primary gross enrolment during the first part of the 1990s, with Central Province rates decreasing from 99.3% in 1990 to 89.7% in 1995 (Abagi 1997:15).<sup>39</sup> The literacy level in Nyeri District estimated at 88.5% (98% male, 79% female) lies above the national average estimated at 82% (Republic of Kenya 2002c, Draft).

Historically, the comparatively high educational standards in the Kikuyu districts of Central Province go back to the early contact with missionaries and colonialist, who first settled in the highlands north of Nairobi (Närmann 1995). British colonial education initially aimed at providing a level of education to Africans that enabled them to support the colonial government in local administration. Later on, the demand for labor forces on farms, in factories and in the business sector forced the colonialists to provide basic education to a small number of Africans (Makotsi & Nyariki 1997: 36). Colonial education was organized in accor-

---

<sup>38</sup> Gross school enrolment is defined as the number of children enrolled in a particular level of education (primary, secondary or tertiary) regardless of age, divided by the population of the age group that officially corresponds to the same level. The gross enrolment ratio is widely used to show the general level of participation in education. It indicates the capacity of the education system to enroll students of a particular age group (UNICEF 2003).

<sup>39</sup> For further details on the decline of primary school gross enrolment in Kenya see also Bedi (2004).

dance with the British colonial policy of *divide et impera* along racial lines with different curricula for African, Asian, Arab and European inhabitants of the colony (Eshiwani 1990: 2). Due to their previous experience with the colonial government and economy, the Kikuyu held the advantage in adapting to the need for educated Africans and African involvement in business (Ajulu 2002:254).

After independence in 1963, a school system was introduced that suspended racial segregation in schools, but basically followed the structure of the former British colonial system of education (Kinunda 1994: 3132). It aimed to a large extent at preparing graduates for white-collar jobs in administration and business. In the post-colonial area the Kikuyu leading class entered key positions in the economic and political elite<sup>40</sup>, thus, they got access to higher education and were able to improve infrastructure and educational facilities in their settlement areas (Maloba 1998: 172). A frequently cited stereotype describes the Kikuyu as hard working and clever businessmen.

In the Kenyan context - as in other parts of the world - education is associated with national development. It is seen as a means to equip learners with a foundation for continued learning. And literacy is considered one of the essential tools for life long learning (Republic of Kenya 1998: 15). Thus, the acquisition and development of literacy is one of the major goals of formal schooling.<sup>41</sup>

The present system of education in Kenya - hence also in Nyeri District - is known as the 8-4-4 system. It comprises 8 years of primary, 4 years of secondary and 4 years of tertiary education. It was progressively implemented between 1985 and 1989 and replaced the former school system that encompassed 7 years of primary, 4 years of secondary, 2 years of high school and 3 years of university education (Eshiwani 1990: 15, Kinunda 1994: 3127). The 8-4-4 system was im-

---

<sup>40</sup> The dominance of Kikuyu after independence was widely perceived as tribal favoritism by the first President Jomo Kenyatta, who was himself a Kikuyu, and it was claimed that he rewarded the Kikuyu for their active role in the Mau Mau rebellion and liberation war (1952-1959). However, further factors including educational and economic advantages facilitated their success in acquiring high ranking positions in the country. For further details on the role of Kikuyu in the war of liberation and after independence see Odhiambo & Lonsdale (2003) and Maloba (1998).

<sup>41</sup> However, research has shown that literacy is also transmitted outside formal schooling. Scribner & Cole (1981) for instance described how the Vai of Liberia teach literacy in their Vai script outside any school context. A recent account that hints to the acquisition of literacy in out of school contexts is given by Reh (2002: 38), who identified individuals in her data on literacy practices among Lango, Teso and Luganda speakers, who never attended formal schooling but acquired literacy in their first language through self-help and assistance from friends.

plemented following a recommendation by a governmental commission known by the name of its chairman as *Mackay Commission*, which was built in 1981 to look into ways of reducing unemployment (Republic of Kenya 1981). The commission identified the post-colonial education system (7-4-2-3) as one reason for high unemployment. The old system was considered to be too academic and not focused on the development of relevant skills for work outside of school. Therefore, the 8-4-4 system was designed to increase practical and technical education balanced by academic learning. Like the old system the 8-4-4 system emphasizes and supports the use of English, which is the sole medium of education from the third year of primary school onwards. Different from the old system, however, it also strengthens the role of Swahili (which was taught as an optional subject in the old system) by making it a compulsory and examinable subject in secondary schools (Makotsi & Nyariki 1997: 38).

Non-formal education in the Nyeri District is provided both by governmental programs, non-governmental organizations (NGO), private groups and churches. In adult education literacy is commonly taught in Kikuyu, supplemented by Swahili at a later stage.

### ***Language setting***

Nyeri District is characterized by its multilingual environment, which mirrors the multilingual set up of the whole country (for a brief description of the language situation in the country see Chapter 1).

Located in the heartland of Kikuyu settlement, the Bantu language Kikuyu<sup>42</sup> is the dominant African language of the district, which is used in intraethnic communication. The majority of the population speaks it as a first language.

---

<sup>42</sup> Kikuyu belongs to the Bantu division of African languages. It is classified as a language of the Bantoid sub-branch of the Benue-Congo sub-branch of the Niger-Congo languages and belongs to the Niger-Kordofanian family of languages (Williamson 1989). It shares the common characteristics of the Bantu languages: it is agglutinative, nouns are divided into 16 noun classes with each class having two distinct prefixes, one marking singular, the other plural nouns and there is a system of concordial agreement between nouns, verbs, adjectives and other sentence constituents. Furthermore, Kikuyu is a tone language, in which lexical items are not only characterized in terms of vowels and consonants, but also in terms of the pitch features, which characterize it in speech. Kikuyu shows relatively little variation in terms of dialects, which are mutually intelligible. The language is closely linked to the neighboring languages Kimeru and Kiambu (Pugliese 1995: 89). New words have been incorporated into Kikuyu either directly through English or via Kiswahili.

Occasionally, other African languages, e.g. neighboring Kimeru or minority languages such as Hindu or Gujarati can be heard in intraethnic communication. Swahili and English are spoken as second languages and they are used in interethnic communication.

Rural and urban areas in the district differ in language use. In the rural areas of Nyeri District with a predominantly monoethnic population, Kikuyu is the language spoken in everyday life. Nevertheless, the use of Swahili, can be observed in interethnic communication e.g. between a farmer and a sub-purchaser of agricultural products, a veterinarian or an agricultural advisor. Kikuyu is also used as medium of instruction in the first three years of primary school in rural settings. Service in rural churches<sup>43</sup> is commonly held in Kikuyu. In urban centers, which due to their role as market places, business and administrative centers attract a multiethnic population of e.g. traders and civil servants, Swahili and English are more frequently heard in oral communication than in rural places. However, Kikuyu is still the most common language used on the streets, in markets, in shops, in offices etc. In urban schools Swahili and English are used as media of instruction from the first year of primary school onwards. Several teachers and headmasters of private schools, however, report that they prefer and promote to use English, because most parents want their children to learn English. Church services of different denominations are offered in English, Swahili and Kikuyu in urban centers.

In written communication English is employed in all official domains and it is the dominant medium in professional and business correspondence. In the later domain, however, Swahili is employed too. Both languages are also employed in church contexts for newsletters or written announcements. In church and religious domains, Kikuyu is also widely employed, as is evident from several church newsletters, monthly newspapers published e.g. by the Catholic church and from religious publications such as hymn and prayer books.

---

<sup>43</sup> The majority of Kikuyu are Christian. The Catholic Church is strong in the Nyeri District. However, protestant, pentecostal and independent churches are also present. A minority of Kikuyu are Muslims. Yet, no exact figures of religious affiliation of members of the ethnolinguistic Kikuyu community are available.



The standardized Kikuyu orthography that is currently used was established in 1947 by the United Kikuyu Language Committee (UKLC).<sup>44</sup> It represents the seven vowel qualities of Kikuyu (a, e, i, ĩ, o, u, ũ), but it does not mark vowel length or distinctive tonal features (Pugliese 1995:90). These differences between the written representation and the spoken language were one reason for the Kikuyu author and publisher Gakaara wa Wanjaũ to correct the orthography of Kikuyu in order to enhance the readability of the language. He introduced a series of three booklets called *Mwandĩkire wa Gĩĩgikũyũ Karĩng'a* ('Pure Kikuyu Orthography') (Pugliese 1995: 92). Current publications (especially in the sector of small-scale local newspapers) show some inconsistency as to orthographic conventions.

### ***Mass media***

Mass media function as source of information, education and entertainment. For long, print media had been the only means to serve these functions. Due to privatization and liberalization in the field of the audiovisual media and rapid developments of information technologies since the 1990s, however, the range of media capable to update, to educate or to amuse had widened resulting in competition for users' attention. In 2002 both electronic and print media were available in Nyeri District.

### ***The electronic media***

In 2002 seven free-to-air terrestrial-TV channels (including three parastatal and seven private channels), two pay channels (one parastatal, one private) and a private cable-TV channel were operating in Kenya. Furthermore 17 radio stations (3 state-owned, 12 private and 2 international stations) broadcasted in the country (Moggi & Tessier 2001: Annex). However, the diversification of the electronic media does not get through to the majority of the population, as most private TV and radio stations are only receivable in the major urban centers of Nairobi, Mombasa, Kisumu, Eldoret, Nakuru etc. whereas rural areas remain dependent on

---

<sup>44</sup> Before the introduction of the UCKL orthography protestant and catholic missionaries used different writing systems, which basically differed in vowel marking. The protestant mission used seven signs for the seven vowel qualities of Kikuyu (a, e, i, ĩ, o, u, ũ), whereas the catholic mission used only five vowel signs not marking the front half-closed ĩ and back half-closed ũ. The distinctive vowel length was not marked by either the protestant or the catholic orthography (Pugliese 1995: 90).

government-influenced parastatal programs (BBC 2002). Additionally, the electronic media in general and television in particular remain reserved to an urban elite, which can afford e.g. private home TV sets.<sup>45</sup>

Radio is the most widely used medium in Kenya. Although not every household is in the position to own a radio set, access to radio through neighbors, friends, shops or bars is widespread even in remote rural areas (Mohochi 2003: 86). Radio programs in Nyeri District include parastatal *Kenya Broadcasting Corporation* (KBC) radio programs as well as private FM stations. KBC transmits three radio services: *National Service*, which broadcasts in Swahili 19 hours per day, *English Service*, which broadcasts several hours per day and regional *Central Service*, which broadcasts in several African languages relevant in Central Province including Kikuyu, Kalenjin, Kiambu, Kikamba, Kimeru and Maasai for up to four hours each day. Central Service offers translations of the National Service programs supplemented by regional news (KBC 2004). Furthermore, KBC-owned *Metro FM* and *Coro*<sup>46</sup> *FM* are available in Nyeri District. *Metro FM* targets a young audience with latest music and entertainment in English. *Coro FM* exclusively uses Kikuyu for entertainment, news and music broadcasting. Four private radio stations are receivable in Nyeri District including *Kiss 100 FM*, *Nation FM*, *Citizen FM*<sup>47</sup> and *Kameme*<sup>48</sup> *FM*. The popular *Kiss 100 FM* uses English presenting a mixture of music, short news bulletins, phone-ins and competitions. It is often played in bars and restaurants. *Nation FM* and *Citizen FM*<sup>49</sup> both broadcast news and entertainment in Swahili and English. The private station *Kameme FM*

---

<sup>45</sup> According to the World Bank (2001: 310) there were 104 radio (in 1997) and 21 TV sets (in 1998) per 1000 inhabitants in Kenya.

<sup>46</sup> *Coro* in Kikuyu refers to a “blowing horn” or “curved Kudu horn” used as “an emblem of authority of the ruling generation handed on to the next ruling age-grade” (Benson 1964: 71).

<sup>47</sup> In 2001 *Citizen FM* got in crucial trouble with the authorities when the owner of the broadcasting company, Samuel Macharia, was arrested and charged with establishing and using radio equipment in violation of his broadcasting license. The Nairobi offices of *Citizen FM* were raided and radio equipment vandalized and confiscated. Before the raid *Citizen FM* had started broadcasting in Kikuyu, Kalenjin and Meru besides Swahili and English (Reporters Sans Frontières 2001, *Daily Nation*, April 27, 2001).

<sup>48</sup> *Kameme* is the Kikuyu word for “radio”, “wireless set”, “gramophone” and “loudspeaker” (Benson 1964: 255).

<sup>49</sup> In 2003 *Citizen FM* launched two new FM stations using Kenyan languages for broadcasting: *Inooro FM* (Kikuyu for ‘whetstone’ Benson 1964: 284) broadcasts in Kikuyu while *Ramogi FM* (Ramogi is the name of a famous ancestral warrior who lead the Luo on their migration from Sudan south to their present settlement) broadcasts in Luo. Both stations had not started broadcasting at the time of the last field research in 2002.

went on air in 2000 and broadcasts mainly in Kikuyu, although it uses some Swahili and English as well. Its signal covers Nairobi and most of Central Province including Nyeri District. The *Kameme FM* format is a combination of music, cultural education and information on business, agriculture and current affairs.<sup>50</sup>

Regarding television broadcasting in Nyeri parastatal *KBC TV*<sup>51</sup> and the pay TV channels *KBC II* and private *Digital Satellite TV (DStv)* are receivable.<sup>52</sup> The two pay channels, however, are hardly affordable to the majority of the population (*DStv*, for instance, charges a subscription rate of 800 USD per annum, Moggi & Tessier 2001: Annex) and are only found in the prime hotels in the district. Thus, TV consumption in Nyeri is limited to *KBC TV*, which is the oldest and the only channel in the country with an outreach to an estimated 35 to 40% of the population (Wanyeki 2000). It broadcasts news, educational programs and entertainment (TV series, quiz shows, talk shows etc.) using English and to some extent Swahili. Generally, KBC airs a higher percentage of programs produced in Kenya than the private channels do, which rely heavily on imported American programs (BBC 2002). Among the domestically produced programs, Swahili sitcoms such as *Tausi* (Swahili for ‘peacock’), *Vitimbi* (Swahili for ‘tricks’) or the court series *Vioja Mahakamani* (Swahili for ‘Amazing cases in court’) are famous with the audience.

As an alternative to private TV or movie consumption, so-called “video shows” can be found in urban and semi-urban areas of Nyeri District, that is wooden stalls or other places where people can go to watch movies. They charge between 20 and 50 Ksh (roughly the price of a newspaper) for watching a certain program or movie. Nevertheless commercial video and DVD shops are many in urban centers of Nyeri District, indicating that private movie consumption is be-

---

<sup>50</sup> In 2000 former President Daniel Arap Moi tried twice to ban radio broadcasting in African languages other than Swahili (*Daily Nation*, September 1, 2000) arguing that they could be used to promote anarchy and genocide as happened in Rwanda in 1994 with *Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines* (for the role of mass media in the Rwanda genocide see Chrétien & Dupaquier (1995). However, these moves came to nothing and broadcasting in Kenyan languages went on (O’Doul 2000).

<sup>51</sup> In 1960 *Kenya Broadcasting Corporation* (KBC) was formed. It was nationalized by an act of parliament in 1963 and became *Voice of Kenya* in 1964. It was renamed *Kenya Broadcasting Corporation* in 1989 and operates as a public corporation (Wanyeki 2000).

<sup>52</sup> Two private free-to-air-terrestrial channels (*Kenya Television Network* (KTN), and *Stellavision TV Africa* (STV) expanded their services to Nyeri District. However, both channels were not operational at the time of last field research in 2002 but arrived in 2003.

coming more common among upper middle class dwellers. They offer a wide variety of mainly pirate copies of action movies or thrillers from the United States and Nigeria or video films of religious content. The average price for a DVD is 500 Ksh; videotapes cost an average of 300 Ksh. A customer, who once bought a video tape or DVD, is entitled to exchange it afterwards, thus becoming member of a kind of lending service. 50 Ksh are charged for exchanging a film.

Table 1: Electronic mass media on the air in Nyeri District (August 2002)<sup>53</sup>

Channel	L	Programs	Status	Creation	Area of Reception	Proprietor
<b>Television</b> KBC TV	E,S	News, current affairs, education, entertainment (sitcoms, movies, quiz shows, talk shows), sports	parastatal	1963	countrywide	KBC.
KBC II (Pay-Channel)	E	3 channels (M-Net, Movie Magic, Supersports) sports, music, movies, entertainment	"	1995	subscribers	"
DStv (Pay-Channel)	E	25 channels (including BBC, CNN, Skynews, MTV, Supersports, Movie Magic etc.) news, movies, music, sport, entertainment	private	1996	subscribers	MultiChoice
<b>Radio</b> KBC National Service	S	News, current affairs, education, entertainment	parastatal	1960	countrywide	KBC
KBC English Service	E	"	"	"	"	"
KBC Central Service	K, Ka, Ma, Me, Em	Translations of <i>National Service</i> , local content	"	"	Central Province, Nairobi	"
Metro FM	E,S	Music, news, entertainment	"	1996	Nairobi, Mombasa, Kisumu, Nakuru, Eldoret, Nyeri	"
Coro FM	K	Music, news, entertainment	"	2001	Nairobi, Central Province	"
Citizen FM	E,S	Music, news, entertainment	private	1999	Nairobi, Mt. Kenya region	Royal Media Services
Nation FM	E,S	Music, news, entertainment	private	1999	Nairobi, Mt. Kenya region	Nation Media Group
Kiss 100 FM	E	Music, entertainment,	private	2000	Nairobi, Nyeri, Eldoret, Kisumu	Radio Africa Ltd.
Kameme FM	K,S, E	Music, cultural education, information	private	2000	Nairobi, Central Province	Regional Reach Ltd.

A = Arabic, E = English, Em = Kiambu, Ka = Kikamba, K = Kikuyu, L = Language, Ma = Maasai, Me = Kimeru, S = Swahili

<sup>53</sup> Information provided in this table stem from KBC 2004, BBC 2002, Moggi & Tessier 2001, and Wanyeki 2000.

---

***Internet***

The first Internet provider launched Internet services in Kenya at the end of 1995. Since that time several companies emerged and competition in the Internet business led to the rapid spread of the Internet in major towns (Odhiambo 2002: 310).

Mass media houses were fast using the Internet to support their media products and several of the aforementioned TV and radio stations have websites in the Internet, some of them offering audio live streaming of programs. Furthermore, the two largest daily newspapers *Daily Nation* and *East African Standard* have online editions in the Internet.

Cyber cafés are available in the larger urban centers of Nyeri District. However, due to comparatively high charges Internet access is restricted to an urban elite. Browsing the Internet for 30 minutes, for instance, costs an average of 200 Ksh in Nyeri. Mostly young people visit the Internet cafés to use Internet facilities for personal communication with family members and friends abroad. Due to slow and unreliable connections the Internet is not widely used as a source of information or entertainment as it is in Nairobi (with fares considerably lower than in Nyeri and connections fast and reliable) where cyber cafés are crowded with young people extensively surfing the Internet.

***Print media and book infrastructure***

The print media available in Nyeri District include non-fiction and fiction books produced in Kenya as well as imported titles (basically from the United States or Great Britain), imported magazines, Kenyan press products of nationwide distribution and locally produced weekly, biweekly or monthly tabloid papers.

The availability of books is restricted to the urban areas of Nyeri District. Ten well-stocked bookshops are registered in Nyeri, two of which specialize in Christian literature. In Karatina nine bookshops sell reading material. Six bookshops are registered in Othaya, two in Mukurwe-inĩ, two in Naro Moru and one each in Mweiga and Endashara (totaling 31 bookshops in Nyeri District).

*Figure 5: Bookshop, Nyeri<sup>54</sup>*

Bookshops offer print products, stationary supplies, and several products unrelated to books and reading material including a variety of greeting cards,<sup>55</sup> wrapping paper, gift items, decoration materials (posters, inscribed plaques), sports equipment (footballs, rackets, tricots etc.), toys, musical instruments and tapes. According to the booksellers these supplementary products are the better business throughout the year. Bookselling is reported to be seasonal with sales highest in the first three months of the year, when the new school term starts and textbooks must be bought.

Regarding the reading material sold, the bookshops rely heavily on textbooks. All titles assigned for both primary and secondary school are available. Booksellers report that they basically target schools, headmasters and teachers. Private schools are considered to be better customers than public schools, because they usually recommend and buy books besides those found in the curriculum.

Assuming that booksellers would attempt to attract book buyers by displaying products they feel would be most appealing to their customers, the way books are displayed in the bookshops can reveal information about the major interests of readers. The different value of book categories is obvious in the way books are presented in the bookshops. Textbooks and a variety of Christian literature are usually presented at prominent places such as the shop window. The latter category covers the Bible, hymn and prayer books, texts on Christian living and

<sup>54</sup> All photographs reprinted with permission of the individuals shown.

<sup>55</sup> There is even a shop in Nyeri specializing in and selling nothing but cards, e.g. success cards, seasonal cards, greeting cards etc. This indicates that the literacy practice to send cards is highly developed. The price of cards varies between 50 and 150 Ksh.

Christian novels. While the Bible is usually available in Kikuyu, Swahili and English, most titles of Christian literature are imports from the United States and Great Britain written in English. The majority of locally produced Christian materials are written in English too. However, some booklets of Christian content, produced by the Catholic Church are available in the bookshops of Nyeri District.<sup>56</sup> In the field of secular fiction, imported novels of American and British bestseller authors (Jeffrey Archer, Sydney Sheldon, Robert Ludlum, Danielle Steel, James Hardly Chase etc.) as well as imported children's books (*Ladybird Series*, *Hardy Boys*, *Famous Five*, *Secret Seven* and *Goosebumps Series*) are displayed in shop windows whereas African writers (Chinua Achebe, Ngugi wa Thiong'o, John Kiriama etc.) are usually kept in less prominent places. Reading material in Kikuyu are only openly displayed at some Christian bookshops. Although a limited amount of fiction (storybooks, booklets and novels, e.g. Wanjau 1951, 1970, 1976-1985; Thiong'o 1980, 1982, 1984, 1986, Thiong'o & Mirii 1980) and non-fiction (e.g. about Kikuyu culture and history, Wanjau 1960, 1983<sup>57</sup>; Gathigira 1986, Kinyatti 1998) written in Kikuyu are available, they are not openly displayed and only presented on customer's demand.

In most shops, the books are stored in shelves behind the counter or in showcases. Thus, customers have to ask the shop assistants, if they want to have a closer look at the books. In some shops, novels and books are wrapped in plastic wrap so that customers cannot go through the books and can check the book covers only. Asking booksellers whether this practice that makes it impossible for readers to see into the books, does not prevent customers from getting interested in books and buying them, booksellers report that most customers hardly come to stroll around the shelves checking for new titles to buy. Rather customers are said to visit the bookshop with a list of books necessary to buy for their school going

---

<sup>56</sup> The Catholic Mission started a printing press in Nyeri in 1916 (Ndegwa 1973: 11), which is still operating.

<sup>57</sup> Gakaara wa Wanjau won the *Noma Award for Publishing in Africa* in 1983 for its Kikuyu book *Mwandiki wa Mau Mau ithaamĩrio-inĩ* (later translated as 'Mau Mau Author in Detention'). The Noma Award is endowed with 10,000 USD and was founded in 1979 by the Japanese publisher Shoichi Noma. The aim of the award is to encourage the publication of works by African writers and scholars within rather than outside Africa. Authors must be indigenous to Africa and a publisher domiciled on the African continent or its offshore islands must have published each book submitted for the prize. Any work written in any indigenous or official language of Africa is eligible.

children. They are said to immediately approach shop assistants to collect the required books.

In addition to bookshops, several churches of different denominations sell religious texts and Christian pamphlets, which are sometimes recommended during church service. The majority of these publications are available in English or Swahili, and few texts produced in Kikuyu.

The average price of a textbook read in school ranges from 80 to 200 Ksh, imported novels are sold from 150 to 600 Ksh, whereas the price of novels by African writers ranges between 150 and 300 Ksh. Non-fiction titles produced by African publishers cost between 150 and 600 Ksh. Imported non-fiction titles sell for 300 up to 900 Ksh. Children's books are offered starting from 80 going up to 150 Ksh.

Correlating the aforementioned book prices and income levels within the district (see above), it becomes clear that books are hardly affordable to the bulk of the population. Taking the income derived from small scale farming, which employs the majority of the labor force in the district, estimated at 1,400 Ksh per month, a children's book costing e.g. 110 Ksh amounts to 8% of the monthly income, a textbook of 140 Ksh makes up 10%, a novel written by an African writer costing 220 Ksh 16%, an imported novel written by a Western writer with a price of 380 Ksh 27% and an imported non-fiction title of 600 Ksh amounts to 43% of the monthly income of a small scale farmer.

### ***Second hand book dealers***

As an alternative to the regular bookshops, second hand book dealers established their businesses in the urban centers of the district. They specialize in second hand textbooks for people unable to afford the prices in regular bookstores. Apart from the novels and plays required for class work, few fiction titles are available at their stalls. Instead, second hand dealers sell maps, educational posters (e.g. introducing the alphabet) and decoration pictures.



*Figure 6: Second hand book dealers, Nyeri*



### ***Street vendors and pavement sellers***

In the urban centers several newspaper and magazine vendors offer the Kenyan newspapers *Daily Nation*, *Taiifa Leo*, *East African Standard*, sometimes *People* and *Kenya Times*, the nationwide monthly magazines such as *Parents*, *Today in Africa* etc., imported periodicals including *Times*, *Newsweek*, *Drum*, *Ebony* etc., and regional newspapers both in English and Kikuyu (see Table 2, p.64, for an overview).

The magazine sector is the most diverse segment of the press market. Several publications targeting different groups of readers by various subjects compete for an audience. The oldest and most influential Kenyan magazine is *Parents*, which set up the family-entertainment line of business in 1986. It boasts a circulation rate of 50,000 copies per month. It deals with topics such as family, relationship, sexuality and health. The banner headline of *Parents* usually luridly announces a would-be true story about a person's experience often including sexual episodes. The magazine also gives advice on health issues (most importantly on HIV/Aids), childcare, beauty, social issues etc. The success of the magazine made it a role model for other products that entered the market. The Christian magazines *Today in Africa*, *Revival Springs*, *Victory*, *Miracle*, *Maximum Miracle* and *God's Champions*, comprise the most competitive segment of the magazine market with six publications. Some Christian magazines copy the *Parents'* formula of success with stories about sexual abuse, rape, divorce etc. Furthermore, testimonies of occultism, bedevilment, exorcism and miraculous incidents are printed and advice on leading a Christian lifestyle is given. A rather male audience is targeted

by magazines of pornographic content. *Secret Emotions* and *Seen* magazines contain pornographic pictures and explicit sex stories sometimes supplemented by drawings and sketches. Apart from their glossy front pages in full color they are imperfectly printed on low quality paper. Circulated with around 5,000 copies per month, they range within the middle price category of magazines. The pornographic magazines are displayed and sold openly by street vendors. The entertainment magazine sector is supplemented by imported magazines such as *Drum* (South Africa) and *Ebony* (United States) priced well above the average price of nationally produced magazines. Political and business magazines produced in Kenya include *Wajibu* (Swahili for ‘something morally correct’) and *Finance* plus the imported news magazines *Times*, *Guardian Weekly*, *Newsweek* and *New Economist*. A variety of special interest publications include *The Lawyer*, *Farmer’s Guide*, *Farmer’s Journal* and *Eco Forum*.

Figure 7: Kenyan monthly magazines



Additionally, a variety of regionally produced weekly and monthly papers are available in Nyeri District, which according to the street vendors are popular with the readers. They constitute a remarkably low-price segment within the press market with prices ranging between 20 and 30 Ksh. Printed on low quality paper, the quality of printing is often low and the standards of layout and presentation normally do not reach those of mainstream papers. Their articles are mostly unsigned containing regional news (among them sensational stories of sex and crime), political commentary, business news etc.

These publications, e.g. *Mountain Voice*, *The Summit*, *The Flame*, *The Weekly Monitor*, *Weekly Wembe* (Swahili for ‘razor’) – all written in English - are easily available in the urban centers of the district. Their editors report circulation rates ranging between 200 and 500 copies in the Mount Kenya region. Selling advertisement space covers the cost of production for regional newspapers. The regional Nyeri and Karatina newspapers, for instance, publish advertisements for local businesses and retailers, e.g. hotels, bars, supermarkets, motor services, computer and secretarial courses etc. According to information provided by the vendors, there is a high fluctuation in the market of locally produced newspapers, which are usually related to a political party or politicians on a regional or national level. Many papers emerge, only to sell for a short time before facing difficulties with local authorities due to political content or registration matters. Following the confrontation with authorities, the papers disappear for a while and relaunch a few weeks later under a new name. In 2002, in the run up to the Kenyan elections held in December 2002, the availability of regional newspapers was high due to the enhanced interest of people in political issues.

Figure 8: Regional weekly newspapers, Nyeri District



Compared to the regional newspapers in English newspaper publishing in African languages is more constant. Since 1916, for instance, the Catholic church publishes the monthly Kikuyu language newspaper *Wathiomo Mũkinyu* ‘A true friend has arrived’ in Nyeri. The Catholic church also publishes *Mwĩhoko* ‘Believe’. Both newspapers cover church affairs and religious content besides national politics and events. Kikuyu newspapers of political and regional content include *Mũiguithania* ‘The Reconciler’, which was launched as early as 1928 (Pugliese 2003: 97), and *Kĩhooto* ‘Justice’. Both cover current national politics and regional affairs. These political papers and especially *Mũiguithania* stand in the tradition of the early Kikuyu political press, which led to what Pugliese called “the great age of vernacular publication” (Pugliese 2003: 97), referring to the time between 1945 and 1952, that is from the budding of Kikuyu anti-colonial political agitation to the outbreak of the Mau Mau liberation war against the British colonial government between 1952 and 1959. In that time, political pamphlets mostly in Kikuyu, mimeographed weekly newspapers, and collections of Kikuyu political songs mushroomed in Central Kenya and Nairobi as a means of political campaigning in support of the first African political associations such as the *Kenyan African Union* (KAU)<sup>58</sup> (Pugliese 2003: 97). From 1951 to 1953 several editors and printers were brought to court and detained by the colonial government on charges of publishing subversive articles. At the end of 1953 all African newspapers were banned by the British colonial government (Pugliese 2003: 98). Thus, the influence of these small-scale publications seems to have had an impact on their audience which the British were anxious about. A varied press in African languages, however, did not re-emerge after independence (Gadsden 1980: 532).

---

<sup>58</sup> In 1944 the *Kenya African Study Union* (KASU) was founded and changed its name to *Kenya African Union* (KAU) in 1945. It was the first attempt to form a nationwide African political party in Kenya demanding independence and multiethnic nationhood (Ogot 2003: 16).

Figure 9: Regional publications in Kikuyu



Considering the aforementioned plethora of regional weekly political newspapers published in English (*The Summit*, *The Flame*, *Weekly Wembe* etc.), however, it seems that the pre-independent tradition of political discourse through the regional press lives on in Nyeri District, yet no longer in Kikuyu, but in English. Interestingly, the editor of *Wathiomo Mũkinyu* explained that the editorial staff decided to introduce a two page ‘Youth Forum’ to their Kikuyu newspaper that aims at young readers. The two pages are written in English, because the editorial staff felt that young Kikuyu speakers would not be able to read the forum in Kikuyu due to limited reading skills in their first language. The aforementioned regional Kikuyu newspapers are found in urban and rural places. In the latter the distribution of nationwide daily newspapers is erratic. Some rural shopping centers are infrequently supplied with nationwide newspapers, mostly the Swahili daily *Taifa Leo* and infrequently *Daily Nation* or *East African Standard*. Rather people, who return from town or who visit their rural homes for a weekend or a holiday than professional distributors provide the bulk of newspapers in the rural areas.

Table 2: Press available in Nyeri (August 2002)<sup>59</sup>

Printmedia	Title	L	Cirulation	Price (Ksh)	Volume (p)	Content	
<b>Daily news-papers</b> <i>a) nationwide</i>	The Daily Nation <sup>1</sup>	E	200 000	35	40 NC	Nat.+intern. pol., sport,entert.	
	East African Standard	E	54 000	35	40 NC	"	
	The People	E	40 000	30	30 NC	"	
	Kenya Times	E	30 000	30	20 NC	"	
	Taifa Leo <sup>1</sup>	S	32 000	15	16 NC		
<b>Weekly newspapers</b> <i>a) nationwide</i>	The East African <sup>1</sup>	E	30 000	60	40 NC	Nat. + intern. pol. (EAC)	
	Teacher's Weekly	E	15 000	50	32 NC	Nat. politics, education	
	God's Army	E		30	16 NC	Nat. politics, crusades	
	The Eagle	E		30	12 NC	"	
	Weekly Citizen	E		30	24 NC	Nat. politics, sex + crime	
	Kenya Confidential	E		20	16NC	"	
	The Independent	E		20	16 NC	"	
	The Mirror	E		20	16 NC	"	
	<i>b) regional</i>	Weekly Wembe	E	200	20	16 NFC	Nat. pol., reg. news, busin.
		Weekly Monitor	E		20	12 NFC	"
		Weekly Kasuku	E	200	20	8 NFC	"
		The Weekly Summit	E	200	20	20 NFC	"
		The Flame	E	200	20	16 NFC	"
	<i>c) imported</i>	Firimbi (fourtnightly)	E	500	20	12 NFC	"
		Guardian Weekly (UK)	E		200	32 NC	Intern. pol., business, arts
		Newsweek (USA)	E		200	72 HC	"
		Time (USA)	E		200	76 HC	"
		New Economist (USA)	E		340	72 HC	"
	<b>Monthly publications</b> <i>a) nationwide</i>	Parents <sup>1</sup>	E	50 000	100	36 FHC	Family, real life,health
Today in Africa		E	10 000	60	30 FHC	Christ.living, miracles,	
Revival Springs <sup>1</sup>		E	10 000	60	32 FHC	"	
Victory		E		60	30 FHC	"	
Miracle		E		60	30 FHC	"	
God's Champions		E		80	32 HC	"	
Emotions <sup>1</sup>		E	5 000	60	30 FHC	Pornography	
Seen		E		60	30 HC	"	
The Lawyer		E		100	32 FHC	Law and court news	
Farmer's Journal		E		80	32 FHC	Agricultural news	
EcoForum (quarterly)		E		150	40 FHC	Environmental issues	
Finance (fortnightly)		E		100	32 HC	Nat. pol., economy	
Wajibu (quarterly)		E	10 000	80	32 FHC	Nat. pol., economy	
Mountain Voice		E		50	32 HC	Nat. pol., reg. news,	
The Missionary		E	600	20	12 NFC	Church news, reg.events	
Wathiomo Mũkinyu		K	20 000	20	16 NFC	News Nyeri Diocese,	
Mwĩhoko		K		20	16 NFC	News Mweiga Diocese	
Mũiguithania		K		30	16 NFC	Nat. politics, reg news,	
Kĩhooto		K		20	16 NFC	"	
<i>d) imported</i>		Drum (RSA)	E		230	144 HC	Entert, lifestyle, fashion
		Ebony (USA)	E		320	168 HC	"

C = Colour print, E = English, F = Frontpage, H = High Gloss Paper K = Kikuyu, Ksh = Kenyan Shillings (in 2002: 1 USD ~ 79 Ksh; 1 Euro ~ 76 Ksh), L = Language, N = Newspaper format, P = Page, S = Swahili, <sup>1</sup> = distributed also in Uganda and Tanzania

<sup>59</sup> Information provided in this table stem from Moggi & Tessier (2001) as well as from personal communication with editors and marketing directors of Kenyan magazines and regional newspapers published in English and L1.

### ***Libraries***

Nyeri hosts the *Kenya National Library Service* (KNLS)<sup>60</sup> provincial library branch of the Central Province with 43,528 books in stock and 6,729 registered adult and 4,892 junior readers.<sup>61</sup> Smaller KNLS Karatina Divisional Library has a stock of 13,157 books with 899 adult and 4,286 registered junior readers<sup>62</sup>. Library services are provided free of charge to private persons. The libraries are open to everyone to use KNLS' services at the library's premise. In order to use the lending service and to take books home for reading, however, one has to become a registered member. No fees are charged for registration or membership, but affiliation to a school, a company, an employer or a recommendation by a person in a responsible public position has to be proved. Registered members are entitled to lend two books at a time for two weeks, with the possibility of extending the loan period.<sup>63</sup>

Pupils, who visit the library in the afternoons to review textbooks and to do their homework, mainly frequent the two public libraries of the district. Comparatively few adult readers visit the library premises. During lunch break, however, men ranging from their early 30s to their late 50s meet to read the daily newspapers that are displayed for reading in the entrance area of the Nyeri library. The rural areas of the district are served by mobile library services. From the Nyeri library, a mobile bus service is operating, which regularly connects a number of schools on different routes in the district. Teachers, pupils as well as registered private persons are entitled to use the service and to lend books.

---

<sup>60</sup> KNLS is a state corporation that was established by an Act of Parliament in 1965 with the aim to develop and provide countrywide library and information services. Since 2003 KNLS runs a total of 34 public libraries including 8 provincial libraries, 9 district libraries and 17 divisional libraries. Two among the district libraries and all divisional libraries are community based, meaning that the community provides land, buildings and furniture, while KNLS provides an initial book stock, trained staff and money to meet recurrent expenditures to run the community based libraries. The expansion of the library network is constantly targeted at (KNLS 2004a).

<sup>61</sup> Figures provided by courtesy of KNLS Nyeri provincial library branch.

<sup>62</sup> Figures provided by courtesy of KNLS Karatina divisional library branch.

<sup>63</sup> A booklet in English titled 'KNLS Library Guide', which can be obtained in KNLS libraries, provides all regulations plus information on how to use KNLS libraries.

The Karatina library runs a school-book-box-program that provides rural schools with reading material, which was jointly purchased by surrounding rural schools, using boxes transported by motorcycle to deliver and collect the books. Books and reading material available in KNLS' libraries comprise a wide range of materials, as all categories of readers are aimed at. The book stock includes fiction, non-fiction, reference material, periodicals etc. However, due to limited budgets only few new titles can be purchased by KNLS libraries, resulting in a slow pace of the renewal of stock, high amounts of outdated titles and many outworn books, which are hardly appealing to the readers. Book donations, which KNLS receive from local publishers and international organizations such as *Book Aid International* (BAI)<sup>64</sup> bring some relief. Yet, they cannot hide the problems of an underfinanced library.

Books are divided into an adult and a children's book section and special services for the visually impaired offer Braille texts. The books are stored in shelves, arranged according to subjects and are open to the public. Lending statistics of the Nyeri library adult section (for the years 1997 - 1999<sup>54</sup>) allow speculating on readers' interests by examining the most frequently used titles. The most frequently borrowed books relate to the categories 1) 'Technology/Applied Science' (including business and management, engineering, medical sciences and home economics) 2) 'English Fiction' (including novels by Western and African writers), 3) 'Pure Sciences' (including textbooks relevant in schools such as mathematics, chemistry, physics etc.), 4) 'Social Sciences' (including commerce, statistics, public administration, political sciences, law, education etc.) and 5) 'Religion' (including Christian theology, Christian moral and devotional theology, history of church etc.) in that order. According to the librarians, the popularity of technology titles stems from the fact, that these books are usually imported and extremely expensive in bookshops. The library, however, is well provided with this category as it frequently receives donations from abroad. Thus, readers are attracted by comparatively new titles, which are unaffordable in the bookshops.

---

<sup>64</sup> *Book Aid International* started operations as *Ranfurlly Library Service* in 1954 on the private initiative of the Countess of Ranfurlly whose husband at that time was governor of the Bahamas. She started a donated book scheme asking friends to send surplus books from Great Britain and distributed them to schools and libraries in need of reading material. The program was expanded in the 1960s to different countries of the South. In 1994 the service changed its name to *Book Aid International* (Book Aid International 2003).



---

Schoolchildren are reported to come for English fiction looking for adventure stories to read for recreational purposes. As this section of materials is easy to get and to afford, the library has a big variety and more new titles come in than in other subject areas making this category attractive to readers. 'Pure Science' is said to be well used, because the category comprises a high number of materials relevant in school. Thus, books are useful to schoolchildren, whereas an interest in commerce is reported to cause high lending from the 'Social Sciences' category. Commerce is relevant in accountancy and secretarial training, which are a very popular form of advanced vocational training among urban dwellers trying to qualify for well paying jobs as clerks or accountants. Lastly, a general interest in Christian topics is held responsible for the high interest in religious titles.

The majority of books in stock are provided in English. Exceptions are two categories labeled 'Swahili Fiction' and 'Language'. The latter comprises linguistics, foreign European language materials and publications in African languages, including those spoken in Kenya. However, frequency of lending is considerably lower in these categories compared to the aforementioned high ranking categories.

### ***Commercial libraries***

A unique kind of commercial library service was found in Karatina where two businesses hire out novels. The system works as follows: customers who want to hire books register and leave a deposit of 400 or 450 Ksh or the average price of an imported novel in a bookshop. For each book borrowed registered users pay a fee of 50 Ksh for one week of usage. Extending the lending period costs another 50 Ksh. The deposit is returned when customers declare that they want to quit the service. Both book hires are side-businesses located in shops dealing in other goods and services. Novels by Western authors were the only books available for hire. The shopkeepers report that the business of hiring out novels is best during holiday seasons, when school and university students spend their holidays with their parents.

*Figure 10: Commercial libraries, Karatina*



### **3.1.2 Books at the shores of Lake Victoria: Kisumu District**

Kisumu District is located in Nyanza Province in Western Kenya and consists of 504,359 inhabitants (Republic of Kenya 2001a: xxxiii). The district stretches along Lake Victoria and is topographically divided into a lowland (Kano Plains) and midland area (Maseno and Kombewa). The economy is based on agriculture (food-crop farming, rice, sugar cane, cotton, coffee-growing and livestock keeping) supplemented by fishing, limestone mining and agri- and chemical-based industrial production (Republic of Kenya 2002b). The main commercial activities undertaken in the district include boarding and lodging, wholesale and retailing. Posho milling, knitting and tailoring are important income-creating activities in the informal business sector. Kisumu District is severely plagued by the HIV/Aids pandemic. Based on sentinel surveillance of HIV/Aids in antenatal clinics HIV/Aids prevalence in Kisumu<sup>65</sup> is 27 % and it is among the highest in the country (figures for 1999, UNAIDS 2002). It seriously affects social as well as economic development.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>65</sup> Without further specifications Kisumu refers to the city of Kisumu, while Kisumu District refers to the whole of the district.

<sup>66</sup> For further details on the impact of HIV/Aids on the economic development of Kenya see Were & Mafula (2003).

The character of Kisumu District is molded by the weight of Kisumu city.<sup>67</sup> Kisumu is the major urban center in Western Kenya, the third largest city of the country (following Nairobi and Mombasa), capital of the Nyanza Province and administrative headquarter of Kisumu District with a steadily growing urban population of 322,734 inhabitants (Republic of Kenya 2001c: 25). The main attraction to Kisumu is due to the availability of employment, business opportunities, colleges and training institutions (e.g. Kisumu Polytechnic). As a result, people from all over the country reside and earn a living in Kisumu. The public mini-bus transport, for instance, is known to be the domain of Kikuyu migrant laborers. Furthermore, Kisumu is home to a significant Asian community.<sup>68</sup> Many bookshops in Kisumu are owned and run by Asian families for a long time. Maseno is the second urban center of the district with a population of 2,689 inhabitants (Republic of Kenya 2001c: 25). Maseno hosts the Maseno University, one of the 6 public universities of the country. Like in other major urban centers the level of income in Kisumu lies above earnings in rural areas. Nevertheless, poverty is prevailing in urban parts of Kisumu city, e.g. in Manyatta, in rural Maseno, as well as in some rural areas of Kadibo Division, which suffer from unreliable and scanty rains combined with seasonal flooding. An estimated 63% of the Kisumu population live in absolute poverty<sup>69</sup> making it the urban center with the highest prevalence of absolute poverty in Kenya (Republic of Kenya 2002b).

### ***Education***

Närmann (1995: 212) describes the state of education in Kisumu District at independence as average with improvements made in the following decades. Due to its major urban center, the district was well provided for with government maintained primary and secondary schools and it attracted many private schools. In

---

<sup>67</sup> On the occasion of the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the arrival of the railway at Port Florence (the former name of Kisumu) on December 20th 2001 Kisumu town was given city status (*Daily Nation*, December 20, 2001).

<sup>68</sup> About 32,000 Indians were brought to East Africa at the end of the 19th century by the British colonizers to build a railway track from the coastal town of Mombasa inland to Port Florence at Lake Victoria. Between 1896 and 1901 these Indian laborers, many of whom had already experience of building railways in India, laid 582 miles of railway under harsh labor conditions. According to records, four workers died for each mile of line laid, resulting in a total of about 2,500 dead laborers. When the railway was completed, thousands of Indians entered into farming or went into business. For further details see Gregory (1993).

<sup>69</sup> Defined as the level of poverty at which certain minimum expenditures to sustain a living, e.g. nutrition, health and shelter cannot be met.

1998 primary school gross enrolment in Nyanza Province lied at 92.9% (UNESCO 1999). However, it is estimated that in the three major urban centers including Kisumu 40% to 60% of the children living in slum areas, do not go to school (Ruto 2004: 5). The literacy level for the Kisumu district is estimated at 86.5% of the adult population (98% male, 75% female) (Republic of Kenya 2002b) and lies slightly above the national literacy level estimated at 82% (estimates for 2000, UIS 2004).

Several governmental bodies, NGOs, churches and private groups in both rural and urban areas of Kisumu district provide adult education. In urban Kisumu growing poverty lead to the mushrooming of non-formal schools<sup>70</sup> from the late 1990s on totaling 51 non-formal schools in 2002 (Ruto 2004: 48). In the urban non-formal schools of Kisumu English and Swahili are utilized as media of instruction, although switching to Luo in lower classes is reported to be common (Ruto 2004:152).

### *Language setting*

Kisumu District, Siaya District and South Nyanza District constitute the main catchment area of the ethnolinguistic Luo community in Western Kenya. The Nilotic language Luo<sup>71</sup> is the dominant language in the region and first language to the majority of the district's population. In rural areas it is used as medium of instruction in the first three years of primary school and it is the language commonly used in everyday life.

Different from language use in the rural areas, the multiethnic character of Kisumu leads to a high degree of multilingual language use. In the streets of the city it is common to hear different African languages, such as Luo, neighboring

<sup>70</sup> NGOs, local communities or religious organizations run non-formal schools. The schools aim at encouraging basic literacy, numeracy and lifelong skills targeting school dropouts or non-enrolled children or young adults ( Ruto 2004: 5).

<sup>71</sup> Luo belongs to the Western Nilotic sub-branch of the Nilotic branch of the Eastern Sudanic family. Eastern Sudanic itself is a sub-branch of the Chari-Nile branch of Nilo-Saharan (Bender 1996). A prominent feature of the language is its nine-vowel system [ $\pm$ ATR] with vowel harmony. Luo is also a tone language distinguishing high, mid and low tone levels. Languages related to Luo such as Adhola, Kuman, Acholi, Alur, Lango (Southern Luo) and Anuak, Bor, Jur, Burun, Maban Shilluk, Thuri, Pãri (Northern Luo) are found in Uganda and the Sudan. Two mutually intelligible regional varieties of Luo can be distinguished: the South Nyanza and Trans-Yala dialect. The former is regarded as standard and used in publications and literature (Okoth-Okombo 1997: 2). Loanwords in Luo are mainly borrowed from English as well as Swahili (Kembo-Sure 1992, Owino 2003).

Ekegusii or even Kikuyu in conversations between speakers of the same ethnolinguistic community. In interethnic oral communication Swahili and English are used. English is dominant in written communication and in official domains. City schools either use English or Swahili as media of instruction from the first class of primary school on. Church services<sup>72</sup> are offered either in English, Swahili or Luo.

Concerning the use of Swahili among members of the Luo community it is a frequently referred to stereotype that Luo speakers do not speak good Swahili and avoid to use it. It is claimed that Luo speakers find it difficult to learn Swahili, because they speak a Nilotic language that structurally differs from the Bantu languages to which Swahili belongs. Low competency in Swahili is accredited especially to elderly people, who did not learn it at school, as the educational system did not promote Swahili before the introduction of the 8-4-4 system in 1984. At the same time, Luo are said to speak and admire proper English. And stereotypes describe them as well educated, keen and successful in all academic disciplines.

In written communication, English is used in official domains as well as in the professional and business sector. Swahili is used in some business domains, church and private communication. Luo is employed in church contexts and private correspondence between family members and friends. The 26 consonants of Luo are all represented by orthographic symbols (Okoth-Okombo 1997: 16), thus making it easy to interpret the consonant value of any written word. Regarding the vowel phonemes of Luo, however, the writing system does not differentiate between the tongue root position ([+ATR] and [-ATR]) and uses five symbols to represent the nine vowels of Luo. As a result many homographs occur, which can only be distinguished on the basis of the tongue root position. Tones too are not represented in the orthography. With regard to readability, however, Okoth-Okombo (1997:19) remarks that homographs and lack of tone marking seem not to disturb the Luo speakers in reading the language and he mentions that “native speakers read Dholuo very fluently when the words occur in contexts, much so that non-linguist speakers tend to believe that Dholuo is written exactly the way it

---

<sup>72</sup> Although no exact statistics of the religious affiliation of the ethnolinguistic Luo community are available, it is save to say that the majority of Luo are Christians belonging to either a protestant, catholic, pentecostal or independent church. Luo Muslims are a minority group.

is spoken” (Okoth-Okombo 1997: 19). He considers the lack of tone marking as an advantage allowing different readers to add their idiosyncratic or regional tonal feature to a written text rather than an obstacle to reading Luo.

### ***Mass media***

A slightly wider range of electronic and print mass media is available in Kisumu District compared to Nyeri District. Again this is due to the importance of Kisumu as the major urban center in Western Kenya with a considerable urban population.

### ***Electronic media***

Four TV channels are receivable in Kisumu District: two free-to-air terrestrial channels including KBC TV and private Stellavision TV Africa (STV), and two pay channels including KBC II and Digital Satellite Television (DStv). As has been mentioned above, the later are hardly affordable to the majority of the population.

Kisumu has a movie theatre screening European and Asian films in turns. Depending on time, seat, kind of movie etc. tickets cost between 200 and 300 Ksh. Just as in Nyeri District video libraries and DVD hires are many in Kisumu and consumers seem to prefer to watch video tapes and DVDs at home instead of going out. This might be due to the fact that hiring movies is cheaper than visiting the cinema with a whole family or with friends.

In the field of radio broadcasting, Kisumu District is provided by the KBC *National* and *English Service* aired in Nyeri District too. The regional KBC *Western Service* relays programs in Ekegusii, Kalenjin and Luo.<sup>73</sup> Further FM stations broadcasting in Kisumu District include parastatal *Metro FM*, private *Kiss 100 FM*, the international station British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), which broadcasts in English and Swahili and the religious channel *Sauti ya Rehema* (Swahili for ‘voice of mercy’) using Swahili, Kalenjin and Ekegusii in its programs.

---

<sup>73</sup> In 2003, *Citizen FM* targeting Luo speakers launched the Luo station *Ramogi FM*. However, the station had not started broadcasting at the time of the last field research in 2002.

Table 3: Electronic mass media on the air in Kisumu District (October 2002)<sup>74</sup>

Channel	L	Programs	Status	Creation	Area of Reception	Proprietor
<b>Television</b> KBC TV	E,S	News, current affairs, education, entertainment (sitcoms, movies, quiz shows, talk shows), sports	parastatal	1963	countrywide	KBC.
DStv (pay-channel)	E	25 foreign channels including BBC, CNN, Skynews, SuperSport, MTV etc. news, movies, music, sports, entertainment	private	1996	subscribers	Multi Choise Africa
KBC II (pay-channel)	E	3 channels (M-Net, Movie Magic, KTV Supersports) sports, music, movies, entertainment	parastatal	1995	subscribers	KBC
Stellavision TV Africa (STV)	E	News, entertainment, music, sports	private	1996	Nairobi, Mombasa, Kisumu	Hilary Ng'weno
<b>Radio</b> KBC National Service	S	News, current affairs, education, entertainment	parastatal	1960	countrywide	KBC.
KBC English Service	E	"	"	"	"	"
KBC Western Service	Eg, Kl, Lu	Translations of <i>National Service</i> , local content	"	"	Nyanza Province, Nairobi	"
Metro FM	E,S	Music, news, entertainment	"	1996	Nairobi, Mombasa, Kisumu, Nakuru, Eldoret, Nyeri	"
Kiss 100	E	Music, entertainment,	private	2000	Nairobi, Nyeri, Eldoret, Kisumu	Radio Africa Ltd.
Sauti ya Rehema	S, Kl, Eg	Religious programs, gospel music	private	1999	Eldoret, Western Kenya	African Inland Church
BBC	E,S	News, current affairs	international	2002	Nairobi, Mombasa, Kisumu	BBC

A = Arabic, E = English, Eg = Ekegusii, Kl = Kalenjin, L = Language, Lu = Luo, S = Swahili

<sup>74</sup> Information provided in this table stem from KBC 2004, BBC 2002, Moggi & Tessier 2001, and Wanyeki 2000.

### ***Internet***

Like in Nyeri District, Internet access is restricted to the urban centers, basically Kisumu where numerous Internet cafés are available. Charges are lower (one hour of Internet browsing costs around 300 Ksh) and the quality of Internet connections is better than in Nyeri District. Young people and foreigners (either tourists or expatriates) frequent the cyber cafés. Like in Nyeri, the Internet is basically used for email services. However, occasionally, the use of the Internet for information or entertainment can be observed.

### ***Print media and book infrastructure***

The range of print products available in Kisumu District equals that of Nyeri District comprising textbooks, fiction, children's books, magazines and newspapers from both Kenyan and foreign publishers.

There are nine bookshops registered in Kisumu, two of which specialize in Christian literature. Additionally, the Nakumatt Nyanza supermarket in Kisumu hosts a huge book section. Four bookshops including the Maseno University bookshop sell reading material in Maseno (totaling 15 bookshops in the Kisumu District).

*Figure 11: Advertisement of a bookshop, Kisumu*

<p><b>NYANZA LABORATORY SUPPLIES</b> P.O. Box 63 KISUMU Tel: 21210/21561 Fax 21578. OGINGA ODINGA ROAD</p> <p><b>SCHOOL SUPPLIES</b> <i>Suppliers of:</i> Laboratory Chemicals, Glassware Equipment, Stationery &amp; Sports Uniforms.</p>	<p><b>ILDAMAT</b></p> <p><b>WEEKLY ADVERTISER</b></p> <p>YOUR FREE COPY</p> <p>8th October 2001      Vol. 5 Issue No.17</p>	<p>Office &amp; School stationery Sports Equipment Laboratory Chemicals Textbooks Trophies Greeting Cards AT <b>FULCHAND K. SHAH BOOKSHOP</b> P.O. Box 123 Kisumu Oginga Odinga Road Tel: 44136/ 43417 Fax 21467</p>
--	---	--



Kisumu bookshops offer the same mixture of stationary, cards, sports items, decorations and books that has been described for Nyeri District. The bookshop advertisement in Figure 11 (previous page, right column) shows the importance of products on offer. Noticeably, novels or children's books are not mentioned in the advertisement. In the bookshops the books are displayed in the same manner as in Nyeri: imported non-fiction, fiction and Christian literature are displayed in prominent places such as the shop window, African authors in English are stored in less prominent places and titles in Luo (except from textbooks and the Swahili and Luo Bible) had to be asked for. Yet, when demanded, a variety of Luo titles are available including fiction by Grace Ogot (1981a, 1981b, 1983a, 1983b), Ase-neth Odaga (1983, 1989, 1993) and titles on the Luo culture and legends of Luo warriors (Mboya 1967, Ayany 1989).

Exceptional, however, is the *Nakumatt Nyanza* supermarket in Kisumu, which is the biggest superstore in Western Kenya. Customers of the supermarket usually belong to the urban elite, the Asian or the expatriate community of Western Kenya. *Nakumatt* has a spacious book section. All books sold are imported from Great Britain or the United States with not a single title produced in Africa in stock. Books, therefore, are exclusively English. Books are presented in huge sets of bookshelves. The section is subdivided into a children's corner (with a lounge inviting young customers to sit down and see through one of the laid out children's books), a magazine rack (that sells back issues of British teenage *Shout* magazine and *Beano* and *Dandy* comics) and a non-fiction and fiction section.

Figure 12: Supermarket book section, Kisumu



Banners are put up promoting a special offer called “Books First! – Mad about Books” making customers aware of a bargain that assures those, who buy three books a fourth one for free. Book prices range between 150 Ksh for children’s books, 900 Ksh for hardcovers and 1,500 Ksh for illustrated books of high quality. According to the head of the book section, people are mostly interested in self-help books in two fields: business and management; and nutrition, fitness and health. Fast moving titles in the field of fiction comprise mystery and crime (by authors such as John Grisham, Robert Ludlum, Agatha Christie etc.), romance (Danielle Steel, James Hadley Chase etc.) and children’s books.

### ***Second hand book dealers***

Around the Kisumu bus park secondhand book dealers offer a variety of textbooks and fiction used in schools, both in English and Swahili. Rarely novels by Western writers can be found among the products they offer. Additionally, maps, educational posters and decoration materials are sold.

### ***Street vendors***

Compared to Nyeri, a wider range of press products (listed in Table 4, p.77) is available in Kisumu in the field of national weekly newspapers (such as the *Independent*, *The Mirror* etc.) and especially regarding monthly magazines.

*Figure 13: Newspaper vendor, Kisumu*



Table 4: Press available in Kisumu (October 2002)<sup>75</sup>

Printmedia	Title	L	Circulation	Price (Ksh)	Volume (p)	Content		
<b>Daily newspapers</b>	The Daily Nation <sup>1</sup>	E	200 000	35	40 NC	Nat. + intern. pol., sports, entert.		
	East African Standard	E	54 000	35	40 NC	"		
	The People	E	40 000	30	30 NC	"		
	Kenya Times	E	30 000	30	20 NC	"		
	Taifa Leo <sup>1</sup>	S	32 000	15	16 NC	"		
<b>Weekly newspapers</b>	a) national	The East African <sup>1</sup>	E	30 000	60	40 NC	Nat. + intern. politics (EAC)	
		Teacher's Weekly	E		50	32 NC	National politics, Education	
		Weekly Citizen	E		20	16 NC	Nat. politics, sex and crime	
		The Independent	E		20	12 NC	"	
		The Mirror	E		30	24 NC	"	
		Kenya Confidential	E		20	12 NC	"	
		Kenyan Monitor	E		20	16 NC	"	
		The Kenya Star	E		20	16 NC	"	
		Tribune	E		20	12 NC	"	
		Dispatch	E		20	12 NC	"	
	c) imported	God's Army	E		30	16 NC	Nat. politics, church news etc.	
		The Eagle	E		25	12 NC	"	
		Guardian Weekly (UK)	E		200	32 NC	Intern. politics, business, arts	
		Newsweek (USA)	E		200	72 HC	"	
		Time (USA)	E		200	76 HC	"	
<b>Monthly publications</b>	a) national	Finance (fortnightly)	E	10 000	100	32 HC	Nat. politics, economy	
		The Parents <sup>1</sup>	E	50 000	100	36 FHC	Family + home, real life exper.	
		Family	E	15 000	100	36 HC	"	
		Eve	E	10 000	150	36 HC	Women, fashion + beauty	
		G – Women Magazine	E	10 000	150	36 HC	"	
		Today in Africa	E	10 000	60	30 FHC	Christian living, religious events	
		Revival Springs <sup>1</sup>	E	10 000	60	32 FHC	"	
		Victory	E		60	30 FHC	"	
		Miracle	E		60	30 FHC	"	
		Maximum Miracle	E		100	32 HC	"	
		God's Champions	E		80	32 FHC	"	
		Telecommunication	E	7 000	150	36 HC	Communication, PC, Internet	
		Motor	E	7 000	100	30 HC	Motorsports, cars, rallies	
		Emotions <sup>1</sup>	E	5 000	60	30 FHC	Pornography	
		True Love	E		60	30 FHC	"	
		Seen	E		60	30 FHC	"	
		b) regional	The Lawyer	E		100	32 FHC	Law and court news
			Farmer's Guide	E		80	32 FHC	Agricultural news
	Farmer's Journal		E		80	32 FHC	"	
	EcoForum (quarterly)		E		150	40 HC	Environmental issues	
	Wajibu (quarterly)		E		80	32 FHC	Nat. politics, economy	
	Otit Mach		Lu		20	16 NFC	Current affairs + politics	
	Rameny Piny		Lu		25	8NFC	"	
	c) imported		Ma Doko Tim?	Lu	2 000	20	12NC	Comic Luo traditions , modern life
			Drum (RSA)	E		230	144 HC	"
			Ebony (USA)	E		320	168 HC	Entertainment, lifestyle, fashion
							"	
							"	
							"	

C = Colour print, E = English, F = Frontpage, H = High Gloss Paper K = Kikuyu, Ksh = Kenyan Shillings (in 2002: 1 USD ~79 Ksh; 1 Euro ~ 76 Ksh), L = Language, N = Newspaper format, P = Page, S = Swahili, <sup>1</sup> = distributed also in Uganda and Tanzania

<sup>75</sup> Information provided in this table stem from Moggi & Tessier 2001 as well as from personal communication with editors and marketing directors of Kenyan magazines and regional newspapers published in English and L1.

High quality Kenyan magazines using full color print and high gloss paper in the field of entertainment e.g. *G-Women*, *Eve*, *Family* etc., Christian periodicals such as *God's Champions*, *Maximum Miracle* etc. and special interest publications e.g. *Telecommunication* and *Motors* target the better-funded urban population of Kisumu. All daily newspapers of nationwide distribution are available and imported weekly and monthly papers covering politics as well as entertainment and lifestyle, can be found.

The sector of regionally produced weekly newspapers in English that is so well developed in Nyeri District is missing. The function of these Nyeri papers, which is to provide political discussion and support certain political parties, however, is met by the Luo papers *Otit Mach* 'Light of the firefly' and *Rameny-Piny* 'The Torch'. Furthermore, a unique comic periodical called *Ma doko tim?* 'Is that right?' is sold in Kisumu District. The comic strips pick out the topic of tradition and modernity as a central theme. In a humorous way Luo traditions are challenged against the backdrop of the demands of modern living. A recurrent topic is the adequacy of some traditions with regard to the HIV/Aids pandemic.

Figure 14: Regional publications in Luo



In personal communication the editor of *Ma doko tim?* remarked that the use of Luo does not only allow him to reach urban and rural Luo alike, but that excluding members of other ethnolinguistic communities is the only way to publicly challenge Luo customs and to stimulate a debate among the Luo. According to him the comic is popular selling an average of 2,000 copies per month in the whole of Western Kenya.

---

### *Libraries*

Kisumu hosts the public KNLS provincial library of Nyanza Province as well as the British Council library. The KNLS library comprises a book stock of 41,957 books and 4,236 registered adult and 1,589 junior readers.<sup>67</sup> The same information and lending services as in Nyeri are provided to the public. A mobile bus is catering for the needs of readers in the rural areas. Lending statistics for the Kisumu KNLS adult section (1998-2000)<sup>76</sup> show a similar interest of readers as in Nyeri District. Most frequently borrowed titles related to: 1) Technology/Applied Sciences, 2) Social Sciences, 3) English Fiction, 4) Pure Sciences, 5) Religion. Again lendings from the field of 'Swahili Fiction' or 'Language' (including titles in African languages) are negligible.

The British Council library used to be the second lending library offering a variety of reading material including textbooks, general readers, novels etc. to the public. However, the library was restructured following discussions on the closing of the British Council in Kisumu in 2000. It reopened in May 2001 as a membership library (charging 3,800 Ksh p.a. for adult members) specializing in three subject areas: English language teaching, business, and information technology services. Targeted user groups include managers, businessmen, accountants, lawyers etc. and students preparing for studies in Great Britain. The materials offered comprise education and training materials, business guidebooks, accountancy materials etc. All titles are imported and written in English supporting career-oriented reading. Novels and children's books, which formerly invited readers to leisure reading before streamlining the library, were donated to KNLS and school libraries in Kisumu District.

---

<sup>76</sup> Figures provided by courtesy of KNLS Kisumu provincial library.

### **3.2 Talking about reading – approaching the subject**

Following the description of the reading environment of the two research sites in the preceding part, this section turns to findings stemming from qualitative group interviews conducted during the first phase of fieldwork. These interviews were meant to provide initial access to the field and to provide insights into the relevant aspects of reading in Nyeri and Kisumu District. This information was sought in order to use it for developing and adapting data collecting instruments employed in later phases of the study (interview guides and questionnaires). As such, the group interviews were planned as pilot studies, necessary to explore the field.

After conducting the first group interviews, however, it became apparent that the way informants talked about reading, especially in the interviews conducted in the first language of the informants (Kikuyu and Luo respectively), and the way they conceptualized reading and reading material was worth taking a closer look at, especially because concepts of reading were considered relevant for revealing information about the social image of reading, which was one research objective of this study. Thus, the group interviews were analyzed with an emphasis on terminology, language use and metaphorically structuring of the subject reading. The following section presents the research design and findings derived from the data.

#### **3.2.1 Research design**

The interviews were designed as group interviews. An interview guide was developed to stimulate a discussion on reading in the groups including three subject areas relating to language, reading habits and social environment (Appendix 1). The questions listed were not meant to be strictly followed one after the other, but to assist the interviewer during the course of the interview. It was attempted to provide space for group members to raise their own thoughts and the questions were formulated as general as possible in order not to bias interviewees' answers. Additionally, an observation sheet was developed to note details about the groups interviewed, occasion and setting of the interview, and details pertaining to the

course of the interview (Appendix 2). Research assistants<sup>77</sup> were employed in order to help in conducting the interviews and they were trained in interview techniques (interview control, probing, use of electronic device etc.) by me. The interview guide and the observation sheet were tested with four groups, two at each research site. The experiences made during the interviews were discussed with the research assistants and data collecting instruments were changed when necessary.

### ***Sampling and corpus***

In order to select groups, an investigation into the different sorts of existing group activities was carried out in both districts under investigation. For this purpose, different churches, youth organizations, NGOs and several individuals were asked about groups affiliated to their organizations or privately organized groups. From the multitude of groups found at each site a sample was chosen covering different areas of activities including church, sports, youth, work-related and self-help groups. Group leaders or members were contacted in advance to brief them about the project. Usually the group members discussed with the group whether they would agree to an interview. While groups were generally interested in participating, some church groups refused to take part explaining their denial with bad past experiences with Western researchers and journalists.

A total of 16 interviews were accomplished, eight in the Nyeri District and eight in the Kisumu District. Table 5 and Table 6 on the following pages describe the Kikuyu and Luo samples interviewed.

---

<sup>77</sup> A total of five research assistants helped in conducting the group interviews. For their work in Nyeri District I would like to thank Zipporah Wuthaya and Peter Ndegwa. Also I am grateful to Grace Opondo, Mary Atieno and Milton Steve Mao for assisting me in Kisumu District. The research assistants are briefly introduced in Appendix 3.

Table 5: Sample group interviews, Nyeri District

Group	Number of members (present/ participating)	Female/ Male (participating members)	Age span	Resi- dence	Occupation	Language (usually/interview)
<b>Main</b> Charity Youth [NYCH] <sup>°</sup>	7/4	3/1	20-30	rural	Small scale business, un- employed, secretary	K+E/K
Self-help Dressmaking [NYDR]	4/4	4/0	20-40	rural	Farmers, small scale business	K/K
Catholic Church [NYCU] <sup>°</sup>	8/4	1/3	25-35	rural	Farmers, teacher, small scale business	K/K
Horticultural self-help [NYHO]*	11/8	2/6	25-45	rural	Farmers, 1 agrarian advi- sor	K+S/K
SDA <sup>78</sup> Church Youth [NYSD]*	10/3	3/0	20-30	urban	Small scale business, dressmaker, unemployed	S/S
Knitting [NYKN]	7/4	4/0	20-40	urban	Small scale business	K/K
Touts <sup>79</sup> [NYTO]	4/4	0/4	20-40	urban	Touts	K/K
Anglican Pastors [NYPA]	3/3	0/3	30-40	urban	Pastors	S+E/E
<b>Total</b>	54/34	17/17	20-45	4U/4R		8K/1S/1E

K = Kikuyu, S = Swahili, E = English, U = urban, R = rural, \* = Group including non-L/K L1 speaker, ° = interview done without me

<sup>78</sup> Seventh Days Adventist (SDA) Church

<sup>79</sup> Touts are working at the main bus park in Nyeri. They are responsible to find customers and to direct them to the buses and taxis they are working with.



Table 6: Sample group interviews, Kisumu District

Group	Number of members (present/participating)	Female/Male (of participating members)	Age span	Residence	Occupation	Language (usually/interview)
Main Pente-coastal Bible Study [KIBI] <sup>°</sup>	9/9	3/6	20-55	rural	farmers, small scale business people	L, occasionally mixed with E/L
Kombewa <sup>80</sup> Women [KIWO]	6/5	5/0	25-35	rural	farmers, small scale business people	L / L
Posho Mill <sup>81</sup> Women [KIPO]	18/7	7/0	25-60	rural	farmers, small scale business people	L/L
Teachers [KITE]	11/8	4/4	30-60	rural	teachers,	L/E
Netball [KINE] <sup>°</sup>	12/5	5/0	20-30	urban	teachers, small scale business people, housewives, civil servants	L+E/L
Boda boda cyclists <sup>82</sup> [KIBO] <sup>°</sup>	6/6	0/6	20-40	urban	boda-boda cyclists	L/L
Kibuye <sup>83</sup> Hairdresser [KIHA]	6/6	6/0	25-40	urban	hairdressers	L + S/L
Pente-coastal Bible Study [KIST]*	5/5	2/3	30-40	urban	veterinarian, medical doctor, unemployed, house-wives	E/E
<b>Total</b>	73/51	32/19	20-60	4U/4R		8L/2E

L = Luo, S = Swahili, E = English, U = urban, R = rural, \* = Group including non-L/K L1 speaker, ° = interview done without me

<sup>80</sup> Kombewa is a rural division in the West of Kisumu District. It is also the name of the village in which the women live, which are organized in the group.

<sup>81</sup> Posho refers to grounded maize or maize flour that is produced by small millers active in the informal business sector. A dish known by the same name is prepared by cooking posho flour with water to a stiff porridge serving it with meat, vegetables or soup.

<sup>82</sup> In 2001 and 2002 so called boda boda bicycles were a common means of public transport in urban Kisumu as well as the surrounding rural areas. Boda boda transport spread in the whole of Western Kenya from its place of invention, the border crossing between Kenya and Uganda. There, travellers were not allowed to cross the border within the busses, in which they were travelling. Instead they were asked to walk through the no-man's land in order to re-enter a bus on the other side of the border. Cyclists with cushions on their carrier offered travellers a transfer service from one border post to the other. The term boda boda refers to this route.

<sup>83</sup> The main market in Kisumu and the surrounding urban area is called Kibuye.

In order to interpret the sample correctly some remarks are necessary regarding the understanding of rural and urban areas in this study.

A distinction between urban and rural places of residence was necessary, because it has been shown that the infrastructure of print products in towns differs significantly from the one found in villages in terms of amount of bookshops, street vendors, libraries etc. (see Chapter 3.1, p. 55 and p.74). Therefore, rural and urban places of residence were defined following two criteria: classification of local authorities (using population figures) and local knowledge. Thus, a place of residence was considered rural, when it was classified as rural by the district authorities and considered a rural place by the informants.

However, certain characteristics of the research sites have to be kept in mind. As mentioned before, the Nyeri District is densely populated (see Chapter 3.1.1). A fact that results in a continuum between urban, semi-urban and rural settlement areas in near reach of each other and connected by public transport rather than a clear-cut distinction between congested urban and scarcely inhabited rural areas. The same feature relates to Kisumu District, which is heavily influenced by urban Kisumu, the third largest city of the country (see Chapter 3.1.2), with a growing belt of semi-urban settlement at its outskirts. Furthermore, the attractiveness of Kisumu in terms of trade and job-opportunities, results in enhanced transport facilities from the rural areas of Kisumu District to the city. Thus, areas categorized as rural in this study were not extremely remote places. All of them were reached by public transport in not more than one-hour bus drive.

Regarding interviewee's membership to either the Kikuyu or Luo speaker community of the Nyeri and the Kisumu District, it has to be mentioned, that in two urban groups and one rural group one participating member each did not belong to the targeted ethnolinguistic community. Interestingly, in the urban groups, the presence of a non-L1 speaker resulted in the use of the second languages Swahili (in Nyeri) and English (in Kisumu) respectively, both in regular group meetings and in the interview situation. In rural areas Kikuyu was used in meetings and in interviews and only parts of the conversation were translated to Swahili for the non- L1 speaker. These differences in language use hint to the aforementioned dissimilarity between rural largely monolingual environments and multilingual

language use in urban areas (see p.49 and p.70 for a description of the language setting in both research areas). In rural areas, with L1 used as the dominant medium of daily conversation, the use of Swahili seems exceptional, whereas in urban centers the use of a second language tends to be a common conversational choice.

### *Realization of interviews*

The interviews were done at fixed dates during the regular group meetings either before or after the usual group activity and at the normal place of gathering. Interview length ranged between about ten and thirty minutes. All interviews were audio-recorded. The team of researchers carrying out an interview was usually made up by me and one research assistant fluent in the relevant languages of the research site (L1: Kikuyu or Luo, L2: Swahili and English). However, five out of sixteen interviews were conducted without me being present. As it was an aim of the group interviews to reveal information about the way people talk about the subject in their everyday life, it was necessary to offer to conduct the group interviews in all the languages people commonly use. Therefore, the groups were asked to choose the language themselves in which the interview would be conducted. The interview guide that was given to the research assistants was in English. However, it was not discussed with the assistants what terms to use in the L1 interviews. They were free to translate questions to L1 according to their L1-speaker intuition. All groups were rewarded for participation either by buying soda for the members or by donating the equivalent amount of money.<sup>84</sup>

Problems while conducting the interviews basically related to expectations of the groups interviewed towards me. While the groups were briefed in advance about the aims of the study and the interview process, the majority of the groups pursued self-interests too. Due to the difficult economic situation in Kenya, most groups understandably used the interviews to present their work and to describe their future plans and ideas and to ask for sponsorship and donations to realize their plans. Interviewers in some cases faced difficulties to carefully direct the interview back to the subject of reading. Further problems derived through expect-

---

<sup>84</sup> A transcript of a group interview can be found in Appendix 4 as an example of the database.

tations regarding the course of the interview. Several groups expected (and some informants demanded) direct questioning rather than a semi-structured interview about their reading habits. In some cases it was hard to overcome this reactive school-like interview-style, which implies clearly defined roles regarding turn taking and control, which entails the notion of right or wrong answers and which hampers informants' possibilities to contribute their own ideas to the subject. Furthermore, group leaders or other group members, who had been contacted in advance to get permission for and arrange the interviews, tended to be dominant in the group, while other group members remained calm and did not contribute to the interviews. When they were encouraged to express their ideas to a certain question, they tended to repeat the answers previously given by the group leaders or other dominant group members.

#### *Procedures of data analysis*

All interviews were transcribed and (when necessary) translated into English. Content analysis was employed in examining the group interviews. This research method comprises a variety of techniques "for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context"(Krippendorff 1980: 21). It integrates qualitative (coding and categorization) and quantitative (frequency counts) analytical procedures in order to reduce the information in a text to a set of variables that can then be examined for correlations (Bernard 1994: 340). Content analysis typically includes counting how often certain words or themes occur. It is based on the assumption that intention and meaning are discoverable in the frequency with which words, phrases or ideas occur in a text. In other words, it is assumed that the words that are mentioned most often in a text reflect a special meaning (Weber 1990).

The first technique used to analyze how informants talk about reading, was a simple word count. A set of keywords deemed relevant with regard to the topic of reading was developed. The set included lexemes<sup>85</sup> denoting sorts of reading material e.g. book, newspaper etc., vocabulary referring to the activity of reading e.g. 'read', 'read to/for someone' etc. and words used for facilities related to reading e.g. 'libraries', 'bookshops' etc. in all relevant languages (Luo or Kikuyu, Swahili and English). The pre-defined lexemes were listed and the interviews were scanned for the presence or absence of each item and the frequency of occurrence was recorded. Coding was done in that way that word forms representing a lexeme, e.g. 'reading' or 'have read', were coded and counted under the lexeme they represent, in this case 'read', each time they occurred in the interviews. Word forms including aspectual changes resulting in semantic differences, e.g. verb forms denoting 'read to/for someone' or 'habitually read', however, were recorded separately. The texts were then scanned a second time and relevant lexemes not included in the pre-defined key word set were added (Appendix 5).

The second approach to the data examines the metaphorical concepts, which are used to describe the reading process and reading material. Lakoff & Johnson (1980: 3) showed that metaphors are used extensively in understanding and reasoning about the environment we live in and that they structure the human conceptual system (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 3). Typically, concepts of an abstract domain (e.g. emotions, ideas, theories etc.) are understood in terms of a more concrete domain (like the body, bodily movement, objects etc.) (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 5). The abstract concept time, for instance, is understood in terms of money in Western industrialized contexts. This metaphorical concept that associates time with money, is verbalized in metaphorical expressions<sup>86</sup> such as 'spending time', 'saving time', 'time-consuming' etc. And the way time is handled and carefully planned in Western societies is in line with conceptualizing it as a valuable commodity such as money. In non-Western societies, however, time can be structured

---

<sup>85</sup> A lexeme is understood here as an abstract lexical unit that can occur in different grammatical forms e.g. singular and plural form of nouns or different inflexion forms or tenses of one verb.

<sup>86</sup> Lakoff & Johnson (1980: 7) distinguish metaphorical expressions and metaphorical concepts. Metaphorical expressions are linguistic expressions used in everyday language, which are tied to metaphorical concepts. Thus, metaphorical linguistic expressions are used as a starting point to investigate the metaphorical concepts behind them.

very differently resulting in other metaphors and actions towards it (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 7). According to Lakoff & Johnson (1980: 23) the most fundamental values of a given culture are coherent with its metaphorical structure. Thus, investigating metaphors sheds light on the way the outside world is perceived and valued in different cultural contexts by different groups and may provide insight into the way people act in everyday life.

For the purpose of the analysis of metaphors used in the group interviews, metaphorical expressions were focused on and examined. No pre-arranged set of expressions was employed, instead the interviews were scanned and each metaphorical expression was coded. Similar or related expressions were grouped together and analyzed with regard to the metaphorical concepts they reveal.

### **3.2.2 Findings**

The results of the word count and metaphor analysis are presented in the following section. They are discussed with a focus on the information they reveal regarding the connotations and concepts of reading within the cultural context of the two research sites. Additionally, the section goes into the linguistic reflection of the historical context in which literacy was introduced in Kenya.

#### **3.2.2.1 Terms and language use – borrowing or codeswitching?**

A first noticeable trend when conducting the interviews related to the words used and vocabulary involved in L1 (Kikuyu or Luo) interviews. The majority of groups chose L1, Kikuyu or Luo respectively, to perform the interview. Frequently, English expressions were employed by the interviewees and stood out against the L1 sentences, especially when denoting reading material and facilities related to books and reading.

Table 7 (on the next page) shows the most frequently used lexemes when discussing reading in the Kikuyu and the Luo interviews respectively. The lists of items in both tables start with lexemes used for reading material, the reading activity, actors and facilities related to books and reading.

The data show that lexical borrowings abound in the semantic field of reading and that loanwords are incorporated into both Kikuyu and Luo either from English or Swahili. Some of these loanwords are duplicated by the use of English lexemes, which are cases of codeswitching. Furthermore, Table 7 shows, that differences in the frequency of lexical items occur between the Kikuyu and Luo sample e.g. regarding the term ‘magazine’ (62 occurrences in the Kikuyu data vs. 18 occurrences in the Luo data) and borrowings for ‘newspaper’ (95 occurrences of *gazet*, *gazedede* in the Luo data compared to 35 occurrences of *ngathĩti*, *gathĩti* in the Kikuyu data).

Table 7: Frequency of lexical items used in L1 Interviews

Kikuyu		Luo	
<i>Item</i>	<i>Occurrence</i>	<i>Item</i>	<i>Occurrence</i>
<b>ĩbuku, mabuku / mbuku</b> <sup>87</sup> ‘book(s)’	<b>66</b>	<b>gazet, gazedede</b> ‘newspaper’	<b>95</b>
<i>magazine, magazines*</i>	<b>62</b>	<b>muma</b> ‘bible’	<b>65</b>
<i>novel, novels*</i>	<b>47</b>	<b>buk, buge</b>	<b>59</b>
<b>ngathĩti, gathĩti</b> ‘newspaper’	<b>35</b>	<i>novel, novels</i>	<b>26</b>
<i>bible, bibles*</i>	<b>12</b>	<i>newspaper, newspapers*</i>	<b>19</b>
<i>storybook, storybooks*</i>	<b>12</b>	<i>books*</i>	<b>18</b>
<i>material, materials*</i>	<b>12</b>	<i>magazine, magazines*</i>	<b>18</b>
<b>kabuku, tũbuku</b> ‘booklet’	<b>6</b>	<i>storybook, storybooks*</i>	<b>15</b>
<b>bibiria</b> ‘bible(s)’	<b>6</b>	<i>bible, bibles*</i>	<b>14</b>
<i>newspaper, newspapers*</i>	<b>2</b>	<b>sigana, sigende</b>	<b>3</b>
<i>book, books*</i>	<b>2</b>	‘story, fable’	
<b>-thomaga</b> ‘habitually/usually read’	<b>155</b>	<b>kitabũ, kitepe</b> ‘book’	<b>2</b>
<b>-thoma</b> ‘read’	<b>108</b>	<b>-somo</b> ,read’	<b>326</b>
<b>- thomera</b> ‘read to, for’	<b>9</b>	<b>-somoga</b> ,habitually/usually read’	<b>42</b>
<i>to read*</i>	<b>4</b>	<b>-somo n/-a, -i, -wa...</b> ,read to, for / me, you, us...’	<b>12</b>
<b>-thomathoma</b> ‘read a little’	<b>2</b>	<i>to read*</i>	<b>9</b>
		<i>to go through*</i>	<b>2</b>
		<i>dhi through*</i>	<b>2</b>
		‘go through’	
<b>mũthomi, athomi</b> ‘reader’	<b>5</b>	<b>jasomo, josomo</b> ‘reader’	<b>2</b>
<i>library, libraries*</i>	<b>60</b>	<i>library, libraries*</i>	<b>10</b>
<i>bookshop, bookshops*</i>	<b>4</b>	<i>vendor, vendors*</i>	<b>2</b>

\* = English lexeme in non-English interview

<sup>87</sup> The different languages are indicated as follows: L1 (either Kikuyu or Luo) appears in **simple bold print**, English in **bold italics** and Swahili in **bold underlined font**.

Haugen (1950: 212) defines borrowing as “the attempted reproduction in one language of patterns previously found in another”. As such, borrowing is a result of language contact. In order to include some items from a donor language into a recipient language, speakers of the recipient language have to know the donor language well enough to produce some words in it. Haugen (1950) developed a well-known classification of borrowed elements distinguishing loanwords (items that do not undergo morphological substitution, but sometimes phonological change, e.g. Kikuyu [mamaɣazi:n] instead of English [mægəzi:n]), loanblends (items consisting of both L1 and L2 elements, e.g. Kikuyu *ibuku*, *mabuku* or *mbuku*) and loanshifts (items from which no morphological elements but semantic content are adopted). Loanshifts include two subcategories: loantranslations or calques (complex morphological elements are translated by means of novel items of L1 matching the meaning and structure of the adopted L2 element, e.g. Kikuyu *tūbuku twa ng’ano* literally ‘small books of stories’ for ‘storybooks’) and semantic borrowings (only meaning is adopted, e.g. in the case of the Luo lexeme *muma* with the first meaning ‘oath, covenant, agreement’, which adopted ‘bible’ as a second meaning (Capen 1998: 97)).

However useful Haugen’s taxonomy may be for classifying borrowings, the distinction of lexical borrowings made by Myers-Scotton (2002) provides more explanatory power in examining the Kikuyu and Luo data. Myers-Scotton distinguishes between what she calls cultural borrowed and core borrowed forms. Cultural borrowed lexemes are used to denote objects or concepts, which are new to the culture of a recipient language. As such, they fill lexical gaps in the recipient language. They appear abruptly through being used by influential individuals or groups and may be employed in monolingual speech of monolingual and/or bilingual speakers or in the codeswitching<sup>88</sup> of bilingual speakers.

---

<sup>88</sup> Myers-Scotton defines codeswitching as “the selection by bilinguals or multilinguals of forms from an embedded language (or languages) in utterances of a matrix language during the same conversation” (1993: 4). According to her codeswitching may be intersentential (switches from one language to the other between sentences) or intrasentential (switching within the same sentence from single-morpheme to clause level).



Core borrowings are lexical items, which are incorporated into the recipient language, although L1-lexemes for that item are already available. Myers-Scotton suggests that bilingual speakers introduce core borrowings through codeswitching.

The lexical borrowing in the semantic field of reading in Kikuyu and Luo matching Myers-Scotton's definition of cultural borrowings are listed in Table 8. These borrowed forms are well-established forms in Kikuyu and Luo respectively and all of them have entries in dictionaries of the two languages (Benson 1964, Tucker 1994b, Capen 1998). According to Myers-Scotton an entry in the dictionary indicates the "undisputed" status of a borrowed lexeme in a language (2002: 41).

Table 8: Cultural borrowings in Kikuyu and Luo related to reading

	Borrowed item	Source
<b>Kikuyu</b>	<b>ibuku, mabuku / mbuku</b> <b>kabuku, tūbuku</b> (diminutive class) <b>ngathīti, gathīti</b> <b>bibiria</b> <b>-thoma</b> <b>-thomaga</b> <b>-thomera</b> <b>-thomathoma</b>	English 'book' English 'book' (meaning 'booklet') English 'gazette' English 'bible' Swahili <i>-soma</i> 'to read'
<b>Luo</b>	<b>buk, buge</b>  <b>kitap, kitepe</b>  <b>gazet, gaze</b>  <b>-somo</b> <b>-somoga</b> <b>-somo n-i, a, wa</b>	from English, 'book, books'  from Swahili <i>kitabu</i> , which is itself a loanword in Swahili borrowed from Arabic from English 'gazette'  Swahili <i>-soma</i> 'to read'

The historical context of the introduction of these items into Kikuyu and Luo supports Myers-Scotton's aforementioned assumptions regarding cultural borrowings. Script and literacy were inexistent in both the Kikuyu and the Luo pre-colonial culture. And it was only with the arrival of European missionaries in the Kikuyu and Luo settlement areas in the 19<sup>th</sup> century that literacy was established. The missionaries imposed Christianity and Western education on the Kenyan communities using the book as an instrument to spread religious and educational content. They developed writing systems and orthographies for Kenyan lan-

languages, produced reading material and taught reading and writing in Kenyan languages. In order to fill the lexical gap that arose in the semantic field of reading, Kikuyu and Luo speakers borrowed from English and Swahili (a culture in which literacy was introduced well before the arrival of Europeans<sup>89</sup>) to refer to reading and publications.

The lexemes ‘novel’ and ‘library’, which frequently occur as single word forms of English origin in Kikuyu and Luo sentences like in example (1) to (4) are more disputable, but it is suggested here to classify them as cultural borrowings as well.

- (1) **Novels** nithomaga ici cikoragwo duka-inĩ , ta **bookshop**.<sup>90</sup>  
*For novels, I usually read those usually found in the shop, like the bookshop.* [NYDR/Kik]<sup>91</sup>
- (2) Anyalo somo **novels**, be kanitiere be anyalo somo.  
*I can read novels if they are there, I can read.* [KIBI/Luo]
- (3) Ta rĩu ithuĩ nĩ maita matari maingĩ tũngĩthĩĩ **library**.  
*Like now, it would be little time if we were to go to the library.* [NYTO/Kik]
- (4) **Library**.....be Kisumu be nitiera ga **library**?  
*A library is there a library in Kisumu?* [KIHA/Luo]

Both Kikuyu and Luo do not have single word equivalents for the concepts ‘novel’ and ‘library’. Dictionaries offer loantranslations such as *mbuku ya ũhoro wa rĩgano* (Barlow 1975: 134) in Kikuyu literally ‘a book of a subject of a story’ and *sigana mondik e buk ma pod ne ok otimore*’ (Odaga 1997: 123) in Luo ‘a story written in a book that didn’t happen’ for the concept ‘novel’.

---

<sup>89</sup> Trading activities between the coastal Swahili people and the Arabic peninsula date back to approximately 800 AD (Nurse & Spear 1985). Due to this trading contact Swahili was heavily influenced by Arabic and has one of the highest proportions of Arabic loan words of any Bantu language (Lègere 1992). Regarding literacy, Swahili was written in Arabic script from at least the 18<sup>th</sup> century onward (Whiteley 1993).

<sup>90</sup> The different languages are indicated as follows: L1 (either Kikuyu or Luo) appears in simple print, English in *italics* and Swahili in underlined font. Lexemes relevant for the phenomenon discussed are highlighted using **bold print**.

<sup>91</sup> The reference code identifies the group interview in which the example was found and the language in which the interview was conducted. The abbreviation Kik refers to Kikuyu, Luo refers to Luo and Eng indicates that the language was conducted in English.

For ‘library’ the dictionary gives *nyũmba nyene mabuku ta nacio* literally ‘a house that has books’ (Barlow 1975: 178) in Kikuyu and a paraphrases *kar buge misome to iweyo kanyo kata ikawo idhi somo dala iduogo* literally ‘a place for books which you read and you leave there or you take and you go to read at home and you return’ (Odaga 1997: 108) in Luo. These lengthy paraphrases clearly work against Grice’s (1975) communication maxim of using language in an economical manner and although they appear in dictionaries, it is doubtful whether they are really established in the language. Loanwords from English, precisely denoting the objects, are handier and more established among the speakers.

Another case of cultural borrowing is the concept ‘magazine’ in example (5) and (6). While Luo lacks a word equivalent, the Kikuyu dictionaries (Barlow 1975: 185, Benson 1964: 250) list the cultural borrowed and phonologically adapted form *magathini* (sing. and plural) [maɣaθi:ni]. This form, however, is not used once in the interviews, rather informants use the less adapted version [magazin].

- (5) Nithomaga Parents, *magazines* to ici cia *weekend* ici cikoragwo ngathĩti-nĩ thĩĩnĩ ũguo.  
*I read Parents, magazines like the weekend ones, which are usually in the newspaper.*<sup>92</sup>  
 [NYDR/Kik]
- (6) *Sana sana* ahero somo gazet gi *magazines*.  
*I very much like reading the newspaper and magazines.* [KIBO/Luo]

It could be speculated that the reason for the use of the less adapted loanword relates to the supply of magazines in Kenya. As has been mentioned before (see Table 2, p.64, and Table 4, p.77, in Chapter 3.1) the majority of monthly magazines available in Nyeri and Kisumu District are published in English. Thus, the magazine sector is strongly associated with English making it all the more natural to refer to the material using a near-English loanword.

Singly occurring word forms like the previously discussed are sometimes suspected to be cases of codeswitching. Myers-Scotton (2002), for instances, remarks, that singly occurring codeswitching elements resemble borrowed forms.

---

<sup>92</sup> Saturday and Sunday editions of the daily Kenyan newspapers are supplemented by weekend magazines, which come as separate inserts and cover entertainment, lifestyle and leisure topics.

She uses two criteria to differentiate singly occurring codeswitching elements from lexical borrowings: First, codeswitched elements presuppose speakers with a certain level of bi- or multilingualism, whereas monolingual speakers also use borrowed forms. Second, codeswitched and borrowed forms differ with regard to the predictability of their occurrence. It is predictable that borrowed forms will reoccur in the recipient language, because they are established and have status in the language. In contrast, codeswitching forms may or may not reoccur, because they are not related to the recipient language, rather they are part of the stylistic repertoire of a speaker. This entails that speakers' intentions when switching between languages are very different from using borrowed forms. Whereas using lexical borrowings is a communicative necessity, codeswitching is the choice of the speaker and transports additional meaning.

Both criteria apply to the aforementioned cases of 'novel', 'library' and 'magazine'. Rural groups (living in mainly monolingual environments) as well as urban groups (living in multilingual environments) use the lexemes alike and their occurrence is highly predictable. Thus, it is safe to classify them as borrowings.

However, codeswitching is also common in the data, as example (7) to (10) illustrate.

- (7) Iyudo *more information about hairdressing*. Kaka *books* mag *hairdressing* go ka wasomo to wamedo ng'eyo *more, more about hairdressing*.  
*You find/get more information on hairdressing. Like when we read these hairdressing books we know more, more about hairdressing.* [KIHA/Luo]
- (8) Nindathomaga mabuku maingi ta ma *marriage – how to cope with men and the like*. Also, I read books like '*Think Big*'.  
*I used to read a lot of books, like about marriage – how to cope with men and the like. Also I read books like 'Think Big'.* [NYCH/Kik]
- (9) Ninyendete gũthoma *especially books* ici ciandikitwo na *Christians*.  
*I like reading especially these books written by Christians.* [NYKN/Kik]
- (10) Gazet tek nyiewo, *newspapers are expensive*. *Anyway, we don't always buy them*.  
*A newspaper is expensive, newspapers are expensive. Anyway, we don't always buy them*  
 [KIBO/Luo]

Myers-Scotton's (2002) criterion of predictability is applicable here. Table 7 shows that the codeswitched elements duplicating the cultural borrowings, such as 'books' illustrated in (7) to (9) and 'newspapers' exemplified in (10) occur considerably less often than the borrowed forms in Kikuyu and Luo. Their use is less

predictable than the usage of the borrowings. Hence, they are codeswitching elements.

According to Myers-Scotton (1993) speakers engage in codeswitching in order to negotiate interpersonal relations in the conversation with their rights and obligations, conveying this negotiation through the choice of a different code. Switching between languages, Myers-Scotton suggests, has much in common with making different stylistic choices within the same language. The factors influencing language choice as analyzed by Grosjean (1982) are applicable to code-switching as well. They include participants (language proficiency, preference, socio-economic status, age, sex, educational background, attitudes etc.), situation (location, setting, degree of formality, presence of monolinguals etc.), content (topic, vocabulary etc.) and function of interaction (raise status, exclude, create intimacy or distance etc.).

The data show a tendency to codeswitch from L1 to English (the most prestigious language symbolizing educational achievement and social mobility) among urban and young interviewees rather than rural or elderly informants. Furthermore, group interviews conducted without me show lower levels of code-switching than those done in presence with me.

Regarding the topic of conversation it has been mentioned before that reading is strongly associated with both English and education, thus, switching to English when talking about reading seems to be a common choice. It can further be hypothesized that interviewees intend to raise their status (in the presence of the foreign researcher) by switching to English when talking about reading. However, more detailed examinations that were out of the scope of this study would be necessary to unravel the social motivation for the various instances of codeswitching found in the data.

Differences between Kikuyu and Luo speakers basically related to the high frequency of occurrence of the lexical items 'novel' and 'magazine' in Kikuyu as well as the word *muma* 'bible' in Luo. It might be tempting to conclude that due to the prevalence of the terms Kikuyu and Luo interviewees differ in their preference for these types of reading material. Yet, the word count does not allow to draw such a conclusion as the high frequency of some terms might be an arbitrary

result caused by differing interview strategies rather than the preference of a certain reading material.

### 3.2.2.2 Concepts of reading

A second salient feature related to the understanding of the concept ‘reading’ among both the Kikuyu and Luo speakers interviewed. Due to the dual sense of ‘reading’ in British English meaning ‘decoding of texts’ as well as ‘studying a subject’, interviewees had a tendency to perceive reading as a synonym for school attendance and studying. This phenomenon was not restricted to the interviews conducted in English, but was also observable in the L1 and Swahili interviews as the use of ‘to read’ meaning ‘to study’ can also be found in Kikuyu, Luo and Swahili. The Kikuyu verb *-thoma* ‘to read’, for instance, translates to ‘to read’ and ‘to attend school’ (Benson 1964: 524). The Kikuyu lexemes *mũthomi* (sing) and *athomi* (plur.) not only refer to a ‘reader’ or ‘readers’. They are also listed in the dictionary meaning ‘scholar’ (Benson 1964: 524). In Luo the lexeme *jasomo* (sing.) and *josomo* (plur.) refer to readers as well as students (Capen 1998: 59). In Swahili, the verb *-soma* translates to ‘to read’, ‘to go to school’, ‘to receive teaching’ and ‘to study’ (Johnson 1939: 434). The frequency with which interviewees interpreted ‘reading’ as ‘studying’ shows the common association of the concept with formal schooling and education among the informants.<sup>93</sup>

In order to reveal further information on the understanding of reading among the Luo and Kikuyu interviewees, an analysis of the metaphors they used when talking about reading was conducted.

The metaphors relating to reading, which were identified in the group interviews, subdivide into two major strands: first, metaphors referring to reading material (Figure 15, p.100). Second, metaphors used to describe the process of

reading (Figure 16, p.103). In both cases, different aspects of the concepts are highlighted.

When talking about reading material, interviewees employed two metaphorical concepts: **READING MATERIAL IS A PERSON**<sup>94</sup> and **READING MATERIAL IS A CONTAINER**.

### *Concepts of reading material*

Reading material is conceptualized as a person when highlighting the function of reading. It is attributed human bodily features (11) and skills such as talking (12) to (19). In the examples (20) to (23) the content of reading material is described as audible, implying that reading material is able to verbally express its content. In example (24) the ability to carry is attributed to reading material:

- (11) *It could be a fat novel and than I would read all of it* [KIST/Eng]
- (12) Koro kata itiyo to ing'eyo gima dhi mbele ni **gazet wacho** kama kama.  
*Now, when you are working you know what is coming up what the newspaper is saying.*  
[KIBO/Luo]
- (13) Anyise ni e gazet asomo wacho koro kata oka odhi neno gazet lakini ong'eyo gima **gazet wacho**.  
*I tell him of what I have read in the newspaper, so even if he does not go to see the paper, he knows what the newspaper is saying.*[KIBO/Luo]
- (14) Agoka agakwira umuturire uria **hagugaga** rũ ta **ngathĩti**.  
*Now he can tell you what the paper was saying.* [NYTO/Kik]
- (15) **Magazine** hizi sipendi sana maana zinaongea kuhusu maurafiki tu  
*I don't like these magazines very much, because they talk only about relationships*  
[NYSD/Swa]
- (16) *First of all you must know what the heading is saying.* [NYTO/Kik]
- (17) *We have books, which only speak about spiritual life.* [NYPA/Eng]
- (18) *A novel can tell me a good story.*[NYPA/Eng]

<sup>93</sup> Chakava (1982: 28) also mentions the connection between reading and religion that resulted from the aforementioned historical situation in which missionaries introduced books for religious education in Kenya. Indeed, the Kikuyu language preserved this bound too. Benson's Kikuyu dictionary gives 'to attend Christian worship' and 'to become an adherent of a Christian church' as further meanings of the verb *-thoma* 'to read', and 'church adherent' and 'one who has given up traditional ways' as further denotations of the noun *mũthomi* 'reader' (Benson 1964: 524). And although this historical bound is important to consider (as religious contexts remain important environments in which reading takes places nowadays) Luo and Kikuyu interviewees in this study did not dwell on religious connotations of the terms 'to read' or 'reader' but educational ones.

<sup>94</sup> Following Lakoff & Johnson (1980) conceptual metaphors are labelled X IS Y using capital letters. X refers to the abstract concept, which is structured in terms of the concrete concept Y.

- (19) Koro **gazet** no emachalo gi *radio* na nyalo **nyisa** gima timore ka gi kacha.  
*Now, the newspaper is like the radio it can tell me what is happening here and there.*  
[KIBO/Luo]
- (20) Wasomo gazede mondo **wawinj godo** *news of what is happening here or somewhere else.*  
*We read newspapers in order to hear what is happening here or somewhere else.*  
[KIHA/Luo].
- (21) Atemo mondo omi **awinj habari** matin ma ni e gazet.  
*I am trying in order to hear the news from the newspaper.* [KIBO/Luo]
- (22) Koro in idwaro temo matek inene e gazet **inwinj story** no maber.  
*So you try your best to see a newspaper so you hear the story better.* [KIBO/Luo]
- (23) Asomo mondo **awinj wach Nyasaye.**  
*I read in order to hear the word of God.*[KIPO/Luo]
- (24) [Magazines] ka **giting'o stories** ma moko.  
[Magazines] carry outside stories. [KIBO/Luo]

Furthermore, reading material is conceptualized as a person, who takes on different roles. It is talked about as a teacher (25) to (27):

- (25) To naneno ni muma ber moloyo *story books* nikech **muma** en koro **opuonji** ki ngima mari kaki nyalo dak.  
*And I saw the bible is better than story books, because the bible teaches you the nature of live, how you can live.* [KIWO/Luo]
- (26) Nikech **gazede gipuonjowa** yore mopoge opogore maok wang'eyo.  
*Because they (newspapers) teach us different things that we do not know.* [KIPO/Luo]
- (27) **Muma** ahero somo nikech **puonja** wach maber mag Nyasaye kaka anyalo konyora gi iowadwa.  
*I like reading the Bible, because it teaches good messages from God on how I can relate with others.*[KIWO/Luo]

It is understood as a benefactor or a supportive person, who assists and helps (28) to (34):

- (28) **Gazede gikonyo** ga sana.  
*Newspapers help a lot.* [KIBO/Luo]
- (29) **Giketho** na ga *time*.  
*They [books] help me pass time.* [KIBO/Luo]
- (30) Moloyo kata kanaa piny nahero ga somo *storybooks* go nikech **negikonya** ga kata *my English was not so good.*  
*When I was young I used to read storybooks, because they could help me like (with) my English (it) was not so good.* [KIWO/Luo]
- (31) Ni nyendaga *Parents* ni tondũ nicikoragwo na ũhoro wa aciari na *family* na ninyo-naga **ikindethĩrĩa**.  
*Also I like Parents because it deals with family matters and it helps me.* [NYHO/Kik]
- (32) Nyendete ngũthoma *Parents magazine* tondũ kahinda gatari hanene **ningũtuika** mũciari.  
*I like reading the Parent magazine, which will soon be assisting me as a parent.*[NYHO/Kik]



- (33) **Niciindeithagia** na kumenya maũndũ na bũrũrĩ.  
*They [newspapers] assist me by knowing events of the country.*[NYCU/Kik]
- (34) Mimi sana sana napenda zile **zianisaidia** kukua kiroho.  
*Me, I like those [magazines], which help me in growing spiritually.*[NYSD/Swa]

And it is understood as an individual, who offers emotional relief like a consoling person (35) or a friend able to cheer someone up and make a person happy (36) and (37).

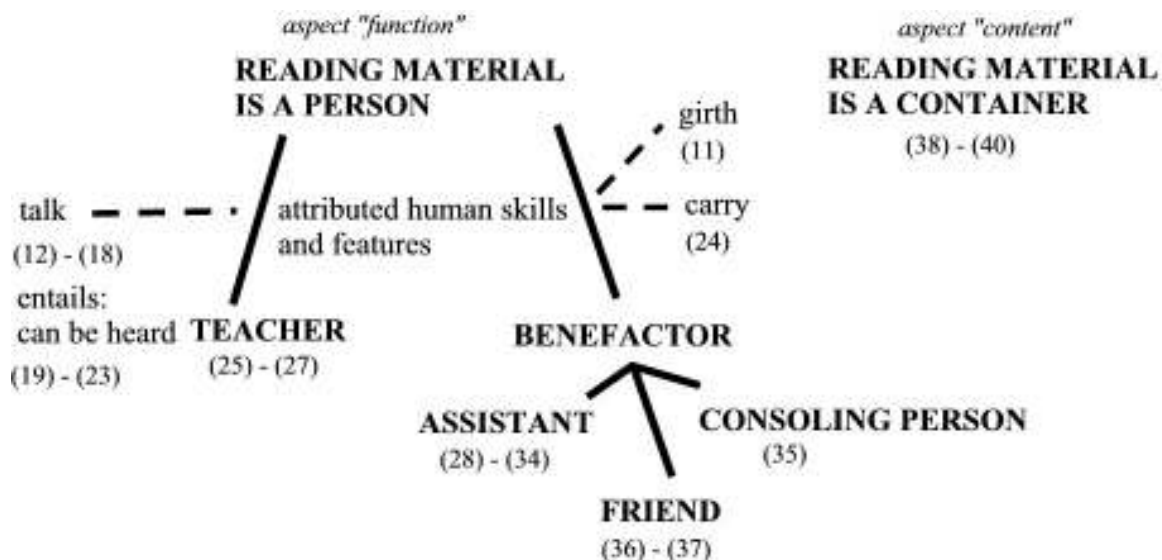
- (35) Anyalo bedo gi *loneliness* koro **muma nyalo comfort**.  
*I can be lonely therefore the Bible can comfort me* [KINE/Luo]
- (36) Ndirakwira icio nacio cia **tumaga ngene**.  
*I'm telling you, those [bible stories] were the only ones that made me happy.* [NYHO/Kik]
- (37) Nikikutana na **kitabu ambacho kinanifurahisha**, mimi nitasoma.  
*If I find (meet with) a book that makes me happy, I will read.* [NYSD/Swa]

When talking about its content, reading material is conceptualized as a container (38) to (41):

- (38) Ta rĩu akoruo nita ta life experience twa andũ ũguo no ndithomire **magazin-ĩni**.  
*Maybe like someone's life experience which is in the magazine.* [NYKN/Kik]
- (39) Tondũ **kirĩa kirĩ thĩinĩ**, is what I went through (...)  
*Because what is in them [novels] is what I went through (...)* [NYCH/Kik]
- (40) *I was very interested, because **in every new book**, I learnt a new thing.*  
[NYPA/Eng]
- (41) *I, personally, I start with the magazines, then I go to the hard covers. **Books just filled with** knowledge.* [KIST/Eng]

Although the conceptual metaphor READING MATERIAL IS A CONTAINER differs from personification, it is coherent with READING MATERIAL IS A PERSON in so far as a person is a container as well. Human bodies have a material outside and inside and they store an immaterial mind or mental content. These characteristics that reading material shares with persons make it possible to conceptualize it in terms of both persons and containers depending on the aspect that is emphasized.

Figure 15: Metaphorical conceptualization of reading material



In sum, the metaphorical concepts, which describe reading material as persons confirm the aforementioned strong association of reading with education. As has been shown, reading material is thought of as teachers or educational facilitators conveying knowledge and skills. Following Lakoff & Johnson (1980: 23) in their assumption that the metaphorical concepts not only structure the way people think about the environment they live in, but also influence how they act towards it, it could be expected to find interviewees to turn to books and reading for information purposes and in order to get knowledge. This function of reading would be in line with the common image of the exam-oriented Kenyan reader.

However, reading material is conceptualized as benefactors too, who provide assistance as well as emotional comfort and joy. Corresponding to these metaphorical concepts, it would be most likely to find people engaging in reading in order to get practical support and advice from their ‘assistants’, and emotional relief and joy from their ‘counselors’ and ‘friends’. Obviously, the later metaphorical concepts reveal a positive pleasurable image of reading and challenge the widespread stereotype, which claims that readers in Kenya have a negative attitude towards reading and read for examination purposes and not for pleasure (see Chapter 1).

Lastly, by conceptualizing reading material as persons able to talk and to tell stories that can be listened to, literate and oral communication practices are merged. Literacy and orality complement each other rather than constituting conceptual dichotomies.

### *Concepts of the reading activity*

Two metaphorical concepts were found structuring the reading activity: READING IS MOTION and READING IS GAINING. The reading process is metaphorically conceptualized as motion in two ways. First, reading is understood in terms of movement through bounded space, (42) to (47). This is, by the way, in line with conceptualizing reading material as a container (or a room as a specific type of container) (see Figure 15, p.100), which can be crossed or walked through.

(42) Koro seche ma an e ot, atemo ga mana **go through the books** mane ang'o e sikul chon.

*So when I am at home I just go through the books that I had while in school. [KIBO/Luo]*

(43) An atemo **dhi through gazet** mondo ang'eyo gik matimore e piny.

*I go through the newspaper to know what is happening in the country. [KIBO/Luo]*

(44) Koro ka ok awinjo news kata e radio, to koro chuna ni to nyaka **adhi through e gazet**.

*So when I don't hear news from the radio, it forces me to go through the newspaper. [KIBO/Luo]*

(45) Koro seche moko **kadhi through kata paper** makwanyi kata mangiewo go gimoro ka ayudo ka en gima mit to asomo.

*Now at times, when going through even a paper, I have picked or a wrapper if I find something interesting I read it. [KIWO/Luo]*

(46) *So, somehow I got it [a magazine]. Now, I have to go through it and see what is in it. [NYPA/Eng]*

(47) *As I say, from borrowing a book from a colleague, going through it and when I feel I photocopy. [NYPA/Eng]*

Second, reading is described as progressive motion (READING IS LINEAR MOVEMENT) (48) to (50) moving forward from a starting point heading for certain destinations to reach.

(48) *Buying a book and then I read from cover to cover, I think I read about two in a year or something. [KIST/Eng]*

(49) *There is only one novel that I read and I finished: „Two in one“. You know, you expect something ahead and thus you read more. [NYCH/Kik]*

(50) *Reading is progressive. So, it's fundamental to read. [NYPA/Eng]*

When talking about the effects of reading, the reading activity is understood in terms of growth (51) to (52) and illumination (53).

(51) *Faida ya* gũthoma no ngima. **Niunyongerera** ũũgĩ waku na ũmenyo<sup>95</sup> waku wa kimũndũ.

*The benefit of reading is obvious. You increase your knowledge of the ways of humans and ideas.* [NYTO/Kik]

(52) *Interest as* somo... gimamorowa... nikech kaka imedo somo gimoro imedo ng'eyo kata *mind* ni kata pachi medo bedo mang'eny kata Kisungu kata mana Kiswahili kisome to imedo ng'eyo, **you enlarge yourself**.

*Interest in reading...what interests us...because the more you read the more you understand, even your mind widens, even English or Swahili, the more you read the more you understand, you enlarge yourself.* [KINE/Luo]

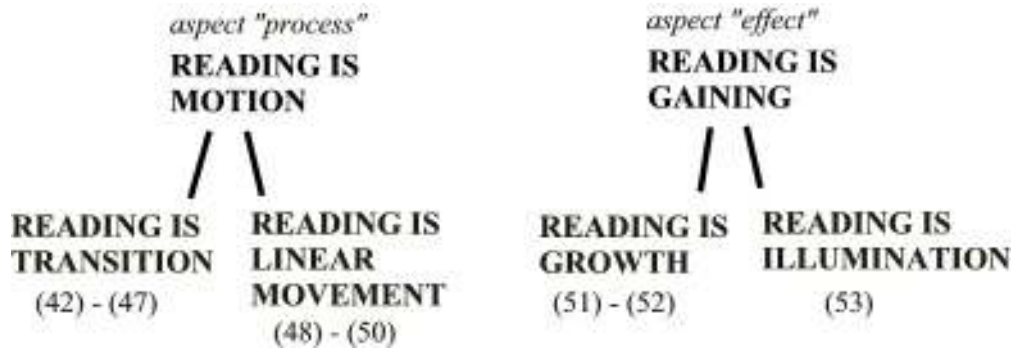
(53) *But as I said earlier, you read to be* **enlightened**. [NYPA/Eng]

In the former case, you gain and add knowledge to your mind which results in mental growth. This conceptualization is in line with Chakava's observation (1992: 142 referred to in Chapter 2.2.2, p.29) that found that the concept of reading is associated with gaining due to the fact that missionaries, who promised spiritual awards for reading, introduced literacy. Example (53) implies the metaphorical concept of KNOWLEDGE IS LIGHT (entailing IGNORANCE IS DARK). Through the process of reading, knowledge (light) is given to the reader. Notably, this is the only passive concept of the acquisition of knowledge. The two metaphors are connected in that way that both implicate the idea of getting or adding something, that previously was not there and can be subsumed under the conceptual metaphor READING IS GAINING.

---

<sup>95</sup> The abstract noun *ũũgĩ*, derived from the adjective *-ũgi* 'keen, sharp, clever', translates to 'cleverness, wisdom, knowledge' (Benson 1964: 549), the abstract noun *ũmenyo* translates to 'knowledge, know-how'. It is derived from the verb *-menya* 'to know, understand, have information about' (Benson 1964: 258).

Figure 16: Metaphorical conceptualization of the reading activity



The metaphorical concepts focusing on the effect of reading show that reading is thought of as a means to gain and accumulate knowledge. In that way, it is connected with educational reading and would most likely result in information and knowledge-oriented reading. The concept of linear movement relates reading to the idea of bringing someone forward, which is positively associated with progress.

### 3.2.3 Summary

It has been shown that the semantic field of reading is made up of cultural borrowings mainly from English (and to a lesser extent from Swahili), which resulted from the historical situation in which literacy was introduced in Kenya. The close relation of books and reading with the English language is reflected in the terminology used when talking about reading.

The historical context also led to the association of reading with education. This link is reflected in the metaphorical concepts used by the informants relevant to reading: reading material is conceptualized as a teacher and the reading activity is associated with the acquisition of knowledge and personal development. Nevertheless, the concept of pleasure reading, which in the public debate on reading is said to be inexistent in the Kenyan context, was also found.

### **3.3 Reading across the lifespan**

This chapter outlines data used to understand the role of reading in everyday life and it depicts changes of reading across the life span of Kikuyu and Luo speakers in Nyeri District and Kisumu District. The qualitative one-on-one interviews focused on biographical information in relation to the development of reading from childhood to contemporary reading habits: past experiences, breaks and turning points in readers' lives, and factors influencing reading habits were addressed during the interviews.

In the following the research design chosen for this part of the study is described. Then, different types of readers are introduced, which were identified in the data and the development of their reading habits are traced. The last section highlights and discusses social factors found to have an impact on reading.

#### **3.3.1 Research design**

The one-on-one interviews were prepared as semi-structured interviews using an interview guide (see Appendix 6). The interview guide was used in order to provide the research assistants with instructions and directions as to which topics to address and questions to pose during the interviews. Nevertheless an unrestrictive interview performance and a general open-mindedness towards interviewees' contributions and aspects not listed in the interview guide were aimed at.

The interview guide chronologically listed life periods assumed to be relevant for reading achievement and the development of reading habits in order to offer a rough orientation while going back in memory. It distinguished a phase of childhood before formal schooling, primary schooling, secondary schooling, higher education (university, polytechnic, college etc.) and a phase of beyond school experience. The adequacy of the aforementioned phases in the Kenyan context was probed by on site informal talks with informants, planning with research assistants, discussions with colleagues<sup>96</sup> and reviewing the literature on formal schooling in Kenya (Eshiwani 1990, Kinunda 1994).

---

<sup>96</sup> I would like to thank Nathan Ogechi and Florence Muinde for their valuable comments.

The interview guide had to take account of the fact that the Kenyan school system underwent several changes since colonial times (see Chapter 3.1.1, p.47). The colonial government provided education segregating African, Asian, Arab and European populations basically leaving the education of Africans to missionaries and mission schools (Kinunda 1994: 3132). The post-colonial school system abolished racial segregation in education and comprised 7 years of primary school, 4 years of secondary school, 2 years of high school and 3 years of tertiary education (7-4-2-3) (Eshiwani 1990: 15). Between 1985 and 1990 a reformed school system - commonly known as the 8-4-4- system, referring to 8 years of primary education, 4 years of secondary education and 4 years of tertiary education – was implemented (Eshiwani 1994: 3132).

The interview guide contained questions aiming at revealing information on the family and home environment, school experience of the interviewees and the contemporary social environment in which their reading takes place. These three subject areas were chosen, because Western research in reading socialization found them relevant for the development of reading habits (see Chapter 2.2.1, p.23). Further questions, which were of special relevance for the purpose of this study, included questions concerning reading achievement in different languages, language use in family and school, kind of material read (both in school and outside of school), leisure reading habits, changes of reading habits and the frequency of reading.

The interview guide was tested with three interviewees at each research site. Observation sheets kept details including interview setting, biographical information of the informant as well as comments as to the nature of the flow of the interview (see Appendix 7).

### ***Sampling and corpus***

Informants were selected if they were L1 speakers of Kikuyu (in the case of Nyeri District) and Luo respectively (in the case of Kisumu District). It was decided not to approach strangers for the purpose of the one-on-one interviews based on the assumption that they would be less willing to reveal details of their private life to

people they did not know. Instead social networks<sup>97</sup> of research assistants were used to recruit participants. Thus, family members, neighbors and friends of the research assistants were asked to take part in the interviews. The aim was to obtain a balanced proportion of female and male informants in each language group and a reasonable cross-section of the population in terms of socio-economic status. The variables measured to set socio-economic status included age, education, and income level. Further variables that were noted comprised the place of residence, the number of languages spoken and marital status. A total of 42 individuals were interviewed, 22 in Nyeri District, 20 in Kisumu District. Table 9 summarizes the Kikuyu and Luo samples interviewed.

Table 9: Sample one-on-one interviews

		Total	Kikuyu			Luo		
			F	M	Total	F	M	Total
<b>Sample Size</b>		<b>42</b>	12	10	<b>22</b>	10	10	<b>20</b>
<b>Age groups</b>	21-30	<b>13</b>	5	0	<b>5</b>	4	4	<b>8</b>
	31-40	<b>11</b>	2	4	<b>6</b>	1	4	<b>5</b>
	41-50	<b>9</b>	4	2	<b>6</b>	2	1	<b>3</b>
	51-60	<b>6</b>	0	3	<b>3</b>	2	1	<b>3</b>
	above 60	<b>3</b>	1	1	<b>2</b>	1	0	<b>1</b>
<b>Educational Level</b>	Primary	<b>12</b>	5	3	<b>8</b>	2	2	<b>4</b>
	Secondary	<b>16</b>	5	4	<b>9</b>	4	3	<b>7</b>
	Tertiary	<b>14</b>	2	3	<b>5</b>	4	5	<b>9</b>
<b>Languages spoken</b>	L1	<b>4</b>	2	1	<b>3</b>	1	0	<b>1</b>
	L1, S	<b>1</b>	1	0	<b>1</b>	0	0	<b>0</b>
	L1, E	<b>3</b>	0	0	<b>0</b>	1	2	<b>3</b>
	L1, S, E	<b>33</b>	9	9	<b>18</b>	8	7	<b>15</b>
	L1, E, Suba	<b>1</b>	0	0	<b>0</b>	0	1	<b>1</b>
<b>Income Group</b>	Low	<b>24</b>	10	5	<b>15</b>	5	4	<b>9</b>
	Middle	<b>13</b>	2	4	<b>6</b>	5	2	<b>7</b>
	High	<b>5</b>	0	1	<b>1</b>	1	3	<b>4</b>
<b>Marital Status</b>	Single	<b>8</b>	2	1	<b>3</b>	1	4	<b>5</b>
	Married	<b>33</b>	10	9	<b>19</b>	9	5	<b>14</b>
	Widowed	<b>1</b>	0	0	<b>0</b>	1	0	<b>1</b>
<b>Place of residence</b>	Urban	<b>30</b>	8	8	<b>16</b>	7	7	<b>14</b>
	Rural	<b>12</b>	3	3	<b>6</b>	4	2	<b>6</b>

F = female, M = male, L1 = first language, E = English, S = Swahili

<sup>97</sup> Boissevain defines 'network' as "the social relations in which every individual is embedded (...). This social network may, at one level of abstraction be looked upon as a scattering of points connected by lines. The points, of course, are persons, and the lines are social relations. Each person can thus be viewed as a star from which lines radiate to points, some of which are connected to each other" (Boissevain 1978: 24).



The age groups, which were set in order to measure the age range of the informants, employed decimal units following divisions commonly used in governmental statistics on district, provincial and national level.<sup>98</sup>

The description of the sample in Table 9 above merges educational levels of the colonial, post-colonial and the new 8-4-4 system for the purpose of lucidity. Thus, a primary level of education comprises school attendants (completion and drop out) of either the colonial, the post-colonial or the new school system (with 7 and 8 years of attendance respectively), the same holds for the secondary level, which comprises 4 years of secondary plus 2 years of high school education in the old system and 4 years in the 8-4-4 system. Tertiary education refers to either 3 years of university or college education (in the old system) or 4 years in the new system. In the sample 12 informants aged in their late 40s to above 60 were identified, who completed or started schooling in the colonial school system. 20 interviewees started and completed schooling in the post-colonial (7-4-2-3) school system. 10 informants belonging to the age group of 21 to 30 years changed to the 8-4-4 system while attending school, no interviewee however, started schooling under the 8-4-4 system.

The oral language competencies summarized in Table 9 (including monolingual, bilingual and trilingual language competency) refer to the oral language use reported by the informants.

Low, middle and high-income groups, set in Table 9, were estimated using information about the current occupation of each interviewee. The average monthly earnings in the private, public and informal sector in Kenya (as published in administrative reports on national, provincial and district level, Republic of Kenya 2001c, 2002a, 2003b) and levels of income as defined for urban consumer markets (Kamau 2003) were used to develop income groups appropriate for this study.

---

<sup>98</sup> Originally, it was planned to measure the exact age of the informants. While pilot-testing the interview guide, however, interviewees were reluctant and uncomfortable to specify their exact age. Therefore, it was necessary to use age groups as categories to measure informants age.

Persons in occupations earning less than 7,999 Ksh<sup>99</sup> per month, e.g. manual workers (carpenters, mechanics), house-servants, drivers, conductors, watchmen, sweepers, subsistence farmers, waiters, shop assistants etc. comprise the low-income level. The middle-income level refers to people with monthly occupational incomes between 8,000 Ksh and 29,999 Ksh including junior and middle managers, foremen, senior clerks, civil servants, technicians, owners or managers of medium sized farms or private businesses, teachers, qualified nurses etc. Senior managers, senior government officers, professors, and owners of large farms or private businesses with monthly earnings of 30,000 Ksh and above represent the high-income level.

However, an individual's estimated income does not always give a correct picture of the amount of money at a person's disposal. An unemployed graduate, who stays at home as a housewife, for instance, who does not have a fixed monthly salary on her own, may be married to a well-off businessman. Furthermore, additional incomes and extra earnings, which are common in the Kenyan context,<sup>100</sup> e.g. allowances, occasional trading activities, support by other family members, small-scale farming etc. were not considered. Thus, a certain vagueness of the income categories must be accepted.

It is important to mention that earnings in urban areas are almost double the average earnings in rural areas, and that females earn wages below their male counterparts in both rural and urban areas (Republic of Kenya 2003b).

Finally, it has to be mentioned that more than two third of the informants surveyed resided in urban settings (for an understanding of urban and rural in this study, see the sample description in Chapter 3.2.1, p.84).

### ***Realization of interviews***

It has to be pointed out that the one-on-one interviews among the Kikuyu speakers in Nyeri District were conducted from August 26 to September 8, 2001.

---

<sup>99</sup> In 2002 the exchange rate for 1 USD lied at ~ 79 Ksh, 1 Euro was ~ 76 Ksh.

<sup>100</sup> According to the Labour Force Survey 1998/1999 (Republic of Kenya 2003b) salary makes up for 82% of the monthly income. 16% of earnings relate to allowances and other benefits and 2% relate to other income creating activities.

That means, the one-on-one interviews were completed before the terrorist attacks on the *World Trade Center*, in New York and the *Pentagon* in Washington on September 11, 2001, which due to the gravity of the atrocities were the center of attention in the media and entailed enhanced information needs in Kenya as elsewhere in the world afterwards. The media discourse in Kenya very much linked the September 11 attacks to the terrorist bombings that occurred in Kenya and Tanzania in 1998 when the United States embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam were bombed on August 7. The own painful experience with terrorist attacks was an aspect that further increased public debate on terrorism in the Kenyan media after September 11.

The one-on-one interviews among the Luo informants in Kisumu District were conducted from October 14 to October 28, 2001. That is, roughly one month after the September 11 attacks. How the attacks influenced the interviews conducted in Kisumu District is discussed when presenting the impacts on reading in section 3.3.2.2.

All interviews were conducted in the household, at the workplace of the informants or in the household of interviewers either at an appointed time or by spontaneous visits. Occasionally children, other family members or colleagues were present during the course of the interview. Interview length ranged between ten and twenty minutes and all interviews were audio-recorded.<sup>101</sup>

Due to the personal nature of biographical inquiries, it was attempted to conduct the interviews in an unthreatening and supportive atmosphere, which would make the interviewee relax and feel at ease to reveal information concerning his or her life. In this regard, the language use while collecting data in a multilingual setting was most important. Therefore, interviewees had a choice as to the language in which the interview would be conducted. The informants were not rewarded for participation.

The same research assistants, who conducted the group interviews, performed the one-on-one interviews. Like in the case of the group interviews, the assistants were briefed about the purpose of the one-on-one interviews and trained

---

<sup>101</sup> A transcript of an one-on-one interview can be found in Appendix 8.

by me in interview techniques. Usually research assistants accomplished the interviews by themselves. In the initial phase, however, I accompanied the assistants and monitored three or four interviews of each assistant with the aim to observe the course of the interview and the interview techniques applied, to get an insight into the social setting and to understand the interview situation.

Difficulties faced in conducting the interviews related to the amount of control exercised by the research assistants. As had been the case with the group interviews before, some interviewees expected strong control and direct questioning by the interviewer. It depended on the interviewer's skill whether or not she or he could hand some control over and encourage the informant to open up and volunteer information. In some cases, in which I accompanied a research assistant, my presence seemed to have fostered the reticence of the interviewee. In other cases, however, the interest in me, the foreign researcher, and in the research project was stimulated when conducting the one-on-one interviews in a team resulting in a talkative open interview situation.

### *Procedures of data analysis*

All interviews were audio-recorded, transcribed, and (when necessary) translated into English by the research assistants. The data was processed using multi-level analysis methods as described below. A set of coding procedures was employed based on those developed by Strauss (1987) and Strauss & Corbin (1990), which pertain specifically to the approach of Grounded Theory. In short, Grounded Theory aims at generating an explanatory theory emerging from the data. In order to develop that data-based theory, three stages of coding: open coding, axial coding and selective coding are applied to the data. These stages differ in their respective level of abstraction and range from descriptive paraphrasing of ideas, events etc. to summarizing similar concepts in categories and finally to develop a core category<sup>102</sup>, which all other categories relate to. Corbin & Strauss (1990: 116) stress the importance of identifying or choosing the core category or the central phe-

---

<sup>102</sup> Strauss & Corbin define concepts as "conceptual labels placed on concrete happenings, events and other instances of phenomena." (1990: 61). A category is understood as "a classification of concepts. This classification is discovered when concepts are compared one against another and appear to pertain to a similar phenomenon (1990: 61). The core category is defined as "the central phenomenon around which all other categories are integrated." (Strauss & Corbin 1990: 116).

nomenon across all cases. For the purpose of the one-on-one interviews conducted in this exploratory study, however, an overview and a comparison of the different cases were considered more useful than identifying the core phenomenon. Therefore, Strauss & Corbin's selective coding process was altered as described below to serve the purpose of this study.

In an initial approach to the data, each interview was briefly paraphrased and a memo was written (see Appendix 8) including information obtained from the observation sheet (Appendix 7).

In the next step, the interview text was coded summarizing its content based on what Strauss & Corbin (1990: 61) called "open coding". The interview transcripts were examined question by question and labels were assigned to statements made in order to give "each discrete incident, idea, or event, a name, something that stands for or represents a phenomenon" (Strauss & Corbin 1990: 63).

The question to a Kikuyu informant, if she read more in the past or nowadays, for example, was addressed as a relevant topic in the interview and this topic was labeled 'changes in reading habits'. Her answer was coded in the following way (italicized text put in parentheses refers to comments of the interviewer, text in bold print put in square brackets shows the concepts assigned to the text):

"Nowadays, I don't read novels a lot. I mostly read the magazines [**magazine preferred to novel reading**]. (*Okay magazines.*) Because those are the ones I can afford [**affordability**]. In many cases, I am also unable to read the novels [**obstacle to novel reading**], because they have very long stories, which are a problem in finishing [**size of novels**]. You know, I am responsible in feeding my family, other household chores (*Mm.*) [**social role**] So the short time I find [**time limitations**], I use it reading magazines [**magazine reading**]." [MamaRose/Kik]<sup>103</sup>

---

<sup>103</sup> All names of informants were changed in the presentation. Because no linguistic analysis is conducted in this part of the study, all informants' accounts are given in English. The language in which the interview was originally conducted, however, is displayed in the reference code in square brackets. Abbreviation Kik refers to Kikuyu, Eng refers to English.

And the answer of another Kikuyu informant to the same question was labeled as shown below:

“After college, it’s now going to work and I don’t read much now [**decline in amount of reading**].(Okay, why?) Cause there is not enough time to read [**time limitations**]. You know, when you are working and you are a mother [**social role**], no you can’t read, you don’t have enough time to read [**time limitations**].”[Celine/Kik]

In a next stage concepts that related to the same phenomena were grouped together under one category. The two examples above, for example, were grouped to form the category ‘impact of the social role’, which related to the topic ‘changes in reading habits’. Further similar accounts to this category were searched for. This procedure followed Strauss & Corbin’s “axial coding”, which they defined as “a procedure whereby data are put back together in a new way after open coding, by making connections between categories” (Strauss & Corbin 1990: 96).

Finally, the categories were structured with regard to similarities and differences between the concepts summarized in one category. This procedure aimed at gaining an overview of all relevant categories raised by the informants with regard to the topic of reading. And it differed from selective coding (described by Strauss & Corbin as “the process of selecting the core category“(1990: 116)) in so far as it was not intended to choose a superordinate category.

The coding process as a whole was guided by the research objectives of the study (see Chapter 1.2.1, p.14), which was made constant reference to in order to ensure that coding was appropriately focused on the objectives of the study.

### 3.3.2 Findings

Describing the different ways of reading that interviewees engage in and that constitute the reading culture of the Kikuyu and Luo speakers surveyed, was one purpose of this investigation. Additionally, this study aimed at revealing factors that influenced the development of reading and to find out if these influences resulted in certain patterns of contemporary reading habits. In order to examine the impacts on reading, a classification of readers according to their contemporary read-

ing habits was conducted and the developments of reading habits were outlined. In this respect, the types of readers introduced below served as a tool to facilitate investigating influences on reading habits.

### **3.3.2.1 Types of readers**

The categories of readers presented in the following section were distinguished on the basis of the reported reading habits. The different types of readers show the diversity of reading habits found among the informants of this study and document their explanations regarding the development of their reading. As such, they provide a systematization of reading habits in two multilingual settings. However, they should not be understood as representative beyond the sample surveyed or considered complete. It is likely that through further studies additional types and subtypes will emerge.

The types of readers identified in the data are as follows:

#### **A. Readers (N = 37)**

##### **I. Voluntary readers (N = 35)**

###### **1. Leisure readers (N=14)**

- a. Work-related and leisure readers (N = 5)
- b. Entertainment readers (N = 5)
- c. Coincidental entertainment readers (N = 4)

###### **2. Guidance readers (N = 12)**

- a. Life experience readers (N = 5)
- b. Christian news readers (N = 2)
- c. Spiritual guidance Bible readers (N = 5)

###### **3. Information readers (N = 6)**

###### **4. Career advancement readers (N = 3)**

##### **II. Involuntary readers (N = 2)**

#### **B. Non-readers (N = 5)**

###### **1. Low-literate non-readers (N = 3)**

###### **2. Non-interest non-readers (N = 2)**

Different criteria were used to categorize the reported reading habits. In a first step, informants were classified according to whether they reported any kind of present reading activity or not, resulting in two groups: A. Readers, B. Non-readers. The group of readers (A.) was further divided on the basis of the voluntariness of reading, leading to type I. voluntary readers and type II. involuntary readers. Among the voluntary readers, the reported motivation to read ended in four types of readers with 6 subtypes (AI.1. – AI.4.). Finally, group B. Non-readers subdivided to two groups (B.1., B.2.) according to the reported reasons for not engaging in voluntary reading at all.

In fact, this study focuses on voluntary reading habits and voluntary readers (A.I.1.-4)). Thus, in a strict sense, involuntary readers (A.II.) and non-readers (B.1., B.2.) are not of interest for describing voluntary reading habits. However, a further aim of this study is to examine factors which impact on the development of reading habits in a negative or positive way. In this respect, examining involuntary readers and non-readers is relevant to understanding what hampers the development of voluntary reading habits.

In general, the analysis of the one-on-one interviews shows that the majority of informants (35 out of 42) are involved in some kind of voluntary reading. Only 7 informants read involuntarily (2) or not at all (5). Among the voluntary readers (A.I.) leisure readers (A.I.1.) and guidance readers (A.I.2.) outnumber the smaller groups of information readers (A.I.3) and career advancement readers (A.I.4).

The different types and subtypes of readers and non-readers are briefly characterized in the following with regards to the socio-economic features pertaining to them and the development of reading habits described by them. They have to be understood as intergradient rather than precise categories. Following findings of cognitive research (Rosch & Mervis 1975, Rosch 1978) a certain blurredness of categories including prototypical (or ideal) and less ideal members of the category has to be accepted.



**A.I. 1. Leisure readers (N = 35 )**

Informants classified as leisure readers reported to read on a voluntary basis for leisure purposes such as relaxation, entertainment, in order to escape from boredom, to pass time etc. The materials read by them comprise newspapers, magazines, novels, non-fiction titles and the Bible. Except for the coincidental news readers, leisure readers are predominantly male.

The group of leisure readers subdivides to three subtypes as shown in Table 10.

Table 10: Leisure readers

	Age	Education	Lang.	Occupation	Inc.	Mar. Stat.	Res.
<b>A.I.1.a. Work-related and leisure readers</b>							
Michael	<60	Coll./Univ.	K,S,E	Medical doctor	H	M	U
Mwaniki	<50	Coll./Univ.	K,S,E	Teacher	M	M	U
John	<40	Secondary	K,E,S	Civil servant	M	M	U
Frank	<40	Coll/Univ.	L°,S,E	Lawyer, lecturer	H	M	U
Daniel	<30	Coll/Univ.	L°,S,E	Computer service provider	H	S	U
<b>A.I.1.b. Entertainment readers</b>							
Mama Albert	>60	Coll/Univ.	L°,S,E	Teacher	M	M	R
Ronald	<60	Primary	L°,E	Farmer	L	M	R
Maina	<40	Secondary	K,S,E	Casual laborer	L	M	U
Chris	<40	Secondary	L°,S,E	Car mechanic	L	M	U
Jason	<30	Secondary	L°,S,E	Hairdresser	L	M	U
<b>A.I.1.c. Coincidental leisure readers</b>							
Anna	<50	Primary	K,S,E	Housewife	L	M	U
Ruth	<30	Primary	K,S,E	House help	L	S	U
Josephine	<30	Primary	L°,S,E	House help	L	M	U
Peter	<30	Secondary (Drop out)	L°,S,E	2nd hand clothes dealer	L	S	R

E = English, H = High-income group, Inc. = Income, K = Kikuyu, L = Low-income group, L° = Luo, Lang. = Language, M = Middle-income group, Mar.stat. = Marital status, Res. = Residence, S = Swahili

**A.I.1.a. Work-related and leisure readers (N = 5)**

Five informants, who reported to do a large amount of work-related reading, but who stressed to also read for leisure, were summarized in this group.

All five work-related and leisure readers were male and ranged between 21 to 60 years of age. Three informants were Kikuyu, two belonged to the ethnolinguistic Luo community and all five reported to speak L1, Swahili and English in everyday life. Four out of five had a university degree and one attained a secondary level of education. All five work-related and leisure readers resided in an urban setting. They belonged to the high and middle-income sector and worked as medical doctor, teacher, civil servant, lawyer and computer service provider.

Frank, a lawyer and part time lecturer of law in his 30s, characterized his reading habits in the following way:

“I read diverse literature and I am also a notorious spiritual. I am born again. Now, I read books that pertain to my profession, because in my profession you can’t do without reading. Then also I have to maintain service in my faith, I read a lot of spiritual Christian literature, Gospel literature and of course I also read other journals, magazines, newspapers to balance my reading.”[Frank/Eng]<sup>104</sup>

Reading for him satisfied different needs. He sought specialized knowledge needed in his field of profession. And he read religious materials, because he considered it to be his duty as a Christian. Describing his reading of different press products as ‘balancing’ his reading, revealed his understanding of broad reading. He favored to read diverse literature in order to be able to contribute to discussions and he explained:

“Reading widely is essential and it’s good for one to be developed in his brain, like a thinker. In any given subject you can be able to engage in discourse, whichever subject is raised you can contribute.”[Frank/Eng]

Thus, his reading was also motivated by a desire to participate in social interaction and discourse.

And the motivation for leisure reading described by Jason, a civil servant in his late 20s, related to inspiration and advice in terms of personal growth:

---

<sup>104</sup>Quotations read as follows: interviewee's statements are written in simple print. Italicized text in parentheses represents questions and comments of the interviewer. Breaks in the conversation are marked by three dots. However, three dots in parentheses signal that statements have been abbreviated. Square brackets in the text contain comments to enhance the understanding of a statement. Square brackets at the end of a quotation display the reference code of the interview and the language in which it was conducted.

“But now the books I read..those now ... I am not reading academic books. The ones I read are like these should I say stimulating books like hobbies. (*Hobby okay*.) Like psychology books or books of science like-*Think Big*.<sup>105</sup> These psychology books I am a fan. You start to understand human behavior and you also learn, who you are. Then of course newspaper, magazines.”[Jason/Eng]

Concerning the development of reading habits, Mwaniki (like the four other work-related and leisure readers) reported to have started reading in L1 from primary one up to three. Then he said, “ we stopped reading in Kikuyu and we started being more of English and Kiswahili, because, now Kikuyu was somehow down-graded.”

In secondary school the five interviewees started to read widely for class work as well as for leisure. Michael, a medical doctor in his 50s, remembered his novel reading as follows:

“In secondary, we started to read those naughty books about..by Maillu and *After 4:30*<sup>106</sup> I don’t know they were a bit about... I think you have read them? (*I have read them*.) Those are the ones we started with, and of course being boys you know, you want to learn about life. Let’s say about sex and in that book we know those things although we just read under the desk so that no one saw us reading them. Then, from there as you go up of course you read Hadley Chase and now other books. [Michael/Kik]

The home background of the readers, however, differed. While Frank reported to have grown up in a household, where his father, whom he referred to as “a keen educator”, supported reading through buying books for his children and encouraging them to read widely. John said that his parents never bought any book for him apart from storybooks required in primary school. He reported that he visited the library, especially during his high school years both in order to revise class work and to read for leisure.

---

<sup>105</sup> *Think Big* is a type of self-help book by American author Ben Carson, which aims at inspiring people to overcome problems and find directions to make use of their individual potential in order to improve life.

<sup>106</sup> Kenyan author David Maillu, who wrote popular novels such as *The kommon man*, *After 4:30*, *Flesh*, *Broken drum* among many others, had been often accused of vulgarity and pornography in his writings, especially in his early novels of the 1970s (*Sunday Standard*, September 9, 2001). The statement made by Michael confirms the findings of the postcard-readership poll initiated by David Maillu (mentioned in Chapter 2.2.1, p.20), which found that readers of his novel *The kommon man, part one* were predominantly male readers, and gives interesting information as to the motivation for young men to read Maillu’s novels.

All five informants mentioned that they continued reading after school and they felt that their reading even increased. Frank, for instance remarked, “in fact, my reading became more profound.” and Mwaniki mentioned, “I continued reading. I even started even to read more widely than before.”

#### *A.I.1.b. Entertainment readers (N = 5)*

The group of entertainment readers comprises five informants, who reported to read diverse materials such as newspapers, magazines, novels or non-fiction titles. Their reading was unrelated to their work. The five entertainment readers got most of the books they said to read through borrowing and exchanging with friends and family members. And they reported to buy newspapers and magazines, if extra-money was available.

Four out of five readers identified as entertainment readers were male. Age in this group ranged considerably between 21 to above 60. Four were L1 speakers of Luo, one was a L1 speaker of Kikuyu. Four reported trilingual language use in L1, Swahili and English, one reported bilingual language use in L1 and English. Three informants resided in urban areas, two in rural places. Four belonged to the low, one to the middle-income sector.

Regarding the study by Griswold (2000) on novel reading habits in Nigerian contexts (referred to in Chapter 2.2.2, p.30), which characterized readers of novels written in English as members of the high educated urban middle class of South Nigeria, novel readers identified in this study were found to be more heterogeneous as to education, place of residence, and income levels.

Jason, who was working as a hairdresser, was addicted to reading novels. He said that he read one novel per week. At the end of each week, he exchanged it with his sister who was studying at Maseno University where she had access to libraries and a broad network of fellow students from which she could borrow books to read. Jason’s interest in reading novels started, when he finished school. When he was still in school he said that he was reading more for class and for examinations.

His job as a hairdresser did not demand reading, but it regularly provided Jason with reading time, because he often found himself idle at his work place when waiting for customers.

Jason valued reading for various reasons:

“It increases my knowledge in so many fields and besides it gives me something to do. At least sometimes when I am bored, cause you know, sometimes you can be reading a novel somebody just sees you laughing your head off and wonders ‘Ehh what is wrong with this guy is he crazy or what?’ But there is some funny content in there that amuses you. So, you see, sometimes it releases pressure also. I find it very interesting. (*So you like reading?*) I like reading very much. Because there is so much in literature, there is humor, there is that increase of knowledge and at least sometimes you find that you have some spare time, so what you do with the time. You see, at least like us teenagers, you do... at times idling and that you see keeps you from so many things at times. Ya.” [Jason/Eng]

The functions of reading he gave relate to diverse needs including the cognitive need to gain knowledge, the emotional need to get entertainment, overcome boredom, and to release tension through reading.

His reading interests were espionage, socio-religious topics, romance and autobiographies. His favorite author was Sydney Sheldon and all of the books he read were written in English (at the time of the interview a Robert Ludlum novel was laying openly on the table next to him). His reading competency in Luo, he admitted, was daunting, because he never practiced it much.

Ronald, a farmer in his late 50s, remarked the importance of discussing his reading with his friends in the village and highlighted social interaction as a motive for his reading. He said:

“(...) Within our village, we have a particular place at the shopping center where we meet and discuss what we have read. If it is the Bible we sit and discuss the word of God. Like this verse states like this and the other verse states like that. When I read a newspaper I have to tell my friends like I just read America is striking back at Afghanistan.<sup>107</sup> That we discuss.” [Ronald/Luo]

---

<sup>107</sup> The interview was conducted on October 19, 2001. American air strikes against Afghanistan started October 7, 2001. In response to the September 11 attacks they aimed at destroying the Islamic Taliban rulers and the terrorist Al Qaeda network in Afghanistan and to capture Al Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden, who was held responsible for the attacks in New York and Washington.

The two leisure readers residing in a rural environment reported that it was difficult for them to satisfy their interest for novels, non-fiction, nationwide newspapers, and magazines, because these publications hardly reached the rural areas. Thus, readers were dependent on family members or friends to supply them with reading material from towns. Mama Albert, a retired secondary school teacher in her 60s, for instance, read the national newspapers her husband collected for her in town. When he came home for a visit, he usually brought a heap of papers, which Mama Albert read over and over again until her husband brought new materials. She also said to reread novels and storybooks that she kept from the time her children were going to school. As all of her children had left her rural home and her husband spent the week in Kisumu working, she reported to have plenty of spare time to engage in reading.

For Ronald who liked reading the locally produced L1 newspapers access was no problem as L1 newspapers were available in the rural area he was living in. However, he reported having difficulties in getting hold of books. He depended on his son and other family members, who attended school, for novels and books. Other obstacles to reading for Ronald and Mama Albert included eye problems (and as a result dependence on daylight for reading), lack of libraries in the rural places and lack of money to go to town to visit the library or buy books.

#### *A.1.1.c. Coincidental leisure readers (N = 4)*

Informants in this group reported going through newspapers and magazines to pass time when they happen to find a newspaper. They did not read novels, non-fiction or other materials. They reported not to purchase newspapers and magazines themselves, but to access them at work or when they come across them at friends' or neighbors' places. Typical of this group, Ruth, a house help in her 20s, remarked: "Sometimes, when I can get a newspaper I read the headlines."

Three out of four coincidental leisure readers were female. Three informants belonged to the age bracket of 21 to 30 years; one belonged to the age group 41 to 50. This group included two Kikuyu and two Luo speakers, who reported to be trilingual in L1, Swahili and English. Three resided in an urban setting, one in a rural area. Three informants had a primary level of education, one

dropped out of secondary school. They worked as housewives, house helps and secondhand clothes dealers.

Informants in this group explained that they became literate in L1, and then changed to English in accordance with the curriculum. Concerning reading proficiency in L1, Anna, a housewife in her late 40s residing in Nyeri, said that she had never read a book in Kikuyu apart from the Kikuyu primer *Wirũthe Gũthoma* 'Learn to read' used in early primary school. She practiced her L1 reading skills very little after that time. This made it hard for her to read Kikuyu. Ruth also judged her L1 reading ability as insufficient and stated: "Kikuyu reading is hard, speaking is fluent, but reading I get stuck, Swahili also."

Thus, reading was strongly linked to English. The four informants read English primers and storybooks in primary school. None of them reported to have ever read a novel neither while going to school nor afterwards. And the coincidental leisure readers surveyed judged their reading competency in English as limited. Anna, for instance, answered to a question concerning the materials she currently read as follows, "Just those [magazines], that are in the newspapers the weekend ones<sup>108</sup>. I mostly read that, because they are simple to read."

And Peter, a young man in his 20s selling secondhand clothes in Kisumu reported, "in the newspaper I read *Young Nation*<sup>109</sup> and the main headlines. The simple things." Thus, the low level of self-assessed reading proficiency of the coincidental news readers supports Bonfadelli's hypothesis (referred to in Chapter 2.1, p.18) stating that it is unlikely that reading would be used for more than necessary information purposes, if readers perceive it as difficult and tiresome.

Three out of four interviewees reported to have grown up in homes, where no books were available apart from the ones bought for or provided by school. And they could not remember having seen their parents reading at home. It was only Josephine who remembered her father reading to her from the Luo Bible

---

<sup>108</sup> The weekend magazines she mentions are supplements, which can be found in the two biggest national newspapers, *Daily Nation* and *East African Standard*, each Saturday or Sunday respectively. They cover leisure and entertainment topics such as relationship, health, a 'what's up' section, TV program as well as cartoons, humor and young reader's pages.

<sup>109</sup> *Young Nation* is a weekly supplement in the Sunday edition of the *Daily Nation* which addresses children and juveniles with comics, short stories written by other children, drawings etc.

when she was young. All four informants reported that they currently had no books at home apart from the ones they kept after leaving school or the textbooks their children or siblings were using.

After they finished primary school or dropped out of secondary school respectively, reading was not demanded in their work environment. Anna became a housewife and Josephine and Ruth started working as house helps, which left them with very little spare time. Working from early morning to late in the evening, they felt that they hardly rest during the week. On their days off they said that they would rather socialize with family members and friends than read solitarily. Their accounts reproduce an assumed reason for the underdevelopment of reading habits in African contexts made by Chakava (referred to in Chapter 2.2.2, p.29) who claims that communal lifestyles are preferred to the isolating activity of reading.

Tiredness after work was what hindered Peter from engaging in reading:

“Now I don’t read a lot (...) because according to the business I am undertaking, when I am from there I am usually exhausted, so most of the time I don’t read. When I am resting I am listening to the radio.”[Peter/Luo]

### ***A.1.2. Guidance readers (N = 12)***

The twelve informants summarized as guidance readers reported to read voluntarily seeking guidance in and advice on personal issues such as family life, childcare, health etc. and Christian living. The group of guidance readers divides into three distinct subtypes (shown in Table 11 on the following page) according to the reported preference for either magazine reading for advice on family life etc. or Christian magazine or the Bible reading for spiritual guidance. 10 of a total of 12 guidance readers are female.



Table 11: Guidance readers

	Age	Education	Lang.	Occupation	Inc.	Mar. Stat.	Res.
<b>A.I.2.a. Life experience readers</b>							
Monica	<30	Secondary	K,S,E	Hairdresser	L	M	U
Celine	<30	Coll./Univ.	K,S,E	Teacher/Insurance Saler	M	M	U
Mama Rose	<30	Secondary	K,S,E	Vegetable Vendor	L	M	U
Mama Ben	<30	Secondary	L°,S,E	2nd hand clothes dealer	L	M	R
Rosa	<30	Secondary	L°,S,E	Social worker	M	M	R
<b>A.I.2.b. Christian news readers</b>							
Jessica	<50	Secondary	K,S,E	Dressmaker	L	M	R
Sarah	<30	Coll./Univ.	K,S,E	Pharmacist	M	M	U
<b>A.I.2.c. Spiritual guidance Bible readers</b>							
Heather	>60	Primary	K	Housewife, Farmer	L	M	R
Rachel	<60	Primary	L°	Housewife, farmer	L	W	U
Mama Paula	<60	Coll./Univ.	L°,E	Teacher (retired)	M	M	R
Kamau	<60	Primary	K,S,E	Farmer	L	M	R
Alfred	<50	Primary	L°, E	Shoe maker	L	M	U

E = English, H = High-income group, Inc. = Income, K = Kikuyu, L = Low-income group, L° = Luo, Lang. = Language, M = Middle-income group, Mar.stat. = Marital status, Res. = Residence, S = Swahili

#### *A.I.2.a. Life experience readers (N = 5)*

Life experience readers reported to read entertaining magazines containing life experience stories of others covering relationships, family life, child care, health etc. They did not read additional fiction or non-fiction books, but some referred to Bible reading pursued in church<sup>110</sup>. They either bought or borrowed magazines from family members or friends.

The five life experience readers were women between the ages of 21 and 30. Three spoke Kikuyu and two spoke Luo as their first language, and all five reported to speak Swahili and English besides their L1 in everyday life. Three resided in urban settings, two lived in rural areas. The life experience readers in-

<sup>110</sup> Bible reading in church was sometimes reported by informants in addition to the materials said to be commonly read at home. However, as long as it was not reported as a major or predominant reading activity church Bible reading was not used as a classificatory criterion.

interviewed reported a secondary or higher level of education and belonged to the low and middle-income groups. Four ran small-scale businesses and one worked as a teacher. In age, sex and educational level the profile of the life experience readers found in the data match the readers' profile of *Parents* magazine (referred to in Chapter 2.2.1, p.21).

The term 'life experience' that was chosen as the label for the group, was frequently referred to by the informants surveyed. Monica, a Nyeri hairdresser in her late 20s, for instance explained her preference to read magazines as a desire of "knowing more about experience in life." And Celine, a teacher by profession working as an insurance sales person in Nyeri, answered to the question what she found interesting in the magazines: "There is this issue of real life, real life experience. You know, you want to know what other people have experienced." Thus, reading functions to satisfy an interest or curiosity in other persons' experiences. Additionally, magazine reading is done seeking practical advice and information on topics such as relationships, family life, health etc. as expressed by Mama Rose, a vegetable seller aged 28, who stated: "I enjoy reading magazines, which teach on the way of living. Relationship, you know. Marriage. How to cope with men, the body health and the need of it." Finally, a statement made by Mama Ben, a secondhand clothes dealer in rural Kisumu, revealed a need for social interaction, that magazine reading seeks to fulfill. Mama Ben remarked:

"If I read something interesting, then I can tell others, as we sit and rest, about what happened to someone. (*So you discuss?*) Yes, I like discussing when I find something good and interesting." [MamaBen/Luo]

The case of Celine exemplified the development of reading common among the five informants surveyed. She reported:

"In lower primary, I could read story books, mostly in Kikuyu and then we went on in English. Then I could read storybooks like *The Secret* and then *Safari*. Even in Swahili. In secondary school our library was mostly stocked with newspapers. Each and every day's newspaper. So when we went to the library we got the ordinary newspapers. Okay, and we used to like them, because they have a lot of information. (...) After I finished school I went to college [teacher's training college]. (...) In college I started reading now *Parents*<sup>111</sup>. I liked it; I could even buy for myself, even now. (...) After college it is now going to work and I don't read

---

<sup>111</sup> For further details on *Parents* magazine see Chapter 3.1.1, p.59

much now. (*Okay, why?*) Cause there is not enough time to read. You know, when you are working and you are a mother, no, you can't read, you don't have enough time to read." [Celine/Kik]

Regarding the reading ability Mama Ben, the secondhand clothes dealer, explained:

"Now, mostly I can read in English, more fluently than the remaining languages. Okay, I can speak Swahili, but not clearly and therefore, I don't like reading it, I don't have interest in reading it, because I don't like it. Yes, and you know that Dholuo is also hard to read, so what I like so much is just English, I like it more than the remaining languages." [MamaBen/Luo]

However, Monica, a hairdresser in her 20s, preferred both Swahili and English, "I am not very good in Kikuyu reading, although I am a Kikuyu, but I like Swahili and English."

Like Celine, the four other life experience readers experienced a decline in reading after school and they shifted from book to magazine reading. The reasons that were given for these changes related to accessibility, lack of time and affordability:

"I got to the point that I was unable to read anymore mostly, because I couldn't get them [novels] easily and I didn't have time to look for them, so I could only find the magazines. (...) Because those [magazines] are the ones I can afford. In many cases, I am also unable to read the novels, because they have very long stories, which are a problem in finishing." [MamaRose/Kik]

She went on dwelling on her social role as a wife and a mother and the duties related to it and said: "You know, I am responsible for feeding my family, other household chores. So the short time I find, I use it reading magazines." Mama Ben also refers to a lack of money and time restraints caused by household chores:

"There is a place to buy them [magazines], but money [she laughs] money that you can use to buy them, there is none. And when I go to the house I usually find it late, as you know, I reach and start preparing supper for my family, we eat, I dress the child and lay him to sleep. Then I can sit and watch television." [MamaBen/Luo]

### ***A.1.2.b. Christian news readers*** (N = 2)

The two informants of this group described a special interest in Christian topics, which they felt guided and encouraged them in their daily life. They mainly read Christian magazines; some read the Bible as well.

Two Kikuyu women in their 30s and 40s reported having a special interest in Christian topics. They were trilingual in L1, Swahili and English. One resided in an urban setting, the other in a rural area of Nyeri District. They reached a secondary and college level of education respectively and belonged to the low and middle-income groups working as a dressmaker and a pharmacist assistant.

Jessica, the dressmaker, borrowed magazines from friends, because she could not afford to buy them. She started reading Christian magazines after her salvation<sup>112</sup> a few years ago. Sarah, a pharmacist assistant by profession living as a housewife reported, “Nowadays I so much read Christian materials. Magazines like *Revival Springs*. We buy the magazines. Mostly I read these magazines.”

Concerning her motivation to read, Jessica remarked:

“I like reading the Christian magazines. To know what happens in the country, the churches, crusades and so on. The magazines also help me to know how to live a Christian life. They have stories about how people failed to live in a Godly way and how God lead them to the right path. When reading these stories you know how God expects us to stay.”[Jessica/Kik]

Her account revealed three functions with regard to Christian magazine reading. First, she expressed to seek information about Christian events and Christian institutions, in which she is interested. Second, she mentioned to read the Christian magazines to get guidance and advice on how to live a godly life. In this respect, her motivation to read equals the one described by the life experience readers, who sought guidance and advice on marriage, family living and health issues. And third, Jessica was interested in other persons’ life experiences again similar to the interest of the life experience readers.

---

<sup>112</sup> According to beliefs of different Christian groups, a person needs to seek salvation in order to attain heaven after death. A person can get saved through the grace of God, when she or he avows her- or himself a Christian, accepts God and lives a Christian life. By converting to God, the individual experiences a spiritual ‘rebirth’, and becomes a so-called ‘re-born’ or ‘saved’ Christian.

Sarah also appreciated the reports and articles in the Christian magazines because of their religious guidance and advice. She frequently discussed what she read with her husband and they talked about their own way of life in the light of the articles she read. In this way, her magazine reading served the function of social interaction, because it created conversational topics between her and her husband.

The two Christian news readers started reading in school using L1. Then they changed to English as demanded by the school curriculum. Jessica was not taught Swahili but attained it outside of school, while Sarah remembered reading Swahili in class. However, both of them preferred reading in English because they said they could read it without difficulties. At Sarah's home:

“No-one went to school, my grandfather refused to take my mother and her brothers and sisters to school. But my mum later went for the Adult Education, still while married, and that's when she learnt how to read Swahili, both Kikuyu and Swahili.”[Sarah/Kik]

Sarah talked with her brothers, sisters, and children from the neighborhood about school and reading. She mentioned that they inspired her to frequently read and do her homework so as not to stay behind.

For Jessica, it was her father who encouraged her to read and read the Bible to her. In line with her growing competency in reading, Jessica changed from storybooks and booklets to novels in secondary school. She favored the African authors they read in upper classes. Sarah did not like novels a lot and she remembered that she especially disliked the Western authors “because they took long to get finished – I have never read any up to the end.”

Both of the Christian news readers reported that they read less after finishing school. They stopped reading fiction and non-fiction books and started reading the Christian magazines, which they felt suited their restricted time better than the longer novels.

### *A.1.2.c. Spiritual guidance Bible readers (N = 5)*

The five informants of this group reported to predominantly read the Bible for guidance and they felt that reading the Bible was a necessity to live a godly life.

Three informants summarized in this group were female, two were male. Four were aged 51 to above 60; one belonged to the age group of 41 to 50 years. Four of them had attained a primary level of education, one held a college degree. Three out of the five spiritual guidance Bible readers resided in a rural setting. Except for one, who was a retired teacher and belonged to the middle-income group, they fell into the low-income group and worked as housewives, farmers and shoemakers.

Concerning their motivation to read the Bible the informants reported receiving spiritual consolation and freedom from reading the Bible. In the words of Heather, a housewife in her 60s:

“I love the word of God, when I rest and I don’t have much to do I take my Bible and read a verse. It makes me happy and comforts me after the day.”[Heather/Kik]

Additionally, informants sought religious guidance from the Bible as is evident in a statement made by Kamau, a farmer in his 50s:

“When I read the Bible and it says exactly how to stay, what to do, it explains about sins, so it helps me in my daily life, it helps me to find direction.”[Kamau/Kik]

Thus, their reading aimed at getting consolation and orientation in their everyday life. In this respect their motivation for reading is similar to the one expressed by the life experience and Christian news readers described above. Furthermore, an aspect of relaxation and enjoyment is evident in the aforementioned accounts, hinting to the release of tension as another function of their reading.

A motivation to read materials other than the Bible was reported to be low. Rachel, a housewife and small-scale farmer in her 50s, for instance, said she preferred sitting with her grandchildren teaching them through telling stories. Aloys enjoyed relaxing after work without thinking too much. And Mama Paula, a retired teacher in her 50s, said she rests after the daily work in her small garden. She

explained that she did not have much interest in reading since she retired from her work as a teacher.

The two monolingual interviewees of this group used L1 in their daily life and it was the only medium of instruction in their schools. Rachel, who lived with her children in urban Kisumu, said that she frequently heard English and Swahili spoken in her environment, as her children and grandchildren use it. The grandchildren were also the ones who function as mediators in the multilingual environment.

The two bilingual interviewees reported that they started reading in L1 but also learned to read “a little” English. Both bilingual informants admitted that they did not continue reading English, but read exclusively in L1 at the time of the interview, as it is the language of daily use in their rural surrounding. Aloys explained, that he forgot how to read English and said that his children read English and Swahili. He said that they assisted him in reading English when he had to.

Four of the interviewees in this group attended school in late colonial times, one after independence in 1963. All five started reading in Luo. The materials read were Luo primers as well as stories of Luo warriors. Some proceeded with English storybooks in the upper classes of primary school. However, with the exception of Mama Paula, none of the informants proceeded to more advanced texts, e.g. novels or non-fiction books.

At home, none of the informants were supported or motivated to read and they mentioned that their parents were illiterate. Rachel reflected on her family and early childhood in the colonial times of the late 1940s:

“People did not take learning seriously. Especially for girls, girls were not learning, I was the only one girl from our village. And even me, I did not clear school, I left school in early stages in class four because my grandfather did not want us to go to school.”[Rachel/Kik]

These informants did not mention obstacles they faced regarding their reading. They reported to have access to the Bible, which all of them had in the house and read in the evenings or when they felt like it during the day. Because they were not interested in reading material apart from the Bible, they faced no problems in accessing reading material. Neither was time, as the informants reported to often rest during the day due to their advanced age.

### A.1.3. Information readers ( $N = 6$ )

The information readers surveyed (Table 12) reported to exclusively or predominantly read newspapers in order to be updated on national and world news. They accessed the newspapers either through their workplace, the library, by buying or borrowing from friends and neighbors or reading at vendors' stalls.

Table 12: Information readers

	Age	Education	Lang.	Occupation	Inc.	Mar. Stat.	Res.
Mwangi	<60	Primary	K,S,E	Small scale business	L	M	U
Mutahi	<50	Secondary	K,S,E	Business man	M	M	U
Marianne	<50	Secondary	L°,S,E	Secretary	M	M	U
Ngugi	<40	Secondary	K,S,E	Small scale business	L	M	U
Jeffrey	<40	Coll./Univ.	K,S,E	Civil Servant	M	M	U
Mama Lillian	<40	Secondary	K,S,E	Small scale Business	L	M	U

E = English, H = High-income group, Inc. = Income, K = Kikuyu, L = Low-income group, L° = Luo, Lang. = Language, M = Middle-income group, Mar.stat. = Marital status, Res. = Residence, S = Swahili

Four interviewees sorted in this group were male, two female ranging from 31 to 60 years of age. Five were Kikuyu speakers and one a Luo speaker and all of them reported to be trilingual in L1, Swahili and English. One completed primary school, five interviewees attained secondary or higher level of education. All six interviewees resided in an urban setting and belonged to the low and middle-income groups. Informants in this group ran small-scale businesses (e.g. kiosks, vegetable stalls, saloons etc.) or worked as secretaries or civil servants.

A statement contributed by Mwangi, a small-scale businessman in his 50s, who visits the Nyeri library on a regular basis in order to read the daily newspapers, exemplifies the motivation for newspaper reading commonly referred to by the interviewees. He reported: "I look at the newspapers, mostly the government newspapers<sup>113</sup>, so that I may know what is happening." And Jeffrey, a civil ser-

<sup>113</sup> *The East African Standard* and *Kenya Times* are affiliated to the *Kenya African National Union* (KANU). KANU was governing under president Daniel arap Moi until the end of 2002.



vant in his 30s, explained his motivation to read the newspapers, as “I like to be updated on the current news, to know how the country would be going on and internationally also”. The function of reading verbalized in these accounts relates to cognitive needs in two aspects. First, newspaper reading serves the desire to get information and to update oneself about political developments and national events, which are focused on in the newspapers. Second, it reflects a need to orientate oneself both in the immediate environment and in the world.

As regards the development of the reading ability, news and information readers reported starting with L1 literacy in primary school. Later, English became the medium of instruction.<sup>114</sup> Ngugi, a small-scale businessman in his 30s, explained: “I am not fluent in Kikuyu. It’s because Kikuyu lessons were abolished in standard three. So we stopped reading in Kikuyu.” And Jeffrey remarked that reading in secondary school was exclusively done in English:

“We didn’t read Kikuyu in secondary, I couldn’t read it. I didn’t have interest in Kikuyu, because it was not examinable. (*Mm*) I mostly read, what was examinable. (*Okay*) Today unless I read Christian books or the Bible, I don’t read Kikuyu. (*You don’t read Kikuyu*) I only read English... mostly I would say English. Even Swahili is very hard, unless I have *Taifa Leo*...I might go through it, but not reading much.” [Jeffrey/Eng]

Interviewees’ low performance rating regarding L1 and Swahili reading proficiency, thus, made it difficult for them to read the two languages. Furthermore, the account shows that the interest in a language has to do with its recognition in the curriculum.

The English books that interviewees reported to have read at the secondary level comprised novels from the *Mills & Boon* Publishing House<sup>115</sup>, and the series

---

<sup>114</sup> As has been mentioned the dominant language of a region is used as a medium of instruction in the first three years of primary school. In urban centres and areas without dominant languages Swahili is used as medium of instruction in schools. After form three, English is the medium of instruction up to university level (Kinunda 1994: 3125).

<sup>115</sup> *Mills & Boon* Publishing House, founded in 1908 in Great Britain, originally started with a wide variety of titles, but soon became one of the most well known publishers of romantic fiction in the English-speaking world. While various authors published at *Mills & Boon*, literature came to be known by the publishing house and not the authors. Thus the term *Mills & Boon* today stands for a typical kind of romantic fiction (see McAleer 1999 or Dixon 1999 for further details).

*Hardy Boys* and *Nancy Drew*<sup>116</sup>, which were available and read in school libraries or borrowed from friends. Other informants mentioned African authors like Chinua Achebe, John Kiriamiti, Ngugi wa Thiong'o etc., who were read while in secondary school. The data, however, are not clear with regard to whether they were read voluntarily in leisure time or in class. Jeffrey, for instance, remarked that he only read what was examinable, thus it is likely that the novels of African authors, which he reported to have read, were read because they were prescribed by the curriculum and part of literature classes. Marianne, a secretary in her 40s, reported that her leisure reading beyond class increased tremendously in secondary school including novels by African and Western authors alike.

Regarding the influence of the home environment and the reading habits of family and friends, Jeffrey remembered his parents' reading behavior as frequent, "because they were learned, so they read books." Mama Lillian too remembered a supportive home environment, in which books were bought for her and available from her brothers and sisters. Unlike Jeffrey and Mama Lillian, Mwangi noted, "Our parents didn't know the importance of education, we were not being bought books." And Ngugi, a small-scale businessman in his 30s, even remarked, "Our parents didn't like anything to do with reading. They wanted us to graze." Ngugi did not find books at home or in the village he grew up in. He reported that he grazed cattle for up to 5 months per year, in which time he neither went to school nor read.

After finishing school, all news and information readers experienced a change in reading habits and turned from book to newspaper and magazine reading. The reasons they gave for this change were related to accessibility, affordability and lack of time or personal interest.

---

<sup>116</sup> *Hardy Boys* and *Nancy Drew* are two famous US-book series for young readers, published by *Stratemeyer Syndicate*, from as early as 1926 onwards. Until today they are popular with the youth and had several TV series in addition to many other media appearances in Western Anglophone countries (see Kismaric & Heiferman 1998 for further information).

Mutahi, for instance, a middle class businessman in his 40s, explained:

“After school I mostly liked to read the newspaper (*Okay you then stopped reading*). I stopped reading the novels. (...) I didn’t get access to them. (*Ah, you didn’t get them.*) Yes. (*Even after going to the library?*) Where I lived I became very busy with other things, so I was unable to go to the library. (*Ohh, okay*). So the only thing I got was only the newspaper and I started reading it. Nowadays I only read the newspaper.”[Mutahi/Kik]

Ngugi stated, “I read more in the past, when I was not busy. Now, you come from work tired and you have other duties to accomplish at home. So it’s not easy to read frequently.”

An episode contributed by Marianne, the secretary, described her special interest in getting news from the newspapers. She reported that the first thing she goes to when opening a newspaper is the obituaries. And she adds, that she checks them in order to update herself on whether family members or friends have died or not. This behavior is a common practice in African as well as in European contexts. And although Marianne didn’t dwell on her motivation to read the obituaries, it is hypothesized, that increasing death rates due to the spread of the HIV/Aids epidemic in Kenya<sup>117</sup> have had a major influence on monitoring death announcements. Evidence for this assumption was found in a group interview conducted in Nyeri. Within a group of *matatu-touts*<sup>118</sup>, an interviewee described the same newspaper reading habits as Marianne:

“First you open the obituaries. You check if there is someone from your place who died. It’s because of that disease; Aids, you know.”[NYTO/Kik]

---

<sup>117</sup> The Aids infection rate in Kenya is estimated at 15% (UNAIDS 2002). According to sentinel surveillance of HIV/Aids in antenatal clinics, HIV/Aids prevalence among pregnant women in Kisumu is 27%, in Nyeri 17% (UNAIDS 2002).

<sup>118</sup> The public transport in Kenya heavily relies on private companies, which offer transport on various routes connecting towns and villages. For that purpose vans and minibuses, commonly referred to as ‘*matatu*’, are equipped to transport passengers. Usually, the owners of these minibuses employ drivers and conductors, which operate the *matatu*. Due to high competition in the field of public transport, however, *touts* are established at the main bus stations to acquire passengers and to direct them to the minibuses they work with.

#### A.I.4. Career advancement readers ( $N = 3$ )

The three informants of this category (Table 13) mentioned reading books and other materials in order to improve their professional skills. They planned to take up a certain job in the near future and they read in order to qualify for it. They were not interested in leisurely reading novels, magazines etc. but focused on their careers.

Table 13: Career advancement readers

	Age	Education	Lang.	Occupation	Inc.	Mar. Stat.	Res.
Pastor Neil	<40	Coll./Univ.	L°,S,E	Pastor (KPC)	M	S	U
Patrick	<40	Coll./Univ.	L°,S,E	Church coordinator	M	M	U
Benjamin	<30	Coll./Univ.	L°,E, Sub	Marketing Coordinator/Teacher	H	S	U

E = English, H = High-income group, Inc. = Income, K = Kikuyu, L = Low-income group, L° = Luo, Lang. = Language, M = Middle-income group, Mar.stat. = Marital status, Res. = Residence, S = Swahili, Sub = Suba

All three career advancement readers were male Luo speakers aged 21 to 40. They reported trilingual language use and resided in an urban setting. The three informants belonged to the high and middle-income sector and worked as church coordinators, pastors and marketing coordinators.

The career advancement readers surveyed, valued reading as a means of increasing knowledge and of improving professional skills as a prerequisite for well-paid jobs. Benjamin, a university graduate in his late 20s working as a lecturer at a private business school, for instance, remarked:

“I like it [reading], because actually it has increased my abilities... particular abilities a lot. And it has been an opportunity to work at least in three areas that requires much reading. That is one, to be a lecturer, second to be a marketer and third to be in church.”[Benjamin/Eng]

The three career advancement readers already succeeded in obtaining well-paid jobs and were motivated by their former experiences to climb the social ladder even higher.

Therefore, their reading was focused on their careers or as Pastor Neil summarized it:

“I don’t read for pleasure, I read, in order to get information. And I would like to read even more, because I have a desire to, in future to continue with my studies also.”[PastorNeil/Eng]

The function of reading revealed in this account is strictly utilitarian aiming at vocational training and up-ward mobility.

The informants reported that they had access to books when they were young. In the case of Patrick, a church coordinator aged in his 30s, and Benjamin their mothers read to them, whereas Pastor Neil’s father had a library at home. He reported that his father was a man who loved reading, but that he didn’t read to the kids.

During school days, the career advancement readers remembered their reading as broad ranging from class work and exam-oriented materials to novel and magazine reading in their spare time.

Though Benjamin reported to read Luo, Swahili and English fluently, L1 reading posed a problem to Patrick as well as to Pastor Neil. Both of them admitted that they never learned to read properly in L1. Patrick reported to struggle a lot when reading in Luo and Pastor Neil remarked that he only recently started to develop his L1 reading.

After school all three informants increased their reading as exemplified by a statement made by Benjamin:

“Very much, actually after college I didn’t have enough time, to rest at home. (...) I started as a teacher and as much of my time is in reading research work, finding more on resources to give to the students. And personally, I read a lot about marketing, I’d say I take much of my time... about let me say...about seventy percent to eighty percent of my time is reading throughout.”[Benjamin/Eng]

Patrick, who is married, mentioned that his wife was “also quite a reader.” And that she was mainly reading texts for an accountancy course that she was attending. He felt that her reading stimulated him to also continue reading.

### A.II. *Involuntary readers* ( $N = 2$ )

Two informants, who reported to read only to the amount required by the work they were doing, were classified as involuntary readers (Table 14). They reportedly did not read materials other than the ones required by their jobs.

Table 14 *Involuntary readers*

	Age	Education	Lang.	Occupation	Inc.	Mar. Stat.	Res.
Atieno	<50	Coll./Univ.	L°,S,E	PhDLecturer, University	H	M	U
Katy	<40	Coll./Univ.	L°,S,E	Teacher	M	M	U

E = English, H = High-income group, Inc. = Income, K = Kikuyu, L = Low-income group, L° = Luo, Lang. = Language, M = Middle-income group, Mar.stat. = Marital status, Res. = Residence, S = Swahili, Sub = Suba

The two informants characterized as involuntary readers were female Luo speakers in their 30s and 40s respectively, who reported trilingual language use in L1, Swahili and English in their daily life. Both of them attained a college and university level of education respectively and they belonged to the high and middle-income groups respectively. Both resided in urban Kisumu. One was teaching at Maseno University and the other one was teaching at a primary school in Kisumu.

Regarding her motivation to read, Katy, the primary school teacher, explained her reading habits as following utilitarian purposes:

“Okay now, like the books I read are basically those set books. (...) I teach form one, I am reading, sort of form one topics and that’s all. I don’t read like extensively or others like to entertain myself. I lack interest. So, it is just for the sake of teaching.”[Katy/Eng]

Atieno, a lecturer in her 40s, said to read textbooks in preparation for class, too. Whereas Katy had no interest in leisure time reading, Atieno was interested, but mentioned not to have the time necessary to read voluntarily, because of the workload she faced being a lecturer and head of department at Maseno University.

Both reported that their parents were not educated and that they did not value reading. There were no books at home and no one ever read to them. Books were accessed through school. Atieno started primary school in urban Kisumu in English. She said that up to now, she had difficulties in reading Luo, that she

could only read it word by word, but not fluently, because she never learned to read it properly. Atieno described how she read extensively when she was in school, because books could easily be accessed at the school library. She read imported teenager series like *Sweet Valley High*<sup>119</sup>. In high school and university, she started reading novels and magazines for entertainment. Over the years, however, she read more and more non-fiction materials related to her studies. She felt that her keen reading ability helped her qualify for her profession as a lecturer at university. Therefore, she valued reading a lot and she encouraged her children to read widely by providing them with reading material. When they were young, she also read to them. Western society had influenced her in this habit. She explained, “ I learned, that mothers read to their kids.” She regarded the habit of reading to children as a positive influence.

She cited her salvation as a second factor that impacted on her reading habits and explained:

“My salvation has influenced actually probably the type of things that I read. Because I see a lot of novels in shelves, which I think I will waste off my time. I don’t know what I am going to get from them. I open a magazine and I see some topics, which I feel useless for me. I open a newspaper and I see some topics I feel like I save my time I skip that and read something else. So, in a way my salvation has helped when I read.”[Atieno/Eng]

### **B. Non-readers (N = 5)**

Informants classified as non-readers learned to read and write in school, but never read any material after leaving school. They felt that reading was not required in their daily life and said that it was of only minor significance to them. The non-readers type comprised two subtypes, which differed considerably in terms of socio-economic parameters (Table 15, next page).

---

<sup>119</sup> *Sweet Valley High* is a popular US-teenage book series conceived by author Fancine Pascal. The series, which brings stories about teenage romance and teenage life, expanded with several sequel series and has more than 120 million books in print. TV series as well as other media appearances accomplished its growth (Saunders 2000).

Table 15: Non-readers

	Age	Education	Lang,	Occupation	Inc.	Mar.Stat.	Res.
<b>B.1. Low-literate non-readers</b>							
Nd'egwa	>60	Primary	K	Casual laborer	L	S	R
Wambui	<50	Primary	K, S	Dressmaker	L	M	R
Nyawira	<50	Primary	K	Housewife, farmer	L	M	R
<b>B.2. Non-interest non-readers</b>							
Wambugu	<40	Secondary	K,S,E	Dressmaker	L	M	U
Sally	<30	Secondary	L°,S,E	Hairdresser	L	S	U

E = English, H = High-income group, Inc. = Income, K = Kikuyu, L = Low-income group, L° = Luo, Lang. = Language, M = Middle-income group, Mar.stat. = Marital status, Res. = Residence, S = Swahili

### **B.1. Low-literate non-readers** (N = 3)

Three informants were classified as low-literate non-readers. They achieved a low level of literacy in L1, English or Swahili and reported to have difficulties in reading texts in either language.

The interviewees of this group comprise two female and one male informant, all of them L1 speakers of Kikuyu. Two reported to be monolingual in L1 one reported L1 and Swahili language use. They ranged between 41 and 60 years of age and all of them resided in a rural setting and belonged to the low-income group. They worked as housewife and farmer, dressmaker and casual laborer.

The three low-literate non-readers felt that reading was not necessary in their immediate environment or workplace and they went through their daily life without reading. Nyawira, a housewife and small-scale farmer in her late 40s, summarized her education that started in the early 1960s as follows:

“Our parents didn’t take education as a very important issue: (...) In school there were no books unless the ones for the teacher, but not for us. (...) We learned Kikuyu then we also were learning Swahili (...) in the upper classes, magazines were not there, we only heard about them (...) now those novels, maybe people from the well up families they had, but for us, never. (...) And you know, work at home was too much even more than reading work. After school we worked at home in the shamba<sup>120</sup> and lastly we got married.”[Nyawira/Kik]

<sup>120</sup> Swahili for 'field'.



Ndegw'a, the oldest informant in this study, who was in his late 60s, spent most of his youth in the 1940s and 1950s grazing cattle for his father. When he was not in the field with the cattle, he attended school where he learned to read the alphabet and some simple words in Kikuyu. However, he reported that reading and writing were not practiced much in school and that they spent most of their time in class singing and listening to stories the teacher told them. He never read a half-page of text. When he dropped out of school and started working, he never read again. He admitted that nowadays he would not be able to read even simple words. At the time of the interview he spent his days relaxing, chatting with his friends or listening to the radio.

### ***B.2. Non-interest non-readers (N = 2)***

Informants classified as non-interest non-readers obtained sufficient reading skills in school, but reported to lack interest in reading.

Both non-interest non-readers interviewed were female aged in their 20s and 30s respectively. One was a Luo, the other one a Kikuyu L1 speaker, who were reportedly trilingual in L1, Swahili and English. Both reached a secondary level of education and worked in the low-income group of an urban setting, as a dressmaker and a hairdresser respectively.

Wambugu, the dressmaker in her 30s, dated her lack of interest in leisure reading to her time at the tailoring college, "At college I had lost my interest in reading." After her professional training she got married and was busy taking care of her family. She said that hardships of life was a further reason for her not to engage in leisure reading and she remarked:

"We have many problems in life. That is things became hard and people are too busy. How to make ends meet and all these things are more important." [Wambugu/Kik]

For Sally, a hairdresser in her late 20s, reading was of no importance after she left school. She described her home environment and her school facilities as supportive, and said that her parents and a well equipped school library had provided her with books. She said that she made use of these facilities when she was young and reported to have read *Nancy Drew* books and other novels while at school. In lower secondary, however, she said that she concentrated more on examinations

and quit reading for leisure. After school, she pursued her interest in doing hair and she found a job as hairdresser. She said that she had lost all interest in reading and preferred watching TV, which she described as “something different.”

### 3.3.2.2 Factors impacting on reading

Up to this point the different reading habits reported by the Kikuyu and Luo speakers surveyed have been described and the development of reading across the life span as remembered by the interviewees has been illustrated. The following section turns from portraying the types of readers to the factors that were reported to influence the development of reading habits among the Kikuyu and Luo speakers surveyed. The factors were revealed through examining and comparing socio-economic factors pertaining to and statements made by the informants regarding their reading habits. Table 16 repeats the types of readers described in Chapter 3.3.2.1, p.113, for convenience and easy reference in this section.

Table 16: Overview types of readers

			A. Readers								B. Non-readers		
			I. Voluntary						II. Invol.		1. Low-literate	2. Non-interest	
			1. Leisure			2. Guidance			3. Inf	4. CA			
	T	a	b	c	a	b	c						
<b>L1</b>	Kikuyu	22	3	1	2	3	2	2	5	0	0	3	1
	Luo	20	2	4	2	2	0	3	1	3	2	0	1
<b>Sex</b>	Female	22	0	1	3	5	2	3	2	0	2	2	2
	Male	20	5	4	1	0	0	2	4	3	0	1	0
<b>Age groups</b>	21-30	13	1	1	3	5	1	0	0	1	0	0	1
	31-40	11	2	2	0	0	0	0	3	2	1	0	1
	41-50	8	1	0	1	0	1	1	2	0	1	2	0
	51-60	7	1	1	0	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	0
	> 60	3	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0
<b>Educational Level</b>	Primary	12	0	1	3	0	0	4	1	0	0	3	0
	Secondary	16	1	3	1	4	1	0	4	0	0	0	2
	Tertiary	14	4	1	0	1	1	1	1	3	2	0	0
<b>Languages spoken</b>	L1	4	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	0
	L1, S	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
	L1, E	3	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
	L1, S, E	33	5	4	4	5	2	1	6	2	2	0	2
	L1, E, Suba	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
<b>Income Group</b>	Low	24	0	4	4	3	1	4	3	0	0	3	2
	Middle	13	2	1	0	2	1	1	3	2	1	0	0
	High	5	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
<b>Marital Status</b>	Single	8	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	1
	Married	33	4	5	2	5	2	4	6	1	2	2	1
	Widowed	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Place of residence</b>	Urban	30	5	3	3	3	1	2	6	3	2	0	2
	Rural	12	0	2	1	2	1	3	0	0	0	3	0

CA = Career advancement, E = English, Inf = Information, Invol. = Involuntary, L1 = first language, S = Swahili, T = total sample

The overview of reader types in Table 16 suggests the influences of certain socio-economic factors on the development of reading habits, which are discussed below.

### *Education and reading skills*

Three informants, who attained a primary level of education, reported an infrequent reading activity (A.I.1.c.) and three other primary school leavers said to have a low level of reading ability (B.1.).

In contrast, informants who attained a college or university level of education reported frequent and broad reading habits for both work and leisure purposes (A.I.1.a.) or a high frequency in career-oriented reading (A.I.4.).

And interviewees' accounts confirmed an influence of education in the development of reading between attendants with high and low levels of education.

The primary school leavers classified as coincidental leisure readers (A.I.1.c.) and low-literate readers (B.1.) reported that they attained basic reading skills in L1. Some additionally learned to read - as they put it - "a little" English in upper primary school. They remembered having read primers, storybooks and the textbooks recommended by the curriculum in primary school, but none reported having read a longer text or a novel in school or beyond school. And they remarked that their reading after school decreased. These informants generally judged their present reading skills in either language as low.

In contrast, the university graduates, who were classified as work-related and leisure readers (A.I.1.a.) and career advancement readers (A.I.4.) reported that their reading broadened constantly throughout their school career. They said that they started to read widely in secondary for both class work and leisure. They mentioned to have started novel and magazine reading while in secondary school, where they almost exclusively read in English. The work-related and leisure readers (A.I.1.a.) reported having maintained broad reading habits beyond secondary school and after graduating from college or university, whereas the career advancement readers (A.I.4.) mentioned that they started concentrating on reading of materials, which were relevant to their college or university studies. Both types of

readers, however, were well acquainted with different sorts of reading material and achieved high levels of reading ability in English.

Thus, it could be argued, that the influence of the educational system in terms of reading ability and experience with different sorts of texts impacted on the development of reading habits between the aforementioned types of readers. The longer informants attended school, the more developed their reading skills in English became, the more familiar they became with different sorts of even longer texts and the more diverse and frequent their reading habits became. However, data suggest that solid reading skills in English go together with serious difficulties in L1 reading. Reasons for low literacy levels in L1 that were given by the informants referred to the lack of sufficient L1 literacy teaching in schools. Thus, different from Chakava's assumptions, which held the inappropriateness of orthographies responsible for difficulties in reading African languages (Chakava 1996: 98, referred to in Chapter 2.2.2, p.28), findings suggest that literacy education in L1 in school is insufficient.

However, cases emerged in the data, which contradicted the assumed impact of education on the development of reading skills in English. A primary school leaver, for instance, reported to read for leisure purposes and he engaged in reading different materials both in English and L1 (A.I.1.b). And a college graduate reported to limit her present reading to Bible reading (A.I.2.c.).

Furthermore, the influence of education could not explain differences in reading between the secondary school leavers. Some of them reported to read widely for leisure (A.I.1.b.), others limited their reading to newspaper and magazine reading (A.I.3, A.I.2.a), and again others were not interested in reading at all (B.2.). So, influences through formal education only partially explained differences in the development of reading.

### ***Sex, age and social role***

An interesting result related to differences in reading habits between female and male informants. Male readers were found to read different sorts of reading material for work-related and leisure (A.I.1.a., A.I.1.b.) and career-oriented (A.I.4.) purposes. Female readers reported to read magazines in order to get to know the

life experience of other people, to get advice about health, childcare etc. (A.I.2.a.) and guidance on Christian living (A.I.2.b.).

Obviously, the interest in relationship, marriage and health etc. corresponded with age, the period of life and the social role assigned to the informants. The interviewees, who reported to read for life experience (A.I.2.a.), were exclusively young women, who were married with one or two babies. In the Kenyan context, women are expected to take care of the home and the children. Naturally, they were interested in advice and instructions on the family related topics discussed in the magazines.

In addition to their interest in the content of the magazines, the life experience readers mentioned time constraints in reading as motivation for their magazine reading. Time limitations resulted from their social role of being a wife and a young mother. The life experience readers reported that their reading frequency decreased after school, when family life started and mentioned that magazines fitted their limited time resources best, because magazine articles could be finished in a short time.

Against this background the fact that male readers reported to read for leisure besides work-related purposes (A.I.1.a., A.I.1.b.) and that their reading after school increased, suggests that the male informants surveyed did not face time constraints of the kind reported by the female life experience readers.

Furthermore, the preference for reading short articles rather than extended fiction (reported by female informants) hints to what Yigbé calls the fragmentation of reading and a reading culture in which the individual is not occupied for long in reading, but consumes texts in small units (Yigbé 2003:125, referred to in Chapter 2.2.2, p.31). Different from his suggestion that relates fragmentation to the lack of access to reading material, lack of time seems to be the reason here.

Due to the social role assigned to men, they were expected to earn a living and to sustain their family. Thus, career-oriented reading habits (A.I.4) reported by three younger male informants could be explained. Their reading increased after school in order to qualify for good jobs. At the same time, however, their leisure reading reportedly declined and fictional reading was minimized or abolished.

### ***Income, the cost of books and strategies to access reading material***

Those informants who earned high incomes reported to read broadly for work and leisure (A.I.1.a.), for career purposes (A.I.4.) and involuntarily according to the requirements of their jobs (A.II.). The high-income earners who reported leisure reading habits (A.I.1.a.) and career-purpose reading habits (A.I.4.) mentioned that their reading after school even increased. Thus, they seem to have fewer difficulties to access fiction titles for leisure reading and non-fiction necessary for work-related reading, which are most expensive among the books available (for an overview of book prices see Chapter 3.1.1,p.58). However, Atieno, a university lecturer belonging to the high-income group, dwells on book prices as a major obstacle to reading too:

“I am a director of an institute. There are some books, I can’t afford. When I see the price, the cost in the bookshop I just say: „Wow, this is a whole grocery for my family for a whole week“. Just too expensive, because the books are published outside. By the time they come here, they are translated into Kenyan Shillings: it’s beyond us! Even the ones that are published here. By the time they go to the bookshops, they are beyond us.(*Ya.*) The other day we were discussing the list of reference for the Bible study group. Many of us can’t afford that 80 Shillings.(*Ya.*) Many of us can’t afford. (...) Then we started discussing that this one and this church is reading Bible study, their books are only 20 Shillings, that one is 10 Shillings and our members are supposed to buy the fifty, the hundred and the eighty. The books are just unaffordable.”[Atieno/Eng]

Among the low-income earners nine (or more than one third) from a total of 24 reported not to engage in reading (B.1., B.2.) or to only read infrequently (A.I.1.c.). Other low-income earners mentioned to engage in newspaper and magazine reading for information purposes (A.I.3.), for practical advice and guidance (A.I.2.a.), spiritual guidance (A.I.2.c.). and read for leisure purposes in their spare time (A.I.1.b).

The low-income earners frequently mentioned financial constraints and the lack of money as an obstacle to their reading in two respects. First, the cost of books are said to be too high to afford them, as exemplified by an observation of Kamau, who resided in a rural area and mainly read the Bible:

“People in our area nowadays, if you see them reading, the young ones, they mostly read the magazines. Those books have become very costly. (*Mm*) Many people cannot afford. They are expensive.” [Kamau/Kik]

And Ngugi, a small-scale businessmen in his 30s, answered to the question whether or not he bought storybooks for his daughter that he was not able to because of “meager means...you only afford textbooks because no money.”

Second, obstacles of reading relate to the time spent to create an income. Alfred, a shoe maker, who reported to read the Bible from time to time, said:

“Now, I don’t read daily. (*Why don’t you read daily?*) There is no time [laughs] I am busy trying to make ends meet. You don’t just sit and read.” [Alfred/Luo]

His account shows that his efforts to earn a living, which most likely results in moving around contacting different persons in search for ways of making some extra money in addition to his job (e.g. through occasional trading activities, casual labor etc.), leaves him with little time resources to engage in reading.

Like the low-income earners, most of the middle-income earners considered the price of books as hardly affordable. Mama Albert, a retired teacher in her 50s, when talking about book buying habits, referred to the economic situation and remarked: “We can’t afford books so much.” She relied on being supplied with old newspapers, when her husband visited from town. Thus, data support Chakava’s hypothesis that identified economic hardship and poverty as the main obstacles of book reading and book buying habits in the Kenyan context (Chakava 1996: 106, see Chapter 2.2.2, p.29).

Some middle-income readers, however, reported to be able to afford newspapers or magazines, which are cheaper than books (see Table 2, p.64 for an overview of magazine prices), as a strategy to access reading material. Rosa, a life experience reader in her late 20s, said:

“Here in the estate you see people with a magazine called *Parents*. They even buy it. (*Do you also like Parents?*) That’s what most people around here read, because it’s affordable. That’s why I read it also.” [Rosa/Luo]

One could speculate that Rosa and her neighbors might have bought and read books rather than magazines, if they had the money to do so.

Regarding buying reading material, two informants with a middle-income remarked that they buy materials for other family members. Katy, a teacher in her

late 20s, for instance, who reported not to be interested in reading herself, mentioned having bought many books for her son to read:

“Okay, like Carey, now my child. He has a lot of books. They are over sixty. Storybooks. (*Storybooks?*) Yaa, a really big collection. We bought for him. But, he loses interest in reading very fast so like he takes one book, reads a page or two and he forgets about it. (*So you actually invest in books*). Ya.” [Katy/Eng]

And Jeffrey, a civil servant in his 30s, reported buying magazines for his wife „like Christian ones, *Parents*, because I mostly buy for her. Every month I buy one for her to read.” Again, children's books and magazines range in a lower price segment compared to e.g. novels.

In order to read, however, it is not obligatory to buy books or other reading material. Four low-income earners, for instance, who were classified as entertainment readers (A.I.1.b.), were found to read diverse material for leisure. They had different strategies to access reading material despite their limited finances. Jason, a hairdresser in his 20s, reported to borrow and exchange most of the novels he read with his sister and an elder brother, who were students at Maseno University. Regarding access to newspaper he said:

“Every day I have to go through the newspapers as there is a vendor just across from here [place of business]. So irrespective of whether I have money or not, I can go and go through the papers at least I keep reading every day.” [Jason/Eng]

Robert, a farmer in his 50s, who resided in a rural area, mentioned accessing the storybooks and novels his children and grandchildren brought from school. He said that he was able to afford the price of the local language newspaper *Otit Mach* (which is 20 Ksh). Yet, he reported to only read the nationwide newspapers, when family members or neighbors gave them to him.

And among the middle-income earners, two informants, who reported to read diverse material for work and leisure (A.I.1.a.), visited the Nyeri library to access reading material. Mwaniki, a teacher in his 40s, remarked:

“I find books at my place of work and in the library. (*In the library you do a bit of reading?*) Ya. You know, these academic books, they are expensive. So I find them in the library. They also have papers there and magazines.” [Mwaniki/Kik]



Thus, visiting the library enables him to meet his interest in different types of reading material despite financial constraints. John, classified as a work-related and leisure reader in his 30s, expresses the importance of peer groups regarding access to reading material:

“Like me, I normally visit the library, also –I can also say that I have been borrowing from friends, who have them. Like psychology books I am a fan of. (*Okay.*) And I have been borrowing them from friends. (*Okay.*) Although, I also have one or two on my own. But those I bought some time ago.”[John/Kik]

It has to be highlighted that both informants who took time to access materials in the library were male. With regard to the time limitations reported by female informants, their accounts supported the assumed influence of the social role on reading habits. Men seem to have more time to go to find reading material (e.g. in the library) compared to women.

### ***The place of residence and language competencies***

It was found that three rural residents out of twelve (or one quarter of them) reported not to engage in reading due to low reading proficiency (B.1.). Additionally three rural residents reported reading habits limited to the Bible (A.I.2.c.) commonly said to be read in L1. Furthermore, all informants, who reported monolingual and bilingual reading competency, were found among the rural readers. So, these features relating to reading proficiency and the language of reading hinted to special difficulties in engaging in reading faced by monolingual or bilingual readers in the rural areas. They not only lacked access to reading material due to the problems of book distribution in the rural places, also their special needs as L1 readers and low-competency readers, which were not met by the majority of print products available (see Chapter 3.1, p.55 and p.74) made it difficult for them to read.

Counter-examples to the suggested opposition of rural low-literate monolingual or bilingual readers in contrast to multilingual urban readers with a solid reading ability, however, were found. Two rural informants reported diverse leisure reading habits (A.I.1.b.) and mentioned that they frequently read in L1 and English. And three urban informants stated not to read frequently and reported limited reading skills (A.I.1.c.) just like rural informants.

Interviewees, who reported newspaper reading for news and information (A.I.3.) and work-related and leisure reading (A.I.1.a. and A.I.4.), were exclusively residing in urban settings. With regard to the newspaper readers differences in newspaper distribution in urban and rural areas could be seen as a cause for rural interviewees not to engage frequently in newspaper reading. In the case of informants, who reported leisure and career-oriented reading habits, it could be argued that they were found to reside in urban places, because many jobs, which need constant reading and on the job training, concentrate in urban centers rather than rural areas.

Yet, due to the preponderance of urban interviewees in the sample these preliminary assumptions concerning differences between the reported reading of urban and rural informants have to be validated by further research.

### ***Family and home environment***

Concerning the role of parents and the home environment it was found, that the three readers who achieved low levels of literacy (B1.) did not remember their family and home environment as supportive to reading. The three informants in these groups reported that their parents had no or little education, that many of them were illiterate and they were said not to have valued reading and formal schooling. One of the low literate non-readers said that he was hindered to attend school, because he was send to graze cattle, while the others dropped out of school early. In order to contextualize these accounts, it has to be mentioned that the informants summarized as low-literate non-readers were aged in their late 40s to above 60. Thus, their education dated back to colonial times in the 1940s and late 1950s respectively, in which formal Western education and literacy were not widespread in Kenya. So, not only family contexts, but also the wider social environment were not supportive to the development of reading habits.

Informants classified as spiritual guidance Bible readers (A.I.2.c.) described their home environment in similar ways. Heather, for instance, a housewife and farmer in her 60s, remembered the educational situation when she was young in the following way:

“We knew nothing. That would be a lie. We were only playing, running after the other. (*Mm, okay.*) But there was nothing about school, because people didn’t know. (*Ehh*) Unless the parents wished to take a child to school. (*Okay school*). Only those known as the Christians were taking them to school. Now, such homes had children, who were taken to school.” [Heather/Kik]

One informant attended primary school in colonial times and described the attitude of his parents towards reading as rather negative and the reading environment of those days as unsupportive. Nevertheless, he reported newspaper, magazine and novel reading in both L1 and English (A.I.1.b.). The question arose what made the latter entertainment reader engage in broad reading, while other informants who were similar in age, education and family background did not develop wide reading habits.

One factor that stuck out in his statement was the fact that reading material was available to him in the missionary school he attended both in class and beyond class. He reported that he learned English besides L1 and started to practice it in his spare time. The materials he remembered to read in the upper classes of primary were English newsletters and pamphlets brought to their school by the missionaries. He said that he developed an interest in reading at that time and he remembered that he started to go through reading material of all sorts whenever he found them in school or in church. He, however, only got access to novels later, when children in his family and the neighborhood started to bring novels from school. Thus, his statements suggest that his interest in reading might have been triggered off by the steady supply with supplementary reading material in the missionary school he was attending.

The influence of the home environment among other types of readers (e.g. leisure readers (A.I.1.), guidance readers (A.I.2.) and involuntary readers (A.II.) was not clear in the data. While some readers reported that they were encouraged by their parents to read, that they were read to and that books were supplied by their parents, other informants remembered that their parents did not support their reading activity either due to lack of interest or lack of money to provide reading material. Yet, supportive home environments did not always result in frequent reading habits as the case of Sally shows, who was classified as non-interest non-reader (B.2.). She described her home environment and school facilities as supportive, but said that she lost interest in reading. And unsupportive envi-

portive, but said that she lost interest in reading. And unsupportive environments did not necessarily stop informants from developing reading habits, as is shown by the account of Atieno, classified as an involuntary reader. She mentioned that her parents were “very traditional and school was left for me and the teacher. They didn’t have any business in reading to me.”

Atieno remembered the influence of other children in the family and neighborhood as more influencing and remarked:

“In my family we were nine kids, and we all went to school. And I grew up in Kisumu town here, so all the kids, who were living in my estate, we used to go to school together. And they used to read almost the same books, cause we went to the same school. But we all got them [books] from school. There was no anywhere else to get books around us and if you got books, they were from another child and that child must have borrowed it from another school from a library or from a school. We rarely went to a bookshop to buy a storybook. And my parents never bought me any storybook or any book as such unless it is a textbook which was required by the school.” [Atieno/Eng]

She remembered that she had a class library in primary school and that they had to take and read one book per week from the classroom cupboard. Thus, the school environment in which reading was obligatory forced her to engage in reading for leisure as long as she was in school. Yet, she continued leisure reading after primary school until she changed to reading related to her studies and later on her work.

### ***Access to reading material and the importance of the school***

The importance of the school context with regard to providing access to books that was brought up in Atieno’s account becomes also obvious considering the statements made by the information readers (A.I.3.) and life experience readers (A.I.2.a.), who were reading diverse materials in school, including books and novels, but changed to newspaper or magazine reading after leaving school. In several accounts such as the following typical statement made by Monica, a life experience reader in her 20s, they related these changes in their reading habits to difficulties in accessing the materials:

“Magazines, now, are more available. You exchange with friends unlike the books. It’s hard to find them these days. In school, we had the novels and such, but now. They are expensive.” [Monica/Kik]

Her account shows that among these readers, the most serious turning point as regards to reading came after leaving school. Leaving school also entailed a new phase in one's life and a new social role, which had to be mastered. Thus, it was found, that difficulties in continuing reading after school had very practical reasons, which were related to getting access to print materials and finding time to read, rather than being caused by a general lack of interest in books or a negative attitude towards reading. Only in few cases, in which the reading interest was reported to have vanished completely (non-interest non-readers B.2.) informants reported not to like reading. The change of reading habits among these readers, thus, have to be understood as a pragmatic strategy to adjust to a changed life situation, rather than ignorance towards reading.

#### *Differences between Kikuyu and Luo informants and September 11*

Differences between Kikuyu and Luo informants related to newspaper reading for informational purposes (A.I.3.) (reported by five Kikuyu interviewees compared to one Luo informant), Christian news reading (A.I.2.b.) (reported by two Kikuyu informants), leisure reading habits (A.I.1.b.) (mentioned by four Luo interviewees compared to one Kikuyu), career advancement reading (A.I.4), involuntary work-related reading (A.II., reported only by Luo interviewees) and the low-literate non-readers (B.1. Kikuyu only). And data suggested a preference of newspaper and magazine reading among the Kikuyu informants surveyed (A.I.3., A.I.2.b.) compared to diverse reading including leisure reading (A.I.1.a.), career-oriented reading habits (A.I.4.) and involuntary work-oriented reading habits (A.II.) by Luo informants.

Due to the limited sample, it is not possible to generalize these findings. Rather, the differences in reading habits reported by Luo and Kikuyu speakers have to be understood as traces that need further investigation. Enhanced career-oriented reading reported by the Luo informants, for instance, might have been related to the city of Kisumu, which hosts a variety of public and private institutions for professional and advanced training.

Regarding differences between the Kikuyu (who had been interviewed shortly before September 11, 2001) and Luo speakers (who were interviewed in October 2001) related to the September 11 attacks, the enhanced media coverage

of the incident seems not to have had a strong influence on the Luo interviewees regarding their reported reading habits. Only one Luo reader reported newspaper-reading habits compared to five Kikuyu newspaper readers. However, the attacks were mentioned in the interviews when discussing the motivation for newspaper reading with two informants classified as work-related and leisure readers (A.I.1.a.) and one career advancement reader (A.I.4.). Though a bias towards newspaper reading among the Luo informants surveyed as a result of the September 11 attacks cannot be ruled out, it seems that the topic of the interviews and the interview guide, which stressed long term reading developments, had been understood by informants in the intended way.

### **3.3.3 Summary**

In the preceding sections of this chapter it has been shown that the reading habits which the Kikuyu and Luo informants report to engage in, fall into different types with regard to the voluntariness (or involuntariness) of reading and the reported purpose of reading. Data show that the majority of informants engage in some kind of voluntary reading. Reading for leisure and for guidance purposes are most frequently reported reading habits among the informants, followed by reading for information and career advancement. Two informants were found to read involuntarily. Five reported not to engage in reading for two reasons: i) because of a lack of sufficient literacy skills, ii) because of a lack of interest.

Furthermore, the largest group of readers labeled "leisure readers" were found to engage in reading for entertainment, relaxation, release of tension and other recreational purposes, thereby challenging stereotypes which claim that Kenyans have a negative attitude towards reading and do not engage in it except for examination purposes.

A desire to get guidance in everyday life (prominent among "guidance readers", the second largest group of readers), was found to inspire informants to voluntarily turn to reading material. Thus, an interest in reading seems to be stimulated by reading material which is of meaning to and applicable in the everyday life of readers.

Data clearly show a need for social interaction through reading that was referred to by several readers. Informants repeatedly report to read in order to hear stories or to learn about topics which could be discussed with family members or friends or which could enable them to contribute to discussions.

Regarding impacts on the development of reading habits it was found that a high level of education influences the development of reading habits in English and L1. Informants with a tertiary level of education indicated solid reading skills in English. At the same time, they judged their reading skills in L1 as insufficient and reported to hardly read L1.

Moreover, it has been shown that the social role results in differences in reading habits between female and male informants. Men tend to engage more in reading novels and non-fiction (both for leisure and career-oriented reading), whereas women prefer shorter magazine articles in order to get guidance and advice on family life, marriage, childcare etc. Unlike women men were found to be able to build in time to read and to access reading material in the library or at street vendors'.

Concerning the impact of income on reading habits, data show that all informants consider high book prices as hampering their reading. High-income earners, however, seem to face less problems in accessing books, newspapers and magazines compared to informants with middle and low incomes. Strategies to access reading material despite financial constraints include magazine and newspaper reading (instead of more costly books), newspaper-reading at vendors' stalls, visiting the library and exchanging books with family members and friends.

Rural residents were found to have special needs with regard to reading. They were mostly monolingual or bilingual (L1 and Swahili) speakers and reported low levels of literacy in either language. Thus, their need for L1 or Swahili materials suitable for adult readers with limited reading skills, are not met by the majority of reading material available in the Kenyan context.

Regarding impacts of family and home environments on the development of reading habits data are not clear. It remains to be investigated, if and in which respect supportive and unsupportive home environments are relevant to the development of reading habits in African contexts.

Finally, leaving school was identified as the main turning point in informants' reading careers. The majority of informants (with the exception of the oldest informants, who gained little education in colonial times) remembered their school going days as a time of close contact to books and intense reading activity. After leaving school, the lack of easy access to books was not provided any longer, and time resources shrank in a new stage of life in which informants started to work and set up families. However, the stereotype claiming that Kenyans have no interest in and stop reading beyond school was found to be too simplistic.

Although it is true, that the majority of informants reported a decline of their reading activity after leaving school (with the exception of the multipurpose and work-oriented readers), only members of the non-readers group reported a complete neglect of reading beyond school. And many informants described pragmatic necessities (including adjusting to limited money and time resources) rather than a lack of interest in reading as reasons for their shift from regular non-fiction and fiction reading in school to less frequent newspaper, magazine or Bible reading beyond school.



### 3.4 Surveying reading

This chapter discusses data, which resulted from two questionnaire surveys conducted in 2001 and 2002 among members of the ethnolinguistic Kikuyu communities in Nyeri District and Luo communities in Kisumu District. The two surveys aimed at collecting information on reading habits from more interviewees than could be reached using qualitative interview techniques. At the same time, they reconsidered information obtained on the basis of observations in the field and findings revealed in the qualitative group and one-on-one interviews and attempted to assess their appropriateness.

Following a brief outline of the research design and the introduction of the two samples surveyed, results relevant to the main research objectives (see Chapter 1), namely the language use in reading, attitudes towards reading, and the role of reading activities in everyday life as described by informants are presented.

#### 3.4.1 Research design

Two questionnaires were developed for the purpose of the two surveys. Due to the limited amount of scientific reading research in African contexts in general and the Kenyan context in particular, it was not possible to resort widely to comparable studies when developing the research instrument. However, inspiration came from Reh (2002) and Gleich, Glanz & Reh (2002) and their research project on multilingual literacy practices in Uganda. Additionally, questionnaires used in the study of Nyariki & Makotsi (1994: Annexes) on book buying habits in Kenya and questionnaires developed in a so far unpublished study by KNLS and the Carnegie Corporation<sup>121</sup> on the use of public libraries in Kenya were reviewed for question design and wording.<sup>122</sup>

---

<sup>121</sup> Andrew Carnegie created the Carnegie Corporation of New York in 1911 as a United States based grantmaking foundation, which aims at “the advancement and distribution of knowledge and understanding.” Since 1999 it runs an “International Development Program” which includes - among others - a program to revitalize selected public libraries in South Africa, Botswana and Kenya (Carnegie Corporation 2004).

<sup>122</sup> Reviewing the KNLS/Carnegie Corporation questionnaires in the Nyeri provincial KNLS library branch was possible due to the kind permission of KNLS administration, which I would like to thank them for.

Due to the language situation in Kenya, which is characterized by a multilingual environment in which different L1, Swahili and English coexist and are commonly used in everyday life, the questionnaires of this study were compiled in four languages (Kikuyu, Luo, Swahili and English). The necessity of developing the research instrument in all four languages, back-translation to ensure translating adequacy and pilot testing took more time and effort than it would have taken in research projects conducted in monolingual contexts. These inherent language requirements, however, led to increased attention concerning the validity of the instrument.

The overall goal of the first period of fieldwork in 2001 (July to November) was the exploration of the field in relation to the research subject. For that reason questionnaire 1 (Q<sub>1</sub>) (Appendix 9) was designed adequate to serve the needs of an explorative survey. It was intentionally compiled including mainly open-ended rather than closed-ended questions. The ratio behind this approach related to the previous scarcity of knowledge concerning reading habits in Kenya. In order to keep the first survey unbiased by using e.g. categories of reading material found relevant in other cultural settings, questions were formulated open-ended, thus, allowing the interviewee the opportunity to identify categories and dimensions relevant to her or his reading.

Q<sub>1</sub> included a total of 20 questions roughly divided into two sections: section A) gathering background information regarding the socio-economic status of interviewees, section B) asking details about language use, language preference, attitude towards reading, and reading interests.

The second questionnaire (Q<sub>2</sub>) (Appendix 10) was compiled in 2002 (fieldwork from June to August) with preliminary results from the first phase of field research at hand. Hence, knowledge of relevant categories of reading material, reading interests, etc. made it possible to use forced-choice questions in Q<sub>2</sub>. Furthermore, the subject of interest was expanded to the place of reading within the broader frame of everyday life activities, in an effort to determine the status of reading compared to competing activities pursued in leisure time.

Q<sub>2</sub> contained 20 questions grouped in four sections titled: A) Background Information, B) Leisure Time Activities, C) Reading Frequency, D) Interests.

Both questionnaires were pilot-tested with urban and rural informants before administration. Difficulties encountered (e.g. inadequate questions, difficult wording etc.) were discussed with research assistants and the questionnaires were reworked as deemed necessary.

### *Sampling and corpus*

Purposive sampling methods were employed for the two questionnaire surveys. In purposive sampling subjects are selected deliberately (on purpose) because some characteristics pertaining to them are assumed relevant for the objectives of the investigation (Vogt 1993: 182). The samples chosen for the purpose of this study aimed at obtaining a cross-section of informants as regards to different social variables that would allow revealing information concerning the reading habits of these groups. They were not meant to be representative for the two ethnolinguistic Kikuyu and Luo communities and should not be understood as representative. They gain understanding from the specific groups of people surveyed. Like all purposive samples they do not allow generalizing findings (Bernard 1994: 96).

Informants were selected for inclusion in the survey if they were living in either Nyeri or Kisumu District and were L1 speakers of Kikuyu (in the case of Nyeri District) or Luo (in the case of Kisumu District). Furthermore, sampling attempted to obtain a balanced proportion of female and male informants and a reasonable cross-section of the Kikuyu and Luo groups in terms of socio-economic status. Variables used for measuring socio-economic status included age, educational level, present occupation and place of residence. Further variables noted included marital status and the number of children.

The purpose behind choosing the aforementioned social variables for selecting the sample were based on the following considerations:

- **Age:** The study intended to examine the voluntary reading habits outside institutional contexts. Younger age groups (of below 15 years of age) were intentionally excluded, because members of younger age brackets were assumed to represent the largest portions of school going persons. The age groups that were targeted were the economically most active age brackets which according to the 1998/1999 Labor Force Survey (Republic of Kenya 2003b) range between 24 and 34 years of age. They were assumed to be financially more independent to decide what to spend money for than, for instance, students depending on their parents to purchase reading material for them.
- **Education:** Based on the fact that English is the language of instruction in Kenyan schools from the fourth year of primary school on, it was assumed and findings of qualitative interview data suggest that the level of education has an impact on the development of reading habits. Therefore, a cross-section of informants with college or university, secondary and primary levels of education was sought for inclusion in the study.
- **Present occupation:** The present occupation of informants was used to estimate the income level of informants. Because it was found in the qualitative interviews and in the study of Nyariki & Makotsi (1994) that the income level impacts on the development of reading habits, the sample aimed at a variety of occupations entailing low, middle and high earnings.
- **Place of residence:** As differences between urban and rural areas in terms of the availability of reading material, purchasing power and educational level were obvious, it was attempted to include equal proportion of urban and rural residents.

In order to allow for comparison of the ethnolinguistic communities under examination, attempts were made to avoid extensive variation between Kikuyu and Luo subsamples. However, differences could not always be prevented.

---

***Sample 1***

Table 17 (on the following page) describes the sample of the first survey (conducted in 2001) with subsamples of Kikuyu and Luo speakers. In order to show how the Kikuyu and Luo samples differ from population of the two districts, Table 16 specifies available data on the composition of the population of Nyeri and Kisumu District with regard to gender, age, and rural and urban residence (based on the 1999 census Republic of Kenya 2001a). However, it has to be kept in mind that this data does not represent the composition of the Kikuyu inhabitants of the Nyeri District or the Luo inhabitants of Kisumu District respectively. In the case of Nyeri District, it could be argued with some justification that the population of the district is almost exclusively made up of members of the ethnolinguistic Kikuyu community and that, therefore, the composition of the district's population is similar to the composition of the Kikuyu inhabitants of the district. Yet, in the case of Kisumu District this assumption would not be justifiable. As has been mentioned before (see Chapter 3.1.2, p.69), inhabitants of the city of Kisumu comprise migrant laborers from all over the country so that a sizeable percentage of residents of the Kisumu District may not be L1 speaker of Luo.

Table 17: Sample 1, first questionnaire survey 2001

Number	Total (N= 304)	Kikuyu (N=161)	Luo (N=143)		Nyeri District (1999) (N= 661,156)	Kisumu District (1999) (N=504,359)
<b>L1</b>						
Kikuyu	53% 161					
Luo	47% 143					
<b>Sex</b>						
Female	45% 136	47% 76	42% 60		51% 338,635	51% 255,624
Male	55% 168	53% 85	58% 83		49% 322,521	49% 248,735
<b>Age</b>						
Below 15	0% 0	0% 0	0% 0	Below 15	38% 249,012	42% 213,846
15-20	4% 14	3% 5	6% 9	15-19	12% 80,540	13% 63,695
21-30	47% 143	43% 69	52% 74	20-29	18% 117,020	18% 92,665
31-40	24% 72	25% 40	22% 32	30-39	12% 81,548	11% 54,951
41-50	16% 49	17% 28	15% 21	40-49	7% 42,255	7% 34,678
51-60	5% 15	6% 9	4% 6	50-59	5% 35,501	4% 20,134
Above 60	4% 11	6% 10	1% 1	60+above	7% 47,042	4% 21,705
				Not stated	1% 5,238	1% 2,685
<b>Education</b>						
Never attended	1% 1	1% 1	0% 0			
Primary	22% 68	28% 46	15% 11			
Secondary	34% 104	44% 70	24% 34			
College/University	43% 131	27% 44	61% 87			
<b>Income</b>						
Low	60% 181	67% 108	52% 74			
Middle	36% 112	29% 46	46% 65			
High	4% 11	4% 7	4% 4			
<b>Marital status</b>						
Single	38% 118	38% 61	40% 57			
Married	61% 184	62% 100	59% 84			
Widowed	1% 2	0% 0	1% 2			
<b>No. of children</b>						
Mean <sup>123</sup>	3,4	3,4	3,4			
<b>Place of residence</b>						
Urban	59% 178	59% 95	58% 83		23% 149,299	65% 325,423
Rural	41% 126	41% 66	42% 60		77% 511,857	35% 178,936

The variables displayed in Table 17 follow the representation previously chosen to summarize samples of the group and one-on-one interviews. Because they are discussed in detail in Chapter 3.2.1 (p. 84) and Chapter 3.3.1 (p.107), they are only roughly repeated here:

<sup>123</sup> The mean value is a measure of central tendency. It indicates the average of a set of N numbers (Vogt 1993: 137).

- Age groups were defined in decimal units following the style of governmental statistics.
- The educational level merges primary, secondary and tertiary levels of the colonial, post-colonial and 8-4-4 school system.
- Low, middle and high-income levels were estimated using information about the current occupation of each interviewee. And they were set according to available information about average monthly incomes in Kenya (Republic of Kenya 2001, 2002a, 2003b, Kamau 2003). A low income level refers to monthly earnings of below 7,999 Ksh<sup>124</sup>, a middle-income level refers to 8,000 to 29,999 Ksh and a high income rate refers to monthly earnings above 30,000 Ksh.
- As described in Chapter 3.2.1 (p.84) the differentiation of urban and rural areas follows the local understanding of urban and rural places and definitions of the respective district administrations. Due to the high density of the population in both Nyeri and Kisumu District and the influence of the city of Kisumu in Kisumu District, urban and rural places of residence have to be understood as a continuum of urban, semi-urban and rural settlement areas.

As has been mentioned, the economically most active age brackets were targeted for the sample. Thus, nearly  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the informants belong to the age groups 21 to 30 and 31 to 40. Furthermore, it has to be mentioned that the sample comprises slightly more male than female informants and more urban than rural residents.

Differences between the Kikuyu and Luo subsamples relate to the educational and income level with more Luo informants showing higher levels of education and income compared to Kikuyu informants. Informants with a college or university level of education made up almost  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the Luo subsample compared to roughly  $\frac{1}{3}$  of Kikuyu informants with a college or university level of education. And 67% of Kikuyu informants fall into the low-income bracket compared to only 52% of Luo informants in this category. In return 46% of Luo informants fall into the middle-income group compared to 29% of the Kikuyu informants.

---

<sup>124</sup> In 2002 the exchange rate for 1 USD lied at ~ 79 Ksh, 1 Euro was ~ 76 Ksh.

### *Sample 2*

Measurement of interviewees' socio-economic status was refined in the second survey (2002) regarding educational and income level. Q<sub>1</sub> contained a category labeled 'College/University' (Q<sub>1</sub>, question 6 see Appendix 9), which intended to measure higher levels of academic training. However, when administering Q<sub>1</sub> it became clear that informants chose this category too to indicate a level of vocational training in non-academic fields. Indeed, many private colleges e.g. for hair & beauty, tailoring, secretarial service, hotel & tourism, computer & IT etc. offer professional training in Kenya. In order, therefore, to distinguish between vocational training colleges and academic colleges, e.g. teacher's training colleges, technical colleges, etc. informants were asked to indicate the type of college they attended. Informants who indicated having attended an academic college were then merged with the group of university graduates resulting in five categories of education attained (never attended, primary, secondary, college [vocational], college/university [academic]) (Q<sub>2</sub>, question 8.). Furthermore, measurement of the income level was refined in Q<sub>2</sub> (question 3. to 5.). Whereas in the first survey, the income level of informants was estimated based on information of the present occupation of informants alone, the second survey considered the present occupation of interviewees plus the occupation of spouse. Income levels were then combined to set family income levels. All other variables displayed in Table 18 (next page) follow categories as explained for Table 17 above.



Table 18: Sample 2, second questionnaire survey 2002

	Sample Total (N=349)	Kikuyu (N = 165)	Luo (N = 184)		Nyeri District (1999) (N= 661,156)	Kisumu District (1999) (N=504,359)
<b>L1</b>						
Luo	47% 165					
Kikuyu	53% 184					
<b>Sex</b>						
F	41% 143	41% 68	41% 75		51% 338,635	51% 255,624
M	59% 206	59% 97	59% 109		49% 322,521	49% 248,735
<b>Age</b>	not stated 2	not stated 2				
Below 15	0% 0	0% 0	0% 0	Below 15	38% 249,012	42% 213,846
15-20	16% 55	7% 11	24% 44	15-19	12% 80,540	13% 63,695
21-30	36% 123	36% 59	34% 64	20-29	18% 117,020	18% 92,665
31-40	24% 84	28% 46	21% 38	30-39	12% 81,548	11% 54,951
41-50	12% 43	15% 24	10% 19	40-49	7% 42,255	7% 34,678
51-60	8% 27	9% 15	7% 12	50-59	5% 35,501	4% 20,134
Above 60	4% 15	5% 8	4% 7	60+above	7% 47,042	4% 21,705
				Not stated	1% 5,238	1% 2,685
<b>Education</b>	not stated 6	not stated 5	not stated 1			
Never attended	2% 8	2% 3	3% 5			
Primary	28% 98	21% 33	35% 65			
Secondary	37% 128	38% 61	37% 67			
College[vocational]	13% 46	15% 24	12% 22			
College [academic]						
University	19% 63	24% 39	13% 2			
<b>Family income</b>	not stated 26	not stated 17	not stated 9			
Low	78% 252	75% 112	80% 140			
Middle	17% 55	22% 32	13% 23			
High	5% 16	3% 4	7% 12			
<b>Marital status</b>	not stated 2		not stated 2			
Married	58% 203	59% 97	58% 106			
Single	41% 144	41% 68	41% 76			
<b>No. of children</b>						
Mean	2,1	2,1	2,3			
<b>Place of residence</b>						
Urban	52% 183	53% 88	52% 95		23% 149,299	65% 325,423
Rural	48% 166	47% 77	48% 89		77% 511,857	35% 178,936

Like in sample 1 the economically most active age brackets were targeted and constitute the largest age group in sample 2 with nearly  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the informants aged 21 to 30 and 31 to 40. Slightly more male informants and urban residents were talked to.

Differences between the Kikuyu and Luo subsamples relate to age and educational level. The Luo subsample included 24% of informants in the youngest age group compared to 7% of Kikuyu falling into this age bracket. Furthermore, primary school leavers made up 35% in the Luo subsample compared to 21% in the Kikuyu subsample, whereas 24% of Kikuyu informants reported a college or university level of education compared to 13% in the Luo subsample.

### *Administration of questionnaires*

The questionnaires were presented face to face by six research assistants<sup>125</sup> (three at each research site), who were fluent in all three languages relevant for the purpose of the two surveys (Kikuyu or Luo, Swahili, English). Additionally, I administered questionnaires to members with professions associated with the upper middle and high-income brackets in urban areas, as approaching these persons turned out to pose difficulties to the research assistants, as will be explained below.

The questionnaires were administered in urban as well as rural areas of both research sites. Q1 was administered from September 18 to 28, 2001 in Nyeri District and from October 22 to November 1, 2001 in Kisumu District. That means, the first questionnaire survey was done shortly after the September 11 attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon in the United States in Nyeri District and Kisumu District. Influences of the September 11 attacks on the media behavior of informants (and hence the results of the survey), therefore, cannot be excluded. Yet, it is also hard to provide evidence that they indeed impacted on the results. However, this topic will be referred to below when presenting findings. Q2 was administered from July 3 to July 14, 2002 in Nyeri and July 28 to August 8, 2002 in Kisumu. Nyeri town and the city of Kisumu were chosen as urban centers to collect the data, whereas several rural areas in the two districts, which were reachable by public transport, were selected for collecting the data in the rural areas.

Interviewees were approached at their place of work, on the streets, after church, in restaurants or on the market without previous appointment. They were briefed about the purpose of the survey and asked to participate. No financial rewards or compensations were offered for participation, although some interviewees expected such. The research assistants asked the interviewees to choose a language in which to conduct the interview. In most cases, the research assistant then

---

<sup>125</sup> I would like to thank Grace Opondo, Mary Atieno, Milton Steve Mao Peter Ndegwa, Zipporah Wuthaya for their assistance in administering Q1. For the administration of Q2 I am grateful to Grace Opondo, Milton Steve Mao, Ruth Ochieng, Peter Ndegwa, Zipporah Wuthaya and Peris Nyamwira Wambugu.

read the questions to the interviewee and noted the answers. In some cases, however, the interviewee asked to fill in the questionnaire her or himself. In these cases, the research assistant handed over the questionnaire but stayed near in the event that the interviewee needed assistance in filling in the questionnaire.

As a rule, interviewers were not allowed to interview more than one person at one place, e.g. if an interviewer administered a questionnaire to a vegetable vendor at the market, she or he was not allowed to interview market sellers of neighboring stalls as well, even if they were keen to participate. This regulation was meant to ensure variation among the interviewees. In rural places, however, this rule slowed down data collecting, as it entailed walking longer distances than in the urban centers to reach several informants.

Difficulties in administering the questionnaires related to problems of approaching interviewees as well as keeping interviewees answers unbiased of comments by accidental observers (e.g. passerby on the street, colleagues in a shop etc.), who were staying near and got interested in the interview. In order to avoid such disturbances it was necessary to make it a rule to find a calm place for administering the questionnaire and to separate interviewees from colleagues or other persons near.

Especially in Nyeri District, problems were faced when approaching informants. There, interviewees often mistook the research assistants, who were equipped with clipboards and documents, for insurance salespersons (which were said to be numerous and active in Nyeri District) and tried to evade them. It took interviewers some energy to convince the potential interviewees, that they were not interested in selling something to them.

The research assistants faced difficulties in both districts regarding contacting persons in professions associated with upper middle and high income levels. They reported that receptionists in e.g. offices of lawyers, managers, accountants etc. refused them access, because as Kenyans they were suspected of seeking employment. Because they were not able to reach the targeted upper middle and high-income professionals, me, who as a European was not suspected of wanting to bother the superior asking for employment, took over these targeted social

groups and administered the questionnaires to their members. Administration of the interviewees in these cases was done in English.

### *Procedures of data analysis*

The information collected with the questionnaires was entered into the computer. And the software *Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS, version 11.5)*<sup>126</sup> was used to analyze the data sets of both surveys.

## **3.4.2 Findings**

The following sections turn to discussing the findings of the two questionnaire surveys. Results from the first survey (conducted in 2001) are discussed with a special interest in the language use among the interviewees both in oral language use and in reading in section 3.4.2.1. Furthermore, attitudes towards reading are discussed based on the results of the first survey in Chapter 3.4.2.2. In Chapter 3.4.2.3 findings of the second survey (conducted in 2002) are presented with regard to the role of reading in relation to competing media behavior and activities pursued in leisure time.

### **3.4.2.1 The language of reading**

The role of language use in reading in the multilingual environment of Kenya is a major interest of this study. Therefore, the first questionnaire contained several questions focusing on the language use of interviewees both in oral communication and in reading. The analysis of the data focused on revealing information about who uses which language and for what purpose. Consequently, the languages spoken by informants were chosen as the starting point of the analysis. Findings presented in the following refer to the sample described in Table 17 (p. 160).

---

<sup>126</sup> I am grateful to Sarah Lieberz for her advice and assistance in the process of statistical analysis.

***Individual oral multilingualism***

Table 19 displays answers to the question “Which language(s) do you speak?” (Q1, question 7). It shows, that oral multilingualism is widespread among the Kikuyu and Luo speakers of Nyeri and Kisumu District with 76% of interviewees indicating to speak three languages and 8% of informants reporting to speak four or five languages.

*Table 19: Oral multilingualism*

Language	Total (N=304)		Kikuyu (N=161)		Luo (N=143)	
L1	5%	16	7%	12	3%	4
L1 + S	9%	29	13%	21	6%	8
L1 + E	2%	5	1%	1	3%	4
L1, S, E	76%	231	76%	123	75%	108
L1, S, E + X(Y) <sup>127</sup>	8%	23	3%	4	13%	19

E= English, L1= First language, S = Swahili, X (Y) = Kikamba, Kimeru, Kikuyu, Borani, Luhya, Lingala (6 cases), French (20 cases)

The Kikuyu subsample displays slightly higher figures for both informants who are monolingual in L1 and bilinguals speaking L1 and Swahili (20% Kikuyu monolinguals and bilinguals as compared to 9% among the Luo speakers). The Luo subsample, in contrast, includes more informants reporting to speak four or five languages (13%) compared to the Kikuyu subsample (3%).<sup>128</sup>

These findings, however, do not allow for the conclusion that the Kikuyu speakers are generally less multilingual than Luo speakers. Rather, an explanation for the low quantity of monolingual L1 and bilingual L1 and Swahili informants in the Luo subsample lies in the urban makeup of the Kisumu district. Kisumu is

<sup>127</sup> Notably, this multilingual group consists mainly of female Luo speakers between the ages of 21 to 30, with a college degree, residing in an urban area. Regarding the languages spoken in addition to L1, English, and Swahili, 6 cases of fluency in other African languages and 20 cases of knowledge of French were reported. However, the level of French is reported as low; most informants remark to speak only “a little” or “some” French. Considering the numerous private secretarial colleges in the city of Kisumu offering vocational training in secretarial services (which are most often attended by young female graduates) it is assumed that the comparatively high amount of informants reporting to speak French can be attributed to these secretarial classes, as basic French lessons are usually included in secretarial courses.

<sup>128</sup> Because the present study does not use randomly sampled data, using significance tests (to examine differences in the distribution of variables) for inferential analysis is controversial (Labovitz 1971, Blalock 1979). Significance, therefore, is not discussed in the presentation of the data. However, significance is reported in the summary of results (see Appendix 11 and 12) as an arbitrary criterion in deference to its widespread use in social science for exploratory analysis of non-random data.

Kenya's third largest city (following Nairobi and Mombasa) with more than 300,000 inhabitants. With plenty of business and job opportunities, Kisumu attracts people from all over the country, especially the well-educated and qualified seeking jobs in urban centers. Due to the multiethnic mixture of the urban population, multilingualism is common in the city.

Enhanced multilingual language use in urban settings is also displayed by the daily language use of informants. Table 20 summarizes answers given to the question: „Which language(s) do you use most in your daily life?“ (Q1, question 8).

Table 20: Language of daily use

Language	a) urban				b) rural									
	Total (N=302) not stated 2		Total (N= 177) not stated 1		Kikuyu (N=94) not stated 1		Luo (N=83)		Total (N=125) not stated 1		Kikuyu (N=66)		Luo (N= 59) not stated 1	
<b>L1</b>	55%	166	38%	68	55%	52	19%	16	79%	98	89%	58	68%	40
<b>S</b>	13%	38	16%	29	14%	13	19%	16	7%	9	6%	4	8%	5
<b>E</b>	22%	67	32%	57	15%	14	53%	43	8%	10	3%	2	14%	8
<b>E + S</b>	3%	10	4%	7	4%	4	4%	3	2%	3	0%	0	5%	3
<b>E + L1</b>	2%	6	3%	5	3%	3	2%	2	1%	1	1%	1	0%	0
<b>S+ L1</b>	2%	7	3%	4	3%	3	1%	1	2%	3	1%	1	3%	2
<b>E, S + L1</b>	3%	8	4%	7	6%	5	2%	2	1%	1	0%	0	2%	1

E = English, L1 = first language, S = Swahili

As can be seen from the data the use of L1 dominates the daily communication in rural areas with 79% of informants reporting to mainly use it in their daily life. In urban settings, however, the reported L1 use is only slightly higher than the use of English (38% of reported L1 use compared to 32% English). And 16% of informants report to mostly use Swahili. These findings confirm a rather monolingual language use in the rural areas under investigation compared to a multilingual language use in the urban settings surveyed.

Differences in daily language use between Luo and Kikuyu informants are obvious with regard to the use of L1 and English. Informants in Kisumu District reportedly use English more in daily use than informants in Nyeri District, in both urban and rural areas (53% of the urban and 14% of the rural Luo informants compared to 15% of the urban and 3% of the rural Kikuyu sample). And fewer Luo interviewees report to use L1 on a daily basis compared to the Kikuyu sub-sample (only 19% of the urban and 68% of the rural Luo informants compared to

55% of the urban and 89% of the rural Kikuyu informants). Again these differences can be attributed to the influence of the city of Kisumu and enhanced inter-ethnic communication in the multiethnic setting of the city.

The data also reveal an interesting aspect of Swahili language use among the Luo informants that relates to a frequently mentioned stereotype about the use of Swahili among Luo speakers. It is a widespread stereotype in the Kenyan context claiming that Luo speakers use Swahili less often than Kikuyu speakers. The reasons given for these claims are as follows: Luo are Nilotes. Because they speak a Nilotic language, which differs structurally from Bantu languages in general and Swahili in particular, they find it difficult to learn Swahili, do not speak it well and do not use it often. While no data were collected regarding the attitude towards learning Swahili or the level of proficiency in speaking Swahili among informants, Table 20 above shows that slightly more Luo than Kikuyu in both rural and urban areas report to use Swahili often in their daily life (19% and 8% of the Luo informants compared to 14% and 6% of the Kikuyu informants respectively).

### *Self-perceived reading proficiency in different languages*

In order to examine if the interviewees were able to read in all or just some of the languages they spoke, they were asked to assess their reading skills in the different languages that they spoke. Informants chose between four pre-determined categories of proficiency: 'fluently', 'moderately', 'with difficulty' and 'no competency' (Q1, question 9). It is important to note that no reading test was conducted. Not a test-based picture of how well informants effectively read was aimed at, but the self-perception of their reading skills. Thus, the different levels of proficiency displayed in Table 21 (p.170) describe how the informants perceive their reading skills in the different languages they speak.

Table 21: Self-assessed reading proficiency

	Total (N=304)		Kikuyu (N=161)		Luo (N=143)	
<b>L1</b>						
Fluently	46%	140	48%	78	43%	62
Moderately	31%	95	30%	48	33%	47
With difficulty	22%	67	21%	34	23%	33
No competency	1%	2	1%	1	1%	1
<b>S</b>					not stated 1	
Fluently	48%	147	60%	96	36%	51
Moderately	34%	103	24%	38	45%	65
With difficulty	10%	31	8%	13	13%	18
No competency	8%	22	8%	14	6%	8
<b>E</b>						
Fluently	70%	212	61%	98	80%	114
Moderately	12%	37	14%	22	11%	15
With difficulty	3%	10	4%	8	2%	2
No competency	15%	45	21%	33	8%	12
<b>X(Y)</b>						
Fluently	1%	4	1%	1	2%	3
Moderately	1%	4	1%	1	2%	3
With difficulty	5%	14	1%	2	8%	12
No competency	93%	282	97%	157	88%	125

E = English, L1 = First language, S = Swahili, X(Y) = Kikamba, Kimeru, Kikuyu, Borani, Luhya, Lingala, French

According to the data, more than  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the informants (or 70% of the total sample) perceived their reading in English as fluent. Reading abilities in both Swahili and L1 were less often perceived as fluent.

Additionally, differences were revealed between the Kikuyu and Luo subsamples. Luo informants considered their reading in Swahili less fluent than Kikuyu informants (36% of Luo interviewees as compared to 60% of Kikuyu informants), among which almost similar portions assessed their reading in Swahili and English as fluent (60% and 61% respectively). In contrast, more than  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the Luo informants (80%) perceived their reading skills in English as fluent, but lower proportions judged their L1 and Swahili reading as fluent (36% and 43% respectively).

In order to examine possible explanations for these differences between Kikuyu and Luo informants, the self-perceived reading proficiency was related to the level of education attained by the informants (Table 22 on the following page).



Table 22: Self-assessed reading proficiency in relation to education

<b>Educational level</b>	<b>Fluently reading L1</b> (N = 140)		<b>Fluently reading S</b> (N = 147)		<b>Fluently reading E</b> (N = 212)	
<b>Primary</b> (N=68)	56%	38	34%	23	22%	15
<b>Secondary</b> (N=104)	54%	56	61%	63	81%	84
<b>College/University</b> (N=131)	35%	46	47%	61	86%	113

L1 = first language, S = Swahili, E = English

*Note: Levels of self-assessed fluency were collected for each language spoken. Levels other than fluently (moderately, with difficulty, no competency) were omitted for the purpose of this comparison. The complete table is displayed in Appendix 11.*

As shown by the data, fluency in reading English is more frequently reported among secondary school attendants and college or university graduates (81% and 86% respectively) than among primary school attendants (22%). This finding confirms a correspondence between perceiving English reading skills as fluent and higher levels of education. Evidence for this correlation was previously revealed in the one-on-one interviews (see Chapter 3.3.2.2, p.142) and it was attributed to the Kenyan school system. Because the use of English, which is the medium of instruction from the fourth year of primary up to university level, is promoted by the school system, individuals who reach high levels of education are well practices and more used to read in English than any other language. In line with this interpretation, lower percentages of college and university graduates reported fluency in L1 (35%) and Swahili reading (47%) compared to primary and secondary school attendants.

The portion of secondary school attendants who reported fluency in reading English is almost as high as that of college and university graduates (81%). Unlike the college and university graduates, however, secondary school attendants do not show the same level of decline in Swahili and L1 reading. It remains to be investigated how these differences are to be interpreted. Does it mean that secondary school leavers use (and thereby practice) their L1 and Swahili reading skills more often after school (e.g. at work) than college and university graduates do?

With regard to differences between the Kikuyu and Luo subsamples, the Luo informants comprise more interviewees with a college or university degree compared to the Kikuyu subsample, which include more interviewees with a primary or secondary level of education. Thus, the higher percentage of informants who feel fluent in English and lower percentage of interviewees who perceive

their Swahili proficiency as fluent among the Luo subsample may be attributed to the higher percentage of college and university attendants in the Luo subsample.

Not all of the interviewees, however, speak English. As shown in Table 19 (p.167), sample 1 includes 16 monolingual L1 and 29 bilingual L1 and Swahili speakers. In order to determine, how the monolingual and bilingual informants perceive their reading skills, the two groups of informants were merged and compared with the group of English speaking interviewees. Table 23 presents the results.

*Table 23: Self-assessed reading proficiency: Non-English and English-speaking groups*

Language	Non-English speaking (N=45) 15% of total	English-speaking (N=259) 85% of total
<b>L1</b>		
Fluently	53% 24	45% 116
Moderately	38% 17	30% 78
With difficulty	9% 4	24% 63
No competency	0% 0	1% 2
<b>S</b>	not stated 1	
Fluently	21% 9	53% 138
Moderately	18% 8	37% 95
With difficulty	25% 11	8% 20
No competency	36% 16	2% 6
		0% 0
<b>E</b>		
Fluently		82% 212
Moderately		14% 37
With difficulty		4% 10
No competency	100% 45	0% 0
<b>X(Y)</b>		
Fluently		2% 4
Moderately		2% 4
With difficulty		5% 15
No competency	100% 45	91% 236

E = English, L1 = First language, S = Swahili, X(Y) = Kikamba, Kimeru, Kikuyu, Borani, Luhya, Lingala, French

Data show that if English is spoken, it is the language, which informants feel to read fluently (82%). The non-English-speaking informants, in contrast, are generally less confident regarding their reading skills. Only 53% of them describe L1 reading skills as fluent and 21% report fluency in Swahili reading.

Several statements made in the qualitative interviews suggested a correlation between reading fluency and the age of interviewees. Commonly, older generations were said to be less educated and less able to speak (and hence also to

read) English. They were believed to read Kikuyu and Swahili. In contrast, younger generations were described as fluent in reading English and Swahili. To them, however, reading L1 was said to be a problem. An observation that led the editors of the Catholic Church newsletter *Wathiomo Mũkinyu* to decide to publish a two page youth-forum in their L1 newspaper using English (referred to in Chapter 3.1.1, p.63).

Table 24 shows the self-reported fluency in reading L1, Swahili and English according to different age groups.

Table 24: Fluency in reading in relation to age groups

Age	Fluently reading L1 (N = 140)	Fluently reading S (N = 147)	Fluently reading E (N = 212 )
15-20 (N=14)	43% 6	43% 6	79% 11
21-30 (N=143)	39% 56	51% 73	78% 112
31-40 (N=72)	49% 35	47% 34	72% 52
41-50 (N=49)	57% 28	43% 21	59% 29
Above50 (N=26)	58% 15	50% 13	31% 8

L1 = first language, S = Swahili, E = English

Note: Self-assessed proficiency levels were requested for each language spoken. Furthermore, lower levels of proficiency (moderately, with difficulty, no competency) were omitted for the purpose of this comparison.

The data show that the percentage of informants who report fluency in reading English is relatively stable among the first three age groups (ranging between 72% and 79%) and decreases among informants aged 41 to 50 and above 50 years (59% and 31% respectively). With regard to English, therefore, higher levels of English proficiency among younger informants were confirmed.

Fluency in L1, however, only slightly increased with age (ranging between 39% to 49% among the first three age groups to 57% among informants aged 41 to 50 and 58% above 50 years). Thus, data do not confirm a correlation of age and L1 reading ability. And the level of fluency in reading in L1 as reported by the younger informants, was found to be higher than it was expected on the basis of the information given in the qualitative interviews. After all almost half (43%) of the informants belonging to the youngest age group assessed their reading proficiency as fluent. It is unclear, how these data have to be interpreted. Does this finding suggest that the observation of older informants regarding the L1 reading difficulties of the younger generation is wrong? Or do younger and older informants apply different standards with regard to reading proficiency?

Percentages of informants who were reporting fluency in reading Swahili are rather stable ranging between a minimum of 43% of fluent readers in the age group 15 to 20 and a maximum of 52% in the age group 21 to 30. This finding is of interest in so far as the informants who were younger than 22 years started schooling under the reformed 8-4-4 school system (implemented in 1985), which introduced Swahili as a compulsory and examinable subject from primary up to the end of secondary. Thus, it was assumed that they would be more proficient in reading Swahili (and hence would feel more confident regarding their Swahili reading) due to the fact that they read it as a subject in school compared to the older age groups, which schooled under the colonial and post-colonial school system. However, data does not show higher levels of reported fluency of Swahili reading among the age groups of 15 to 20 and 21 to 30 compared to the other age groups. Whereas it is unlikely that the introduction of Swahili as a compulsory school subject did not have any effect on the reading ability of the interviewees, informants may have assessed their reading proficiency in Swahili (and L1) in proportion to their reading skills in the language, they feel most fluent in. For the majority this language was English. Now, if English was perceived as the language of fluent reading, then Swahili (and L1) reading skills in proportion to English may have been assessed as less fluent. So, whereas it is unclear whether or not effective reading skills are higher among younger than older informants, the self-perceived fluency in reading Swahili is lower compared to fluency in English among informants, who schooled under the 8-4-4 school system, in the same way as it is among informants who schooled under the colonial and post-colonial school system.

### ***Frequency of reading in different languages***

Interviewees were additionally asked how often they read in the language or languages that they speak. Five categories of responses were pre-set: daily, weekly, monthly, once a year and never (Q1, question 10). Table 25 (on the next page) focuses on reading on a daily basis. It contrasts the Luo and Kikuyu subsamples, non-English-speaking interviewees and English-speaking informants.

Table 25: Daily reading in different languages

Language	Total (N = 304)	Kikuyu (N = 161)	Luo (N = 143)	Non-English- speaking (N = 45)	English- speaking (N = 259)
<b>L1</b> daily	22% 68	27% 43	18% 25	40% 18	19% 50
<b>S</b> daily	30% 86	38% 56	22% 30	34% 10	30% 76
<b>E</b> daily	70% 213	77% 99	87% 114	0% 0	82% 213
<b>X</b> daily	0% 0	0% 0	0% 0	0% 0	0% 0

L1 = first language, S = Swahili, E = English

As shown in Table 25, more than  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the interviewees (70%) report to read in English on a daily basis. The Luo informants indicate to use Swahili less often on a daily basis than Kikuyu interviewees. This finding calls for the modification of the aforementioned stereotype of Luo speakers shying away from speaking Swahili. While no considerable differences in the use of Swahili in daily oral communication were found between the Luo and the Kikuyu subsample (Table 20, p. 168), it was established that Luo interviewees feel less fluent in reading Swahili (Table 21, p. 170) and that they read Swahili less often on a daily basis than the Kikuyu interviewees (Table 25 above). However, it has to be kept in mind that the Luo and the Kikuyu subsample differ with regard to the educational level attained by the interviewees (Table 17, p. 160). The Luo subsample comprised more informants with a college or university degree, who generally perceived their reading in Swahili as less fluent compared to secondary school attendants, who were over-represented in the Kikuyu subsample.

Differences in the frequency of reading between non-English-speaking and English-speaking groups are clearly displayed in Table 25. Non-English speaking interviewees read less often on a daily basis (40% in L1, 34% in Swahili) compared to the English-speaking informants (82% of daily reading in English). Assuming that someone who perceives reading a certain language as easy would use that language more often for reading than someone who has difficulties in reading that language, this result may be attributed to the small amount of non-English-speaking interviewees, who perceive their L1 and/or Swahili reading as fluent (see Table 23, p.172). Another factor that may cause a low frequency in reading among the monolingual L1 and bilingual L1 and Swahili speaking informants

may lie in difficulties with regard to the availability of L1 reading material. As mentioned in Chapter 1 and shown by the supply of reading material in Nyeri District and Kisumu District (Chapter 3.1, p.55 and p.74) the book market in Kenya is dominated by publications in English. No daily newspaper, for instance, is available in either Kikuyu or Luo. L1 newspapers rather appear on a weekly or monthly basis. Thus, the fact that, for instance, L1 newspapers are not published on a daily basis, whereas several daily newspapers in English are available, may influence the reading frequency reported for the different languages.

### *Preferences of reading languages*

Language preferences in reading were assessed together with the general reading motivation. In response to the question “Would you like to read more than you do now?” (Q1, question 16) 246 individuals or 81% of the total sample indicated that they were motivated to read more. The individuals who reported a desire to read were then asked in which language they would like to read more (Q1, question 18). Table 26 summarizes the responses comparing the Kikuyu and Luo subsamples, and non-English-speaking and English-speaking informants.

*Table 26: Language preferences*

	<b>Total</b> (N=300) not stated 4		<b>Kikuyu</b> (N=161)		<b>Luo</b> (N=139) not stated 4		<b>Non-English-Speaking</b> (N = 45)		<b>English-speaking</b> (N = 255) not stated 4	
<b>Would like to read more</b>	(N=246) 82% p.o.t		(N=118) 73% p.o.t		(N=128) 92% p.o.t		(N = 20) 44% p.o.t.		(N = 226) 89% p.o.t.	
<b>Language</b>										
<b>L1</b>	8%	20	13%	15	4%	5	35%	7	6%	13
<b>S</b>	6%	14	11%	13	1%	1	15%	3	5%	11
<b>E</b>	64%	157	66%	78	62%	79	15%	3	68%	154
<b>E+S</b>	11%	27	5%	6	16%	21	10%	2	11%	25
<b>L1+S</b>	3%	8	4%	5	2%	3	20%	4	2%	4
<b>L1+E</b>	5%	12	1%	1	9%	11	5%	1	5%	11
<b>E + French</b>	3%	8			6%	8	0%	0	3%	8

E = English, L1 = first language, S = Swahili, p.o.t = percentage of total sample or total subsample

As data show, English is the language the majority of interviewees would like to read more in (64%). Differences between the Kikuyu and Luo subsample relate to the use of L1 and Swahili: Kikuyu informants preferred to read more in L1 and Swahili (13% and 11% respectively) compared to Luo informants (4% L1 and 1% Swahili respectively). The Kikuyu subsample, however, included more non-

English-speaking monolingual and bilingual interviewees than the Luo subsample, which may be the reason for these differences between the two subsamples. Additionally, it may be speculated that lower levels of self-perceived fluency in Swahili reading among the Luo informants (see Table 21, p.170) impacted on their preference for English, supposing that the language readers feel fluent and at ease reading, would motivate them to read more in that language.

Regarding non-English-speaking and English-speaking informants who would like to read more, it comes as no surprise that the majority of English-speaking informants would like to read more in English (69%), whereas non-English-speaking informants opt for L1 (35%), Swahili (15%) or both (20%) as languages they would like to read more in. Interestingly, five non-English-speaking informants (or 25%) indicated that they would prefer reading in English or English and Swahili, although they were not literate in English. Notwithstanding the limited size of the sample of the non-English-speaking informants, this inclination towards English can be attributed to the prestige and importance given to English as the language of social mobility in Kenya.

In order, however, to determine the factors, which influence readers' language preferences of L1, Swahili or English, interviewees were asked why they would like to read more in the language or languages they chose (Q1, question 19). The question was designed open-ended and responses were later categorized for analysis. Interviewees were free to give more than one reason to answer the question. Table 27 summarizes and ranks the results.

*Table 27: Reasons for preferences*

<b>L1</b>	<b>Swahili</b>	<b>English</b>
Proficiency (14)	Proficiency (11)	Proficiency (117)
Identity/Culture (6)	Status (4)	Availability (28)
Common language (3)	Availability (3)	Common language (27)
		Status (14)
		LWC (6)
		To improve language (5)

L1 = first language, LWC = Language of wider communication

Data confirms the assumed correspondence of fluent, competent reading and the preference for a certain language. Proficiency was the most frequently mentioned reason for preference in all three relevant languages. Statements that were summa-

rized in this category include: “It is the easiest”, “It’s simpler to read and write”, “because of fluency”, “better mastery of the language.”

Yet, findings suggest further motivation to prefer a language for use in reading. English and Swahili were both said to be preferred because most reading material is written in the two languages and because these materials are more readily available than materials in L1. Informant’s answers subsumed under the label ‘availability’ comprise: “Most books are written in English”, “It is more available”, “Easy to get books in it”, and “Wide range of publications”.

Other frequently mentioned reasons for wanting to read more in English were subsumed in the category ‘common language’. This category includes answers such as “because it is commonly used” or “It’s a common language in the country”. These statements are surprising keeping in mind that - far from common - the percentage of the population in the country able to speak (and hence to also read) English is estimated at 16% (Webb & Kembo-Sure 2000: 48).<sup>129</sup> Fields, in which English is a common language, however, are official and media contexts and especially the print sector. Thus, it is not clear, if interviewees referred to English as a common language in daily oral communication or as a common means in official and media discourse of the country.

Finally, data point to the status of English and Swahili (the official and national language of the country respectively) as a reason for preference. Informants’ answers include “It’s the official language.” “English is official”, “Swahili is the national language”. Thus, the recognition of the two languages as means of official and national communication by the state seems to award prestige and to add favorability to them as compared to L1.

In contrast, informants associate L1 reading with identity and culture and they state reasons for their preference such as “Because it’s my mother tongue”, “Because I am a Kikuyu and Kikuyu is my language”.

---

<sup>129</sup> See Chapter 1 (p.6) for details about the language situation in the country.



### ***Materials read in different languages***

As has been shown, the majority of publications in the Kenyan book market are available in English, followed by Swahili and a small amount of L1 publications (see Chapter 3.1 Table 2, p. 64 and Table 4, p.77). Against this background, interviewees were asked to list the reading material, which they read in the different languages (Q1, question 11). Table 28 lists and ranks answers to this inquiry.

*Table 28: Sort of material read in different languages*

<b>L1 ranking:</b>	<b>Swahili ranking:</b>	<b>English ranking</b>
Bible (139)	<i>Taifa Leo</i> <sup>130</sup> (154)	Newspaper (185)
Newspaper (68)	Bible (36)	Magazines (127)
Letters (34)	Storybooks (30)	Novels (107)
Storybooks (31)	Novels (8)	Bible (51)

L1 = first language

*Note: Interviewees were free to list more than one sort of reading material for each language category. Materials are ranked according to the frequency of their occurrence.*

The data show that different languages are related to different types of reading material. L1 reading is strongly linked to Bible reading, while Swahili reading is associated with the nationwide newspaper *Taifa Leo*. Newspapers, magazines and novels reach high scores among reading material in English. This wide variety of reading material used in English clearly reflects the dominance of English in the Kenyan book market.

It is important to note that non-fiction (e.g. textbooks, Christian texts, collections of culture and history of the speaker groups) was not mentioned in any of the three languages although non-fiction was available in bookshops and libraries in English as well as Swahili and L1 (although in smaller quantities and varieties as compared to the English non-fiction available).

Although this study intentionally excluded letters (because it does not examine texts in casual use, see Chapter 1, p.15, for a definition of the focus of this study) and although Q1 did not contain a single question about letter reading, many informants mentioned letters as a relevant category of reading material in L1.

---

<sup>130</sup> *Taifa Leo* is the only daily newspaper of nationwide distribution in Kenya, which is published in Swahili.

### *Summary*

So far it has been shown that multilingualism characterizes the daily oral language use of the majority of both the Luo and Kikuyu interviewees in urban settings, while rural settings show a rather monolingual oral language use. The Luo informants reported use more English and less L1 on a daily basis than the Kikuyu informants. This finding was attributed to differences in the level of urbanity of the two research sites.

Regarding the language use in reading, a dominance of English was shown: More interviewees assessed their reading competencies in reading English as fluent compared to reading skills in Swahili and L1. And more informants reported to read English on a daily basis compared to Swahili and L1. Also, informants more often chose English as the language that they wanted to read more in. Reasons given for the preference of English revealed that interviewees perceive reading in English as easier compared to other languages, that reading material in English is more available to them, that they perceive English as a common language, and that they value it as the official language.

Interviewees who were not able to speak and hence to also read English reported their reading skills in their spoken languages (L1 and/or Swahili) generally less often as fluent compared to the English-speaking informants. The non-English-speaking interviewees less often reported reading on a daily basis as compared to the English-speaking informants. A fact that may be attributed to lower levels of self-assessed fluency in reading and the smaller supply with L1 and Swahili reading material. The majority of non-English-speaking informants preferred to read more in L1 and/or Swahili. However, some members of this group also preferred reading more in English or English and Swahili. Reasons for wanting to read more in L1 related to proficiency, identity and the common use of L1 in the area. Preference of Swahili related to proficiency, its status as a national language and the availability of reading material in Swahili.

Differences in the language use in reading between the Kikuyu and the Luo subsample related to the use of English and Swahili among the Luo interviewees. A higher percentage of the Luo informants compared to the Kikuyu informants reported to fluently read in English and to read it on a daily basis. At the

same time, fewer Luo informants reported to fluently read in Swahili compared to the Kikuyu interviewees, who employed Swahili more often on a daily basis in reading. However, it could not be decided on the basis of the data if these differences between the Luo and Kikuyu subsamples have to be attributed to differences in the composition of the two subsamples or if they are a consequence of difficulties specifically faced by Luo informants, whose Nilotic L1 differs structurally from the Bantu language Swahili.

Regarding the self-perceived proficiency in reading English, it was found that the self-assessed fluency in reading English increases with the level of education attained. L1 and Swahili reading skills were found not to relate to the educational level attained.

Self-assessed English reading skills were also found to differ considerably between the age groups, with highest proportions among informants aged between 15 and 40 years, and declining rates among interviewees aged above 40. The fluency in L1 reading only slightly increased among informants aged 41 and above. And proportions of interviewees perceiving their reading in Swahili as fluent were found to be stable among the age groups.

Finally, the lists of materials read in different languages reflected the supply of reading material in the Kenyan book market. English displayed the largest variety of materials read by the informants including newspapers, magazines and novels. Swahili, on the contrary, was strongly linked to the only Swahili newspaper *Taifa Leo* and L1 reading was most frequently associated with Bible reading.

### 3.4.2.2 Attitudes towards reading

Stereotypes of the Kenyan reader are plenty in the public debate as has been shown in Chapter 1. Frequently readers are blamed of reading for examination while in school, but not for leisure in out of school contexts. In order to reveal information about the attitude towards reading after ending school, the first questionnaire contained the question “Do you like reading in your leisure time?” (Q1, question 12). Table 29 displays the answers to this question while at the same time comparing the Luo and Kikuyu subsamples, female and male readers, and informants residing in urban and rural areas (the findings refer to the sample described in Table 16).

Table 29: Liking/disliking reading in relation to LI, sex, and place of residence

<i>Do you like reading?</i>	<b>Total</b> (N=301) not stated 3	<b>Kikuyu</b> (N=160) not stated 1	<b>Luo</b> (N=143) not stated 2	<b>Female</b> (N= 135) not stated 1	<b>Male</b> (N=166) not stated 2	<b>Urban</b> (N =176) not stated 2	<b>Rural</b> (N = 125) not stated 1
<i>Yes</i>	82% 248	77% 124	87% 124	84% 115	79% 133	88% 156	74% 92
<i>No</i>	17% 53	23% 36	13% 17	15% 20	20% 33	12% 20	26% 33

The table shows that more than  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the interviewees (82%) state to like reading in their leisure time. Thus, the data reflect a positive attitude towards reading. However, it has been pointed out in the terminology and metaphor analysis (see Chapter 3.2.2.2, p.100) that reading is strongly associated with education. As education is valued in the Kenyan context both on a personal level as a means of social mobility and on a national level as a tool for development, it is not too surprising that the majority of informants showed a positive attitude towards the activity. Nevertheless, these findings challenge claims about the Kenyan reader, who is said to have a negative attitude towards reading.

Slightly higher percentages of Luo, female, and urban informants reported liking to read in their leisure time, but no substantial differences between the subsamples were revealed.

The examination of further variables regarding the liking or disliking for reading revealed differences among informants relating to age, education, and income levels. Table 30 (on the following page) provides figures of informants who like or dislike reading by comparing age groups.

Table 30: Liking/disliking reading in relation to age groups

	<b>15-20</b> (N = 14)	<b>21-30</b> (N = 141) not stated 2	<b>31-40</b> (N = 71) not stated 1	<b>41-50</b> (N = 49)	<b>51-60</b> (N=15)	<b>Above 60</b> (N = 11)
<b>Yes</b>	86% 12	87% 125	83% 59	71% 35	80% 12	45% 5
<b>No</b>	14% 2	13% 16	17% 12	29% 14	20% 3	55% 6

Note: Due to missing values the total sample adds to 301 instead of 304.

The data show that those informants who were above 60 years were more likely to dislike reading than informants belonging to the younger age groups (although the small size of informants aged above 60 has to be kept in mind). Among the younger age groups percentages of those who like or dislike reading are rather stable (ranging at around or more than  $\frac{3}{4}$  of informants liking reading and around or less than  $\frac{1}{4}$  of informants not liking reading). This finding complies to and can be explained by information revealed in the one-on-one interviews (see Chapter 3.3.2.2, p.148). In the qualitative interviews it was found that the oldest informants aged above 60 tended to indicate lower levels of education compared to younger informants and some of them reported that they had not had much contact to books either in school or after leaving school. The dislike for reading found in the quantitative data among informants aged above 60, thus, may be attributed to the little experience and minor role of books and reading in the lives of these informants.

Table 31 summarizes the responses in relation to education and income of informants.

Table 31: Liking/disliking reading in relation to education and income

	<b>Primary</b> (N = 68)	<b>Secondary</b> (N = 104) not stated 3	<b>College/ University</b> (N = 131)	<b>Low</b> (N = 180) not stated 1	<b>Middle</b> (N = 110) not stated 2	<b>High</b> (N = 11)
<b>Yes</b>	60% 41	87% 88	91% 119	74% 134	95% 104	91% 10
<b>No</b>	40% 27	13% 13	9% 12	26% 46	5% 6	9% 1

Note: The group of informants who never attended school was omitted because it comprises only one interviewee. Together with missing values the total sample of education levels adds to 300 instead of 304. The total of income levels adds to 301 due to missing values.

As can be seen, informants who attained a primary level of education were more likely not to like reading than informants who attained a secondary, college or university level of education. At the same time, informants with low incomes

were more likely not to like reading than informants belonging to the middle and high-income group.

Again referring to the qualitative data discussed in Chapter 3.3 provides explanations for these findings as it was shown there that interviewees remember their secondary, college and university years as the time of broad reading both in school and after finishing school (Chapter 3.3.2.2, p.150). Informants who attained a primary school level less often reported extensive reading during their school days or beyond. Furthermore, members of the lower income sector reported to face difficulties in accessing reading material due to financial and time constraints, which they described as a direct result of their enhanced efforts to create incomes. Thus, the higher percentages of informants who dislike reading among primary school leavers and low income earners may be attributed to a lower exposure to reading material in school and more problems in accessing reading material after leaving school.

In order to examine the reasons behind liking or disliking reading, informants were asked to explain why they like and why they don't like to read respectively in their leisure time (Q1, question 13). The answers to this open-ended question were categorized and ranked according to the frequency of occurrence in the data. Table 32 provides reasons for liking or disliking reading.

**Table 32: Reasons for liking/ disliking reading**

<b>Informants who like reading</b> (N =248)	<b>Informants who dislike reading</b> (N=53)
To get information/news (65) To increase knowledge (52) It keeps me busy (43) It is entertaining/relaxing (35) It improves language (18) For Christian guidance (14) It's a hobby (8) I have an interest (4) It gives new ideas (2) Others (1 each)	Always busy/other.things.to.do (22) No.interest/it is boring (15) Tiredness/exhaustion after work (8) I can't read properly (3) No.relevant.materials (2) Others (1 each)

*Note: Informants were free to give more than one reason. All responses were categorized as shown in the table and ranked according to the frequency of their occurrence.*

As is shown by the data, informants like reading either because the content of what is read and the effects of this content are valued (information/being informed, increase of knowledge/being educated, improvement of language

skills/being educated, Christian orientation/living according to Christian values, new ideas/being creative) or because engaging in the activity as such provides pleasure (entertainment and relaxation, being busy, pursuing a hobby). In other words, informants report to like reading because they either value the cognitive result of reading or the emotional gain they obtain through reading. This association of reading with cognitive and emotional profits was also revealed in the metaphor analysis discussed in Chapter 3.2.2 (p.98), which showed that reading material is metaphorically conceptualized as persons who facilitate education (teachers), provide support (assistants) or satisfy emotional needs (friends).

Although cognitive effects of reading rank high on the list of reasons for liking reading, reasons related to emotional and pleasurable aspects of reading (ranking third and fourth) question the image of the Kenyan reader who only engages in reading for utilitarian purposes. On the contrary, some informants reported to pursue reading as a hobby, thus, indicating that reading is done for leisure and relaxation and that informants turn to it on a rather frequent basis.

When explaining a liking for reading in order to get information and news, Kikuyu and Luo informants alike often referred to the September 11 attacks. Typical answers in this respect included “to know what happens in the world, e.g. about events such as the attacks in America”, “to be updated about terrorism and how it stroke”, “to get news about what happened in America”, “to get updated on the current news such as the war in Afghanistan”. It is therefore unclear, whether or not the interest in getting information and news rank highest among informants who like reading as a result of increased information needs following the terrorist’s attacks. As no comparable data were collected before September 11, however, it is not possible to decide whether or not the incident had an influence on interviewees’ answers.

The reasons given for disliking reading highlight four aspects. First, they relate to time constraints due to other activities, which informants feel more important and which were often related to income creating activities. Answers summarized in the first ranking category included “I’m always busy”, “Busy to make ends meet” or “I don’t get time to read, because I’m too busy finding money” (noticeably, interviewees only mentioned financial constraints in this covert manner).

Or responses related to tiredness and exhaustion as a result of the work necessary to earn a living (“At the end of the day, I’m exhausted”, “Can’t concentrate on reading after work” or “After work, I am usually tired and I want my mind to rest”). Keeping in mind that informants with low earnings were more likely not to like reading, data suggests that economic hardship results in limited time resources and prioritizing income creating activities rather than reading. Furthermore, informants indicate to dislike reading due to a lack of interest in it and because they get bored when reading. A third reason held responsible for not liking to engage in reading was insufficient reading skills. This result confirms the assumed link between the self-perceived ease of reading a language and the motivation to engage in reading. And finally a lack of relevant reading material that informants would like to read is mentioned.

### *Summary*

Overall, data show that the majority of the informants have a positive attitude towards reading. Reasons given for liking reading included updating effects of news and information reading, educational achievement yet also emotional gains, pleasure and relaxation were mentioned as a consequence of engaging in reading. Informants who reported disliking reading attributed their aversion to time limitations imposed on them by economic hardship, lack of interest, low literacy levels attained, and the lack of access to relevant reading material. These informants were more often found among interviewees aged above 60, primary school leavers and low income earners than among other informants.

#### **3.4.2.3 Reading and leisure**

The following section refers to results of the analysis of the second questionnaire survey conducted in 2002. The findings relate to the sample described in Table 18 (p.163). The second questionnaire aimed at examining the role of reading in the wider field of leisure time activities that informants engage in during the week. This focus was chosen, because stating a positive attitude towards reading and showing a high esteem for reading, does not say much about the effective role of reading in the lives of informants. In order to find out which kind of reading and other activities informants pursue in their spare time, interviewees were asked to



select the activities they engage in during the week from a pre-defined list (Q2, question 9). Table 33 displays the results.

Table 33: Leisure time activities

	Total (N = 349)		Kikuyu (N = 165)		Luo (N = 184)	
<b>Listening to the radio</b>	75%	262	74%	122	76%	140
<b>Reading the Bible</b>	69%	239	67%	110	70%	129
<b>Reading newspapers</b>	66%	229	65%	107	66%	122
<b>Spending time with family or friends</b>	65%	225	59%	97	70%	128
<b>Watching TV</b>	59%	205	63%	104	55%	101
<b>Reading books</b>	45%	156	33%	54	55%	102
<b>Reading magazines</b>	38%	134	39%	64	38%	70
<b>Watching video</b>	34%	117	36%	60	31%	57
<b>Sports / Games</b>	26%	89	18%	30	32%	59
<b>Relaxing at entertainment club</b>	24%	82	22%	37	24%	45
<b>Others</b>	4%	15	3%	5	5%	10

Note: Interviewees were free to choose as many activities as they liked. Activities are ranked according to the frequency of their occurrence in the total sample.

The data show that listening to the radio is the most frequently reported leisure time activity among both Kikuyu and Luo with  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the informants engaging in it during the week. This finding confirms the outstanding role of the radio in Kenya that is also mentioned in an article by Mohochi (2003) on the use of Swahili in the media in Kenya. Mohochi attributes the success of the radio to its wide availability throughout the country (2003: 88). He observes that even though not all families may be able to afford a radio set<sup>131</sup> due to financial constraints, access to radio is widespread in even remote parts of the country where people of an entire village may share access to a radio set which they communally utilize to follow the news. As a means of information, education and entertainment, thus, the radio competes with the print media, which serve the same functions.

A comparably high percentage of informants reported to engage in Bible (69%) and newspaper reading (66%) during the week. Whereas the Bible is widely kept in the house (making it easily available to informants both in urban and rural places) the newspaper is more accessible in urban areas, where it is sold and displayed in the streets. In rural areas people often rely on being supplied with newspapers by family members, friends or neighbors returning from a visit to

<sup>131</sup> In 1998 there were 104 radio sets per 1000 inhabitants in Kenya (World Bank 2001).

town bringing newspapers with them. Makotsi & Nyariki (1997: 109) observe that people in the Kenyan context have a tendency to read what they can afford to buy. In this way of interpretation the high amount of newspaper reading found in the data would result from the affordability of the dailies. However, an observation made by Rotich (2004: 183) regarding newspaper reading was also made during fieldwork for this study: In the Kenyan context newspaper reading does not imply that one has to buy a paper. Either people share a copy of a daily newspaper (Rotich found that up to ten person share a paper), they find it at their place of work (mostly in offices), or they go to newspaper vendors and stand to read the newspaper, without purchasing a copy. Thus, it can be argued that people have a tendency not only to read what they can afford to buy, but to read what is available to them.

Book and magazine reading is reported to a lesser extent compared to Bible and newspaper reading with almost half of the informants (45%) indicating to engage in book reading and slightly more than  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the interviewees (38%) reporting to engage in magazine reading.

The small role of magazine reading came as a surprise, as informants in the qualitative one-on-one interviews (see Chapter 3.2.2, p.144) reported to read magazines, which they described as more available in their social environment (through borrowing from friends, neighbors etc.) and more affordable than books (as the price of a monthly magazine ranges between 60 and 100 Ksh) compared to e.g. novels by African writers ranging between 150 and 300 Ksh. It remains to be investigated, how this contradicting information has to be interpreted. However, with regard to the role of reading activities Table 33 on the previous page shows that the most frequently pursued reading activities are Bible and newspaper reading and that book and magazine reading are of minor importance among leisure time activities. In this respect, the stereotype of the Kenyan reader (cited in Chapter 1, p.2) who reads the newspaper headlines but does not engage in novel or reading reading is partially confirmed by the data.

Other activities that show a smaller amount of informants engaging in them include watching video (34%), sports and games (26%) and relaxing in en-

tertainment club<sup>132</sup> (24%). Except from sport and games, these activities entail spending money either for buying or hiring a video set, buying or hiring video tapes, visiting a video show<sup>133</sup> or buying drinks, a fact, that may explain the smaller amount of informants able to engage in these activities.

Leisure time activities that exceed book and magazine reading include spending time with family and friends and watching TV. Nearly  $\frac{2}{3}$  of informants indicated to spend time with family or friends as a leisure time activity (65%). Socializing with people is commonly contrasted with the private and isolating activity of reading, which is described as hardly compatible with communal lifestyles in African contexts (Chakava 1992: 142, Yigbé 2003: 125, referred to in Chapter 2.2.2, p.29 and p.31). Although data does not clarify whether or not cultural disapproval of activities, which temporarily isolate the individual from the community, causes the higher portion of informants socializing with family members and friends compared to reading books or magazines, data show that sociable activities are of importance in everyday life. In this respect watching TV (that 59% of informants indicated to engage in) is more of a sociable activity than reading. It can be pursued with family or friends, in bars, restaurants or video shows. However, it has to be kept in mind that only a small percentage of the population (especially in the rural areas of the country) privately owns TV sets<sup>134</sup> and that watching TV in public places is more often found in urban areas than rural places. Therefore, the high amount of informants reporting to engage in watching TV may be attributed to the fact that the rural areas surveyed did not represent very remote rural areas of the country, but were in reach of major urban centers.

Differences between the Kikuyu and Luo subsamples relate to the activities of spending time with family and friends, sports and games and reading books with a higher percentage of Luo informants indicating to engage in the three activities. Slightly more Kikuyu report to engage in watching TV and video.

---

<sup>132</sup> This wording was chosen to paraphrase the activity of going out to a bar to drink alcohol, because research assistants felt this activity to be offensive to directly ask for.

<sup>133</sup> So called "video shows" are wooden stalls or shops in which TV programs or videotapes are shown for an entrance fee of around 20 Ksh for one show. These video shows were common in the urban and semi urban areas in both districts surveyed.

<sup>134</sup> In 1998 there were 21 TV sets per 1000 people living in Kenya (World Bank 2001).

Whereas the high percentage of informants reporting to engage in sports and games can be attributed to the fact that the Luo subsample is considerably younger than the Kikuyu subsample (with 24% of Luo informants aged 15 to 20 years compared to 7% of Kikuyu interviewees falling in this age bracket, see Table 18, p.163), it is unclear, how differences in spending time with family, book reading, watching TV and video have to be interpreted. Does it mean that the Kikuyu informants are more interested and financially able to watch TV and video compared to the Luo informants? Are the later generally more interested in book reading than the Kikuyu informants? Or have differences in book reading to be attributed to the research site Kisumu, which hosts several institutions of tertiary and vocational training, which might lead to enhanced book reading activity among the Luo informants? Further research is needed to clarify these differences.

### *Factors impacting on pursuing reading activities*

Information derived from the qualitative one-on-one interviews (see Chapter 3.3.2.2, p.140) suggested that the reading habits reported by the informants were influenced by different social variables including level of education, place of residence, sex etc. It was, for instance, found that female informants described their time resources to engage in reading (or other leisure time activities) as more limited compared to the male informants due to their social role and chores related to it such as cooking, childcare, household etc. In order to test these qualitative findings against the background of the quantitative data, the reading activities were separated from the other leisure time activities listed and examined with regard to differences between female and male informants, urban or rural place of residence, level of education attained, and family income. Table 34 summarizes the results derived for the female and male, urban and rural subsamples.

*Table 34: Reading activities in relation to sex and place of residence*

	<b>Total</b> (N = 349)		<b>Female</b> (N = 143)		<b>Male</b> (N = 206)		<b>Urban</b> (N = 183)		<b>Rural</b> (N = 166)	
<b>Reading the Bible</b>	69%	239	67%	106	70%	133	69%	127	68%	112
<b>Reading newspapers</b>	66%	229	54%	77	74%	152	75%	137	55%	92
<b>Reading books</b>	45%	156	42%	60	47%	96	51%	94	37%	62
<b>Reading magazines</b>	38%	134	43%	62	35%	72	49%	89	27%	45

Regarding the information given in the qualitative interviews it was expected that less female informants would report to engage in reading activities compared to male informants. This assumption is falsified by the data, as comparable amounts of female and male informants report to engage in the different reading activities during the week. Differences between female and male informants, however, were found with regard to newspaper and magazine reading. More female interviewees indicated to read magazines compared to male informants, who were more often engaged in newspaper reading. These findings confirm two types of readers that were derived from the qualitative interview data and presented in Chapter 3.3.2.1. There it was found that a group of readers labeled 'life experience readers' (p.123) reported to predominantly read magazines in order to get to know what happened to other people and that this group exclusively consisted of female informants. And a preponderance of male informants was found in the group of 'information readers' (p.130), in which informants reported to exclusively read newspapers for politics and important events.

Differences between urban and rural subsamples related to all reading activities except Bible reading, showing that urban informants engage more in newspaper, book and magazine reading compared to rural informants. These findings can be interpreted as confirming enhanced difficulties in accessing reading material in the rural areas, which were previously described in Chapter 3.1 (p.55 and p.74) and which are also acknowledged in the literature (Chakava 1996: 105).

Table 35 displays the reading activities informants engage in in relation to educational levels attained.

*Table 35: Reading activities in relation to education*

	<b>Total</b> (N = 343) not stated 6		<b>Never attended</b> (N = 8)		<b>Primary</b> (N = 98)		<b>Secondary</b> (N=128)		<b>College [voc]</b> (N = 46)		<b>Col- lege[acd]/Uni versity</b> (N = 63)	
<b>Reading the Bible</b>	69%	236	38%	3	77%	75	71%	91	74%	34	52%	33
<b>Reading newspapers</b>	66%	226	13%	1	47%	46	67%	86	78%	36	90%	57
<b>Reading books</b>	45%	154	0%	0	34%	33	40%	51	61%	28	67%	42
<b>Reading magazines</b>	38%	130	0%	0	24%	24	38%	49	56%	26	49%	31

acd = academic, voc = vocational

Except from reading the Bible, pursuing reading activities increases the higher the level of education attained by informants. Percentages of informants reporting to engage in newspaper reading are highest among those who visited an academic

college or the university (90%), followed by attendants of vocational colleges (78%) and secondary school leavers (67%). The same is the case for book reading. Magazine reading is most often pursued among attendants of vocational training colleges.

Reading activities in relation to the income of informants are summarized in Table 36.

*Table 36: Reading activities in relation to income*

	<b>Total</b> (N = 323) not stated 26		<b>Low</b> (N= 252)		<b>Middle</b> (N = 55)		<b>High</b> (N = 16)	
<b>Reading the Bible</b>	69%	239	70%	177	67%	37	63%	10
<b>Reading newspapers</b>	66%	229	59%	149	89%	49	88%	14
<b>Reading books</b>	45%	156	40%	101	64%	35	81%	13
<b>Reading magazines</b>	38%	134	34%	86	55%	30	69%	11

As shown by the data, higher percentages of informants with a middle or high family income engage in newspaper reading compared to informants falling into the low-income group. Highest figures for book and magazine reading are found in the high-income group. In contrast, percentages of informants reporting to read the Bible are stable among the different income groups. As has been mentioned before, Makotsi & Nyariki (1997: 109) state a tendency of Kenyans to read what they can afford to buy. Now, it would be misleading to conclude that informants who indicated to engage in different reading activities in this study necessarily bought all reading material they reported to read during the week (e.g. people find the newspapers at their place of work, stand to read at the vendor's or they borrow books or magazines from family members or friends). Yet, data suggest that informants with high earnings (and the higher potential to purchase reading material) are more likely to engage especially in book and magazine reading entailing that this reading material is more available to them than to members of the middle and low income groups.

### ***Frequency of reading***

In order to examine to which extent different reading material is read, informants were asked how often they read each of a pre-set list of categories of reading material (Q2, question 12). Information on the relevant categories of reading material used in the list was revealed in the qualitative group and one-on-one interviews of

the first fieldwork period. Frequency levels from which informants were asked to chose were set at 'daily', 'weekly', 'monthly', 'once a year' and 'never'. Table 37 merges results for 'daily' and 'weekly' frequency levels for the sake of clarity (the complete table of results is displayed in Appendix 12). In addition to the total sample, results are displayed for female, male, urban and rural subsamples.

Table 37: Merged daily/weekly reading frequency

Merged Daily/Weekly	Total	Female (N = 135, 135, 131, 132, 136, 124, 132, 130, 134)	Male (N = 197, 200, 192, 197, 194, 179, 188, 193, 191)	Urban (N = 177, 178, 173, 176, 177, 175, 173, 178)	Rural (N = 155, 157, 150, 153, 153, 132, 145, 150, 157)
<b>Bible</b>	81% 269	88% 119	76% 150	81% 144	81% 125
<b>Daily Newspaper</b>	79% 263	66% 89	87% 174	86% 153	70% 110
<b>Christian Book</b>	49% 157	49% 64	48% 93	49% 85	48% 72
<b>Magazines</b>	25% 83	22% 29	27% 54	31% 55	18% 28
<b>Storybooks</b>	21% 70	21% 28	22% 42	15% 27	28% 43
<b>Non-fiction<sup>135</sup></b>	16% 48	12% 15	18% 33	16% 28	15% 20
<b>Novels Western</b>	14% 46	13% 17	15% 29	16% 28	12% 18
<b>Novels African</b>	14% 46	15% 20	14% 26	14% 24	15% 22
<b>Newspaper in L1</b>	14% 45	9% 12	17% 33	8% 15	20% 30

Note: Due to missing data total values of female, male, urban and rural subsamples (to which percentages refer) vary for each reading material listed. Therefore, N-values of subsamples are listed for each reading material. The first N-figure refers to the first line of reading material (e.g. N = 135 is the valid total of the female subsample for the frequency of Bible reading and 119 female informants or 88% of this total reported to read the Bible on a daily or weekly basis.)

As was expected, data confirms that Bible and newspaper reading are the two reading activities, which informants most often engage in with 81% and 79% of informants reporting to read the Bible and newspaper respectively on a daily or weekly basis. Christian books (a category that includes not only hymn and prayer books but also publications on Christian living, e.g. books providing Christian guidance on topics such as marriage, HIV/Aids, children's upbringing etc. or publications by American authors such as Benny Hinn or John Hagee) follows with almost half of the informants (49%) reporting to read them on a daily or weekly basis.

All other categories of reading material including magazines, storybooks, non-fiction, novels by Western writers, novels by African writers and newspapers in L1 are read to a considerably lesser extent on a daily or weekly basis. Data con-

<sup>135</sup> While pilot-testing the second questionnaire the category 'non-fiction' turned out to pose difficulties as several informants could not associate types of books with this category. Therefore, the category listed were changed to 'other books like about health, psychology, economic, technology etc.' For lack of space the originally intended category 'non-fiction' is used in Table 36.

firm the aforementioned findings summarized in Table 33 (p.187), that revealed that interviewees engage less in magazine and book reading compared to other reading activities. Here, the activity of book reading is further differentiated into non-fiction, storybooks, and novels (by African or Western authors). However, only marginal differences in percentage between these types of reading material were found.

With regard to female and male readers, data show that more female informants read the Bible on a daily or weekly basis as compared to male informants, who read more daily newspapers and interestingly also newspapers in L1 (appearing on a weekly or monthly basis) as compared to the female informants. This finding hints to differences in reading interests between female readers, who are more interested in religion, and male informants, who are more interested in political news and events. Keeping in mind that newspaper reading often entails accessing the newspapers at street vendors' or the library, this result may also hint to the time constraints female informants expressed in the qualitative one-on-one interviews (Chapter 3.3.2.2, p.146). Male informants might be able to create more time during their day to find newspapers to read than women.

Differences between the urban and rural subsamples relate to newspaper and magazine reading both of which are more often read on a daily or weekly basis by urban informants, thus, reflecting the enhanced availability of newspapers and magazines in the urban area. Higher percentages of rural informants indicated to read storybooks and newspapers in L1 on a daily or weekly basis. This finding is of interest with regard to the results of the qualitative one-on-one interviews. In Chapter 3.3.2.2 (p. 147) it was described that the majority of rural readers faced difficulties to engage in reading due to their monolingual (L1) or bilingual (L1 and Swahili) language needs and self-reported low-level reading skills.

Against this background enhanced frequency in storybook and L1 newspaper reading among rural informants may be interpreted as a result of these special needs of the rural readers. As storybooks commonly contain short, simple and easy to read stories targeting children or beginning readers, they match the special needs of persons with a low proficiency in reading. Furthermore, compilations of short stories are often published in L1. Thus, together with the newspaper in L1



they constitute the few L1 reading material that is available to the monolingual L1 speakers in the rural areas.

### *Money spend for leisure time activities*

As has been mentioned, engaging in reading does not necessarily mean that one has to buy reading material as these can be borrowed from friends, libraries or accessed at the street vendors'. Nevertheless, informants in the qualitative one-on-one interviews mentioned financial constraints and the cost of books as influencing their reading habits. Furthermore it was shown in Table 36 (p.192), that informants with a high family income (and the ability to purchase reading material) tend to engage more in newspaper, magazine and book reading compared to informants belonging to the low income group. Therefore, an impact of money at a person's disposal and reading habits cannot be gainsaid. Assuming that people first of all satisfy their basic needs of food, clothing and shelter, before spending money on e.g. leisure time activities, it was of interest how much extra money (if any) was available and to whom for the leisure time activities listed.

Undoubtedly, this question was a difficult one to ask and get correct answers for, as revealing information about income and earnings is a private issue. Thus, it has to be taken into consideration that people might have been reluctant to reveal low income levels and financial difficulties related to it and might have overestimated their expenditures in leisure activities in order not to be looked at as poor. Furthermore, difficulties arose with regard to the time interval asked for. Originally it was planned to assess the expenses for leisure time activities on a monthly basis. Yet, it turned out that especially in the rural areas people did not monitor earnings on a monthly basis but in considerably smaller time intervals. They were, for instance, able to give information about their earnings and expenditures of the last few days, but had difficulties in estimating the amount of money at their disposal in the last month. Asking for weekly expenses was chosen as a compromise. Thus, the answers presented in the following have to be read as rough approximations rather than accurate figures. Table 38 summarizes the responses to the question "How much money do you spend for those [leisure time] activities per week?" (Q2, question 10). Informants chose between seven pre-defined responses as displayed in Table 37 on the following page.

Table 38: Money spend on leisure time activities in relation to LI, sex, place of residence

Money spend/week in Ksh	Total (N =346) not stated 3		Kikuyu (N=162) not stated 3		Luo (N=184)		Female (N=141) not stated 2		Male (N=205) not stated 3		Urban (N = 182) not stated 3		Rural (N = 164)	
None	15%	51	18%	29	12%	22	31%	44	3%	7	12%	21	18%	30
<50	16%	55	14%	22	18%	33	16%	23	16%	32	10%	18	23%	37
51 - 100	20%	70	23%	37	18%	33	18%	25	22%	45	18%	33	23%	37
101 - 250	19%	65	19%	31	19%	34	12%	17	23%	48	19%	35	18%	30
251 - 500	18%	61	17%	28	18%	33	11%	15	22%	46	22%	40	13%	21
501 - 1000	9%	32	7%	12	11%	20	7%	10	11%	22	14%	25	4%	7
>1000	3%	12	2%	3	4%	9	5%	7	2%	5	6%	10	1%	2

Ksh = Kenyan Shillings (in 2002: 1 USD ~ 79 Ksh; 1 Euro ~ 76 Ksh)

Data show that proportions of informants indicating to spend no money for leisure time activities per week, up to 50 Ksh, 51 to 100 Ksh, 101 to 250 Ksh, and 251 to 500 Ksh are rather stable ranging between 15% and 20% with percentages considerably decreasing for higher amounts of money spend.

Whereas no differences between the Kikuyu and Luo subsamples were found, differences in spending money between female and male informants were obvious. Whereas nearly  $\frac{1}{3}$  of female informants (31%) indicated not to spend any money for leisure time activities during the week, male informants indicated to spend considerably more money on leisure time activities with  $\frac{2}{3}$  of them (67%) reporting to spend between 50 and 500 Ksh for leisure time activities per week. Keeping in mind that incomes of women in Kenya are considerably lower than incomes earned by men, the lower expenditures on leisure time activities of female informants may be attributed to these lower income levels of women. Furthermore, research on food security in developing countries established that female incomes contribute considerably more to household's daily food consumption, health care and children's education, whereas bigger shares of male incomes are kept for personal expenditures such as tobacco, alcohol and leisure time activities (Quisumbing et al. 1995: 9). The data presented in Table 38 above confirm this trend.

With regard to urban and rural differences, data show that rural residents reported to spend less money for leisure time activities per week (with 82% spending between 0 to 250 Ksh) compared to urban dwellers (with 79% spending between 51 and above 1000 Ksh). This finding was expected, because of the well-

established differences in income levels, which are higher in the urban areas than in rural places.

### *Priorities in spending money*

Whenever planning a purchase, people have to weigh the costs of what they spend their money for against the supposed return. Against the background of financial limitations this calculation becomes more crucial. In order to examine which priorities informants have with regard to spending money, interviewees were asked what they would like to spend their money for if they had more of it (Q2, question 11). The responses to this open-ended question were categorized in the analysis and ranked in Table 39.

*Table 39: List of spending priorities*

Categories	Examples of responses	Score
<b>Income creating activities</b>	“start a small business”, “put it into farming”, “buy fertilizer to enhance production”, “enlarge my business”, “start my own garage”, “equip my saloon”	156
<b>Entertainment</b>	“go out with friends”, “visit the bar”, “cinema”, “go to the movies”, “play golf”, “go to the gym”	48
<b>Education</b>	“paying school fees”, “further my education”, “attend accountancy course”, “send my kids to school”	45
<b>For reading material</b>	“buying gospel literature”, “for newspapers”, “buy books for my kids”, “buy Christian books”, enlarge my library”	44
<b>For supplementary goods</b>	“buy nice furniture”, “buy a TV set”, “buy me a radio set”, “have nice garments” “buy a DVD player”, “buy toys for the kids”	35
<b>Basic needs</b>	“buy food”, “buy food and clothes for the family”, “buy medicine”	10
<b>Charity</b>	“help the needy”, “for charity” “support the orphanage”, “help the street kids”	7
<b>Church</b>	“support my church”, “contribute to the church building”, “help the church”	6

Data show that informants by far prioritize income-creating activities. Things informants reported that they would spend money for included all sorts of small-scale businesses, farming etc. It shows that in the difficult economic situation of the country earning a living is of major importance. Informants in the qualitative interviews also described the priority of making money, and they reported that this pragmatic necessity limited their leisure time resources to engage e.g. in reading. Thus, findings suggest that although reading has a high reputation among the

informants, as it is valued for its educational and pleasurable effects, it is not of foremost priority.

However, investing money in reading material was mentioned to the same amount as entertainment and education. Thus, it would not be correct to simply conclude that reading is of high reputation and buying reading material of low priority. It is of low priority compared to the pragmatic necessities of income earning, but has a competitive rank among other consumption needs including entertainment, education, and supplementary goods. This finding is in line with Chakava (1996: 106, referred to in Chapter 2.2.2, p.29), who assumes that book buying and reading habits would increase if economic hardship and poverty would be solved.

### *Summary*

To sum up findings, it has been shown that the two reading activities most often indicated to be pursued by informants were Bible and newspaper reading. The two reading activities were also reported to be most often pursued on a daily or weekly basis. Smaller portions of informants reported to engage in book and magazine reading; reading activities, in which less informants engaged in on a daily or weekly basis. This finding was attributed to the enhanced access to the Bible and the newspapers (the later especially in the urban areas). Additionally, it was established that reading activities compete with the audiovisual media (especially the radio, TV and to a lesser extent video) on the one hand and the sociable activity of spending time with family members and friends on the other hand.

Reading activities were found to differ with regard to sex, place of residence, education and income. More female than male informants reported to read the Bible on a daily basis. Male informants were found to engage more in newspaper reading. Regarding differences between the female and male subsamples no lower engagement of female informants in reading activities that was expected due to statements made in the qualitative one-on-one interviews could be established.

Data show that considerably more urban residents indicated to engage in newspaper, book and magazine reading than rural residents. Difficulties in accessing these types of reading material were assumed to contribute to these results.

Rural informants read more of storybooks and newspapers in L1. As storybooks contain easy to read stories and are published in L1 they supplement the only reading material available to the rural residents who were found to have special requirements in reading with regard to language and degree of difficulty.

Except from Bible reading, reading activities increase with the level of education attained with graduates from academic colleges or the university engaging considerably more in newspaper and book reading than informants with lower levels of education.

With regard to income levels, newspaper reading was found to relate to the middle and high-income groups, whereas members of the high-income group more often reported book and magazine reading. Again, percentages of informants indicating Bible reading was stable among the income groups.

Female and male informants clearly differed in the amount of money spend for leisure time activities with considerably more female informants indicating not to spend money on leisure time activities at all. The majority of male informants indicated to spend between 51 and 500 Ksh per week. This finding was attributed to lower income levels of women in the Kenyan context and may also point to general differences in spending female and male incomes. Differences between the urban and the rural subsample were less surprising with regard to the amount of money spend, as income levels in the rural areas are generally lower than in urban areas in the country.

Finally, a hypothetical question asking informants what they would spend money for, if they had more of it, showed that income creating activities are by far prioritized by the informants. However, a fair amount of informants reported that they would buy more reading material if they had more money to spend. Thus, data show, that reading material has a competitive rank among other consumption needs.

## **4 Conclusions**

In this chapter the main findings of the study, their relevance and prospects for further research are presented. The results are summarized as relevant to the research objectives (4.1) and further hypotheses about reading found in literature are shown (4.2). Furthermore, in section 4.3 results are i) compared with the practical effort of reading promotion and book development in Kenya and ii) evaluated with respect to reading research in multilingual environments. Finally, prospects for further research are outlined (4.4).

### **4.1 Reconsidering the research objectives**

This thesis focused on the voluntary reading habits of members of the ethnolinguistic Kikuyu and Luo communities in Nyeri District and Kisumu District in Kenya. Four aspects related to reading have been examined and findings relevant to them are discussed in the following.

#### **4.1.1 The social image of reading**

The negative image of the Kenyan reader that is found in the public debate on reading in the country was one reason among others to examine attitudes towards reading. The analysis of attitudes aimed at contrasting stereotypes with the self-perception of readers. Furthermore, the social image of reading was considered relevant with regard to the development of reading habits, assuming that positive attitudes and a social esteem for reading would be conducive to develop reading habits. Attitudes were studied in two ways: First, metaphorical concepts of reading were investigated based on qualitative group interviews. Second, attitudes were examined within the frame of a quantitative questionnaire survey. In contrast to the stereotype of the uninterested Kenyan reader with a negative attitude towards reading, data showed that reading had a high reputation among informants and that the majority of them reported a positive attitude towards reading.

The metaphor analysis summarized in Chapter 3.2.2.2 (p. 100) revealed that the concept of reading was strongly associated with teaching and the increase of knowledge. Frequently reading material was attributed human characteristics

and social roles. It was e.g. conceptualized as a person who teaches and the reading process was associated with gaining (or accumulating knowledge) and motion (implying to bring someone forward). In addition to linking reading with teaching and educational achievement, the understanding of reading was found to relate to pleasure and emotional gain too. Reading material, for instance, was conceptualized as a benefactor providing assistance, consolation and joy.

These two aspects of reading (educational and pleasurable) were also revealed in the first questionnaire survey (discussed in Chapter 3.4.2.2). Data showed that more than  $\frac{3}{4}$  of informants indicated a positive attitude towards reading stating to like reading in their spare time (see Table 29, p.182). Reasons that they gave for enjoying reading related to the cognitive effects of reading (e.g. being updated on current news, achieving education, improving language skills etc.) or the emotional profit derived through engaging in reading (e.g. pleasure, relaxation, pursuing a hobby etc.). However, a small group of interviewees reported to dislike reading. They gave time limitations, lack of interest, low literacy levels and lack of access to relevant reading material as reasons for disliking reading. These informants were more often found among interviewees aged above 60, primary school leavers and low income earners than among other informants.

Finally, the second questionnaire survey contained a hypothetical question asking informants what they would spend more money for if they had more of it (discussed in Chapter 3.4.2.3, p. 197). Informants' responses showed that income creating activities were by far prioritized. However, a fair amount of informants reported that they would buy more reading material if they had more money to spend. As this amount was comparable to portions of informants indicating that they would like to spend money on education and entertainment it seems that reading material is not a foremost priority if compared to the necessity of earning a living, but it has a competitive rank among other consumption needs.

#### **4.1.2 Current reading habits and the functions of reading**

Due to the scarcity of information on reading activities pursued in the Kenyan context qualitative one-on-one interviews were conducted, which focused on present reading habits, functions of reading and the development of reading habits

across the life span of informants (Chapter 3.3). Based on reported reading habits, readers and non-readers were identified. The group of readers divided into two types: i) voluntary readers and ii) involuntary readers. Based on the reported functions of reading the group of voluntary readers further divided into four subtypes (see Chapter 3.3.2.1, p.113, for an overview).

- *Leisure readers* reported to engage in reading for entertainment, relaxation, to pass time etc. The group subdivided into three types: i) *work-related and leisure readers* indicated to read diverse materials for both work and leisure purposes. Materials read include nationwide newspapers, magazines, the Bible, Christian non-fiction (e.g. of Western authors such as Benny Hinn or Billy Graham), self-help books, textbooks etc. and fiction titles (e.g. novels by Western writers such as Sydney Sheldon, Robert Ludlum, John Grisham, Danielle Steel, Jeffrey Archer etc.) or African authors (such as Chinua Achebe, John Kiriamiti, Ngugi wa Thiong'o etc.); ii) *entertainment readers* reported to read novels of both Western and African authors, magazines and newspapers solely for leisure purposes in their free time; and iii) *coincidental news readers* reported to coincidentally engage in reading newspapers or magazines, when they came across them in order to pass some free minutes. The latter differed from the former two subtypes as they reported not to actively search for reading material or to engage for long in reading e.g. novels. Compared to the former two types, they judged their reading competency as rather limited.

- *Guidance readers* turned to reading material in order to get guidance in their everyday life. The group further divided into three subtypes. A group of readers labeled *life experience readers* indicated to engage in magazine reading (mostly *Parents* magazine). The functions of reading revealed from informants' self-accounts comprised the satisfaction of cognitive needs such as obtaining information, practical advice (on topics such as marriage, health, parenting etc.) and satisfying a general curiosity regarding the lifestyle of other people. *Christian news readers* reported to engage in reading Christian magazines in order to get information about Christian events, to get guidance and advice in how to live a Christian life and they sought to satisfy a general curiosity in other persons' lives too. Lastly *spiritual guidance Bible readers* indicated to engage in Bible reading seeking ori-



entation and guidance in their everyday life (cognitive needs), consolation, and the release of tension (emotional needs). Whereas the former two types of readers reported to predominantly turn their attention to magazines to satisfy their reading needs, the latter predominantly read the Bible.

- *Information readers* reported to read nationwide newspapers in order to get news of and orientation about national and international events.
- *Career-advancement readers* indicated to read non-fiction (textbooks etc.) in order to improve their professional skills and gain further career opportunities. They stated explicitly not to read for leisure purposes.

In addition to the different types of voluntary readers, *involuntary readers* were identified, who reported to only read non-fiction in order to pursue their job. They said they did not read for leisure. Finally, a group of informants reported not to engage in reading at all. The *non-readers* divided into two subtypes. One group labeled *low literate non-readers* reported not to read fluently, the second group of *non-interest non-readers* indicated not to be interested in reading seeking information and entertainment through radio or TV.

In the second questionnaire survey, the role of reading was examined with regard to the wider field of leisure time activities (Chapter 3.4.2.3). The picture that emerged from the responses of informants showed that reading activities compete with the audiovisual media (especially radio and TV) on the one hand and sociable activities such as spending time with family or friends on the other hand (see Table 33, p.187).

Regarding reading activities, reading daily newspapers and the Bible were the two reading activities, which most informants indicated to engage in (69% and 66% respectively). Considerably smaller proportions of informants reported to engage in reading books (45%) and magazines (38%). Further investigations as to the different sorts of materials read found that almost half of the informants reported to read Christian books on a daily or weekly basis as compared to story-books (read by 21% on a daily or weekly basis), non-fiction (16%), and fiction by Western (14%) and African writers (14%). Reading the newspaper in L1 on a daily or weekly basis was reported by 14% of informants.

### **4.1.3 Impacts on reading habits**

Identifying factors, which impact on reading in both a positive or negative way, was aimed at, because these factors were considered relevant for the promotion of reading in two ways: a) in order to understand the social conditions pertaining to reading, and b) in order to reveal fields of action for promotional campaigns. Factors that were found to impact on reading habits are summarized in the following.

#### ***Education***

Statements made in the qualitative one-on-one interviews showed that the educational level was found to have a positive impact on the self-reported reading skills in English and the acquaintance with different sorts of texts (Chapter 3.3.2.2, p.141). The higher the level of education, the higher was the self-reported confidence in reading skills in English and the more varied were the texts that informants reported to have read. A high level of self-reported fluency in reading English, however, commonly went together with difficulties in reading L1 and sometimes Swahili. Thus, a high educational level negatively influenced reading skills in L1 and Swahili.

In line with these findings the first survey showed that college or university graduates assessed their fluency in English considerably higher than both their Swahili and L1 reading skills (see Table 22, p.171). And the second survey revealed an impact of education on pursuing reading activities: informants who attended college or university were more likely to read newspapers, magazines and/or books than primary or secondary school leavers (see Table 35, p.191), suggesting that these informants were well practiced in reading English and different sorts of texts due to the emphasis on English reading in tertiary education. Bible reading was uninfluenced by education and pursued by informants who achieved a high educational level as well as those with lower levels of education.

#### ***Income***

Furthermore, a high income positively influenced the development of reading habits. Informants belonging to the high-income group reported to read broadly for both work and leisure, for career purposes and according to their job profile. Thus, they seemed to have less difficulty in accessing reading material. A low

income had negative impacts on reading habits. Among low-income earners almost  $\frac{1}{3}$  reported not to engage in reading or to rather infrequently engage in reading (Chapter 3.3.2.2, p.144). They mentioned financial constraints that prevent them from reading in two ways. First, they cannot afford the costs of reading material. Second, they spend more time on income creating activities than high-income earners, which results in limited time resources available to them. Complementary to these findings, the quantitative data showed that reading the daily newspapers related to the middle and high-income groups, whereas members of the high-income group more often reported book and magazine reading. Bible reading was not influenced by the income level and reported to be pursued by members of the high and low-income sectors alike (Chapter 3.4.2.3, Table 36, p.192).

### ***Social role***

The qualitative interviews revealed that the social role assigned to women in the Kenyan context (as housewife and mother responsible for the household, family life, childcare etc.) influenced the reading habits of female informants in two ways. First, they reported an interest in reading especially *Parents* magazine, which focuses on family life, marriage, sex, childcare etc. Second, they reported to prefer magazine reading, because magazine articles can be finished in shorter time intervals than e.g. novels (Chapter 3.3.2.2, p.142). The quantitative data confirmed differences in reading habits between female and male informants. Female informants reported to engage more in magazine reading, whereas male informants engaged more in newspaper reading (Chapter 3.4.2.3 Table 34, p.190). Keeping in mind that newspapers are often accessed at street vendors or the library, data suggest that male informants find more time to access daily newspapers, than female informants. However, the quantitative data did not confirm that female informants engaged generally less in reading activities than male informants.

### ***Place of residence***

Furthermore, the place of residence was found to impact on reading habits. The second questionnaire survey revealed that urban residents reported to engage generally more in newspaper, book and magazine reading than rural residents (Chap-

ter 3.4.2.3 Table 34, p.190). A finding that points to two facts: i) reading material is more available in urban than in rural contexts and ii) the majority of this material (written in English) does not meet the needs of rural readers. As the qualitative interviews showed (Chapter 3.3.2.2, p.147), rural residents had special needs with regard to their reading material, because more monolingual L1 and bilingual L1 and Swahili readers with reportedly low levels of literacy were found among rural residents. Bible reading, which is often pursued in L1, constituted the only reading activity that did not differ between urban and rural residents.

#### ***Family and home and environment***

No clear information was revealed with regard to the influence of the family or home environment. Although negative impacts of unsupportive home environments (no books at home, non-reading parents etc.) on reading development among low literate non-readers (Chapter 3.3.2.2, p.148) were revealed, cases, in which frequent reading habits were developed despite unsupportive homes were described as well.

#### ***Access to reading material and leaving school as a turning point***

Finally, it was found that the most critical turning point with regard to the development of reading habits coincided with leaving school. Whereas the majority of informants remembered their school going days as a time of broad reading and easy access to books, reading activities after leaving school were found to decline due to enhanced difficulties in accessing reading material and limited financial and time resources. Thus, data showed the importance of access to reading material and the positive impact of the school in this regard. Not all informants were able (and some might have been unwilling) to compensate the loss of access to reading material faced after leaving school and turned from broad non-fiction and fiction reading to newspaper and magazine reading – just like the stereotype of the Kenyan reader, who does not read beyond newspapers, suggests (see Chapter 1, p.2). Yet, different from the stereotyped image, many informants indicated to turn to newspapers and magazines, because these materials were more available to them rather than due to a lack of interest in other reading material.

#### **4.1.4 Reading in a multilingual setting**

As has been described, the multilingual setting of Kenya is characterized by a mismatch between oral language use and the language of printed discourse (Chapter 1.1.1, p.6). A comparable disparity between oral and written language use was found at both research sites.

##### *Daily language use*

More than half of the informants stated that they use their first language more in their daily life as compared to English and Swahili. English and Swahili were reported to be used frequently in daily life by less than a quarter of informants (Chapter 3.4.2.1, Table 20, p.168). Clear differences between urban and rural areas were revealed, with the rural areas displaying considerably higher levels of reported monolingual L1 language use.

##### *The language of reading*

In reading, however, informants gave considerably more importance to English than Swahili or L1: More interviewees assessed their reading proficiency in reading English as fluent and more informants indicated to read English on a daily basis as compared to Swahili and L1. Also, informants most often chose English as the language that they wanted to read more of (Chapter 3.4.2.1, Table 26, p.176). Statements made in the one-on-one interviews (Chapter 3.3.2) explained the strong role of English in reading with the promotion of English in schools where African languages are rather neglected. Thus, several informants reported facing difficulties when reading in L1, in which they never learned to read longer texts. To some informants reading Swahili was a problem too.

Indeed, quantitative data supports a correlation of self-assessed fluency in reading English and the educational level attained by informants (Chapter 3.4.2.1, Table 22, p.171). College or university graduates assessed their reading proficiency in English considerably higher than both their Swahili and L1 reading skills. Different from that, secondary school leavers reported a comparable high proficiency in English reading, but their self-assessed reading competency in Swahili and L1 did not decline to the same amount as that of college and university graduates. The majority of primary school leavers assessed their reading

competency in L1 as fluent and felt less competent in reading Swahili and English.

### *Non-English speaking groups*

Interviewees who were not able to speak and hence to also read English tended to report their reading skills in their spoken languages (L1 and/or Swahili) generally less often as fluent compared to the English-speaking informants (Chapter 3.4.2.1, Table 23, p.172). Furthermore, the non-English-speaking interviewees less often reported reading on a daily basis as compared to the English-speaking informants (Chapter 3.4.2.1, Table 25, p.175). The majority of non-English-speaking informants wanted to read more in L1 and/or Swahili. However, some preferred reading more in English or English and Swahili, although they were not able to speak (and hence to read) English. Their preference for English shows the prestige of the language as a means of social mobility in the country (Chapter 3.4.2.1, Table 26, p.176).

Special difficulties of non-English-speaking informants in engaging in reading were also found in the qualitative interviews, where they basically pertained to rural residents (Chapter 3.3.2.2, p.147). Rural informants were found not only to lack access to reading material due to their rural residence, but also, because their special needs being L1 and/or Swahili readers with low levels of reading proficiency were not met by the supply of books (the majority of which are published in English).

## **4.2 Reconsidering the literature on reading**

The following section discusses the results of this study in relation to the findings of Western reading research and other hypotheses on reading in African and Kenyan contexts, which were summarized in Chapter 2.2.3.

### *Reading proficiency and the motivation to read*

As has been mentioned, reading research assumes that the reading proficiency can encourage (or discourage) people to read (Bonfadelli 1999). It is argued that people who perceive reading as easy would engage more often in it than people who .

perceive it as tiresome. Findings of this study support this hypothesis. A considerable proportion of trilingual informants (L1, Swahili, English), for instance, surveyed in the one-on-one interviews of this study (Chapter 3.3) perceive reading in L1 as difficult and report not often to engage in it. And the group of coincidental leisure readers who claim difficulties in reading English, report to limit their infrequent reading to "simple things" e.g. headlines, children's pages and easy to read supplements of newspapers (Chapter 3.3.2.1, p. 120).

### ***The impact of education***

Furthermore, a study conducted in Germany found a correlation between frequent reading habits and a high level of education (Tullius 2001). A similar correspondence of high education and frequent and diverse reading habits in the Kenyan context was found. The second survey on reading habits revealed that informants with a college or university level of education were more likely to engage in newspaper, book and magazine reading than primary and secondary school readers (Chapter 3.4.2.3, Table 35, p.191). However, one case in which a primary school reader developed frequent reading habits and turned to different kinds of reading material was found among the entertainment readers (Chapter 3.3.2.1, p.118). Thus, education seems to be an important yet not axiomatic determinant with regard to the development of reading habits.

### ***Impact of the social environment***

Several studies (Purcell-Gates 2000, Lundberg & Linnakylä 1993, Guthrie & Greaney 1991) describe the impact of family and home environment on reading habits as to reading skills, attitudes towards reading etc. And evidence for a positive correlation between the number of reading material in the home and reading achievement of the children was provided (Lundberg & Linnakylä 1993). As has been mentioned data on the role of the family and home environment are not clear in this study. The positive impact of friends and family members on reading habits are, however, clear with regard to access to reading material. Informants who engaged in reading reported to get most of their reading material through exchanging them with friends and family members. Thus, access to social networks in which reading material circulate seems to be an important factor in the development of reading habits.

### ***The functions of reading***

In a cross-cultural study on reading habits among 8 to 13-year old schoolchildren, Greaney & Neumann (1990) identified utility, enjoyment and escape from boredom as most important functions of reading in all cultures surveyed. These three functions were also identified among the adult informants of this study. In the one-on-one interviews (Chapter 3.3.) informants report to read for information (news and knowledge), leisure (relaxation, entertainment, comfort) and to pass time (escape from boredom). Additionally, data of this study reveal that people turn to reading material for career advancement purposes and - prominently - for guidance in their daily life. As has been shown, interviewees sought guidance and practical advice with regard to spiritual topics and regarding family life, marriage, relationships etc. Readers interested in the latter topics were labeled "life experience readers" as they described to satisfy their need for guidance through reading stories about the life and experiences of others. Interestingly, a study by Griswold (2000) on novel-readers in Nigeria found a similar interest of readers. The Nigerian novel-readers examined by Griswold showed a tendency to interpret the novels they read as giving insight into real life, realistic situations and real people and reported to read them in order to understand the life of the people described.

### ***Orality, communal lifestyles and reading***

Focusing on the socio-cultural environment of reading, Chakava (1992) and Yigbé (2003) refer to oral traditions and communal lifestyles as factors preventing people to engage in reading. And Yigbé (2003) points to the fragmentation of texts in small units which are easy to memorize and to retell as a strategy to transform the private activity to a communal event. Whereas the second survey presented in this study (Chapter 3.4) confirms a tendency among informants to prefer spending leisure time socializing with family members and friends rather than engaging in reading, there is evidence that orality and literacy are rather complementary than conflicting categories, too. Informants, for instance, metaphorically conceptualized reading material as persons able to talk and to tell stories (Chapter 3.2.2.2, p.97). And reading in order to hear stories or learn about topics which could be discussed with family members and friends was a frequently reported motivation to turn to reading material in this study (Chapter 3.3.2.1). With regard



to the fragmentation of reading, young female readers report to prefer magazine articles because they take less time to finish than e.g. novels. However, the fragmentation of reading is motivated by the lack of sufficient time resources rather than the desire to collectivize texts (Chapter 3.3.2.2, p.142).

### ***The availability and affordability of reading material***

The problem of the availability of reading material in the Kenyan context in which reading material and especially books are hardly affordable for the majority of the population which faces economic hardship and poverty is frequently raised in the literature (Chakava 1996, Yigbé 2003) and a positive correlation of high incomes and both book buying habits and library attendance are shown (Makotsi & Nyariki 1994, Rotich 2004). A similar correspondence of high earnings with a better access to reading material was revealed in this study, too (Chapter 3.3.2.2, p.144). Nevertheless, this study found strategies to access reading material without spending money on them e.g. through exchanging books or reading at the newspaper stalls. Not all of the informants, however, were able or willing to explore and benefit from these alternative ways to access reading material. Thus, it cannot be denied that economic hardship and poverty are serious factors hindering the development of reading habits in Kenya. Yet, this does not explain all factors for not engaging in reading.

### ***The readability of languages vs. reading education***

Finally, findings reveal difficulties in L1 reading faced by many informants. Whereas Chakava (1996) held the inappropriateness of L1 orthographies (developed by missionaries who failed to represent African languages in a way that would make it easy for the L1 speakers to read them) informants accounts refer to the inadequacy of reading education in L1.

## **4.3 Relevance of findings**

After having summarized findings in relation to the research objectives and hypotheses found in the literature on reading, the following section turns to the relevance of these findings. Section 4.3.1 discusses the implications of findings with

regard to the promotion of reading and book production in the Kenyan context. In section 4.3.2 the contribution of findings to reading research is outlined.

### **4.3.1 Implications for reading promotion and book production**

The findings of this study imply action with regard to the promotion of reading from different sides. In the following, steps to enhance readership are suggested that could be useful for organizations active in the promotion of reading, private publishers, and the government. The importance of addressing the role of language in reading is emphasized and a change of attitude towards multilingualism is called for in order to fully exploit the potential of multilingualism in promoting reading.

#### ***Reading culture as a descriptive term***

Generally, it has been shown that there is a reading culture among the informants surveyed in this study that can be described and examined. Thus, the neglect of a reading culture in the public debate on reading habits has to give way to more constructive discussions with regard to the subject of reading and reading promotion.

The appeal that has been made in the introduction (see Chapter 1.1) is repeated here to understand reading culture as a descriptive term, rather than a normative concept. In the same way existing negative stereotypes of the reader emerging in the public discourse in Kenya have to be abandoned. As has been shown in this study, reading has a high reputation among the majority of informants, who also show a positive attitude towards it. However, if positive attitudes and esteem for reading do not result in reading activities and if readership is limited, it should be of interest to understand the factors that prevent people from engaging in reading. That is not to say that campaigns to sensitize the public for the benefits of reading and to promote a positive image of reading are not necessary, but it is argued here that they have to be complemented by further measures to promote reading. These measures have to consider the factors impacting on reading that were revealed in this study, e.g. access to reading material, costs of

books, language of publications etc. and they have to find pragmatic solutions to enhance readership.

### *Addressing further target groups in the promotion of reading*

The qualitative data shows that the main turning point in the development of reading habits coincides with leaving school and taking on more social responsibility. Informants report a sharp decline in reading habits in times after leaving school when access to books through schools is not provided any longer and less time is available for the informants, who start to work and set up families. Pragmatic necessities make them shift from regular non-fiction and fiction reading in school days to less frequent newspaper, magazine or Bible reading after ending school. Indeed quantitative data show that Bible and newspaper reading are the two reading activities most often pursued by informants.

The caesura of reading after leaving school is of importance with regard to the promotion of reading. As has been mentioned in Chapter 1 much of the promotion of reading in the Kenyan context targets children trying to convey an interest in reading to them. While this effort is definitely an important one, the findings of this study suggest that it is not sufficient. The majority of informants describe a positive attitude towards reading, interest in reading and broad reading activities during school days. Yet, maintaining reading habits developed in school turns out to be difficult because of the costs (e.g. in terms of access to reading material, time for reading etc.). Thus, the promotion of reading has to address the problems faced by adult readers and strategies must be thought of on how to motivate readers in out-of-school contexts to engage in reading despite the difficulties they are confronted with. In addition to sensitizing the benefit of reading and trying to impart a love for reading to young readers, organizations active in the promotion of reading have to address further target groups such as young professionals, unemployed, young families and their specific problems relating to reading in their everyday life. Findings of this study, especially the different types of readers and the factors that were impacting on their reading habits (see Chapter 3.3.2), can be used as a starting point to identify the specific problems of adult readers in the Kenyan context.

***Paying attention to consumer needs***

As this study revealed, a need for guidance and practical advice and an interest in the life experience of other people inspired informants to engage in reading. Additionally, many informants referred to time constraints as obstacles to engage in reading and remarked to prefer reading short articles which can be finished in short time intervals (Chapter 3.3.2). Thus, developing reading material which corresponds with the described interests of readers (namely in topics which relate to one's daily life and which can be consulted for advice and guidance) and which fit into the small units of time available to reading, might motivate consumers to attend to or to even buy reading material.

***Enhancing access to reading material***

Further findings of this study point to the importance of access to and cost of reading material as obstacles to people willing to engage in reading. It is a well-known fact that rural residents face difficulties in accessing reading material, because the distribution of reading material in rural areas is rather scarce. Additionally, rural residents usually have lower incomes than urban residents, making it difficult for them to purchase reading material or to travel to town to access reading material at street sellers' or the library. In accordance with these facts, results of this study shows that more urban than rural informants engage in newspaper, book and magazine reading and that high-income earners engage more in reading activities than low- and middle-income earners. Bible reading is an exception as reported by a comparable portions of urban and rural readers and high-, middle- and low-income groups. These findings entail the necessity to develop means to improve access to reading material especially in the rural areas and to reduce the cost of reading for those, who cannot afford to purchase reading material. Innovative ideas such as the school-book-box program developed by the Karatina KNLS community library are a good starting point. The Karatina KNLS community library sends out book boxes containing reading material jointly purchased by surrounding rural schools on a rotational basis (see Chapter 3.1.1, p.66). Yet, the focus has to be extended to reach adult readers in out-of-school contexts too. In the multilingual context of Kenya, however, access to reading material does not only

refer to physical accessibility of reading material and their costs alone, it also relates to the language in which texts are published.

### *Strengthening the use of African languages*

This study clearly shows the dominance of English as the language of reading in the Kenyan context that results

- in a more varied supply of reading material in English as compared to Swahili<sup>136</sup> and other African languages spoken as L1,
- more practice and confidence in reading skills among English-speaking readers compared to non-English-speaking monolinguals (L1) or bilinguals (L1 and Swahili)
- a higher frequency of reading among English-speaking readers than among non-English-speaking informants
- and a higher level of motivation to read more among English-speaking than among non-English-speaking informants.

The language situation establishes power relations that advantage elites and exclude the majority of the population from printed discourse. It is the direct result of the language policy that has so far been followed in Kenya. Through the neglect of African languages beyond basic education, in official and national communication, and the lack of reading material in African languages non-English-speaking informants are not only deprived of access to written information (as pointed out by Makotsi & Nyariki 1997: 19), they are also disadvantaged in maintaining reading skills and developing reading habits in the languages they speak.

It is necessary to stress the importance of this finding. Though the non-English-speaking group is small in this study compared to the English-speaking group (a fact that can be attributed to the urban character of the research sites), the non-English-speaking group represents the majority of the population in the Kenyan context (see Chapter 1 for the language situation in the country).

---

<sup>136</sup> Swahili is advantaged among the African languages as it is widely used in interethnic communication, recognized as national language, taught in schools, and used in the audiovisual media of the country. The enhanced interest in publications in Swahili started when it was introduced to the curriculum in 1984. Thus, book production in Swahili strongly relates to the educational domain. Yet, outside educational contexts, e.g. in the newspaper or magazine market publications in Swahili remain negligible.

### ***Democratic and language rights***

As Ogechi (2003) argues, language rights are part of human rights as well as part of the democratic rights of citizens to participate in public discourse and decision-making. Providing information and reading material in all languages necessary to involve all citizens of a state (be they speakers of minority or majority languages) is a matter of respecting these rights. This is a task that can and should be accomplished by the government by way of a clear-cut language policy that acknowledges multilingualism, guarantees language rights and supports the use of minority and majority languages alike (e.g. through their recognition in education, the media, administration, judiciary etc.).

As has been shown in this study, the preference of a language for reading is related to the ease (proficiency) with which it is read. Regarding the small confidence the non-English-speaking informants have in their reading skills, educational support in developing sufficient literacy skills in L1 is a necessary step to support reading. Teaching reading and writing in L1 as a compulsory subject in school can not only result in non-English-speakers feeling confident in reading in their L1, but can improve L1 reading skills among multilingual speakers, who so far feel more at ease reading English. Furthermore, the status of a language was given as a reason for preferring to reading it. This calls for strengthening the status of the African L1 in the Kenyan context through their official recognition. As Ogechi (2003: 290) suggests, further motivation to develop language and literacy skills in African languages could come from a language policy that makes the proficiency in two African languages a pre-requisite for recruitment, for instance into the civil service.

### ***The role of private publishers***

However, counting on the state and the government to take action has more often than not proved to be in vain in Kenya as elsewhere in the world. Thus, action beyond the policy level is necessary to promote and strengthen the use of African languages in the country and to force political and public discourse to recognize that matter.

The private publishing business in this regard has an important role to play. The Kenyan publisher Henry Chakava himself described exploring the possibility of publishing in African languages a necessity to provide adequate reading material to the African reader (Chakava 1996: 165). And findings of this study go even further suggesting that the development of books and other reading material in the various African languages spoken in the country is indeed a pre-requisite to extend readership and involve larger portions of the population in reading.

Undoubtedly, venturing into new and perhaps small market segments requires investment at risk of loss. Small markets need research about the targeted audience gaining information on audience size, topical interests, purchasing power, available time resources etc. to succeed on the new market. However, it should be the interest of publishers to explore new business opportunities. Single publishers might not be willing and able to take this risk, but joint efforts may provide a way out. Yet, book, magazine and newspaper production in African languages alone might not be sufficient if status of and attitudes towards African languages in society remain unchanged (as the small sales figures of African titles so far show; see Chapter 1.1.1, p.8).

### ***Promoting a love for reading in African languages***

Organizations involved in the promotion of reading should campaign for the use of African languages in reading. Regional and national events such as reading tents, reading contests, book exhibitions etc. are very necessary steps to promote reading, which have already been taken in Kenya. They too should actively promote the use of African languages and reading material in these languages. They could, for instance, start sensitizing for the importance of L1 reading in the country and attempt to impart a love for reading in African languages to both children and adult readers. Finally, the very successful FM radio stations in African languages (see Chapter 3.1.1, p.52 ) could be used to promote print products in the different African languages. And publishers could explore ways how to profit from the popularity of these FM stations. Why not, for instance, introduce small-sized, low-cost magazines in African languages (comparable in size and prize to the regional newspapers described in Chapter 3.1.1, p.61) providing articles and background information as supplements to famous L1 radio programs? If these

supplementary magazines should turn out to be successful, there might even be potential to expand them to book series as add-ons to radio programs.

Strengthening the use of African languages in the print sector would be a first step to fully acknowledge and appreciate the multilingual environment of the country and to start making use of its potential in social, political and economic respects rather than perceiving multilingualism as an obstacle to development.

#### **4.3.2 Contribution to reading research**

As has been mentioned, the amount of reading research in non-Western contexts is limited compared to the host of studies examining reading habits in Western contexts (see Chapter 2.2). In this respect this case study provides new insights into the role of reading and reading habits in the everyday life of members of two selected communities in Kenya.

Furthermore, this study examined the reading habits in all languages relevant in the multilingual setting of the research sites and shows the differing language needs of the audience that call for literacy education and the production of reading material in more than the official language of the country. Reading research in Western countries, especially in European contexts, has so far ignored the increasing multilingual character of the reading audiences in Western countries (with increasing multilingual population segments originating from migrant communities). Though the special requirements of multilingual speakers have been recognized and examined within the field of educational studies and reading achievement, they have not been focused on in socio-scientific reading research. This study hopes to raise the awareness of the importance of the role of language in reading and the consequences for the promotion of reading and book production in non-Western as well as Western contexts.

This thesis also contributes to the neighboring field of New Literacy Studies and especially to the study of multilingual literacy use, as it provides empirical information on the reception of written media among two selected ethnolinguistic communities in Kenya. The field of multilingual literacy practices has been rather neglected by socio-linguistic studies, which basically focused on the oral multilingual language use (exceptions are Besnier 1995, Street 1993, 2001). Recent



studies by Reh (2002, 2004), Gleich (2004), Glanz (2002), Glanz & Gleich (2001) stemming from the research project on “Literacy practices in a cross-cultural perspective: a comparison between Bolivia and Uganda” at the Collaborative Research Center on Multilingualism at Hamburg University took on the subject by focusing on multilingual literacy practices in Uganda and Bolivia. The data collected in the Kenyan context provide a further case study from an African region that can be used for comparative purposes.

#### **4.4 Prospects for further research**

In the endeavor to test and reveal areas and factors relevant to the subject of reading in the Kenyan context, emphasis was given to a diversity of information collected from different sources. However, in order to expand understanding of the findings of this study, and to further examine questions, which have been raised in this study, further research involving different research perspectives is necessary.

##### ***Literacy education***

In the field of literacy education it would be interesting to examine the effective reading skills in all relevant languages (L1, Swahili and English) and to compare them with readers’ self-assessed reading proficiency. Reading tests and participant observation would be necessary for this purpose. With regard to unanswered questions of this study, for instance, it would be necessary to further examine the contradicting information regarding the L1 reading skills among members of the younger age groups. On the one hand, older informants repeatedly reported that their children and grandchildren are not able to read fluently in L1. On the other hand, younger age groups assessed their reading competency in L1 comparatively high. Reading tests would offer some point of reference with which to compare the self-reported reading skills of young informants and statements made by older informants regarding the deficient reading skills of their children and grandchildren.

Information on effective reading skills in all relevant languages would also be necessary to improve or start literacy education in these languages. It would, for instance, be necessary to assess the effectiveness of formal literacy teaching in

Swahili (which is already taught as a compulsory subject within the 8-4-4 system of education) with regard to reading skills in that language. As has been described, it was not possible in this study to show major differences in self-assessed Swahili reading skills between attendants of the 8-4-4 system of education and those who schooled before the introduction of the new system in 1984. Revealing information on the effect of formal Swahili teaching on both oral and written language use would be necessary too, to assess the potential of formal L1 teaching that was called for in this study, because it was revealed that informants clearly perceive the lack of formal schooling in L1 as a reason for limited reading skills in that language. In order to develop effective and meaningful L1 education, understanding of the effects of existing curricula for language teaching is of importance.

### ***Ethnographic and social studies***

Additionally, it would be interesting to contrast the self-accounts of informants regarding their reading habits, the frequency of reading, hindrances to reading etc. with on-site observations of effective reading activities, sorts of materials read, intensity of reading etc. Ethnographic studies in the tradition of Geertz's "thick description" (Geertz 1973) could provide valuable data in this respect. Ethnographic studies could also provide information on the cultural practices and domains in which reading and writing is employed. Understanding of the domains and practices of reading would enable organizations engaged in reading promotion to identify literacy uses, which are relevant and appealing to the target groups and to start reading programs in these domains. One aspect that remained fragmentary in this study and that would profit from a contrast with ethnographic observation was the difference in self-reported reading fluency of college and university graduates and secondary school leavers. Since college or university graduates feel most fluent in reading English and considerably less fluent in reading Swahili and L1 than secondary school leavers (who have also strong confidence in their reading skills in English, but feel more fluent in Swahili and L1 reading than college or university graduates), this study speculated that secondary school leavers use and practice Swahili and L1 reading skills more in work-related contexts than college or university graduates. It would be interesting, therefore, to

---

examine the language use in the different work domains in order to verify or falsify this hypothesis.

Furthermore, this study revealed limited time resources for reading that was mentioned by female informants. Examining differences of time resources available to women and men would be of interest to both the promotion of reading and book production with regard to the kind of reading material suitable for readers with limited time resources, measures to build in time for women to engage more in reading etc.

Additionally, it would be of interest to deepen the understanding of informants' experiences related to reading and their sense-making of reading in their daily life. In-depth studies concentrating on single biographies and the particular development of reading habits of individuals would be appropriate in this endeavor and episodic interviews as a form of narrative interviewing (Flick 1998, 2000) would be an adequate research method for these types of small-scale yet intense qualitative case studies. By means of investigating single biographies, factors impacting on reading and the reading development that were addressed in this study (e.g. the role of the home environment, particular persons who stimulated reading, positive or negative experiences with reading or reading material) could be examined in more detail than it was possible within the scope of this study. Based on the findings of this study, different types of readers could be sought as informants and focused on. Determining the supportive or obstructive factors in the development of reading of individuals would be beneficial to develop strategies to promote reading.

### ***Market research***

It has been mentioned that market research of the book industry in Western context supplemented reading research and increased knowledge of the targeted readership. The perspective of market research focuses on reading as consumption processes in which the reader is seen as the consumer of products. As such it differs from reading research that focuses on reading as a social practice and the reader as the media user. In order to promote reading habits, however, the marketing concept of gaining and applying accurate knowledge to targeted readers can effectively support reading promotion.

Readers must invest in reading: Reading requires certain cognitive skills, (inter)cultural knowledge and access to reading material in order to decode a text and to make sense of words and phrases. Additionally, reading consumes time and concentration, and sometimes money. An important question to answer, therefore, is how people can be inspired to make this investment. It is this motivational aspect that both reading promotion and product advertising have in common. An individual must be inspired to read in much the same way that a person is inspired to purchase a product. In this respect market research can contribute to the understanding of reading and reading processes.

### ***Further case studies***

The target groups selected for the purpose of this study comprise two of the larger ethnolinguistic communities in Kenya. Their history includes roughly 100 years of written language use. As such, their position in the country is assumed to be very different from the realities of smaller ethnolinguistic communities with a shorter literary tradition or languages so far not used for writing at all. Further case studies are needed to reveal information about reading habits and language use in reading among members of these smaller communities. Through contrasting minority and majority groups, as well as urban, semi-urban, and rural communities it would be possible to cover the different perspectives on reading in the multilingual setting of Kenya.

### ***Pooling available information***

As has been mentioned, information concerning readership in Kenya as well as elsewhere on the African continent is scarce, yet data does exist. Therefore, it is important to pool all the data available in order to make them accessible and usable to organizations involved in the promotion of reading, publishers, and researchers. This is not a whole new idea. The *African Publishers Network* (APNET), an umbrella organization of African publishers, for instance, runs a research and documentation center. This center is not only engaged in collecting important historical and contemporary documents and data on African publishing, but conducts research into issues relevant to African publishing such as access to capital, gender, and national book productivity levels too. Research in readership and case studies of reading habits in different African contexts should be fostered

---

by such multinational umbrella organizations and their results should be accessible through, for example, online databases. On a national basis existing umbrella organizations concerned with the development of the book trade and the promotion of reading such as the *National Book Development Council of Kenya* (NBDC\_K) or the *Reading Association of Kenya* (RAK) could be assigned the task of being the focal point for information distribution on the national level.

- Abagi, Okwach 1997. *Status of education in Kenya: Indicators for planning and policy formulation*. Nairobi: Institute of Policy Analysis and Research (Special Report).
- Abuoga, John B. & Mutere, Absalom Aggrey 1988. *The history of the press in Kenya*. Nairobi: The African Council on Communication Education (Africa Media monograph Series, 5).
- Agak, John Odwar 1995. *Reading literacy in relation to patterns of academic achievement in Kenya*. Umea: Umea University.
- Ajulu, Rok 2002. Politicised ethnicity, competitive politics and conflict in Kenya: A historical perspective. *African Studies* 61, 2: 251 - 268.
- Altbach, Philip G. (ed.) 1992. *Publishing and development in the Third World*. London et al.: Hans Zell.
- Altbach, Philip G. 1993. Perspectives on publishing in Africa. In: *Readings on publishing in Africa and the Third World*. Edited by Philip G. Altbach. Buffalo, New York: Bellagio Publishing Network (Bellagio Studies in Publishing, 1), 1 - 19.
- Altbach, Philip G. 1995. Publishing in the Third World: Issues and trends for the twenty-first century. In: *International book publishing: An encyclopaedia*. Edited by Philip G. Altbach & Edith S. Hoshino. New York: Garland, 278 - 295.
- Altbach, Philip G. (ed.) 1996. *The challenge of the market. Privatization and publishing in Africa*. Boston: Bellagio Publishing Network (Bellagio Studies in Publishing, 7).
- Altbach, Philip G. 1999. The dilemmas of publishing in African languages. A comparative perspective. In: *Publishing in African languages: Challenges and prospects*. Edited by Philip G. Altbach & Damtew Teferra. Boston: Bellagio Publishing Network (Bellagio Studies in Publishing, 10), 3 - 10.
- Altbach, Philip G & Damtew Teferra (eds.) 1999. *Publishing in African languages: Challenges and prospects*. Boston: Bellagio Publishing Network (Bellagio Studies in Publishing, 10).
- Altbach, Philip G., Arboleda, Amadio A. & Gopinathan, S. (eds.) 1985. *Publishing in the Third World. Knowledge and development*. Portsmouth et al.: Heinemann & Mansell.
- Apronti, E.O. 1993. David G. Maillu and his readers – an unusual poll of reader’s evaluation of a popular writer’s work. In: *Readings on publishing in Africa and the Third World*. Edited by Philip G. Altbach. Buffalo, New York: Bellagio Publishing Network (Bellagio Studies in Publishing, 1), 40 - 45.
- Arnold, Stephen H. 1984. Popular literature in Tanzania. Its background and relation to “East African” literature. *Kiswahili* 51, 1 & 2: 60 - 87.

- Arua, E. Arua 2003. *Reading for all in Africa: Building communities where literacy thrives*. Newark, Del: International Reading Association.
- Ayany, Samuel G. 1989. *Kar chakruok mar Luo*. Kisumu: Lake Publishers.
- Barker, Ronald & Escarpit, Robert 1973. *The book hunger*. Paris: UNESCO.
- Barlow, Arthur R. 1975. *English - Kikuyu dictionary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Barr, Rebecca et al. (eds.) 1991. *Handbook of reading research. Volume II*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Barwise, D. & Ehrenberg, A. 1988. *Television and its audience*. London: Sage.
- BBC (British Broadcasting Corporation) 2002. *Monitoring guide to the Kenyan media*. September 2002, Draft.
- Bedi, Arjun S. 2004. The decline in primary school enrolment in Kenya. *Journal of African Economies* 13: 1 - 43.
- Behrstock, Julian 1991. UNESCO's long love affair with the book. *LOGOS* 2,1: 29 - 36.
- Bender, Lionel M. 1996. *The Nilo-Saharan languages: a comparative essay*. München et al.: Lincom Europe.
- Benson, T.G. 1964. *Kikuyu - English dictionary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Berelson, Bernard 1949. What 'missing a newspaper' means. In: *Communications Research, 1948 - 49*. Edited by Paul F. Lazarsfeld & Frank N. Stanton. New York: Harper & Brothers, 111 - 129.
- Berelson, Bernard 1952. *Content analysis in communication research*. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press.
- Berg, Klaus & Kiefer, Marie-Luise (eds.) 1996. *Massenkommunikation V. Eine Langzeitstudie zur Mediennutzung und Medienbewertung 1964 - 1995*. Baden-Baden: Nomos.
- Bernard, Russell H. 1994. *Research methods in anthropology. Qualitative and quantitative approaches*. Thousand Oakes et al.: Sage Publications.
- Besnier, Niko 1995. *Literacy, emotion, and authority: Reading and writing on a Polynesian atoll*. Cambridge et al.: Cambridge University Press.
- Beykont, Zeynep F. 2002. *The power of culture: Teaching across language differences*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Publication Group.

- Bgoya, Walter 1984. Autonomous publishing in Africa: The present situation. *Development Dialogue* 1&2: 83 - 111.
- Bgoya, Walter 1986. *Books and reading in Tanzania*. Paris: UNESCO (Studies on Books and Reading, 25).
- Blalock, H. 1979. *Social statistics*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Blumler, Jay G. 1979. The role of theory in uses and gratifications studies. *Communications Research* 6: 9 - 36.
- Blumler, Jay G. & Katz, Elihu (eds.) 1974. *The uses of mass communications. Current perspectives on gratifications research*. Beverly Hills, London: Sage Publications.
- Boesken, Gesine 2001. Lesen am Bildschirm: Wer ist „drin“, und sind Bücher jetzt „out“? In: *Leseverhalten in Deutschland im neuen Jahrtausend. Eine Studie der Stiftung Lesen*. Edited by Stiftung Lesen. Hamburg: Spiegel Verlag, 127 - 149.
- Boissevain, Jeremy 1978. *Friends of friends: networks, manipulators and coalitions*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Bonfadelli, Heinz 1993. *Lesesozialisation. Band 2: Leseerfahrung und Lesekarrieren: Studien der Bertelsmannstiftung*. Gütersloh: Verlag Bertelsmann-Stiftung.
- Bonfadelli, Heinz 1999. Leser und Leseverhalten heute – Sozialwissenschaftliche Buchlese(r)forschung. In: *Handbuch Lesen*. Edited by Bodo Franzmann et al. München: Knauer, 86 - 144.
- Book Aid International 2003. About us – History. Electronic document <http://www.bookaidinternational.org> (10.03.2003).
- Bryce-Okunlola, Jane 1997. Popular writing in Africa. In: *Writing and Africa*. Edited by Msiska Mpalive-Hangson & Paul Hyland. New York: Addison Wesley Longman, 174 - 192.
- Bugembe, Mary 1998. The Pan African Children's Book Fair celebrates seven years. *Bellagio Publishing Newsletter* 23. Electronic document <http://www.bellagiopublishingnetwork.org/newsletter23/bugembe.htm> (09.02.2002).
- Capen, Carole A. 1998. *Bilingual Dholuo - English dictionary*. Kenya: Tucson, Ariz.
- Carnegie Corporation 2004. *The Corporation's program*. Electronic document [http://www.carnegie.org/sub/program/intl\\_development.html](http://www.carnegie.org/sub/program/intl_development.html) (05.07.2004).



Chakava, Henry 1982. *Books and reading in Kenya*. Paris: UNESCO (Studies on Books and Reading, 13).

Chakava, Henry 1992. Kenyan publishing: Independence and dependence. In: *Publishing and development in the Third World*. Edited by Philip G. Altbach. London et al.: Hans Zell, 119-150.

Chakava, Henry 1993. A Decade of publishing in Kenya: 1977 – 1987: One man's involvement. In: *Readings on publishing in Africa and the Third World*. Edited by Philip G. Altbach. Buffalo, New York: Bellagio Publishing Network (Bellagio Studies in Publishing, 1), 67 - 73.

Chakava, Henry 1995. Kenya. In: *International book publishing: An encyclopedia*. Edited by Philip G. Altbach & Edith S. Hoshino. New York, London: Garland, 384 - 396.

Chakava, Henry 1996. *Publishing in Africa: One man's perspective*. Buffalo, New York: Bellagio Publishing Network (Bellagio Studies in Publishing, 6), co-published with East African Educational Publishers, Nairobi.

Chakava, Henry 1997. Book marketing and distribution: The Achilles heel of African publishing. *Development Dialogue* 1 & 2: 39 - 60.

Chirumiko, M. 1999. Marketing research. *African Publishing Review* 7: 14.

Chrétien, Jean Pierre & Dupaquier, Jean-Francois (eds.) 1995. *Rwanda: les médias du génocide*. Paris: Khartala.

CKRC (Constitution of Kenya Review Commission) 2002. *The constitution of the republic of Kenya*. (Draft Bill).

*Daily Nation*, June 24, 1999. Read widely, Kenyans urged. By Caleb Atemi.

*Daily Nation*, September 1, 2000. Moi seeks ban on ethnic radio.(without author)

*Daily Nation*, September 27, 2000. Poverty blamed on lack of reading. By Nation Correspondent.

*Daily Nation*, October 26, 2000. Political will, policies and local languages. By Dorothy Kweyu.

*Daily Nation*, April 27, 2001. Journalists petition court. By David Mugonyi & Pamela Chepkemei.

*Daily Nation*, June 18, 2001. Promoting readership. (without author)

*Daily Nation*, September 25, 2001. Towards a better reading culture. Supplement. (without author)

- Daily Nation*, December 20, 2001. Kisumu mayor tells off critics. By George Kiaye.
- Daily Nation*, March 16, 2004. VP leads Boma walk out. By Nation Team.
- DeWet, R. 1970. Leisure reading of Bantu students at the University of South Africa. *South African Libraries* 37, 5: 280 - 283.
- Dixon, Jay 1999. *The romantic fiction of Mills & Boon: 1909 - 1990s*. London: UCL Press.
- Djoleto, S.A. Amu 1985. *Books and reading in Ghana*. Paris: UNESCO (Studies on Books and Reading, 21).
- Durgunolgu, Aydin Yücesan & Verhoeven, Ludo (eds.) 1998. *Literacy development in a multilingual context: cross-cultural perspectives*. Mahwah, NJ et al.: Erlbaum.
- E.A.E.P. (East African Educational Publishers) 2001. *Higher Learning & General Catalogue*. Nairobi: E.A.E.P.
- East African Standard*, September 9, 2000. Book fairs out to debunk culture of poor reading. By Peter Kimani.
- East African Standard*, September 28, 2001. Read, VP tells Kenyans. By Dorcas Kimbwarata and VPPU.
- East African Standard*, 11 October 2003. Reading Association of Kenya launched.
- East African Standard*, August 2, 2004. Kenyan publisher to receive top award. By Dorothy Otieno.
- Elley, Warwick B. 1992. *How in the world do students read?* Hamburg: International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA).
- Elley, Warwick 1996. Lifting literacy levels in developing countries: Some implications from an IEA study. In: *Promoting reading in developing countries*. Edited by Vincent Greaney. Newark, Del: International Reading Association, 39 - 54.
- Elliot, Philip 1974. Uses and gratifications research: A critique and a sociological alternative. In: *The uses of mass communications. Current perspectives on gratifications research*. Edited by Jay G. Blumler & Elihu Katz. Beverly Hills, London: Sage Publications, 249 - 268.
- Escarpit, Robert 1961. *Das Buch und der Leser: Entwurf einer Literatursoziologie*. Köln et al.: Westdeutscher Verlag (Kunst und Kommunikation, 2).

- Eshiwani, George S. 1990. *Implementing educational policies in Kenya*. Washington, DC: World Bank.
- Falola, Toyin & Harlow, Barbara (eds.) 2003. *African writers and their readers*. Essays in honour of Bernth Lindfors, Volume II. Trenton, NJ: Africa World.
- Feilitzen, C. v. 1976. The functions served by the media: Report on a Swedish study. In: *Children and television*. Edited by R. Brown. Beverly Hills, CA.: Sage Publications, 99 - 115.
- Flick, Uwe 1998. *An introduction to qualitative research*. London: Sage.
- Flick, Uwe 2000. Episodic interviewing. In: *Qualitative researching with text, image and sound*. Edited by Martin W. Bauer & George Gaskell. London et al.: Sage, 75 - 92.
- Fouché, B. 1980. *Reading and libraries in the socio-cultural life of an urban black community*. Pretoria: University of South Africa (MOUSAION II.10).
- Franzmann, Bodo 2001. Die Deutschen als Leser und Nichtleser. Ein Überblick. In: *Leseverhalten in Deutschland im neuen Jahrtausend. Eine Studie der Stiftung Lesen*. Edited by Stiftung Lesen. Hamburg: Spiegel Verlag, 7 - 31.
- Franzmann, Bodo 1995. Lese(r)forschung. In: *Lexikon des gesamten Buchwesens (LGB). Band 4*. Edited by Severin Corsten et al. Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 490-491.
- Frederiksen, Bodil Folke 1991. Joe, the sweetest reading in Africa: Documentation and discussion of a popular magazine in Kenya. *African Languages and Cultures* 4, 2: 135 - 155.
- Fritz, Angela & Suess, Alexandra 1986. *Lesen. Die Bedeutung der Kulturtechnik Lesen für den gesellschaftlichen Kommunikationsprozeß*. Konstanz: Universitätsverlag.
- Fröhner, Rolf 1961. *Das Buch in der Gegenwart. Eine empirisch sozialwissenschaftliche Untersuchung*. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann Institut für Buchmarktforschung.
- Gadsden, Fay 1980. The African press in Kenya, 1945-1952. *Journal of African History* 21: 515 - 535.
- Gathigira, Stanley K. 1986. *Mũkarĩre ya Agĩkũyũ*. Nairobi: Scholar's Publication.
- Gedin, Per 1984. Publishing in Africa – Autonomous and transnational: A view from the outside. *Development Dialogue* 1 & 2: 112 - 124.
- Geertz, Clifford 1973. Thick description: toward an interpretive theory of culture. In: *The interpretation of cultures: Selected essays*. Edited by Clifford Geertz. New York: Basic Books, 3 - 30.

Girardi, Maria-Rita, Neff, Lothar Karl & Steiner, Herbert 1965. *Buch und Leser in Deutschland. Eine Untersuchung des Divo-Instituts*. Gütersloh: Institut für Buchmarktforschung (Schriften zur Buchmarkt-Forschung, 4).

Glanz, Christine 2002. Literacy in interaction. In: *Exploring multilingual community literacies*. workshop at the Ugandan German Cultural Society, Kampala, September 2001. Edited by Christine Glanz & Okot Benghe. Hamburg: Working Papers in Multilingualism, Series B 41, 77 - 91.

Glanz, Christine 2004. The challenge of local language writers in Uganda – the case of two Luganda authors. In: *African media cultures. Transdisciplinary perspectives*. Edited by Rosemarie Beck & Frank Wittmann. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe, 135 - 157.

Glanz, Christine & Gleich, Utta v. 2001. *Mehrsprachige literale Praktiken im religiösen Alltag. Ein Vergleich literaler Ereignisse in Uganda und Bolivien*. Hamburg: Working Papers in Multilingualism, Series B 29.

Glaser, Barney S. & Strauss, Anselm 1998. *Grounded Theory: Strategien qualitativer Forschung*. Bern et al.: Huber.

Gleich, Utta v. 2004. New Quechua literacies in Bolivia. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 167: 131 – 146.

Gleich, Utta v., Glanz, Christine & Reh, Mechthild 2002. Mehrsprachige literale Praktiken im Kulturvergleich: Uganda und Bolivien. Die Datenerhebungs- und Auswertungsmethoden. Hamburg: Working Papers in Multilingualism Series B, 33.

Goody, Jack 1968. *Literacy in traditional societies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Goody, Jack 1977: *The domestication of the savage mind*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Goody, Jack 1987: *The interface between the written and the oral*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Goody, Jack & Watt, Ian 1963. The consequences of literacy. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 5, 3: 304 - 345.

Graff, Harvey J. 1979. *The literacy myth: Literacy and social structure in the nineteenth-century city*. New York et al.: Academic Press.

Greaney, Vincent (ed.) 1996. *Promoting reading in developing countries*. Newark, Delaware: International Reading Association.

Greaney, Vincent & Neuman, Susan B. 1990. The functions of reading: A cross-cultural perspective. *Reading Research Quarterly* 25, 3: 172 - 195.

- Greenberg, B.S. 1974. Gratifications of television viewing and their correlates for British children. In: *The uses of mass communications: Current perspectives on gratifications research*. Edited by Jay G. Blumler & Elihu Katz. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 71 - 92.
- Gregory, Robert George 1993. *South Asians in East Africa: An economic and social history, 1890 – 1980*. Boulder et al.: Westview Press.
- Grice, Herbert Paul 1975. Logic and conversation. In: *Syntax and semantics. Volume 3*. Edited by Peter Cole & Jerry L. Morgan. New York: Academic Press, 41 - 58.
- Griswold, Wendy 2000. *Bearing witness. readers, writers, and the novel in Nigeria*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Groeben, Norbert & Hurrelmann, Bettina (eds.) 2002. *Lesekompetenz: Bedingungen, Dimensionen, Funktionen*. Weinheim et al.: Juventa-Verlag.
- Groombridge, Brian 1964. *The Londoner and his library*. London: Research Inst. for Consumer Affaires.
- Grosjean, François 1982. *Life with two languages; an introduction to bilingualism*. Cambridge Mass: Harvard University Press.
- Guthrie, John T. & Greaney, Vincent 1991. Literacy acts. In: *Handbook of reading research. Volume II*. Edited by Rebecca Barr et al. Mahwah, NJ & London: Lawrence Erlbaum, 68 - 96.
- Hamrell, Sven (ed.) 1998. *The future of indigenous publishing in Africa*. Uppsala: Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation.
- Hamrell, Sven & Norberg, Ole 1992. Loan guarantee programs for the developing of autonomous publishing capacity in Kenya. In: *Publishing and development in the Third World*. Edited by Philip G. Altbach. London et al.: Hans Zell, 421 - 423.
- Haugen, Einar 1950. The analysis of linguistic borrowing. *Languages* 26: 210 - 231.
- Heath, Shirley B. 1982. What no bedtime stories means: Narrative skill at home and at school. *Language in Society* 11: 49 - 76.
- Heath, Shirley B. 1983. *Ways with words: Language, life and work in communities and classrooms*. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Heine, Bernd 1980. *The non-Bantu languages of Kenya*. Berlin: Reimer.
- Heissler, Nina, Lavy, P. & Candela, A. 1965. *Diffusion du livre et développement de la lecture en Afrique Tchad-Senegal*. Paris: Culture et Développement.

- Herzog, Herta 1940. Professor Quiz. A gratification study. In: *Radio and the printed page. An introduction to the study of radio and its role in the communication of ideas*. Edited by Paul F. Lazarsfeld. New York: Puell, Sloan & Pearce, 64 - 93.
- Hippler, Hans J. 2001. Tummelplatz Internet oder: Ist Lesen eine veraltete "Technologie"? In: *Leseverhalten in Deutschland im neuen Jahrtausend. Eine Studie der Stiftung Lesen*. Edited by Stiftung Lesen. Hamburg: Spiegel Verlag, 165 - 174.
- Hofmeier, Rolf 2001. EAC. In: *Das Afrika Lexikon. Ein Kontinent in 1000 Stichwörtern*. Wuppertal & Weimar: Peter Hammer & Metzler Verlag, 138 -139.
- Hornberger, Nancy H. (ed.) 2003. *Continua of biliteracy: An ecological framework for educational policy, research and practice in multilingual settings*. Clevedon et al.: Multilingual Matters (Bilingual education and bilingualism, 41).
- Hurrelmann; Bettina 1993. *Lesesozialisation. Band 1: Leseklima in der Familie: Eine Studie der Bertelsmann-Stiftung*. Gütersloh: Verlag Bertelsmann Stiftung.
- IEA (International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement) 2004. Progress in international reading literacy study. Electronic document [http://www.iea-dpc.de/Home\\_e/Studies/PIRLS\\_e/pirls\\_e.html](http://www.iea-dpc.de/Home_e/Studies/PIRLS_e/pirls_e.html) (24.08.2004).
- Imbuga, Francis D. 1986. *Lialuka lia vaana va Magomere*. Nairobi: Heinemann.
- INASP (International Network for the Availability of Scientific Publications) 2004a. Database: Book chain in anglophone Africa – CHISCI. Electronic document <http://www.inasp.info/pubs/bookchain> (09.05.2004).
- INASP (International Network for the Availability of Scientific Publications) 2004b. Database: Book chain in anglophone Africa – EABDA. Electronic document <http://www.inasp.info/pubs/bookchain> (09.05.2004).
- IRA (International Reading Association) 2003. About the association. Electronic document <http://www.ira.org/about> (10.03.2003).
- Johnson, Frederick 1939. *A standard Swahili-English dictionary*. New York et al: Oxford University Press.
- Kaegbein, Paul, Luckham, Bryan & Stelmach, Valeria (eds.) 1991. *Studies on research in reading and libraries. Approaches and results from several countries*. München et al.: Saur (Contributions to Library Theory and Library History, 3).
- Kamau, Carol N. 2003. Kenya exporter guide annual 2003. GAIN (Global Agriculture Information Network) Report KE 3008. Electronic document <http://www.fas.usda.gov/gainfiles/200309/145986161.pdf> (09.05.2004).
- Kamil, Michael L. et al. (eds.) 2000. *Handbook of reading research. Volume III*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

- Karmokolias, Yannis & Maas, Jacob van Lutsenburg 1997. *The business of education: a look at Kenya's private education sector*. Washington, DC: World Bank.
- Katz, Elihu, Blumler, Jay G. & Gurevitch, Michael 1974. Utilization of mass communication by the individual. In: *The uses of mass communications. Current perspectives on gratifications research*. Edited by Jay G. Blumler & Elihu Katz. Beverly Hills, London: Sage Publications, 19 - 32.
- Katz, Elihu, Gurevitch, Michael & Haas, Hadassah 1973. On the use of the mass media for important things. *American Sociological Review* 38: 164 - 181.
- Kaye, Babara K. 1998. Uses and gratifications of the World Wide Web: From couch potato to web potato. *The New Jersey Journal of Communication* 6, 1: 21 - 40.
- Kaye, Babara K., & Johnson, T. J. (2002). Online and in the know: Uses and gratifications of the web for political information. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media* 46: 54 - 71.
- KBC (Kenya Broadcasting Corporation) 2004. *Broadcast services*. Electronic document. <http://www.kbc.co.ke/services.asp> (12.05.2004).
- Kelly, M. 1976. Reading habits and book supplies in Cameroon. *Library Review* 25, 7: 257 - 258.
- Kembo, Jane 1993. Reading: Encouraging and maintaining individual extensive reading. *Forum* 31, 2: 36. Electronic document <http://exchanges.state.gov/forum/vols/vol31/no2/p36.htm> (09.05.2003).
- Kembo-Sure 1991. Language functions and language attitudes in Kenya. *English World-Wide* 12, 2: 245 - 260.
- Kembo-Sure 1992. Richer or rotten? A study of borrowing from English in Dholuo. In: *English in East and Central Africa 2*. Edited by Josef Schmied. Bayreuth: Breitinger, 21 - 45.
- Kembo-Sure 2002. Language planning and national development in Kenya. In: *Languages in contrast*. Edited by Ingrid Rissom. Bayreuth: Breitinger, 27 - 35.
- Khamala, Canute P.M. 1980. *A survey of reading habits among Nairobi primary and lower secondary school children: Foundation for a national book policy in Kenya*. Nairobi: Kenya National Academy for Advancement of Arts and Sciences.
- Kimenye, Barbara 1990. Kenyan writers versus publishers. *Bookseller* 20, Juli 1990.
- Kinunda, M. 1994. Kenya: System of Education. In: *The international encyclopedia of education*. Edited by Torsten Husén & T.N..Postlethwaite. Oxford: Pergamon, 3125-3133.

- Kinyatti, Maina 1998. *Mwaki ūtangihoreka*. Nairobi: Kīmūrī Book Publishers.
- Kippax, Susan & Murray, J. 1980. Using the mass media. need, gratification and perceived utility. *Communication Research* 7, 3: 335 - 360.
- Kiriamiti, John. 1984. *My life in crime*. Nairobi: Heinemann.
- Kismaric, Carole & Heiferman, Marvin 1998. *The mysterious case of Nancy Drew and the Hardy boys*. New York, NY: Simon & Schuster.
- KNLS (Kenya National Library Service) 2004a. Historical background. Electronic document <http://www.knls.or.ke/history.htm> (09.05.2004).
- KNLS (Kenya National Library Service) 2004b. Services. Electronic document <http://www.knls.or.ke/services.htm> (09.05.2004).
- Köcher, Renate 1993. Lesekarrieren – Kontinuitäten und Brüche. In: *Lesesozialisation. Band 2: Leseerfahrungen und Lesekarrieren*. Edited by Heinz Bonfadelli, Angela Fritz & Renate Köcher (eds.). Gütersloh: Bertelsmann Stiftung (Studien der Bertelsmann Stiftung), 215 - 310.
- Kotei, S.I.A. 1982. *Le livre aujourd'hui en Afrique*. Paris: Les Presses de l'UNESCO.
- KPA (Kenya Publisher Association) 1997. *Kenya Books in Print*. Nairobi: KPA.
- KPA (Kenya Publisher Association) 2002. Electronic document <http://www.kenyabooks.org/home/index.asp> (07.02.2004).
- Krippendorff, Klaus 1980. *Content analysis: An introduction to its methodology*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Labovitz, S. 1971. The zone of rejection: Negative thoughts on statistical inference. *Pacific Sociological Review* 14: 373 - 381.
- Lakoff, George & Johnson, Mark 1980. *Metaphors we live by*. Chicago, London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Leber, Martin 1988. *Die Beziehung zwischen Mediennutzungsverhalten und nicht-medialen Freizeitaktivitäten: Ansätze einer Freizeitsoziologischen Weiterung des „Uses-and- gratifications-approach“*. Bern et al.: Lang.
- Legère, Karsten 1992. *The role of language in primary education in Eastern Africa with special reference to Kiswahili*. Bonn: Deutsche Stiftung für internationale Entwicklung/Zentralstelle für Erziehung, Wissenschaft und Dokumentation.
- Lindfors, Bernth 1996. *Loaded vehicles. Studies in African literary media*. Asmara: African World Press.



- Lindfors, Bernth (ed.) 2002. *Africa talks back: Interviews with anglophone African Writers*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press.
- Lundberg, Ingvar & Linnakylä, Pirjo 1993. *Teaching reading around the world: IEA study of reading literacy*. The Hague: International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA).
- Maillu, David G. 1975. *The kommon man, part one*. Nairobi: Comb Books.
- Maillu, David G. 1983. *Kaana ngya*. Nairobi: Heinemann.
- Maillu, David 1986. *The Ayah*. Nairobi: Heinemann.
- Makotsi, Ruth 2000. *Expanding the book trade across Africa: A study of current barriers and future potential*. London: ADEA Working Group.
- Makotsi, Ruth 2001. Promoting a reading culture. *INASP (International Network for the Availability of Scientific Publications) Newsletter 17*. Electronic document <http://www.inasp.info/newslet/may01.html#4> (10.03.2002).
- Makotsi, Ruth & Nyariki, Lily 1997. *Publishing and book trade in Kenya*. Nairobi. East African Educational Publishers.
- Maloba, Wunyabari O. 1998. *Mau Mau and Kenya : An analysis of a peasant revolt*. Bloomington, Ind. et al: Indiana University Press.
- Mangua, Charles 1986. *Son of woman in Mombasa*. Nairobi: Heinemann.
- Mann, Peter H. & Burgoyne, Jacqueline 1969. *Books and reading*. London: André Deutsch.
- Maslow, Abraham H. 1943. A theory of human motivation. In: *Psychological Review* 50: 370 - 396.
- Mboya, Paul 1967. *Luo kitgi gi timbegi*. Nairobi: Equatorial Publishers.
- McAler, Joseph 1999. *Passion's fortune: the story of Mills & Boon*. Oxford et al.: Oxford University Press.
- McKenna, Michael C., Kear, Dennis J. & Ellsworth, Randy A. 1995. Children's attitudes toward reading: A national survey. *Reading Research Quarterly* 30, 934 - 955.
- McLeod, J. M. & Becker, L. B. 1981. The uses and gratifications approach. In: *Handbook of political communication*. Edited by D.D. Nimmo & K.R. Sanders. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 67 - 99.
- McLuhan, Marshall 1962. *The Gutenberg galaxy: the making of typographic man*. London: Routledge & Paul.

- McQuail, Denis & Gurevitch, Michael 1974. Explaining audience behavior. In: *The uses of mass communications. Current perspectives on gratifications research*. Edited by Jay G. Blumler & Elihu Katz. Beverly Hills, London: Sage Publications, 287 - 301.
- Merten, Klaus 1984. Vom Nutzen des „Uses and Gratifications Approach“. *Rundfunk und Fernsehen* 32: 66 - 72.
- Moggi, Paola & Tessier, Roger 2001. *Media status report: Kenya*. Paris: Groupe de recherche et d'échanges technologiques (GRET) and Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES).
- Mohochi, E.S. 2003. Language choice for development: the case for Swahili in Kenya. *Journal of African Cultural Studies* 16,1: 85 - 94.
- Muita, David N. 1998. Kenya introduces national textbook policy. *Bellagio Publishing Newsletter* 23. Electronic document [http://www.bc.edu/bc\\_org/avp/soe/cihe/bell/toc23.html](http://www.bc.edu/bc_org/avp/soe/cihe/bell/toc23.html) (25.5.2000).
- Mukuria, Davies M. 1995. Kenya's language policy developments with special emphasis on Kiswahili. In: *Creative use of Language in Kenya*. Edited by Kwadzo Senanu & Drid Williams. Nairobi: Jomo Kenyatta Foundation, 34 - 44.
- Mulokozi, M.M. 1999. Publishing in Kiswahili: A writer's perspective. In: *Publishing in African Languages: challenges and prospects*. Edited by Philip G. Altbach & Damtew Teferra. Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts: Bellagio Publishing Network (Bellagio Studies on Publishing, 10), 11 - 41.
- Myers-Scotton, Carol 1993. *Social motivations for code-switching. Evidence from Africa*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Myers-Scotton, Carol 2002. *Contact linguistics. Bilingual encounters and grammatical outcomes*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Närman, Anders 1995. *Education and nation building in Kenya. Perspectives on modernization, global dependency and local development*. Göteborg: Göteborg University.
- Ndegwa, John 1973. *Printing and publishing in Kenya: An outline of development*. London: Scolma.
- Negro Digest, March 1965*. Black Writers, White Readers. Chicago: Johnson.
- Negro Digest, November 1965*. The African Writer in Search of his Audience. Chicago: Johnson.
- Neumann, Susan 1991. *Literacy in the television age: The myth of the TV effect*. Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex.
- Newbold, Chris et al. (eds.) 2002. *The media book*. London: Arnold.

- Newell, Stephanie 1997. Making up their own minds: Reader's interpretations and the differences of view in Ghanaian popular narratives. *Africa* 67: 389 - 405.
- Newell, Stephanie 2000. *Ghanaian popular fiction: thrilling discoveries in conjugal life and other tales*. Oxford et al: James Currey.
- Newell, Stephanie 2002. *Readings in African popular fiction*. Bloomington, Ind. et al.: Indiana University Press.
- Newell-Jones, Katy 2001. *Post-literacy in Kenya. Developing a national curriculum*. Nairobi: Kenya Adult Education Association (KAEA) (Knowledge and Information Management, 3).
- Nurse, Derek & Spear, Thomas 1985. *The Swahili: reconstructing the history and language of an African society, 800 - 1500*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Nuttall, Sarah 1994. Reading in the lives of black South African women. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 20, 1: 35 - 47.
- Nuttall, Sarah 1996. Reading and recognition in three South African women's autobiographies. *Current Writing* 8, 1: 1 - 18.
- Nyariki, Lily & Makotsi, Ruth 1994. *The book market in Kenya today. Survey findings on book marketing and distribution in Kenya*. June – October 1994. Uppsala: Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation.
- Ochieng', William R. (ed.) 1989. *A modern history of Kenya 1895-1980: in honour of B.A. Ogot*. London: Evans Brothers.
- Ochieng', William R. & Maxon, R.M. (eds.) 1992. *An economic history of Kenya*. Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers.
- Odaga, Aseneth B. 1983. *Ogilo nguno piny kirom*. Kisumu: Lake Publishers.
- Odaga, Aseneth B. 1989. *Poko nyar migumba: gi sigend luu mamoko*. Kisumu: Lake Publishers.
- Odaga, Aseneth B. (ed.) 1993. *Gimomiyo otoyong'ute obam gi sigendini moko*. Kisumu: Kenya Women Literature Group.
- Odaga, Aseneth B. 1997. *English-Dholuo dictionary*. Kimusu: Lake Publishers.
- Odhiambo, E.S. Atieno & Lonsdale, John (eds.) 2003. *Mau Mau and nationhood: arms, authority and narration*. Oxford: James Currey.
- Odhiambo, Lewis O. 2002. The media environment in Kenya since 1990. *African Studies* 61, 2: 295 - 318.
- O'Doul, Robert 2000. The people's voice. *G21 Africa. The World's Magazine*. Electronic document <http://www.g21.net/africa7.html> (10.9.2000).

- Ogechi, Nathan Oyori 2001. Publishing in Kiswahili and indigenous languages for enhanced adult literacy in Kenya. *Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere* 68 (Swahili Forum VIII): 185 - 199.
- Ogechi, Nathan Oyori 2003. On language rights in Kenya. *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 12,3: 277 - 295.
- Ogot, Bethwell A. (ed.) 1995. *Decolonization and independence in Kenya: 1940 - 1993*. London et. al.: James Currey.
- Ogot, Bethwell A. 2003. Mau Mau and nationhood. The untold story. In: *Mau Mau and nationhood*. Edited by Atieno E.S. Odhiambo & John Lonsdale. Oxford, Nairobi, Athens: James Currey, 8 - 36.
- Ogot, Grace 1981a. *Aloo kod apul-apul*. Kisumu: Anyange Press.
- Ogot, Grace 1981b. *Ber wat*. Kisumu: Anyange Press.
- Ogot, Grace 1983a. *Miaha*. Nairobi: Heinemann Educational Books.
- Ogot, Grace 1983b. *Simbi nayima*. Kisumu: Anyange Press.
- Okech, Anthony 2001. *Adult literacy in Uganda*. Washington, D.C.: World Bank.
- Okoth-Okombo, Duncan 1997. *A functional grammar of Dholuo*. Köln: Köppe.
- Okwanya, Fred Ojienda 1985. Publishing in Kenya. In: *Publishing in the Third World. Knowledge and development*. Edited by Philip G. Altbach, Amadio A. Arboleda, & S. Gopinathan. Portsmouth, New Hampshire, London: Heinemann, Mansell, 87 - 95.
- Olson, David 1994. *The world on paper: The conceptual and cognitive implications of writing and reading*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Oluoch, Audi 2002. *Kenya post-literacy project. Handbook*. Nairobi: Kenya Adult Education Association (KAEA) with support from the Institute for International Co-operation of the German Adult Education Association (IIZ/DVV).
- Omolewa, Michael 1974. Adult readers in Nigerian libraries 1932-1960: A study of library use in Colonial Africa. *Nigerian Libraries* 10, 1: 29 - 40.
- Ong, Walter 1982. *Orality and literacy: The technologizing of the world*. London: Methuen.
- Opitz, Michael F. 2002. *Literacy instruction for culturally and linguistically diverse students: A collection of articles and commentaries*. Newark, Del.: International Reading Association.
- Ouane, Adama (ed.) 2003. *Towards a multilingual culture of education*. Hamburg: UIE.

- Owino, Daniel 2003. *The phonological nativization of loanwords in Dholuo*. Pretoria: University of Pretoria. Electronic dissertation <http://upetd.up.ac.za/thesis/available/etd-0209200412729/unrestricted/00thesis.pdf> (17.03.2004).
- Parry, Kate (ed.) 2000. *Language and literacy in Uganda. Towards a sustainable reading culture*. Kampala: Fountain Publishers.
- Pearce, Douglas 1982. *Textbook production in developing countries: Some problems of preparation, production and distribution*. Paris: UNESCO.
- Pearson, David P. et al. (eds.) 1984. *Handbook of reading research. Voume I*. New York et al.: Longman.
- People, September 11, 2000*. Why Kenyans should read more books. By Wahinya Henry.
- Peters, M. 1958. Reading tastes of the non-European: some personal experiences. *South African Libraries* 25, 3: 82 - 90.
- Pike, K. 1954. *Language in relation to a unified theory of the structure of human behaviour. Volume I*. Glendale, CA: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Pugliese, Cristiana 1994. Kenyan publishers in vernacular languages: Gikuyu, Kikamba and Dholuo. *Africa: rivista trimestrale di studi e documentazione d'ell Istituto Italo-Africa* 49: 250 - 259.
- Pugliese, Cristiana 1995. *Author, publisher and Gikuyu nationalist: The life and writings of Gakaara wa Wanjau*. Bayreuth und Nairobi: Bayreuth University/IFRA.
- Pugliese, Cristiana 2003. Complementary or contending nationhoods? Kikuyu pamphlets and songs 1945 – 1952. In: *Mau Mau and nationhood*. Edited by Atieno E.S. Odhiambo & John Lonsdale. Oxford, Nairobi, Athens: James Currey, EAEP, Ohio University Press, 97 - 120.
- Purcell-Gates, Victoria 2000. Family literacy. In: *Handbook of reading research. Volume III*. Edited by Michael L. Kamil et al. Mahwah, NJ & London: Lawrence Erlbaum Publishers, 853 - 870.
- Quisumbing, Agnes R. et al. 1995. *Women: The key to food security*. Washington, D.C.: The International Food Policy Research Institute (Food Policy Report, 21).
- Rassool, Naz 1999. *Literacy for sustainable development in the age of information*. Clevedon et al.: Multilingual Matters Ltd.
- Read, Tony 1995. International donor agencies and book development. In: *International book publishing: An encyclopedia*. Edited by Philip G. Altbach & Edith S. Hoshino. New York und London: Garland, 200 - 210.

Reading partnership 2000. *Reading the situation – Book reading, buying & borrowing habits in Britain*. London: Library & Information Commission 2000.

Reh, Mechthild 2002. Multilingual reading and writing practices in Uganda among Lango/Ateso speakers and Luganda speakers. In: *Exploring Multilingual community literacies*. Workshop at the Ugandan German Cultural Society, Kampala, September 2001. Edited by Christine Glanz & Okot Benghe. Hamburg: Working Papers in Multilingualism, Series B 41, 32 - 48.

Reh, Mechthild 2004. Writing and reading in English and L1: Attitudes among pupils in Lira and Mpigi, Uganda. In: *Globalisation and African Languages: Risks and Benefits*. Edited by Katrin Bromber & Birgit Smieja. Berlin et. al. : Mouton de Gruyter, 163 - 178.

Rehm, Margarete 1991. *Lexikon Buch – Bibliothek – neue Medien*. München: Saur.

Reporters Sans Frontières 2001. *Protest letter. The private press raided by police, a radio and a television closed, two journalists arrested*. Electronic document. <http://www.rsf.org/rsf/uk/html/afrique/cplp01/lp01/260401.html> (23.05.2003).

Republic of Kenya 1967. *Ministry of education annual report 1967*. Nairobi: Government Printer.

Republic of Kenya 1981. *Second university report*. Nairobi: Government Printers.

Republic of Kenya 1992. *The constitution of Kenya*. Nairobi: Government Printers.

Republic of Kenya 1994. *Kenya population census 1989, Volume I*. Central Bureau of Statistics, Office of the Vice-President and Ministry of Planning and National Development. Nairobi: Government Printers.

Republic of Kenya 1996. *Nyeri district development plan 1997 – 2001*. Nairobi: Office of the Vice-President / Ministry of Planning and National Development.

Republic of Kenya 1997. *Kisumu district development plan 1997 - 2001*. Nairobi: Office of the Vice-President / Ministry of Planning and National Development

Republic of Kenya 1998. *Masterplan for education and training 1997 - 2010*. Nairobi: Republic of Kenya.

Republic of Kenya 2001a. *1999 Population and housing census. Volume I. Population distribution by administrative areas and urban centers*. Nairobi: Central Bureau of Statistics / Ministry of Finance and Planning.

Republic of Kenya 2001b. *1999 Population and housing census. Voume II. Socioeconomic profile of the population*. Nairobi: Central Bureau of Statistics / Ministry of Finance and Planning.

- Republic of Kenya 2001c. *Statistical abstract 2000*. Nairobi: Central Bureau of Statistics / Ministry of Finance and Planning Republic of Kenya.
- Republic of Kenya 2002a. *Economic survey 2001*. Nairobi: Central Bureau of Statistics / Ministry of Finance and Planning.
- Republic of Kenya 2002b. *Kisumu district development plan 2002 – 2008*. Nairobi: Ministry of Finance and Planning.
- Republic of Kenya 2002c. *Nyeri district development plan 2002 – 2008*. Draft Version. Nairobi: Ministry of Finance and Planning.
- Republic of Kenya 2003a. *Economic survey 2003*. Nairobi: Central Bureau of Statistics / Ministry of Planning and National Development.
- Republic of Kenya 2003b. *Labour force survey 1998/99*. Nairobi: Ministry of Labour and Human Resources Development.
- Rosengren, Karl Erik 1974. Uses and gratifications: A paradigm outlined. In: *The uses of mass communications. Current perspectives on gratifications research*. Edited by Jay G. Blumler & Elihu Katz. Beverly Hills, London: Sage Publications, 269 - 286.
- Rosengren Karl E., Wenner, L.A. & Palmgreen P.1985. *Media gratifications research: Current perspectives*. Beverly Hills: Sage.
- Rosch, Eleanor H. 1978. Principles of categorization. In: *Cognition and Categorization*. Edited by Eleanor H. Rosch & B.B. Lloyd. Hillsdale, N.J.: Erlbaum, 27 - 48.
- Rosch, Eleanor & Mervis, Carolyn, B. 1975. Family resemblances: Studies in the internal structure of categories. *Cognitive Psychology* 7: 573 - 605.
- Rotich, Daniel Chebutuk 2004. The affordability of school textbooks in Kenya: consumer experience in the transformation to a liberalising economy. *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 13, 2 : 175 - 187.
- Rubin, Alan M. 1994. Media uses and effects: A uses and gratifications perspective. In: *Media effects. Advances in theory and research*. Edited by Jennings Bryant & Dolf Zillmann. Hillsdale, NJ et al.:Erlbaum, 417 - 436.
- Ruto, Sara Jerop 2004. *The contribution of non-formal schools in enhancing the provision of basic education in Kenya*. Heidelberg: Ruprecht-Karls Universität, Erziehungswissenschaftliches Seminar. Electronic dissertation <http://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/volltextserver/volltexte/2004/4580/index.html> (05.07.2004).

- Ryanga, Charlotte S.W.A. 2001. Reaching out for linguistic identity: The state of Kiswahili in Kenya. In: *Kiswahili – A tool for development – The multidisciplinary approach*. Edited by Naomi L. Shitemi & Mwanakombo N. Noordin. Eldoret: Moi University Press, 24 - 35.
- Salvaggio, J. & Bryant J. (eds.) 1989. *Media use in the information age: Emerging patterns of adoption and consumer use*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Saunders, Mary 2000. *Fact sheet. Sweet Valley High: Secrets*. Electronic document <http://www.penguinreaders.com/downloads/0582417686.pdf> (05.07.2004).
- Schild, Ulla 1980. Words of deception. Popular literature in Kenya. In: *The East African experience. Essays on English and Swahili literature. 2<sup>nd</sup> Janheinz Jahn-Symposium*. Edited by Ulla Schild. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 25 - 33.
- Schön, Erich 1995. Lesen. In: *Lexikon des gesamten Buchwesens (LGB). Band 4*. Edited by Severin Corsten et al. Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 485 - 487.
- Schön, Erich 1998. Kein Ende von Buch und Lesen. Entwicklungstendenzen des Leseverhaltens in Deutschland – Eine Langzeitbetrachtung. In: *Lesen im Umbruch – Forschungsperspektiven im Zeitalter von Multimedia*. Edited by Stiftung Lesen. Baden-Baden: Nomos, 39 - 77.
- Scribner, Sylvia & Cole, Michael 1981. *The psychology of literacy*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Simon, Gunter 1984. The book in francophone Black Africa : A critical perspective. *African Book Publishing Record* 10, 4: 209 - 215.
- Skutnabb-Kangas, Tove 1999. Foreword. In: *Literacy for sustainable development in the age of information*. By Naz Rassool. Clevedon et al.: Multilingual Matters Ltd, vii - xvi.
- Stiftung Lesen (ed.) 1990. *Lesen im internationalen Vergleich. Teil I*. Mainz: Stiftung Lesen.
- Stiftung Lesen (ed.) 1993. *Lesen in Deutschland 1992/93. Repräsentativstudie zum Lese- und Medienverhalten der erwachsenen Bevölkerung im vereinigten Deutschland*. Mainz: Stiftung Lesen.
- Stiftung Lesen (ed.) 1994. *Lesen im internationalen Vergleich Teil II*. Mainz: Stiftung Lesen.
- Stiftung Lesen (ed.) 2001. *Leseverhalten in Deutschland im neuen Jahrtausend. Eine Studie der Stiftung Lesen*. Hamburg: Spiegel Verlag.
- Strauss, Anselm L. 1987. *Qualitative analysis for social scientists*. Cambridge et al.: Cambridge University Press.



- 
- Strauss, Anselm & Corbin, Juliet 1990. *Basics of qualitative research: techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory*. Newbury Park: Sage.
- Street, Brian V. 1984. *Literacy in theory and practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Street, Brian V. (ed.) 1993. *Cross-cultural approaches to literacy*. Cambridge, et al.: Cambridge University Press.
- Street, Brian V. 1995. *Social literacies: Critical approaches to literacy in development, ethnography and education*. London & New York: Longman.
- Street, Brian V. (ed.) 2001. *Literacy and development: ethnographic perspectives*. London: Routledge.
- Sunday Nation*, April 9, 2000. Role of reading in a democratic society. By Henry Indangasi.
- Sunday Nation*, September 10, 2000. National book week begins nationwide. By Nation Correspondent.
- Sunday Nation*, September 17, 2000. Kenyans must read. (without author)
- Sunday Nation*, July 22, 2001. Quotes of the Week. (without author)
- Sunday Standard*, July 9, 2000. The question is: Why don't Kenyans read? By Samuel Kimaru.
- Sunday Standard*, August 27, 2000. How to nurture serious reading among our people. By Chege Thiong'o.
- Sunday Standard*, September 10, 2000. Will ban on vernacular broadcasts take Kenya closer to nationhood? By Nabea Wendo.
- Sunday Standard*, October 15, 2000. When writers, publishers and readers miss the point. By Titus Were.
- Sunday Standard*, April 8, 2001. Meet Africa's publishing guru. By Kiarie Kamau.
- Sunday Standard*, May 14, 2001. Towards making Kenya a nation of serious readers. By Egara Kabaji.
- Sunday Standard*, May 27, 2001. Hypertext will not be a serious threat to local publishers. By Egara Kabaji.
- Sunday Standard*, September 9, 2001. The enigma that is David Maillu. By Egara Kabaji.

*Sunday Standard*, July 7, 2002. Of lack of a reading culture and moral depravity. By Henry Munene.

Swanson, D. L. 1992. Understanding audiences: Continuing contributions of gratifications research. *Poetics* 21: 305 - 328.

Thiong'o, Ngugi wa 1980. *Caitani mũtharaba-inĩ*. Nairobi: Heinemann Educational Books.

Thiong'o, Ngugi wa 1982. *Njamba Nene na mbaathi ĩ mathagu*. Nairobi: Heinemann Educational Books.

Thiong'o, Ngugi wa 1984. *Bathitoora ya Njamba Nene*. Nairobi: Heinemann Educational Books.

Thiong'o, Ngugi wa 1986. *Njamba Nene na Cibũ Kĩang'ang'i*. Nairobi: Heinemann Educational Books.

Thiong'o, Ngugi wa & Mirii, Ngugi wa. 1980. *Ngaahika ndeenda: ithaako ria ngerekano*. Nairobi: Heinemann Educational Books.

Thompson, Ekundayo 2001. Transforming the adult education agenda through the Kenya post literacy project. *Adult Education and Development* 56: 1 - 19.

Tucker, Archibald N. 1994a. *A grammar of Kenya Luo (Dholuo). Volume 1*. Köln: Köppe (Nilo-Saharan: linguistic analysis and documentation 8, 1).

Tucker, Archibald N. 1994b. *A grammar of Kenya Luo (Dholuo) Volume 2*. Köln: Köppe. (Nilo-Saharan: linguistic analysis and documentation 8, 2).

Tullius, Christiane 2001. Typologien der Leser und Mediennutzer. In: *Leseverhalten in Deutschland im neuen Jahrtausend. Eine Studie der Stiftung Lesen*. Edited by Stiftung Lesen. Hamburg: Spiegel Verlag, 61 - 83.

UIS (UNESCO Institute for Statistics) 2003. Net enrolment. Electronic document. [www.uis.unesco.org](http://www.uis.unesco.org) (25.05.2003).

UIS 2004. Illiteracy rate, population, 15 years and older, by country. Electronic document <http://stats.uis.unesco.org> (05.07.2004).

UNAIDS 2002. *Epidemiological fact sheet on HIV Aids and sexually transmitted infections. 2002 Update*. Electronic Document. [http://www.unaids.org/html/pub/publications/fact-sheets01/kenya\\_en\\_pdf.htm](http://www.unaids.org/html/pub/publications/fact-sheets01/kenya_en_pdf.htm) (23.07.2003).

UNESCO 1983. *Towards a reading society: Targets for the 80s – A program for action*. Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO 1990. *Basic education and literacy. World statistical indicators*. Paris: UNESCO.

- UNESCO 1999. *Education for all (EFA 2000). Assessment of progress. Kenya country report. Draft report. August 1999.* Electronic document. <http://www2.unesco.org/wef/countryreports/kenya/contents.html> (25.5.2002).
- UNESCO 2003. *Books and reading – Book chain.* Electronic document [http://www.unesco.org/culture/industries/book/html\\_eng/chaine.shtml](http://www.unesco.org/culture/industries/book/html_eng/chaine.shtml) (10.03.2003).
- UNICEF 2003. *At a glance: Kenya.* Electronic document [http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/kenya\\_statistics.html](http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/kenya_statistics.html) (07.02.2004).
- Vandewiele, Michel 1980. On boredom of secondary school students in Senegal. *The Journal of Genetic Psychology* 137,2: 267 - 274.
- Vogt, Paul W. 1993. *Dictionary of statistics and of subject methodology. A non-technical guide for the social sciences.* Newbury Park, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Wagner, Daniel A. 1993. *Literacy, culture and development: Becoming literate in Morocco.* Cambridge et al.: Cambridge University Press.
- Wagner, Daniel A., Street, Brian V. & Venezky, Richard L. (eds.) 1999. *Literacy: An international handbook.* Boulder et al.: Westview Press.
- WAN (World Association of Press) 2002. *World Press Trends 2001.* Paris: World Association of Newspaper Groups, (country profil Kenya), 135-136.
- Wanjau, Gakaara 1951. *Ngwenda unjurage.* Nairobi: Gakaara Press.
- Wanjau, Gakaara wa 1960. *Mihiriga ya Agikũyũ.* Karatina: Gakaara Press.
- Wanjau, Gakaara wa 1970. *Ndũgeeta ũngĩ maraaya.* Karatina: Gakaara Press.
- Wanjau, Gakaara wa (ed.) 1976 - 1985. *Gikũyũ na Mũmbi,* booklet series.
- Wanjau, Gakaara wa 1983. *Mwandiki wa Mau Mau ithaamirio-ĩni.* Nairobi, Kenya: Heinemann Educational Books.
- Wanyeki, Lynne Muthoni (ed.) 2000. *Up in the air? The state of broadcasting in Eastern Africa. Analysis and trends in five countries.* Nairobi: Panos Eastern Africa.
- Waples, Douglas A., Berelson Bernard. & Bradshaw, Franklyn R. 1940. *What reading does to people. A summary of evidence on the social effects of reading and a statement of problems for research.* Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press.
- Webb, Vic & Kembo-Sure 2000. *African voices.* Oxford et al.: Oxford University Press.

- Weber, R. P. 1990. *Basic content analysis*, 2nd ed. Newbury Park, CA.
- Weingand, Darelene, E. 1992. *Connections – Literacy and cultural heritage – lessons from Iceland*. Metuchen, N.J. & London: The Scarecrow Press.
- Were, Maureen & Mafula, Nancy N. 2003. *An assessment of the impact of HIV/Aids on economic growth: the case of Kenya*. Munich: Center for Economic Studies.
- Whiteley, Wilfred (ed.) 1974. *Language in Kenya*. Nairobi, Kenya: Oxford University Press.
- Whiteley, Wilfred H. 1993. *Swahili: the rise of a national language*. Aldershot, Hampshire: Gregg Revivals (reprinted with a new introduction).
- Williamson, Kay 1989. Benue-Congo overview. In: *The Niger-Congo languages*. Edited by John Bendor-Samuel. N.Y., London: University Press of America, SIL, 247 - 274.
- World Bank 2001. *World development report 2000/2001*. Washington, DC: World Bank.
- World Bank 2004a. Data by country. Electronic document <http://www.worldbank.org/data/countrydata/countrydata.html> (05.07.2004).
- World Bank 2004b. World development indicators. Electronic document <http://www.worldbank.org/data/wdi2004/pdfs/table2-5.pdf> (05.07.2004).
- Yigbé, Dotse 2003. Lesen und Schreiben in oralen Gesellschaften. In: *Lesekulturen. Reading Cultures*. Edited by János Riesz & Hans Walter Schmidt-Hannisa. Frankfurt a. M. et al: Peter Lang, 123 - 132.
- Zezeza, Paul Tiyambe 1996. A social contract for books. *African Book Publishing Record* 22, 4: 251 - 255.

## Appendix 1

---

### **Interview guide – group interviews**

Note for the interviewer: This interview guide is meant to assist you in the interview. It is not necessary to pose all questions or to strictly follow the order as given below. Be flexible. Try to get the group on to the topic and let them discuss among each other. Ask as general as possible. Avoid influence on the group by suggesting or anticipating answer.

#### **1. Languages**

- Which language(s) they use most in their daily life?
- In which language(s) they read? How well they read in this/these language(s)?

#### **2. Reading Habits**

- How often they read? In which language(s)?
- Reasons for reading/reading a little/not reading at all (what do they do instead?)
- Whether reading is important to them? Why? Why not?
- Whether they feel that they benefit from reading? How?
- What types of material they read? In which language(s)?
- When and where they do most of their reading?
- Whether they have access to all materials they are interested in?
- How they get their reading material? Borrowing (libraries/friends)? Buying?
- Whether they have reading material at home? How many/in which language(s)?
- Whether they would like to read more? What kind of materials? In which language(s)?
- What prevents them from reading?

#### **3. Social Environment**

- Whether family members, friends or colleagues read?
- Whether they talk about what they read with family members, friends, colleagues?
- Whether they read for others who do not know how to read or have difficulties in reading?
- What kind of materials? In which language(s)?
- Whether they were read to when young? By whom? In which language(s)?
- Whether a particular person had an impact on their interest in reading? Who?

## Appendix 2

---

### Observation sheet - group interviews (reduced scale)

**Interviewer:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Date:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Place/District:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Minidisc/Tape no.:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Interviewee:** \_\_\_\_\_

<p><b>Group/Context</b> (Kind of/purpose for meeting; regular/irregular? Meetings held since when? Language(s) usually used in meetings? Usual length of meetings?)</p>	
<p><b>Contact</b> (How was the contact achieved? Via group members? Recommendation? By whom? By attending meetings?)</p>	
<p><b>Participants</b> (Sex, age range, language(s) spoken, marital status, occupation, function in the group/community?)</p>	
<p><b>Interaction of Participants</b> (Chairperson, group leader? How is turn taking organised? Clashes/interruptions? Nonverbal behaviour? Activity of each participant: are there group members who are more active than others/dominant? Language behaviour? Code switching?)</p>	
<p><b>Interviewer/Group relations</b> Role/status with regard to: age, sex, prestige (function in the community, image as an expert)</p>	
<p><b>Course of the Interview/Atmosphere</b> (How is the atmosphere at the beginning of the discussion; how/does it change in the course of the discussion? Do people get tired, annoyed, uninterested? Interested, more active? Non-verbal behaviour?)</p>	
<p><b>Interruptions/Disturbances</b> (Were the discussion interrupted/disturbed? By whom? For how long?)</p>	
<p><b>Other comments</b></p>	

## Appendix 3

---

### Dossiers of research assistants

**Grace Opondo (GO)**, in her early 30s, married with three children, lived with her family in Kisumu in 2001 and 2002. Holding a B.A. in Political Science from Makerere University, Kampala/Uganda, she was unable to find employment after her graduation and stayed at home with the kids. She was a very active member of her church in Kisumu and was in charge of the church's youth groups. An employee of the Kisumu library introduced her to the author.

**Mary Atieno (MA)**, in her late 20s, married with two children, lived with her family in a rural area of Kisumu District, about 30 minutes drive away from the city. Trained as a teacher of home economics, she worked in a rural secondary school for one year, before staying home with her children. She was an active church member and a well-accepted member of her rural community. A Maseno University lecturer introduced her to the author.

**Milton Steve Mao (MM)**, in his early 20s, single, no children, lived with his aunt in Kisumu. Since he had finished secondary school, he was active in his church in Kisumu engaged in the coordination of Bible study groups, youth' service etc. He attended seminars and trainings in order to become church counselor. Grace Opondo introduced him to the author.

**Peter Nd'egwa (PN)**, in his 30s, single, no children, lived in Nyeri. Trained as a teacher for agricultural education, he taught at a rural secondary school in near reach of Nyeri town, where he resided. He was available as a research assistant during school holidays. An employee of the Nyeri library introduced him to the author.

**Zipporah Wuthaya (ZP)**, in her mid 20s, married with two children, lived with her family in Nyeri town. She graduated in 2001 from a teachers' training college as an English teacher. As she was waiting for her first assignment to a school, she was available for the research project. Peter Ndegwa introduced her to the author.

## Appendix 4

---

### Transcript - group interview

**Kisumu: Boda boda cyclists [KIBO]:** Boda boda bicycles are a common means of public transport in the whole of Western Kenya. Boda boda business was invented at the border crossing between Kenya and Uganda. There, travelers were not allowed to cross the border within the busses in which they were traveling. Instead they were asked to walk through the no-man's land in order to re-enter a bus on the other side of the border. Cyclists with cushions on their carrier offered travelers a transfer service from one border post to the other. The term 'boda boda' refers to this route: from one border to the other border.

**Interviewer:** Milton Steve Mao

**Date:** October 17, 2004

**Place/District:** Kibuye busstand / Kisumu

**Minidisc / Tape no.:** M03PGI/16/10/01 # 4 (23:33 min.)

**Group:** Boda boda cyclists

**Group context:** The group includes 6 cyclists based at the same station at Kibuye bus stand. They meet daily at their place of work. Occasionally, they hold meetings to discuss matters related to their business, the station, working conditions, charges for the bicycles etc. The language of communication among the cyclists is Luo; with customers they use Swahili.

**Contact:** The contact was achieved through one of the cyclists who is a member of the same church as the interviewer. The cyclists arranged a meeting and introduced the researchers to the group.

**Participants:** All 6 participating cyclists are male aged 20 to 40, all of them are L1 speakers of Luo. 4 are married, 2 are singles.

**Interaction of participants:** There is no group leader. The group members took turns in answering the questions. One group members stayed calm, providing information only when directly addressed.

**Interviewer/Group Relation:** Group members were very comfortable with the interviewer who was accepted by the group.

**Course of the Interview/Atmosphere:** The interview went on smoothly throughout with group members getting more settled during the course of the interview.

**Interruptions/Disturbances:** A first attempt to get the interview going was thwarted by an influx of many people who wanted to see what was happening. It was necessary to leave the busy bus stand and find a quieter place in a side road to conduct the interview. Minor disturbances by passersby continued. Furthermore, the noisy environment of passing trucks, buses and cars sometimes interrupted the interview.

**Other comments:** The participants raised fears of missing business opportunities when conducting the interviews. When they learnt that they would be compensated for the time of the interview with a small fee, they were willing to participate.



## Appendix 4

---

- 1 **MM<sup>1</sup>: Koro penjo mokuongo en kama dho mana ma uwacho pile pile**  
2 **e kit ngima u?**  
*First question is, what language do you use often?*
- 3 **P1<sup>2</sup>: Dhok ma iwacho?**  
*The language that we speak?*
- 4 **MM: Dhok ma uwacho.**  
*The language that you speak.*
- 5 **P1: Ka iting'o customer dho miwuoyo go en Kiswahili<sup>3</sup>.**  
*If you are ferrying a customer, you speak in Kiswahili.*
- 6 **MM: Eeh, eeh...**  
*Yaa, yaa....*
- 7 **P2: An be atiyo gi Kiswahili. (Metal noise)**  
*I also use Kiswahili.*
- 8 **MM: To e dhok mane ma usomo godo ahinya?**  
*And in what language do you often read?*
- 9 **P1: English ema wahinyo somo.**  
*English is what we often read.*
- 10 **P2: An be atiya tiya gio English nikech ng'eny gik ma mindiko gi**  
11 **English. Tin gik moko ma indiko gi Kiswahili ema omiyo atiyo**  
12 **gi English to ema ahero somo.**  
*I also use English because most writings are in English. Very few are written in Swahili, that is why I like reading English.*
- 13 **MM: To en ang'o ma isomo ga go ma indiko gi English?**  
*And what are these things you read that are written in English?*
- 14 **P1: An sana sana ahero somo gazet.**  
*Mostly, I like reading the newspaper.*
- 15 **MM: Eeh, eeh.**  
*Yaa, yaa.*
- 16 **P1: Kata muma ka ayudo be asomo lakini muma**  
17 **ok sana gazet ema ahero.**  
*Or if I get the Bible, but I don't read the Bible often, I read more of the newspaper.*
- 18 **P2: Gazeti miwinjogo weche ma mopogore gi matimore e piny**  
19 **moro town moro mi gazeti.**  
*The newspaper informs you of different issues of what happened in another country or another town.*
- 20 **P3: An asomo gazet gi magazines.**  
*I read newspaper and magazines.*
- 21 **MM: Magazines machal nade? To ang'o uhero somo gik ma usomo**  
22 **go ka en gazet. Ka en muma, ka magazines nang'o uhero somo**  
23 **gi?**  
*What kind of magazines? And why do you like reading these things you read? If it the Bible, magazines, what do you like reading?*
- 

<sup>1</sup> Abbreviation of interviewer's name (see Appendix 3).

<sup>2</sup> Participants are made anonymous through numbering them serially, e.g. P1 stands for first participant etc.

<sup>3</sup> The different languages are indicated as follows: L1 (Luo), appears in **simple bold print**, English in **bold italics** and Swahili in **bold underlined font**.

## Appendix 4

---

- 24 P1: **Gazet ka isomo idwaro ng'eyo kaka piny dhi, inyalo ng'eyo**  
25 **kaka gimoro ma otimore piny moro ma opogore gi kuma nitie.**  
*When you read the newspaper you wish to know how the world is moving on, what is happening in a country different from yours.*
- 26 MM: **Eeh ...eeh... Kamano.**  
*Yaa..yaa...Alright.*
- 27 P2: **Seche moko inyalo ng'eyo gimo kaka piny dhi mbele.**  
*At times you know how the country is going on.*
- 28 P3: **An be asomo ga gazet mar seche moko ing'eyo onge gimoro ma**  
29 **muhimu e iye ma inyalo somo koro ema ketho go *time*, to saa**  
30 **bedo dhiya dhiya.**  
*I also read newspapers, but, you know, some people have nothing important to read in the newspaper, so it is just passing time and time just moves.*
- 31 P4: **An atemo somo gazet kata *magazines* mondo oketa modich kik**  
32 **apar timbe moko ma gala gala.**  
*Personally, I try to read the newspaper and magazines to keep me busy so I don't have bad thoughts.*
- 33 P5: **An abe ahinyo somo gazet anyalo kata neno piche moko mag**  
34 **accident kaka motokui otuomore dhano ohinyore e gazedo eeh.**  
*(Noise of a starting engine, people talking )*  
*I mostly read newspapers. I can spot some photographs like of accidents, vehicles have collided and these of casualties they are in the newspapers, yaa.*
- 35 MM: **Iwacho nang'o? Jadmong? Eeh, iwacho nang'o?**  
*What was it? Sir? Why you said you read?*
- 36 P2: **Gazet ema hinyo somo.**  
*I mostly read the newspaper.*
- 37 MM: **To ang'o mayuayo u kuom somo gazet no?**  
*And what lures you into reading the newspaper?*
- 38 P2: **Gimayuayo wa kuom somo gazet inyalo winajo kata ni gimoro**  
39 **otimore, gimoro otimore kata ka moro. Koro in idwaro temo**  
40 **matek inene gazet iwinj *story* no maber. (*Metal noises*)**  
*What lures us into reading the newspaper is you can be informed on what has occurred. Like something has occurred somewhere. So you try your best to see a newspaper so you can hear the story in detail.*
- 41 P4: **Kata an be kamano gimoro nyalo timore e *town* moro kata watni**  
42 **moro, inyalo yudo gimoro otimore ne ogol picha e gazet kanyo.**  
*Likewise, there can be an occurrence in another town, like something can happen to one of your relatives and the photograph appears in the newspaper.*
- 43 P5: **An ahero gazet no niwach ajabedo ga chien koro ka ok awinjo**  
44 **news kata e *radio* to koro chuna ni nyaka adhi *trough* e gazet.**  
*I like the newspaper, because I have no immediate access to information, so when I don't hear news from the radio, it forces me to go through the newspaper.*

## Appendix 4

---

- 45 **MM:** Oh, kamano. To gazet ni wasome mang'eny nikech en ma  
46 wanyalo yudo piyo? Kose? Nitiere gik moko ma be unyalo  
47 yudo wawach ni ka en muma, wawach kata ka en gik mag  
48 *history* be wasomo gi ga?  
*Oh, alright. And this newspaper, is it that we read it often because we can easily get it? Or there are other materials you can get like the Bible, history material....do we read them?*
- 49 **P1:** Gazet ing'e ni inyalo yudo kata endara kata iwuotho idhi safar  
50 ni inya yudo ka gazet iuso kamono kanyo koro nyaka ikadhi  
51 kanyo ing'iyu gima dhi mbele, ing'iyu ng'iyu *headline* mare ni  
52 owacho kama ing'e ni ng'eny buge koro kaka mege *story story* go  
53 iuso bei matek sana ma ok wanyal kata nyiewo inyalo yudo kata  
54 moro iuso mia adek mia ariyo koro ing'e ni yudo ming'iengi ma  
55 ibed kodgi ma isom gi tek, tek sana (*Metal noise*)  
*We mostly read the newspaper, because when you are even walking, going somewhere, you always find a vendor by the road, you find yourself passing by to see the headlines. You know, most books like this story books are expensive. We cannot afford to buy them, you find them costing three hundred, two hundred shillings. Finding them becomes very difficult.*
- 56 **P2:** An gazet ahero nikech mokuongo kata *stage* mara mar ngware  
57 ka achung'e mama moro nitiere kanyo ma uso gazet kanyo koro  
58 chuna ni ka awuoke ot to nyaka akwang ago wang'a ang'i  
59 *headline* aneno ni ang'o man otimore kawuone kata ma biro  
60 timore kamano.  
*I like the newspaper because for one where I park waiting for customers there is a lady vendor there so when I come from home it forces me to stop by to see the headline to see what is going on or is going to happen.*
- 61 **MM:** To gazet ni wasome pile, kata gik ma wasomo gi wasomo gi pile?  
*This newspaper do we read it daily or whatever we read, do we read it daily?*
- 62 **P1:** Seche moko gazeti samoro nitiere gimore ma ochuni ni nyaka  
63 idhi ing'i gazet, inyawinjo kata kaka sani iweny madhi mbele ni  
64 inyalo winje e *radio* koro idhi nyiewo gazet isome mos maber  
65 koro gimoro ila no.  
*At times something forces you to read the newspaper, like you can hear of something like this on-going war on the radio and you are forced to buy the newspaper for details, something like this.*
- 66 **MM:** Ma itimo pile?  
*So you do it daily?*
- 67 **P2:** Mano eeh inyalo *time* pile ka bed ni in gi pesa manyalo nyiewo  
68 gazet. Gazet tek nyiewo, *newspapers are expensive*. Anyway, we  
69 don't always buy them. Kata inyalo some kuonde kuma iuse go.  
70 Mana kamano. (*Laughter*)  
*That one - yes. You can do it daily if you have money to buy the newspaper The newspaper is expensive, newspapers are expensive. Anyway, we don't always buy them. You can read where newspaper vendors are selling. Just like that.*

## Appendix 4

---

- 71 P3: Ing'e ni gazet an to ahero somo gazet kuom adier, ma pile ka  
72 achiewo to nyaka arawie kuma iuse gazet bothe kama asomie  
73 matin koro eka achak tijena.  
*You know, with the newspaper, I sincerely like reading the newspaper so that when I wake up, daily I have to go through place where a vendor is to have a look at the paper before I start my day.*
- 74 P4: An chieng' ma awinjo wach moro ka wach e ahinya e dhogji eka  
75 adhi angiyoy ni to gazet wache en adier kose en a ena miriambo to  
76 okatho hinyo *range* pile ka pile mondo adhi asome mano to  
77 okanyal wuondi.  
*With me, when I hear of a breaking news from several people is when I go to confirm from the newspaper if it is true. But I just don't go reading daily, I cannot lie to you.*
- 78 P5: Anto chuna ni nyaka ane gazet pile.  
*Personally, I am forced to look at the newspaper daily.*
- 79 MM: Ah, sawa sawa. (Laughter)  
80 To saa adi ma usomo ga gazet?  
*Ah, alright. And what time do you read the newspapers?*
- 81 P2: Gokinyi seche ma ibiro saa ariyo, saa achiel  
82 gi nusu mano koro kata itiyoy to ing'eyo gima  
83 dhi mbele ni gazet wacho kama kama.  
*In the morning when we come at eight o'clock, seven thirty, now when you are working you know what is happening from the newspaper.*
- 84 MM: Sawa sawa (Whispers and noise by talking people)  
85 To gazet mane ma usomo? Nikech gazet wang'oy  
86 chiegni abich apar.  
*Alright. And what newspaper do you read because we have five to ten newspapers?*
- 87 P2: Anto sana sana ahero Nation. (People talking)  
*Personally, I very much like Nation.*
- 88 MM: To ndugu?  
*How about you brother?*
- 89 P6: Nation nikech ento ondike gi English. English winjore piyo  
90 maloyo Kiswahili, ing'eyo ni sana sana Standard gindiko ga  
91 lakini oka gi ndik maber kaka Nation...  
*Nation, because it is published in English. English is easier than Kiswahili, mostly the Standard is not published as good as Nation.*
- 92 MM: Mm...mm.  
*Mm...mm.*
- 93 P6: Ma inyalo yudo nii kuonde moko ondik kuonde moko ok ondike  
94 maber. Koro ichako isome to ing'e ni Nation indiko maler ma  
95 isoma soma *direct*. (Metal noise)  
*You can find some parts, which are not published well, you are forced to repeat but Nation is so clear.*
- 96 P4: An atemo mondo omi asom Standard gi Nation.  
97 (Noise from people, metall noise, birds)  
*I try to read both Nation and Standard.*
- 98 MM: Nitiere ng'ama owacho ni somo novels en in?  
*Somebody said he reads novels, is it you?*

#### Appendix 4

---

- 99 P3: Mm, eeh.  
*Mm, yes.*
- 100 MM: **Novels mage ma isomo ga? Inyalo mi wa titles mag gi (Metal**  
101 **noise) machal nade maluore gi iweny mar hera?**  
*What novels do you read, can you give us the titles? Are they of war, romance?*
- 102 P1: **Gik meko story book, kata kaka James Hadley Chase , history**  
103 **mago ema anyalo somo.**  
*Storybooks like of James Hadley Chase, history these are the ones I can read.*
- 104 MM: **Mm. Sawa sawa. (Break 6 sec.)**  
105 **To e udi ma udake nitire buge ma moko ma okalo gazet?**  
*Mm, okay. And where you stay, do you have books apart from the newspaper?*
- 106 P2: **Eeh nitie, nitire kata an e oda madake nitire Bible manyalo**  
107 **somo seche moko. (Metal noise)**  
*Yes they are there. Like where I stay there is the Bible that I can read at times.*
- 108 P3: **An to aonge go.**  
*Me, I don't have.*
- 109 MM: **Ang'o book e ot?**  
*There is no book in the house?*
- 110 P3: **Mm.**  
*Mm.*
- 111 P4: **Anto buge an go.**  
*With me I have books.*
- 112 MM: **Machal nade?**  
*What kind of?*
- 113 P4: **Kaka Weekly Review mago ema anyalo ga yudo yaani ing'e**  
114 **nikech magi bech gi tin matin, to mago ema tingi, ing'e ni mago**  
115 **ok los Kenya ka giya mana oko to gibiro ka giting'o weche ma**  
116 **oko lilo.**  
*Like the 'Weekly Review'. This is what I can get, because they are relatively cheap. You know, they are not published in Kenya, they come from outside with exclusively outside information.*
- 117 MM: **Nwoare kendo?**  
*Come again please?*
- 118 P4: **Weekly Review go ing'eyo ni gin ng'eny gi oka ging' ga story ma**  
119 **Kenya ka giting'o story ma oko mago ema an kodgi.**  
*This Weekly Review, you know, most of them do not contain local news, they carry outside stories, these are the ones, I have.*
- 120 MM: **To muma?**  
*How about the Bible?*
- 121 P4: **Muma bende anitiere godu buge to aonge go koro seche ma an e**  
122 **ot, atemo ga mana go through the books mane ang'o e sikul chon.**  
*I have none, so when I am at home I just go through the books that I had while in school.*

## Appendix 4

---

- 123 MM: **To bende udhi ga e library? Wawach kata kuonde ma nitiere**  
124 **bugo go udhi ga kuonde go mondo uyudi bugo go? (Laughter**  
125 **and noise, inaudible) Sawa sawa. (Break 5 sec.)**  
*Do you go to the library or where we have these books? Do you go to get them? Alright.*
- 126 MM: **To sama uonge job to oka usom en ang' o ma utimo ga?**  
*And when you are neither working nor reading, what do you do?*
- 127 P4: **Ka waonge job?**  
*When we are not working?*
- 128 MM: **Ka oka uriemb bike to ok usom gazet kata bible en**  
129 **ang'o kendo ma utimo ga?**  
*When you are not riding your bicycles and not reading the Bible or newspaper what else do you do?*
- 130 P4: **(Inaudible)**
- 131 P5: **Ka an chieng' jumapili oka bi ga etich koro akawo ga thuolo**  
132 **mondo adhi e lemo kaye to bang'e atiemo ne ndiga service ka**  
133 **aikore ne tich wuok tich. (Noise from people and vehicle sound)**  
*Like me, I don't work on Sunday, so I create time o go to church. Then later I service my bicycle as I prepare for Monday.*
- 134 P1: **An be Sunday no ema ayweye ga church ema adhiye ga.**  
*Likewise, I rest on Sunday, I go to church on this day.*
- 135 P2: **Anto ka ok ariemb adiga ayweyo ga ayweya e ot, bugo na go ema**  
136 **asomo nikech an kodgi mang'eny nitiere wuonwa be ma uso gi**  
137 **koro ayudogi giketho na ga time. Ka ok abiro e tich o an a**  
138 **ana e ot.**  
*When I am not riding, I just rest at home and read my books, because I have a good number of them, there is an uncle of mine who sells them, so I get them, they help me pass time.*
- 139 P3: **Arato ka aonge job to ayweya yweya kanyo.**  
*Me, I just rest when not working.*
- 140 MM: **To koro wabiro e social events mane wadongo nikech wadongo**  
141 **kuonde ma opogore saa ma opogore mane wadongo nitiere**  
142 **ng'ama ne somo nu?**  
*Now, we have come to social events, when we were growing up, because of course we grew up in different environments and times, so have someone been reading to you?*
- 143 P3: **Eh, ka an jonyuol ne osomo na sana, gichwada zaidi. (Laughter)**  
*Yes, like me my parents lectured me a lot, they caned me even more. [The verb –somo also means lecturing, understood 'to read' in this sense]*
- 144 P3: **Ang'o maber de ok gitimo kamano de koro oka ng'a maber.**  
145 **(Laughter)**  
*I am a good person now, had they spared the rod, I would be spoilt now.*
- 146 MM: **Koro ne isomo nu mang'anya gi jonyuol wa e udi.**  
*Now, your parents read a lot to you at home?*

## Appendix 4

---

- 147 P4: **Ne isomo na sana gi jonyuol ma ka *mistake* moro dhi maka to**  
148 **iketa mana oiny gi wach.**  
*I was lectured often, when I made a mistake it was a must I be lectured.*
- 149 MM: **To ne unitiere gi buge e ot?**  
*Did you have books in the house?*
- 150 P4: **Buge ne nitie, eeh. E wuonwa be en ng'ama ohero buge buge go**  
151 **nitiere mang'eny nyaka sani.**  
*We had books, my father loved books, they are there even now.*
- 152 MM: **Ndugu?**  
*Brother?*
- 153 P6: **Eeh, en mana an bende ka ne adongo ne nitiere jonyuol wa gi**  
154 **nyaka somni a soma ma ka itimi kosa moro to isomo ni kabisa**  
155 **(Metal noise)**  
*Likewise, when I was growing up, my parents could lecture me, if I made a mistake I was lectured seriously.*
- 156 MM: **To ne nitiere buge e ot bende?**  
*Were there books in the house?*
- 157 P3: **Abende ni somonaga kaka *letter a to z* samoro niyisa ni asom to**  
158 **orango ni *letter no* be aluonge gi nyinge ka a *miss* ni to en mana**  
159 **dek. (*Laughter*) nyaka ang'e gite kod a,e,i,o,u mane**  
160 **bende osom na.**  
*Likewise, I was read to like the letter a to z sometimes I was asked to read while he checks if I have read the right letter, if I missed the correct order it called for the stroke. Until I got it right. a,e,i,o,u. it was send to me.*
- 161 MM: **Buge ne nitiere e ot?**  
*Were there books at home?*
- 162 P3: **Buge ne nitie e ot.**  
*Yes, there were books at home.*
- 163 MM: ***Alright.***
- 164 P2: **An awuon ne isomo na lakini chwato okchwada, jadoung no**  
165 **ne kwiny nikech an anwuon kachakore aya kode e dongo mara**  
166 **nyaka achopo *size* awuon okanene ka ma onyiere gi minwa koro**  
167 **ne aluor ni ng'ama ok nyier ni nyaka beda beda mager kabisa,**  
168 **chwato oka ochwada (*Laughter*)lakini ne amiye luoro. Ehe.**  
*Personally, I was read to but I was not caned but my father was harsh. From my childhood to this point I never saw my dad smile with my mother, so I feared this person, one, who does not smile must be very harsh. But he never stroke me, nevertheless, I respected him.*
- 169 P3: **An ne ichwada ga zaidi nikech an wuoyi achiel ka akoso to**  
170 **ichwada.**  
*With me I was caned thoroughly, because I was the only boy. If I made a mistake, I was caned.*
- 171 MM: **To ne isomo ni ga?**  
*And were you read to?*
- 172 P3: **Eeh, ok som na ne igoya ga.**  
*I was never lectured, I was caned.*

## Appendix 4

---

- 173 MM Wach somo ok ni moro gine amino moro ma ng'ato somo gimoro  
174 to iwing'o. (*Noise*)  
*I am not talking about lecturing, I mean somebody read and you listen.*
- 175 P3: Eeh macha ne ok som na isiemi to ka ichako itimo kosa no to  
176 idiemi (*Metal noise*)  
*That one was never done, I was warned and when I repeated the mistake I was caned.*
- 177 MM: (*Clearing throat*) Iwinja kanyo maber ka awacho ni isomo ni oka  
178 amean ni koro ikoso isomo ni. Amean moro ma luore gi muma,  
179 luore gi buge moko go koro ng'ato somo to iwnjo donge mano  
180 no timore e ot?  
*Are we together..I don't mean that you are wrong so you are lectured, I mean somebody reading to you for example the Bible, books or something?*
- 181 P3: Eeh.mano ne timore.  
*Yes, this could happen.*
- 182 MM: To sani kuma unitiere ni nitiere jok ma usomo ne gi awach ni ka  
183 ise somo gimoro kata ka isomo gimoro nitie ng'at ma isomo  
184 matek mondo obe awinj kata ka en nyathi matin, kata jok  
185 ma ok nyal somo kata jok ma ok nyal ndiko.  
*Now at your age, are there people you read to, say you read or you are reading something, do you read loudly to them for them to understand, if he or she is a small kid or someone unable to read?*
- 186 P1: Mano nitie kaka anawuon an gi nyith indo matindo ma ose  
187 chako nursery koro chuna ni ka adok e ot to nyaka akeep gi  
188 busy kisa gi donj e mila mang'eny apuonjo gi somo apenjo  
189 gi ni to japuonj ogik kodu kama chal nade komo japuonj  
190 ogikie no be ema achako kodgi.  
*That happens, like I have small kids who are already in nursery. It forces me when I go back home to keep them busy for them not to be idle, I teach them, I find out from them, where they reached with the teacher and pick from there. Like that...*
- 191 MM. Eeh, kamano.  
*Yes, alright.*
- 192 P2: Be anyalo somo anyalo somo ne nythiwa ma nihere e ot anyalo  
193 somo ne gi kata mana *Bible* asomo ne gi kaka piny en. Ginyalo  
194 winjo.  
*I can also read to my other brothers or sisters. I can read to them the Bible, I read to them how the world is unfolding and they can listen.*
- 195 P4: An be an gi nythindwa asomo ne gi ga Kiswahili nikech Kisungu  
196 pok ang'eyo nitie, buge moko ma gin ga go e sikul koro isomo ne  
197 gi matek gin be ginuoyo mm...  
*I also have brothers and sisters, whom I read to in Kiswahili, because they still don't know English, there are books they have in school. So they are read to them aloud and they repeat.*



## Appendix 4

---

- 198 P3: An be asomo ne ga nythiwa moro matin en podi en e *home*  
199 koro a, e, i, o, u, anyise kuonde ma gidonjoe mondo obe olos a  
200 *word*.  
*I also read to the last born, who is still at home. I tell him a, e, i, o, u where they fit to make a word.*
- 201 MM: Ageno ni oki chwade nikech ibe ne ochwadi? (*Laughter*)  
*Let me hope, you don't revenge the cane on him like in your case.*
- 202 P3: Aa, aa, oloso a *word* kata ka en 'otieno' ong'eyo ka kata 'o'  
donjo.  
*No, no, he knows how to create a word like if it is 'otieno' he knows where 'o' fits.*
- 203 MM: To nitiere osiepe wa kata e familia moko jok masomo, nikech  
204 awinjo ka nitiere nythindo matindo tindo nitiere jomoko kendo  
205 masomo e familia wa kata osiepe wa moko?  
*Do we have friends or people in other families who read, I have heard of small kids, are there any other people?*
- 206 P4: Nitiere.  
*There are.*
- 207 P1: Nitiere. Nythindwa moko ma podi ni e sikul.  
*I have my followers who are still in school.*
- 208 P2: An be (*Noise*)  
*Same to me.*
- 209 MM: To gik ma ji ma opogore gi somo be u/a/ru ga awach ni in ma  
210 ikwongo dhi somo gazet be i/ari ga gi osiepeni gik ma isomo?  
*And this different things you read do you exchange like say, you are the first one to read the newspaper do you share with your friends what you have read?*
- 211 P1: Eeh, kaka sani wach Osama theko ka sana ma ka ase kwongo  
212 e gazet ma asomo achako abiro ka nitiere osiepua kata achako  
213 pimo ne aneno wach moro e gazet maber sana koro akiya ka  
214 in be inyalo dhi somo ka onyalo winjo wach uo en obe odhi  
215 omany gazet osomo.  
*Yes, like now, this Osama issue is really disturbing, that when I read the newspaper first and meet my friends, I inform him on what I have read and ask him to read it. So he can also find a newspaper and read it.*
- 216 P2: Abende ka asomo gimoro wach moro na *very important* to  
217 osiepua moro penja: 'Ni bwana inenen gazet? Isome gazet ma  
218 kawuono?' Anyise ni e gazet asomo wacho kama koro kata oka  
219 odhi neno gazet lakini ong'eyo gima gazet wacho.  
*Me also, when I read a very important issue and a friend of mine asks me: 'Have you seen the newspaper? You read today's newspaper?' I tell him what is in the newspaper. So even if he does not go to see the newspaper, he knows what the newspaper is saying.*

## Appendix 4

---

- 220 P3: An bende ahinya timo kamano wach ma asomo e gazet chuna  
221 ni anyis jowete wa ma nie pap ka, to kata chien kucha be ka  
222 adok e dala to nyaka apim ne gi (*Laughter*) gima ne timore  
223 (*Noise from motorcycle*)  
*Likewise, I like doing the same whatever I have read in the newspaper I must share with my friends in the field, even when I go back home I must narrate to others. What was happening.*
- 224 MM: To mane, udongo kata kuma unitiere ni be nitie ng'at ma jiwo  
225 umondo uendelea gi somo ma miyo uher somo.  
*When you were growing up or in your present time, is there anyone motivating you to continue reading? Someone making you like reading?*
- 226 P2: Ma ot nitie kaka kuma watie ka, wa wach ni nitie ng'ato ma kata  
227 ka piny oru openjo ni isewinjo gima kama kama iseneno gazet  
228 gima kama kama koro nyaka omiu *moral* mar somo, koro onyalo  
229 nyiewo gazet to oweni omiyi isomo ibe, niwach wan kama watie  
230 ni oka wahero nyiewo gazet wasomo ga mana ma gi onyiewo.  
*There is, like where I work here, say there is someone who when the day breaks he asks 'have you heard of such and such a thing, have you seen such a thing on the paper', he gives you morals to read, now he can buy a newspaper and let you read because us, where we are working, we don't buy newspapers we only borrow from people.*
- 231 P4: Anto ahero gino nikech *job* ni achako mana machiegni lakini  
232 an gazet ne asomo ga kata ka ochiewo gokinyi adhi mana kuma  
233 iuse gazet ema ayueyo asomo kaka ing'e ni sani tek ndalo gi  
234 ne asomo ga to gazet ne anyalo ga somo to ma atiek(*Laughter*)  
235 lakini sani to tek sani asomo mana *headline* anyalo yelo kata  
236 *paper* moro achiel asomo to aumo kanyo adhi nikeck anitie e  
237 tich. (*Vehicle noise*)  
*I like this idea because I just started with this job recently, but I used to read the newspaper when I woke up in the morning. I could go to a vendor, relax and read during those days. I could go through the newspaper, but now, it is difficult I can only read the headline and a few pages then move on to work.*
- 238 P5: Anto penjo no okwawinje maber nwoare.  
*I have not had that question clearly, please repeat.*
- 239 MM: Nitie ng'at ma jiwi mondo iher somo, kata ng'at mane ose jiwi  
240 chon. Kane indongo awinjo ni jo moko ochwad ka mondo oher  
241 somo? Mano ema adwaro nge'yo ni en ng'awa? Ka en wuone  
242 wa, ka en jopunje wa ka ka en ng'awa?  
*Is there anyone motivating you to like reading? Or someone who motivated you in the past. I have learnt that when you were growing up some of you had be caned to read, this is what I want to know, if it is our father, our teachers or who is it?*

#### Appendix 4

---

- 243 P3: Anto sana sana ne en wuonwa ne ochwada sana (*Vehicle noise*)  
244 nikech sikul be ne aluoro matin koro ing'eyo ni del be ema  
245 omiyo asomo, ichwanda seche moko iketa gi *book* kata ma ok  
246 anyal somo ni asom koro to odwa ni asom ne, obet to asomo ne  
247 ka asomo marach (*Vehicle noise*) to del.  
*Personally, it was my father very much. He used to cane me so much, because I didn't like school so much, so the cane made me read, I was caned, sometimes I was given a book to read, which I could not read, but he wanted me to read it to him. He sat down and I read, If I messed I was caned.*
- 248 MM: To sani nang'o u *interested* gi somo gazede ga kata ang'o ma  
249 yuyago u kuom somo gazet?  
*And now, why are you interested in reading this newspapers or what is attracting you to read the newspaper?*
- 250 P3: Kaka sani ing'eyo ni gimora mora ma...  
*Like now, you know anything...*
- 251 MM: Sudi machiegni ka sudi machiegni ka, los ka.  
*More closer, more here, talk here..*
- 252 P3: Kaka sani piny dhi ni to ka ichiew e ot ka ionge *radio* e ot  
253 nyaka idhi ing'i *news* e gazet iwinjui piny ochiew nade  
254 kaka sani iweny magore *America* gi jo Osama gi mano ema  
255 omiyo ameno gazet pile pile (*Vehicle noise*)  
*Like the world is going now, if you rise up you don't have a radio you have to find out the news from the newspaper. Like the on-going war between Americans and Osama, this is why I read the paper daily.*
- 256 P1: Gima omiyo nyaka waher gazet inyalo wach wach moro ma  
257 opogore e gazet ni town ok dware ng'ato into idhiya dhiya e town  
258 to ineno gi wang'i (*Laughter*) koro wahero somo gi mondo  
259 wang'e chon gima timore e odchieng' ma kawuono ni ka poka  
260 wachopo kuma ginyalo hinyo wae.  
*Why we must read the paper daily something can be announced like there is a curfew in town you are not aware of you go out and face it. So, we like reading the newspapers to know in advance, what will happen before we reach a disastrous point.*
- 261 P3: Kata an be gazet ahero somo nikech ne nitiere ndalo moko  
262 kanyo nitie wat wa moro ma ne ayudo *accident* koro ing'eyo  
263 ni ne o onge koro ing'eyo ni gazet ema ne okonyo wa nikech  
264 chieng' moro ng'ato ne odhi onyiewo kanyo ne oyudo ka ond  
265 ik nying jomoko kanyo ma olal ne oyudo ka ose lal ne giyudo  
266 *accident* koro ne odhi mane wayudo koro e gin ahero gazet.  
267 Gazede gikonyo ga sana.  
*I also like to read the newspaper, because there was a time one of my relatives was involved in an accident he did not have an identity card, only the newspaper helped, because one day somebody bought a newspaper, he found names of the lost. By that time this person was already lost, so through the message we found him. That is why I like the newspaper. Newspapers help a lot.*

## Appendix 4

---

- 268 P4: An atemo dhi *through* gazet mondo ang'eyo gik matimore e piny.  
269 Ok onego abed ni abet abeta ma ok ang'eyo gimatimore, to koro  
270 chuna nikech aonge gi *radio* e ot kucha koro gazet no emachalo  
271 gi *radio* na nyalo nyisa gima timore ka gi kacha.  
*I go through newspaper to know what is happening in the country. I should not just sit unaware of what is taking place. Now, I am forced because I don't own a radio, now the newspaper is like my radio it can inform me on what is happening here and there.*
- 272 P2: Anto gazet gima umiyo ahero somo nikech iketonwa gi but kuma  
273 wa *park* kacha koro ang'iyoy ang'eyo kaka piny dhi mbele.  
*With me, I like reading the newspaper because it is brought near us, where we park, so I go through it and know, what is happening.*
- 274 MM: To nitiere gima wanyalo timo ma luore gi somo wawach ni  
275 manyalo miyo uwe usomo wawach ni nitiere gimoro ma wahero  
276 ma loyo somo apenju kama nitiere gimoro ma uhero moloyo  
277 somo?  
*Is there anything we can do concerning reading. Say, that can make us stop reading, something that we like more than reading? If I may ask something you like more than reading?*
- 278 P5: Eeh, kaka an ahero manyo pesa sana (*Laughter*) Somo seche  
279 moko...donge ineno anyisi adhi asomasoma gazet matin kae  
280 to adlui amanyo kaka anyalo chiemo nikech ka abno aketo  
281 ni asomasoma gazet ang' ne asome asoma kanyo bas bang'e  
282 koro kech ema kaya.  
*Yes. Like me I am looking for money. Sometimes reading... like I have mentioned I just read the newspapers shortly then I go look for how to survive, because when I choose just to read, I will only read, then I feel hungry, but with nothing to eat.*
- 283 P6: Abe somo oka thoro somo ahinya nikech inyalo somo ahinya  
284 to ipo ni saa achiel ema osechopo koro ionge gima anichwa koro  
285 inyalo kuongo tiyo mondi to idoso pesa somo no inyalo kuongo  
286 tiyo mondo to iloso min ot loso chiemo to idhi mbele gi *books*  
287 e mesa kanyo (*Metal noise*).  
*Even me, I don't read too much, because you can be surprised you have read till seven p.m. and you don't have any food. So it is advisable you work first, make money, then you can go to the books say while your wife is making dinner.*
- 288 P4: An anyalo somo ka koro adok e ot. Nitiere owadwa maduong'  
289 ma samoro nyiewo gazet ema samoro adhi akawo ire to koro  
290 nyaka ati koro somo bet matin.  
*Personally, I can read when I go back home, there is another elder brother of mine, who at times buys newspapers, so I borrow from him but I have to work, so I only read a little.*
- 291 MM: Wach madwaro ng'eyo en ni taabu mane ma unigo ma omiyo  
292 ok usom mang'eny?  
*What I want to know is what difficulties make you unable to read often?*

## Appendix 4

---

- 293 P1: Gima omiyo ok wasom mang'eny kech ng'eny kendo pesa onge  
294 koro ka isomo gima idhi chamo koro ochuni ni nyaka imany  
295 mondi koro ka isomo (*Metal noise*)  
*What causes us not to read often in hunger and lack of money. Now  
you are forced to work first before you can read.*
- 296 P2: Anto thuolo no nwang'a ga gazet asomo ndiyo lakini gima ogola  
297 e dala ka kela ka to en tich atemo mondo omi awinj habari matin  
298 ma ni e gazet kamaachunge ndika no be ang'iyoy ka *customer*  
299 nyalo di bed ie machiegni ma dware ni otere kamoro nikech  
300 mano to e gima ogola e ot (*Vehicle noise*). [*End of recording*]  
*With me I find time, I read the newspaper but what makes me come  
from home to this place is work, I try to get news from where I am  
parking in the newspaper as I wait for a customer who would wish to  
be ferried to a certain point, because that is my main objective.*

## Appendix 5

### Keyword-set

	<b>English</b>	<b>Kikuyu</b>	<b>Luo</b>	<b>Swahili</b>
<i>pre-defined</i>	book, books  novel, novels newspaper, newspapers  magazine, magazines  bible, bibles  storybook, storybooks	ĩbuku, mabuku mbuku, - kabuku, tũbuku  ngathĩti, - gathĩti, - magathini, - mũthemba wa mbuku  bibiria, - ĩbuku rĩa Ngai	buk, buge kitab, kitepe  gazet, gazedede  [gazet, gazedede]  muma (maler) bug Nyasaye	kitabu, vitabu  gazeti, - gazeti, magazeti [kitabu kama gazeti]  bib(i)lia,
<i>added</i>	daily, dailies article(s) script(s) literature periodical(s) journals notes dictionary hard covers the XYs (Jeffrey Archers) and the likes Western writers African writers	        cia mũndũ ta XY  cia Western writers cia African writers maũndũ ma Gĩkũyũ kiũndũ cia Githũngũ	sigana, sigendni	        hizi za author XY  na Western writers hizi za African writers
<i>pre-defined</i>	reader, readers	athomi, mũthomi	jasomo, josomo	msomaji, wasomaji
<i>pre-defined</i>	read  read to, at	-thoma ,read'  -thomera ,read to, for'	somo ,read'  somon-i, -a, wa... ,read to, for, at – you, me, us...'	-soma ,to read'
<i>added</i>	read aloud go through look at	-thomaga -thomathoma ,read a little'	somoga	
<i>pre-defined</i>	bookshop, bookshops bookstore, bookstores newsstand, newsstands newspaper/street vendor(s) second-hand vendor(s) library, libraries	[nduka, -] [nduka, matuka]   [nyũmba nyenye mabuku]	[duka, du-ke/dukni]   [kar buge mi-some to iweyo kanyo kata ikawo idhi somo dala to iuogo]	[duka, maduka]   maktaba, -

## Appendix 6

---

### ***Interview guide – one-on-one interviews (reduced scale)***

Note for the interviewer: Remember that this interview guide is meant to direct the discussion. It is not mandatory to follow the questions given below one by one. Instead, give the interviewee time to raise thoughts too. Try to ask as general as possible. Avoid influence on the interviewee by suggesting or anticipating her/his answer. In case the conversation comes to a halt, wait a while before you take over again. Apply different techniques of probing (uhh probe, echo probe, silent probe etc.)

#### **A. *Early childhood***

- When you were young, were people reading at your place? Who read?
- Did your parents read books, newspapers or other material?
- Did they read for themselves or also to others/to you?
- Were there books or other reading material at home when you were young?

#### **B. *Primary school:***

- When you entered school, in which language did you learn to read?
- Which was the medium of instruction?
- Did you use books in school? In which languages were they?
- Was there a library at school?
- As you proceeded in school, what did you read?
- In which languages did you mainly read?
- Did you read in the afternoon and over the weekend/holiday as well?
- What did you read for leisure? In which language/s?
- How did you get reading material?

#### **C. *Secondary school (High school)***

- What did you read in secondary? In which languages did you read?
- Which languages were used in school otherwise?
- Did you read anything apart from what was requested in school? Did you read in your leisure time?
- Where did you get reading material from?
- Was there a person that influenced your reading? Who was it?

#### **D. *College/University (Polytechnic, Teachers Training College etc.)***

- When you were in college/university what did you read?
- Apart from class work what kind of material did you read for leisure?

#### **E. *After School***

- What happened after you left school? Did your reading habits change? How? Why?
- What kind of materials did you read after you left school? What are you interested in?
- Would you say that you read more or less today than in the past?

## Appendix 7

### Observation sheet -one-on-one interviews (reduced scale)

**Interviewer:** \_\_\_\_\_  
**Date:** \_\_\_\_\_  
**Place/District:** \_\_\_\_\_  
**Minidisc/Tape no.:** \_\_\_\_\_  
**Interviewee:** \_\_\_\_\_

<b>Background Information Interviewee</b> Age, sex, occupation/business, number of children, place of residence, educational level attained etc.	
<b>Contact</b> How was the interviewee contacted (known before/ appointment made; kind of relationship/friendship, met at a certain occasion/event/spontaneous)	
<b>Briefing/Debriefing</b> What kind of information was given to the interviewee about the project in general and the interview? Before/Afterwards? How was the language of the interview negotiated? Did the interviewee raise questions/uncertainties/fears concerning the interview? What kind of?	
<b>Location/Site</b> Describe the place where the interview took place (inside/outside of a building, at a busy/quiet place, at home/workplace, temperature/climate, furniture, position of interviewer/interviewee: did they face each other? Did they sit next to each other?)	
<b>Overhearers/Silent Participants</b> Were there other people around listening to the interview? Did they influence the interview?	
<b>Course of the Interview/Atmosphere</b> Formal, informal, relaxed, tensed ? Did the atmosphere/ interaction change during the course of the interview? Did you feel any time pressures or other influencing factors on the side of the interviewee that might had an impact on the interview?)	
<b>Interviewer/Interviewee Relationship</b> Role/status with regard to: age, sex, prestige (function in the community, image as an expert)	
<b>Interruptions/Disturbances</b> Had there been any interruptions or disturbances during the course of the interview? What kind of? For how long?	
<b>Other Comments</b>	



## Appendix 8

---

### Transcript - one-on-one interview

**Interviewer:** Zipporah Wuthaya

**Date:** September 1, 2001

**Place/District:** Ruringu (suburb of Nyeri town), Nyeri

**Minidisk/Tape no.:** T04PGI/01/09/01#2 (13:44 min)

**Interviewee:** Mutahi

### Memo

*“So the only thing I got was only the newspaper. (...) Nowadays I read only the newspaper.”*

The interviewee is a well-settled businessman in his 40s, married with four children. He reached a secondary level of education under the post-independence school system (7-4-2-3) and graduated from high school. He has an apartment at the outskirts of Nyeri, where he lives most of the time on his own while his family resides in his rural home. Due to his involvement in small-scale business projects in the neighborhood he is a respected member of the community. He is a neighbor of the interviewer, who contacted him and arranged an appointment to conduct the interview. The interviewee was willing to participate and interested in the topic. The interview was conducted in the apartment of the interviewer. Family members of the interviewer occasionally passed the living room, where the interview was conducted. In the room next door a radio was playing creating a noisy environment. The interviewee was briefed about the general aim of the research project (examining the current reading habits and the development of reading based on information provided by different interviewees). The interviewee commented on the importance of reading and said that he constantly told his children to read widely and to increase their knowledge. He was very relaxed during the interview as he knew the interviewer as a neighbor for some time. Interruptions came from the baby of the interviewer, who was crying occasionally and the second child interrupting the interview. Furthermore malfunctions of the microphone disturbed the course of the interview.

Mutahi reported that his parents taught him some Kikuyu reading before school, but said that he started reading storybooks in Kikuyu in standard two. In school he also started reading English storybooks, which he said helped him to improve his English. Books were provided by the school, obtained from the public library or borrowed and exchanged with friends. Mutahi reported to have read novels while proceeding in school. He remarked that he started with the African writers. Later he also read novels by Western writers and different magazines. He said that he talked with his siblings and friends about the stories he read. After school he turned to newspaper reading and he stopped reading the novels he liked during his school days. He said that he stopped reading, because he didn't get access to books and magazines. Since engaged in work and business he could not create time to visit the library to access books and did not have any left at home, because the books he remained with after school were borrowed by people who did not return them. He indicated to read fluently in Kikuyu, Swahili and English. If he had more time he would like to read more novels and magazines.

## Appendix 8

---

- 1 ZP<sup>1</sup>: Unjire ūria mwagithomaga, ririra wakīri cukuru, tigūthoma gia  
2 cukuru, ūria wamenyire gūthoma. Yaani<sup>2</sup> he kabuku wathomire  
3 ria mbere?  
*Tell me how you read when you were a small boy. Not at school but  
now how you learnt reading. That is, is there a book that you read  
at first?*
- 4 M<sup>3</sup>: Nindathomagaga tūmabuku twa Gīkūyū na thīnī wa mūcīi ūcio  
5 twamenyerete mūno kwaria Gīkūyū.  
*Yes, I used to read Kikuyu books and we mostly spoke in Kikuyu at  
home.*
- 6 ZP: Mm.  
*Mm.*
- 7 M: Na andū aitu onao nī mathomaga tūmabuku ta tūu.  
*And also other family members read those books.*
- 8 ZP: Okay...Rīu tūmabuku ta tūu twa Gīkūyū-rī mwakoragwo  
9 mūrūtīre kū?  
*Okay...And where did you get such Kikuyu books?*
- 10 M: Eeh,...tūmabuku ta tūu twarutaga cukuru na kūhoyana kūri  
11 arata.  
*From school or borrowing from friends.*
- 12 ZP: Kūri arata...Eeh, cukuru ni kūheyo?  
*From friends. What about school, you were given?*
- 13 M: Īī, cukuru ni kūheyo twaheyagwo.  
*Yes, at school, we were given.*
- 14 ZP: Nūū?  
*By whom?*
- 15 M: Nī arutani.  
*By the teachers.*
- 16 ZP: Ohh, ūguo nīkwari na *library* ya cukuru.  
*Ohh, so the school had a library?*
- 17 M: Īī, nīkwari na *library*.  
*Yes, there was a library.*
- 18 ZP: Okay, woiga ona ciana icio ingi cinagu niciendete gūthoma?  
*Okay, you said also the others at home liked reading too.*
- 19 M: Īī onacio niciendete gūthoma.  
*Yes, they also liked to read.*
- 20 ZP: Na woiga nitwa *language* irikū?  
*You said in which language?*
- 21 M: Nī twa Gīkūyū.  
*In Kikuyu.*
- 22 ZP: Nī cia Gīkūyū ...Kwoguo wamenyire gūthoma Gīkūyū mbere?  
*Kikuyu...So you first learnt to read Kikuyu?*
- 23 M: Mm...mbere mbere ndamenyire gūthoma Gīkūyū.  
*Mm, exactly, I learnt Kikuyu first.*
- 

<sup>1</sup> Abbreviation of interviewer's name (see Appendix 3)

<sup>2</sup> The different languages are indicated as follows: L1 (Kikuyu), appears in **simple bold print**, English in **bold italics** and Swahili in **bold underlined font**.

<sup>3</sup> Abbreviation of interviewee's name. All names of interviewees are made anonymous.

## Appendix 8

---

- 24 ZP: **Niruwathomithagio Gikūyū cukuru?**  
*Did you learn Kikuyu at school?*
- 25 M: **Īi, nitwathomithagio hingo itū.**  
*Yes, at our time we learnt [Kikuyu].*
- 26 ZP: **Mm...īi, mami wanyu imamūrutaga gūthoma Gikūyū?**  
*Mm...yes, did your parents teach you how to read Kikuyu?*
- 27 M: **Īi, tondū onao nimoi gūthoma Gikūyū, nīmathomete hanini.**  
*Yes, because they also knew how to read Kikuyu, they had learnt a little.*
- 28 ZP: **Na rīu hīndi īyo wakimenyire gūthoma kabuku ga Gikūyū-rī,**  
29 **kwarī rī?**  
*And when was it that you learnt to read Kikuyu books?*
- 30 M: **Ngwīcīria kwarī ninety sixties.**  
*I think in the ninety sixties.*
- 31 ZP: **Mm, eeh...niwathiite cukuru. Wamenyeire mūcīi kana cukuru?**  
*Mm, yaa...You had already gone to school. Did you learn it at home or at school?*
- 32 M: **Ndamenyeire cukuru , kīndu ndī standard two.**  
*I learnt it at school about when I was in standard two.*
- 33 ZP: **Mm, hīndi īyo nīyo wamenyire gūthoma Gikūyū?**  
*Mm, that was the time that you learnt how to read in Kikuyu?*
- 34 M: **Īi.**  
*Yes.*
- 35 ZP: **Okay, wanga rīu mathomaga tūstorybooks hīndi īyo?**  
*Okay you read Kikuyu storybooks at that time.*
- 36 M: **Mm.**  
*Mm.*
- 37 ZP: **Ihīndi ya cukuru rīu-rī, mm...niwathomaga mabuku? Tondū**  
38 **hīndi īyo yakiri wī mūnini?**  
*What about at school, mm..were you reading books? Because that time you were young.*
- 39 M: **Ati hīndi ya cukuru?**  
*During school?*
- 40 ZP: **Īi, rīu wakīingira cukuru, hīndi īyo githī ndwakīnjīra wī mūnini.**  
*Yes, after you joined school. You have told me you were young.*
- 41 M: **Īi, ndaingira cukuru nīndambirie gūthoma kinya ma Gīthūngū...**  
42 **tūbuku twa ng'ano twa Gīthūngū.**  
*Yeah that time I started reading even English books, English storybooks.*
- 43 ZP: **Mm...Okay.**  
*Mm...Okay.*
- 44 M: **Nangithīthie onambere gūtwenda mūno.**  
*And I continued liking them more.*
- 45 ZP: **Watwendagira ki...**  
*Why did you like them more?*
- 46 M: **Ni ng'ano iria cia koragwo ho ng'ano cia wa mathiaya.**  
*Because of the stories I read in them, like those of hare.*

## Appendix 8

---

- 47 ZP: **Nikio watwendaga mūno.. na watūrutaga kū hīndi iyo ya**  
48 **cukuru.**  
*That's why you liked them more... and where did you get them from during school days?*
- 49 M: **Ndathiaga nyahoya kinya andū aria angi, arata akwa ona a**  
50 **mathukuru mangi.**  
*I borrowed from other people, my friends also from different schools.*
- 51 ZP: **Īī, a mami wanyu nimamugūragira?**  
*Did your parents buy for you?*
- 52 M: **Aca, matia tūgūragia.....Mūdū eiyethagira na nyira ciake.**  
*No they didn't. We got them on our own.*
- 53 ZP: **Mm, na rīu-rī woiga cukuru nī kwarī library nimwathomagira**  
54 **library iyo.**  
*So you said the school had a library. You were reading in that library.*
- 55 M: **Īī, nitwathomagira kwarī ngari yokaga ya library.**  
*Yes, there was one.*
- 56 ZP: **Nimwathomagira magira library iyo...**  
*Did you read there in the library or...*
- 57 M: **Īīnī, nitwathomagira...ona nīhari ngari yokaga ya library.**  
*Yes, we read there, there was a mobile vehicle which was also a library that came to school.*
- 58 ZP: **Ohh, kwoguo iyo yokaga nī public library.**  
*So that one was a mobile public library.*
- 59 M: **Mm.**  
*Mm.*
- 60 ZP: **Cukuru ndiarī na yayo.**  
*So the school did not have it's own.*
- 61 M: **Mm, no nī kwarī na room ya gūthoma.**  
*No, but there was a reading room.*
- 62 ZP: **Okay. Na rīu iyo public library nimwathomaga mūno?**  
*Okay, Did you read a lot from the public mobile library?*
- 63 M: **Īī, mūno.**  
*Yes, a lot.*
- 64 ZP: **Mm. Inī mūciī niwathomaga rīu tondū wakīri cukuru**  
65 **wathomaga rī?**  
*And did you read while at home?*
- 66 M: **Ndathomagira cukuru kana hwaī-inī hingo ya...iwaciiraga prep**  
67 **hingo iyo.**  
*I read at school or in the evening during that time we used to call them preps.*
- 68 ZP: **Okay. Ohh, ūgathomaga hingo ya prep.**  
*Okay. Ohh, you read during prep time.*
- 69 M: **Mm, nī ngathoma tūbuku tūu.**  
*Mm, yes, I read those books.*
- 70 ZP: **Na rīu-rī, niwonaga tūgīgūtheithia nī twarī na bata?**  
*And were those books of any importance to you?*

## Appendix 8

---

- 71 M: **Īi, twatumaga ngamenya Gĩthũngũ.**  
*Yes, they helped me improve my English.*
- 72 ZP: **Okay naa... throughout your school no tũstorybooks wathomaga?**  
*Okay, and... did you read only the storybooks throughout your school?*
- 73 M: **Īi, ona mabuku mangi.**  
*Yes, and even other books.*
- 74 ZP: **Ta marĩkũ?**  
*Like which ones?*
- 75 M: **Ta novel nindakinyiriirwo handũ ng'anjia gũthoma novel.**  
*Like the novel. I started reading novels after some time.*
- 76 ZP: **Novel tairĩkũ?**  
*Like which novel?*
- 77 M: **Novel nene cia.**  
*Big novels.*
- 78 ZP: **Tairĩkũ rĩ?**  
*Like which ones?*
- 79 M: **Ciarĩ ta *The river between, No longer at ease, Grain of wheat.***  
*Like 'The river between', 'No longer at ease', Grain of wheat'.*
- 80 ZP: **Icio ciarĩ African writers.**  
*Those were the African writers.*
- 81 M: **Īi, African writers nĩcio ndendete mũno.**  
*Yaa, I liked the African writers most.*
- 82 ZP: **Nĩcio wendete. Kwoguo Western ndwaciendete?**  
*Those you liked. So you didn't like the western [writers]?*
- 83 M: **Ndacokire gucienda thutha.**  
*I liked them later.*
- 84 ZP: **Na rĩu icio novels rĩ warutaga kũ?**  
*Where did you obtain them from?*
- 85 M: **Icio ona nindahotaga kinya kũgũrirwo nĩ aciari.**  
*My parents bought some of those for me.*
- 86 ZP: **Nĩ aciari. Okay.**  
*Your parents. Okay.*
- 87 M: **Kana....aria angi makigurirwo magakihee.**  
*Or given by others if they were bought for.*
- 88 ZP: **Mugacenjania hihi?**  
*You exchanged with them?*
- 89 M: **Īi, tugacjenia.**  
*Yes, we exchanged.*
- 90 ZP: **Okay, na thutha ũcio rĩu wacokire gucenjia atia from African**  
91 **writers to the Western writers?**  
*Okay, and how did you now change from African writers to the Western writers?*
- 92 M: **No influence ya andũ.**  
*By other persons' influence.*
- 93 ZP: **No influence ya andũ. Īi, ugikanjia gũthoma icio?**  
*By other persons' influence. Yes, and you started reading them?*
- 94 M: **Īi, manganiru ng'ano cia cio.**  
*Yes, after they gave me stories about them.*

## Appendix 8

---

- 95 ZP: **Mm, wonire atia?**  
*Mm, how did you find them?*
- 96 M: **Ngiona onacio no onjega no ndiangire na *time* ya gūcithoma**  
97 **mūno.**  
*That they are also good although I didn't have time to read them much.*
- 98 ZP: **Rīu icio tahe *example* ta imwe irīa wathomire ya *Western writers***  
99 **nī irikū?**  
*Do you have an example of one that you read of the Western writers?*
- 100 M: **Ndingirikana.**  
*I can't remember.*
- 101 ZP: **Even one ndūngirikana? No niwacithomaga?**  
*Even one you can't remember? But you read them?*
- 102 M: **Īi, nindacithomaga.**  
*Yes, I read them.*
- 103 ZP: **Okay, ūni rīu-rī warikia cukuru rī, *what happened?***  
*And what happened after school?*
- 104 M: **Ndarikia cukuru rī, nindendire kwenda gūthoma ngathīti mūno.**  
*After school, I mostly liked to read the newspaper.*
- 105 ZP: **Okay, rīu ugitiga gūthoma...**  
*Okay, you then stopped reading...*
- 106 M: **Ngitiga gūthoma novels.**  
*I stopped reading the novels.*
- 107 ZP: **Completely.**  
*Completely.*
- 108 M: **Īi.**  
*Yes.*
- 109 ZP: **Nīkī?**  
*Why?*
- 110 M: **Oguo, ngwiciria ndiacokire kugia na *access* ya gucionaga.**  
*Just like that I didn't get access to them.*
- 111 ZP: **Ahh, niguciaga...**  
*Ahh you didn't get them.*
- 112 M: **Īi.**  
*Yes.*
- 113 ZP: **Nginya unghithī library?**  
*Even after going to the library?*
- 114 M: **Harīa ndaikaraga ndari *busy* rīu na maūndū mangi kwoguo**  
115 **ndihotaga gūthī library.**  
*Where I lived I became very busy with other things, so I was unable to go to the library.*
- 116 ZP: **Ohh, okay.**  
*Ohh okay.*
- 117 M: **Rīu kindū kirīa ndahotaga kuona no ngathīti. Noyo ndanjirie**  
118 **gūthoma. Rīu nithomaga no ngathīti.**  
*So the only thing I got was only the newspapers. And so I started reading it. Nowadays, I read only the newspaper.*

## Appendix 8

---

- 119 ZP: **Nginya magazines ici ingĩ?**  
*Even other magazines?*
- 120 M: **Īĩ, tūmagazines natuo nindathomaga...rĩmwe.**  
*Yes, I also read magazines...at times.*
- 121 ZP: **Tūrĩkũ?**  
*Like which ones?*
- 122 M: **Tūngi twitagwo... (Break 10 sec.)**  
*Others called...*
- 123 ZP: **Rĩngĩ True love ĩyo nĩworieta?**  
*Maybe 'True love' that one you saw it?*
- 124 M: **Īĩnĩ, ĩyo nindathomaga na tūngi tūngi ũguo.**  
*Yes that one I read and others.*
- 125 ZP: **Na Step?**  
*And 'Step'?*
- 126 M: **Īĩ, indũ ta icio ũguo Parents na ingi cia siasa ũguo.**  
*Yeah, that one and Parents and others of politics.*
- 127 ZP: **Okay. Nĩ waciendete?**  
*Okay. And you liked them?*
- 128 M: **Īĩ, niciendete.**  
*Yes, I liked them.*
- 129 ZP: **Nĩ topic irĩkũ cia gūkenagia?**  
*And which topics interested you most?*
- 130 M: **Ta ici cia siasa nindendaga kumenya ũria bŭrŭri urathiĩ.**  
*Like those of politics I like to know how the country/world is going on.*
- 131 ZP: **Mm, okay...Rĩu niwaiguaga ukenete ugicithoma?**  
*Mm, now, you were happy while reading them?*
- 132 M: **Mm.**  
*Mm.*
- 133 ZP: **Na icio magazines urutaga kũ?**  
*Where did you get the magazines from?*
- 134 M: **Ndahoyaga o andũ.**  
*I borrowed them from other persons.*
- 135 ZP: **Ohh, kuhoya andũ....ĩkũgũra.**  
*Ohh, borrowing from other persons who bought.*
- 136 M: **Īĩ, kũria ndarutaga wĩra ngiwakoragwo na magazines**  
137 **niciaguragwo. Kwoguo nindahotaga gukorwo ngiciona.**  
*At my place of work, they were there and the magazines too. So I used to have them easily.*
- 138 ZP: **Okay, irĩu ũguo niũri mabuku gũkũ gwaku?**  
*Okay, and do you have books at your house?*
- 139 M: **Rĩu thikũ ici ndikoragwo no nindakoragwo.**  
*Nowadays I don't have, but I had them before, those given in school.*
- 140 ZP: **Nĩkĩ? (Laughs) Nĩkĩ?**  
*Why? Why?*
- 141 M: **Mabuku nimoirwo ni andũ magithĩ.**  
*They were taken by people.*
- 142 ZP: **Īĩ...Kwoguo...**  
*Yaa...So...*

## Appendix 8

---

- 143 M: Ndano mūdū riu akaga kūnjokeria rīrī rīngī ngiaga....rīngī  
144 ngiaga *time* ya gucithomaga.  
*When I gave somebody, he did not return [the books], so I later did not have them. I also lacked the time to read them.*
- 145 ZP: Īī, kwoguo rīu *interest* igithira biū.  
*Yes, therefore you completely lacked the interest.*
- 146 M: Īī, igithira. Ngianjia kugia na maūdū mangi ndireciria.  
147 (*Laughs*)  
*Yes, completely. I got other things to think of.*
- 148 ZP: Na wanjire rīu ni manini nīrī wathomaga Gikūyū ūgicora  
149 ukiingiria Gīthūngū.  
*You said you first learnt Kikuyu while young then you came to English.*
- 150 M: Īī.  
*Yes.*
- 151 ZP: Rīu Gīthweri?  
*What about Swahili?*
- 152 M: Na Gīthweri rīmwe.  
*Kiswahili at times.*
- 153 ZP: Nī mari na mabuku ma Gīthweri?  
*Did you have Kiswahili books?*
- 154 M: No ma kuhoya...namu....rīngī no mano makoragwo na Gīthūngū  
155 rīngī ngathīti ngona rīu maandikwo ma Gīthweri.  
*I also borrowed them – maybe at times there were those in English and I find newspapers written in Kiswahili.*
- 156 ZP: Ohh, rīu makandikwo na Gīthweri.  
*Ohh now written in Kiswahili.*
- 157 M: Ngoya ngathoma. (*Interruption by a child*)  
*So I take and read.*
- 158 ZP: Rīu kwanyu rī, nikūri andū mūcīi araniirwo nao.  
*Do you have sisters and brothers?*
- 159 M: Īī.  
*Yes.*
- 160 ZP: Nimendete gūthoma?  
*Do they like reading?*
- 161 M: Īī.  
*Yes.*
- 162 ZP: Mūno?  
*Very much?*
- 163 M: Īī.  
*Yes.*
- 164 ZP: Mathomaga kī?  
*And what do they read?*
- 165 M: Mathomaga mbuku ciothe, *novel* na *magazines*.  
*All kind of books, the novels, magazines.*
- 166 ZP: Na *magazines*. Nao marutaga kū?  
*And magazines. Where do they find them?*
- 167 M: Acio nina....nimathiaga *library* acio...ona kūgūra.  
*Those ones go to the library, as well as buying.*



## Appendix 8

---

- 168 ZP: **Ona kūgūra? Kwoguo nimendete gūthoma.**  
*Even buying? So they like reading.*
- 169 M: **Īī, nimendete.**  
*Yes, they like.*
- 170 ZP: **Na rīu hīndī īyo we wathomaga nimathomaga?**  
*Were you at school at the same time with them?*
- 171 M: **Īī mari thutha no amwe mari mbere.**  
*Yes, some were ahead of me, others behind me.*
- 172 ZP: **Rīu wathoma novel nimwa discuss aga horo?**  
*And did you discuss any novel that you read with them?*
- 173 M: **Īī, nitwadiscuss-ire.**  
*Yes, we discussed.*
- 174 ZP: **Mukuigua urīa irakiuga mukerana.**  
*So you talked much about it?*
- 175 M: **Mm.**  
*Mm.*
- 176 ZP: **Niuri wathomera mūdū hibi ta marūa ūguo kana ga**  
177 **story...mūdū ūtoi gūthoma akorwo nita twana twaku?**  
*Have you ever read anything for somebody, like a letter or a story maybe somebody who cannot read maybe like your children?*
- 178 M: **Īī, ndenamathomera magakeno mūno. Rīngī ndanatho.**  
179 **Nithomagira twana twakwa, nindathomagira twana twa my**  
180 **brother na sisters tūrīa tūnini.**  
*Yes, I read for them and they have been very happy. I read for my children, maybe my nieces and nephews. When they were young.*
- 181 ZP: **Īī, tugagikena mūno. Watūthomagira na lugha irīkū?**  
*So they were very happy. Which language did you read for them?*
- 182 M: **Ndathoma na Gīthūngū ngatūturira na Gīkūyū.**  
*I read in English then I translated to Kikuyu.*
- 183 ZP: **Okay. Kwoguo generally, tuge niwendete gūthoma kana**  
184 **ndwendete?**  
*Okay. So generally, do you like reading or you don't like it?*
- 185 M: **Ninyendete gūthoma tige ni ihinda rīagaga.**  
*I like reading despite the time limit.*
- 186 ZP: **Na nī irīkū wendete gūthoma if you had time?**  
*And which ones would you prefer to read most if you had time?*
- 187 M: **Ahh, novels mithemba yothe.**  
*Ahh, all kinds of novels.*
- 188 ZP: **Mithemba yothe.**  
*All kinds of.*
- 189 M: **Na gathīti na magazines icio.**  
*Also newspapers and magazines.*
- 190 ZP: **Okay...Kwoguo nī ihinda rīagaga?**  
*Okay...So it's lack of time?*
- 191 M: **Īī, ninyendete mūno.**  
*Yes, I like [reading] very much.*

## Appendix 8

---

- 192 ZP: **Nĩ kwanyu (*Recording interrupted*) nĩ ũndũ mwega. Haya na rĩu**  
193 **waria ũhoru wa wamite kũu wagithomgira nĩ mũnini?**  
*And which was your place of origin, where you went to school?*
- 194 M: **Ndoimite Mũrang'a, Kiria-inĩ.**  
*It was in Murang'a Kiria-inĩ.*
- 195 ZP: **Na rĩu mwahũthagita language irĩkũ?**  
*And which was the language used there?*
- 196 M: **Twa tumagira Gĩkũyũ.**  
*We used Kikuyu.*
- 197 ZP: **Mutiamixaga na Gĩthũngũ kana Gĩthweri?**  
*You didn't mix English and Kiswahili?*
- 198 M: **Aca.**  
*No.*
- 199 ZP: **Ikũria ũiraraga rĩu gũkũ gwitagwo atia?**  
*What about where you live now?*
- 200 M: **Gũkũ gwitagwo Ruringu.**  
*This place is called Ruringu.*
- 201 ZP: **Mm, inakuo ni language irĩkũ ihũthagirwo mũno?**  
*Mm, which languages are used here?*
- 202 M: **Gũkũ tuhũthagira Gĩkũyũ na Gĩthweri.**  
*We use Kikuyu and Swahili.*
- 203 ZP: **Gĩkũyũ na Gĩthweri. Kwoguo nĩ mūtukanagia?**  
*Kikuyu and Swahili. So you mix [the languages]?*
- 204 M: **Ĩnĩ.**  
*Yes.*
- 205 ZP: **Mūtukanagia na Gĩthũngũ?**  
*You don't mix with English?*
- 206 M: **Gĩthũngũ tí mũno.**  
*English... not much.*
- 207 ZP: **Okay. Na we gũthoma wega rĩ ũhotaga gũthoma malanguage**  
208 **marĩkũ?**  
*Okay, which language are you fluent in reading?*
- 209 M: **Nihotaga gũthoma Gĩkũyũ, Gĩthũngũ na Gĩthweri.**  
*I can read English Kikuyu and Kiswahili.*
- 210 ZP: **Ĩĩ, ciothe?**  
*Yes, all?*
- 211 M: **Ĩĩ, ciothe.**  
*Yes, all.*
- 212 ZP: **Wega fluently?**  
*Very fluently?*
- 213 M: **Ĩĩ, fluently.**  
*Yes, fluently.*
- 214 ZP: **Kwoguo kinya novel cia Gĩkũyũ no nithome?**  
*So you can easily read Kikuyu novels?*
- 215 M: **Ĩĩ, nohote gũthoma.**  
*Yes, I can read.*
- 216 ZP: **Wega biũ?**  
*Completely?*

## Appendix 8

---

- 217 M: **Īi, naihenya naihenya.**  
*Yes, faster, faster.*
- 218 ZP: **Okay, na...ukiri kafamily.**  
*Okay, and...you have family.*
- 219 M: **Īi.**  
*Yes.*
- 220 ZP: **Cia ciana cigano?**  
*With how many children?*
- 221 M: **Ciana inya.**  
*Four children.*
- 222 ZP: **Inya, okay. Mugiikora nacio gūkū kana cikoragwo gicagi?**  
*Four, okay and you are with them here or they are at the rural area?*
- 223 M: **Īi, cikoragwo gicagi.**  
*Those live at the rural area.*
- 224 ZP: **Īi, okay. Nī cithomaga cio?**  
*Yes, okay. Do they read?*
- 225 M: **Īi, nicithomaga.**  
*Yes, they read.*
- 226 ZP: **Nawe wakiri mūthomu?**  
*You were also educated.*
- 227 M: **Īi, nindathomete.**  
*Yes, I was.*
- 228 ZP: **Wakinyite ha?**  
*To which level?*
- 229 M: **Ndakinyite kirathi kia form six.**  
*I had reached form six.*
- 230 ZP: **Mm, form six. Ndūkiri wa ka eight four four. Na wīra waku**  
231 **ūkirutaga ūrīkū?**  
*Mm, form six. You are no eight four four. And what is your job?*
- 232 M: **Wīra wakwa nindutite mawīra maingi kuma ndaima cukuru.**  
*I have worked in different areas since I left school.*
- 233 ZP: **Nī tamarīkū hihi?**  
*Like where?*
- 234 M: **Umūthi ta uyu ndiraruta wīra wa biacara.**  
*Like today I am a businessman.*
- 235 ZP: **Wa biacara. Kwoguo ti concerning na githomo giaku kiria wathomire?**  
*Business. So it not concerned with the education you had?*
- 236 M: **Nindikirutithitie wīra. Rīu ngagicenja.**  
*I have done work before [that concerned my education]. Then I changed.*
- 237 ZP: **Andū marika maku nī tamarīkū hihi?**  
*And which is your age group now?*
- 238 M: **Ta marīkū ūguo...nī angi?**  
*Like which ones... they are many?*
- 239 ZP: **Marika mararange ha hihi...kimaka? (Baby crying)**  
*I mean, where do you range?*
- 240 M: **Nī kuma mika forty naigūrū.**  
*I am over 40 years.*

## Appendix 8

---

- 241 ZP: **Ta rīu rīrīa ukiri gūkū to the community niatia wīkaga?**  
*And what do you do for the community in your area?*
- 242 M: **Īī, ningoragwo ndī chairman wa ciama nyingi tūkoragwo nacio.**  
*Yes, I have been a chairman of certain groups we have had.*
- 243 ZP: **Tarīkū?**  
*Which kind of?*
- 244 M: **Ta cia biacara.**  
*Like of business.*
- 245 ZP: **Nacio social activities irīa ūkoragwo nacio gūkū ungiūga nī tairīkū hihi?**  
*What about the social activities that are around here?*
- 246 M: **Ndī mūhūri wa pool mūno.**  
*Mm, mostly I play the pool game.*
- 247 ZP: **Okay. Na pool uhuraga rī?**  
*Okay, and when do you play pool?*
- 248 M: **Nihuraga rīngī hwaī-inī.**  
*I play in the evening*
- 249 ZP: **Hwaī-inī.**  
*In the evening.*
- 250 M: **Īī ngathiī kuhura pool.**  
*Yes, I play pool at that time.*
- 251 ZP: **Okay, ucio ni ūhoro mwegā nī thengio.**  
*Thank you very much.*

## Appendix 9

---

### Research Project: Reading Habits in Multilingual Kenya University of Hamburg, Christine Pawlitzky

Version 09.09.01

Date: \_\_\_\_\_ Place: \_\_\_\_\_ (Urban  Rural ) Interviewer: \_\_\_\_\_

#### A. Background Information

1. Sex: Female  Male
2. Age: 15-20  21-30  31-40  41-50  51-60  above 60
3. Marital status: Married  Single  Number of children: \_\_\_\_\_
4. Place of residence: Urban  Rural
5. Occupation/type of business: \_\_\_\_\_
6. Highest level of education achieved (*please tick as appropriate*):  
Primary   
Secondary   
College/University   
Never attended school

#### B. Reading Habits

7. Which language(s) do you speak? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
8. Which language(s) do you use most in your daily life? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
9. How well do you read books, magazines, newspapers etc. in this/these language(s)? (*please indicate for each language*)

Language:	fluently	moderately	with difficulty	no.competency
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

## Appendix 9

---

10. How often do you read in this/these language(s)?

*(please indicate for each language)*

Language:	daily	weekly	monthly	once.a.year	never
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

11. What kind of reading material do you read in this/these language(s)?

*(please indicate for each language)*

Language:	Kind of reading material:
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

12. Do you like reading in your leisure time? Yes  No

13. a) If so, why do you like it?

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

b) If you don't, why don't you like it?

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

14. Do you have reading material at home nowadays? Yes  No

*(if not, continue with 16.)*

15. If so, what kind of are they?

Kind of material:

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

16. Would you like to read more than you do now?

Yes  No  *(if not, continue with 20.)*

17. If so, about which topics would you like to read more? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

## Appendix 9

---

18. In which language(s) would you like to read more? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

19. Why do you prefer this/these language(s)? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

20. What are your favorite books/authors and/or magazines?  
(please give title/ name)

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

***Thank you very much for your interest and for answering these questions.***

## Appendix 9

---

### Research Project: Reading Habits in Multilingual Kenya

University of Hamburg, Christine Pawlitzky

Version 10.09.01

Tarehe: \_\_\_\_\_ Pahali: \_\_\_\_\_ (Mji  Kiji  Mhoji: \_\_\_\_\_

#### A. Habari za kibinafsi

1. Mke  Mume
2. Umri: 15-20  21-30  31-40  41-50  51-60  zaidi.ya 60
3. Nimeoloewa/Nimeoa  Sijaolewa/Sijaoa  Idadi ya watoto: \_\_\_\_\_
4. Pahali pa makao: Mjini  Kijijini
5. Kazi/Aina ya bisahara: \_\_\_\_\_
6. Kiwango cha elimu (*tafadhali chagua*):
  - Shule ya Msingi
  - Sekondari
  - Chuo/Chuo Kikuu
  - Sikuenda skuli

#### B. Msomo wako

7. Unasema lugha gani? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
8. Lugha gani unasema mara nyingi kila siku? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
9. Jinsi gani unasoma vitabu, jarida au gazeti katika lugha unazozisoma ?  
(*tafadhali onyesha kwa kila lugha*)

Lugha:	nzuri.kabisa	kiasi	na.taabu	siwezi.kusoma
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>



## Appendix 9

---

10. Mara ngapi unazitumia lugha hizi kwa kusoma? (*tafadhali onyesha kwa kila lugha*)

Lugha:	kila.siku	kila.wiki	kila.mwezi	mara.kwa.mwaka	sisomi.kamwe
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

11. Aina gani ya vitabu unasoma katika lugha hizi? (*tafadhali onyesha kwa kila lugha*)

Lugha:	Aina ya vitabu:
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

12. Unapenda kusoma saa za ziada? Ndio  Laa

13. a) Kama unapenda, kwa nini unapenda kusoma? b) Kama hupendi, kwa nini hupendi kusoma?

_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

14. Unao vitabu, gazeti, jarida na kadhalika nyumbani? Ndio  Laa   
(*endelea na 16.*)

15. Kama unao, aina gani?

Aina ya vitabu, gazeti, jarida n.k.:

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

16. Ungependa kusoma zaidi kuliko kusoma kwako kwa sasa?

Ndio  Laa  (*endelea na 20.*)

17. Kama ndio, ungependa kusoma juu ya nini?

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

## Appendix 9

---

18. Lugha gani ungependa kusoma zaidi? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

19. Kwa nini? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

20. Vitabu/wandishi au jarida/gazeti gani unapenda zaidi?  
(tafadhali taja title/mwandishi)

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

*Asante sana kwa kujitolea kwako na kujibu maswala haya.*

## Appendix 9

---

### Research Project: Reading Habits in Multilingual Societies Kenya

University of Hamburg, Christine Pawlitzky

Version 10.09.01

Tarīki: \_\_\_\_\_ Itūra: \_\_\_\_\_ (Taūni  Mīgūndainī ) Interviewer: \_\_\_\_\_

#### A. *Maūndū maku*

1. Mūtumia  Mūdūrūme
2. Ūkūrū waku 15-20  21-30  31-40  41-50  51-60  makiri ma 60
3. Nīūhikanītie/Nīūhikite  Ndihikanītie/Ndūrimūhiku  Urī ciana cigana \_\_\_\_\_
4. Ūraikara kū rīu: Taūni  Mīgūndainī
5. Wīra ūrīa ūrutaga/ Biacara īrīa ūrutaga: \_\_\_\_\_
6. Ūkinyītie gīthomo ha (*hūthīra X*):  

Primary	<input type="checkbox"/>
Secondary	<input type="checkbox"/>
College/University	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ndirī ndathīī cukuru	<input type="checkbox"/>

#### B. *Mithomere yaku*

7. Nī thiomi irīkū ūhūthagīra ūkīaria? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
8. Nī rūthiomi rūrīkū ūhūthagīra kaingī omūthenya? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
9. Ūthomaga wega atīa thiomi ici waragia ? (*onania haha*)  

Rūthiomi:	wega.mūno	wega.hanini	na.thīna	ndihota.gūthoma
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

## Appendix 9

---

10. Ũthomaga maita maigana thiomi ici? (*onania haha*)

Rũthiomi:	omũthenya	okiumia	omweri	mwaka.rĩmwe	gũtirĩ.hingo
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

11. Ũthomaga taki na thiomi ici? (*onania haha*)

Rũthiomi:

Kĩria ũthomaga:

_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

12. Niwendete gũthoma rĩria ũtararuta wĩra?

Ĩĩ

Aca

13. a) Akorwo nĩwendete nĩkĩ gĩtũmi?

b) Akorwo ndwendete nĩkĩ gĩtũmi?

_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

14. Nĩũkoragwo naindo ciaguthoma mũciĩ? Ĩĩ  Aca  (*twarithia na 16.*)

15. Akorwo nĩũrĩ nĩtacigana ũkoragwo nacio?

Kĩria ũthomaga:

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

16. Nowende gũthoma makĩria ya ũria ũthomaga rĩu? Ĩĩ  Aca

(*twarithia na 20.*)

17. Akorwo nowende, nĩtamaũndũ marĩkũ? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

## Appendix 9

---

18. Na thiomi irĩkũ ũngienda gũthoma mũno? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

19. Wendete thiomi ici nĩkĩ? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

20. Nĩ mabuku marĩku wendete gũthoma/andĩki/kana magatheti? (*heana marĩtwa*)

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

*Nĩ ngatho mũno nĩkuonania wendi waku nagũcokia ciũria.*

## Appendix 9

---

### Research Project: Reading Habits in Multilingual Kenya

University of Hamburg, Christine Pawlitzky

Version 10.09.01

Dwe: \_\_\_\_\_ Kanye: \_\_\_\_\_ (Boma  Dala  Japeny: \_\_\_\_\_

#### A. *Weche motelo*

1. Kido: Nyamiyo  Wuoyi
2. Dak: 15-20  21-30  31-40  41-50  51-60  mokalo 60
3. Keny: Okendi/okendo  Si/misumba  Kuan nyodo: \_\_\_\_\_
4. Kar nyuol: Boma  Dala
5. Tich/Kit tich: \_\_\_\_\_
6. Okang' mamalo mogik mar somo (ket x kama owinjore):

- Sikund chakruok (Primary)
- Sikund pon (Secondary)
- Mbarariany (College/University)
- Ok odhi sikul sikit

#### B. *Kit somo*

7. Gin dhok mage ma iwacho? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
8. En dhok mane ma itiyogo ahinya engimani mapile? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
9. Inyalo somo buge maber machal nadi magazin, gaset kod mamoko gi dhou?  
(ket ranyisi e dhok kadhok)

Dhok:	mayom	moromo	gi pek	ok asom
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

## Appendix 9

---

10. Isomoga kod dhokgi marom nadi? (*ket ranyisi e dhok kadhok*)

Dhok:	pile	juma	dwe	1/higa	sikit
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

11. Gi ang'o giri ma ? (*ket ranyisi e dhok kadhok*)

Dhok:	Kit gima isomo ga:
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

12. Bende ihero somo mar nitech somo mori?

Eee

Ooyo

13. a) Ka en kamano bende ihere?

b) Ko ok kamano ang'o ma omiyo ok ihere?

_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

14. Bende intiere kod gik ma isomo dala sani? Eee  Ooyo

(*ka ok en kamano to dhi nyime kod 16*)

15. Ka en kamano, gin mage to gin adi?

Kit gik misomo:

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

16. Bende inyalo hero somo moloyo kaka isomo sani? Eee  Ooyo

(*ka ok en kamano to dhi nyime kod 20*)

17. Ka en kamano to gin ang'o giri ma inyalo hero somo ahinya?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

## Appendix 9

---

18. En /gin dhok mane/mage ma inyalo hero somogo ahinya? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

19. Ang'o ma omiyo ihero dhokni/dhokgo? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

20. Buge mage ma ihero ahinya/ jo go buge kod/kata magazin? (*chiw nying*)

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

*Erokamano ahinya kuom siso mari kendo kuom duoko penjogi.*



## Appendix 10

---

### Research Project: Reading Habits in Multilingual Kenya

Christine Pawlitzky  
University of Hamburg, Germany  
Contact: [cpawlitzky@yahoo.co.uk](mailto:cpawlitzky@yahoo.co.uk)  
(cell) 0722 474847

Date: \_\_\_\_\_ Place: \_\_\_\_\_ Interviewer: \_\_\_\_\_

### Notes for respondents

This research project is undertaken with permission of the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (MOEST permit no. 13/001/31C140/2).

The information you provide here will be used to reveal information on the reading habits and interests of the Kenyan public. Your answers will contribute to the important discussion of the role of reading in Kenya and the reading interests of Kenyan readers.

We undertake to use the information you provide solely for the purpose stated above and will treat the same most confidentially.

*We thank you in advance for your co-operation!*

#### A. Background Information

1. Sex:            Female  Male
2. Age: 15-20  21-30  31-40  41-50  51-60  above 60
3. Occupation/type of business: \_\_\_\_\_
4. Marital status: Single  (*continue with 6.*) Married
5. Occupation of spouse: \_\_\_\_\_
6. Number of children: \_\_\_\_\_
7. Place of present residence: Urban  Rural
8. Highest level of education achieved (*please tick as appropriate*):  

Primary	<input type="checkbox"/>
Secondary	<input type="checkbox"/>
College	<input type="checkbox"/> <i>please indicate type of:</i> _____
University	<input type="checkbox"/>
Never attended school	<input type="checkbox"/>

## Appendix 10

---

### B. Leisure Time Activities

9. Which of the following activities are you engaged in during the week?  
*(please tick as appropriate)*

		<u>Notes:</u>
Watching TV	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Watching video	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Listening to the radio	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Reading newspapers	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Reading magazines	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Reading books	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Reading the Bible	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Spending time with family or friends	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Relaxing at Entertainment Club	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Sports/Games	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
others: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____

*(please indicate)*

10. How much money do you spend for those activities per week?

None	<i>&lt;</i> 50Kshs	50-100Kshs	100-250Kshs	250-500Kshs	500-1000Kshs	>1000Kshs
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

11. If you had more money to spend, what would you like to spend it for?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

### C. Reading frequency

12. How often do you read the following reading material?

	daily	wkly	mthly	once/yr	never	<u>Notes:</u>
Daily newspapers	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Newspaper.in.mother.tongue	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Magazines	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Storybooks	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Novels.by.African.writers	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Novels.by.Western.writers	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Christian.books	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
The.Bible	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Other.Books.like.about Health Psychology, Economics, Technology	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____

13. Which was the last book you read? *(please give title/author)* \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

14. When did you read that book? \_\_\_\_\_

## Appendix 10

---

### D. Interests

15. Do you go through newspapers or magazines? yes  no  (continue with 17.)

16. Which topics/sections are you most interested in? (please tick as appropriate)

- |                               |                          |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Health/Fitness                | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Movies/TV                     | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Cartoons                      | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Headlines/Outstanding News    | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| National Politics             | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| National Events/Crime         | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| World Politics                | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Business/Finance              | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Sports/Games                  | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Leisure/Entertainment         | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Fashion/Beauty                | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Real life experience          | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Christian Living/Spirituality | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Advertisement/Obituaries      | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| others: _____                 | <input type="checkbox"/> |

(please indicate)

17. Which topics are you interested in otherwise? (multiple answers possible)

---

---

---

18. Do you have a favorite program you are listening to in the radio/you are watching in TV? Yes  No

19. If so, which one is it? \_\_\_\_\_

---

---

20. Why do you like it? (please explain) \_\_\_\_\_

---

---

---

***Thank you very much for your interest and for answering these questions.***

## Appendix 10

---

### Research Project: Reading Habits in Multilingual Kenya

Christine Pawlitzky  
University of Hamburg, Germany  
Contact: [cpawlitzky@yahoo.co.uk](mailto:cpawlitzky@yahoo.co.uk)  
(cell) 0722 474847

Tarehe: \_\_\_\_\_ Pahali: \_\_\_\_\_ Mhoji: \_\_\_\_\_

### Maelezo kwa wahojiwa

Mradi huu unatekelezwa kwa kibali cha Wizara ya Elimu, Sayansi na Teknolojia (kibali nambari 13/001/31C140/2).

Ujumbe utakaoutoa utatumiwa katika utafiti kuhusu usomaji wa wananchi wa Kenya. Majibu yako yatasaidia katika majadiliano ya kujua umuhimu wa kusoma kati ya wananchi na vitabu gani wanavutiwa.

Majibu utakayatoa hayatumiwi kwa kusudi jingine isipokuwa lile lililotajwa mbele.

*Twashukuru kwa usaidizi wako!*

#### A. Habari za kibinafsi

1. Mke  Mume
2. Umri: 15-20  21-30  31-40  41-50  51-60  >60
3. Kazi/Aina ya biashara: \_\_\_\_\_
4. Sijaolewa/Sijaoa  (endelea na 6.) Nimeolewa/Nimeoa
5. Kazi ya mke/mume: \_\_\_\_\_
6. Idadi ya watoto: \_\_\_\_\_
7. Pahali pa makao: Mjini  Kijijini
8. Kiwango cha elimu:  
Shule ya Msingi   
Sekondari   
Chuo  tafadhali taja aina ya chuo: \_\_\_\_\_  
Chuo kikuu   
Sikuenda skuli

## Appendix 10

---

### B. Saa za ziada

9. Kazi gani unafanya katika wiki?

Maelezo:

- |  |                          |       |
|--|--------------------------|-------|
| Kuangalia runinga                        | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ |
| Kuangalia video                          | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ |
| Kusikiliza redio                         | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ |
| Kusoma magazeti ya kila siku             | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ |
| Kusoma.magazeti.ya.kila.wiki/mwezi       | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ |
| Kusoma vitabu                            | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ |
| Kusoma Bibilia                           | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ |
| Kuchukua wakati na jamii<br>ama marafiki | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ |
| Kupumzika kwa vilabu<br>vya burudani     | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ |
| Michezo                                  | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ |
| mengeneyo:_____                          | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ |
- (tafadhali andika)

10. Wewe hutumia kiasi gani cha pesa kwa hizi shughuli kila wiki?

Sifuri	<50Ksh	50-100Ksh	100-250Ksh	250-500Ksh	500-1000Ksh	>1000Kshs
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

11. Ungalikuwa na pesa zaidi ungalipenda kuitumia kwa jinsi gani?

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

### C. Masomo ya kawaida

12. Unasoma mara ngapi?

	k.sku	k.wki	k.mzi	m/mw	kamwe	<u>Maelezo:</u>
Magazeti ya kila siku	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Magazeti.ya.lugha.za.kienyeji	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Magazeti.ya.kila.wiki/mwezi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Vitabu vya hadithi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Novels za waandishi wa kiafrika	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Novels.za.waandishi.wa.kizungu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Vitabu vya kikristo	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Bibilia	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Vitabu visivyo vya sanaa	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____

k.m. kuhusu afya, uchumi, teknolojia

13. Ni kitabu kipi ulisoma mara ya mwisho? (tafadhali andika title/author) \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

14. Ni lini ulikisoma? \_\_\_\_\_

## Appendix 10

---

### D. Raghba

15. Wewe unasoma magazeti? Ndio  Laa  (*endelea na 17.*)

16. Ni mambo gani hukuvutia?

- |                                      |                          |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Afya                                 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Sinema/runinga                       | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Cartoons                             | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Maandiko(Headlines)/Habari mashuhuri | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Siasa ya taifa                       | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Habari za kitaifa                    | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Siasa ya ulimwengu                   | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Biashara na Uchumi                   | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Michezo                              | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Habari za mapumziko na kujiburudisha | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Fashoni na urembo                    | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Hadithi za kimaisha                  | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Maisha ya kikristo na kiroho         | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Matangazo/Matangazo ya vifo          | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Habari nyinginezo: _____             | <input type="checkbox"/> |
- (*tafadhali andika*)

17. Ni mambo gani mengine hukuvutia? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

18. Kuna kipindi cha kuisimua unachosikiza kwa redio au unakitazama kwa runinga? Ndio  Laa

19. Kama kiko, ni kipi? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

20. Kwa nini unakipenda? (*tafadhali eleza*) \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

*Asante sana kwa kujitolea kwako na kujibu maswala haya.*

## Appendix 10

---

### Research Project: Reading Habits in Multilingual Societies – A Case Study.

Christine Pawlitzky  
University of Hamburg, Germany  
Contact: [cpawlitzky@yahoo.co.uk](mailto:cpawlitzky@yahoo.co.uk)  
(cell) 0722 474847

Tariki: \_\_\_\_\_ Itūra: \_\_\_\_\_ Interviewer: \_\_\_\_\_

### Mataririo ma acokia ciuria.

Wĩra wa gĩthomo uyu ũrarutwo na rutha ruheanitwo nĩ *Wizara ya Elimu Sayansi na Teknolojia* (rutha namba 13/001/31C140/2)

Ūhoro ũrĩa ũkuheana ũkuhuthiruo hari ũcaria wa athomi aũ a Kenya. Macokio maku nimeguteithia hari utereti wa kumenya mabuku maria mari na bata kuri andũ a Kenya na ũrĩa mabata maya mangihota kuhingio.

Macokio maria ũkuruta magũtumiruo hari bata ũcio wandikitwo hau iguru na tug-tũmira nahitho nyingĩ.

*Nĩtwacokia ngatho mũno niuteithio waku!*

#### A. Maũndũ maku

1. Mũtumia  Mũndũmũrũme
2. Ūkuru waku: 15-20  21-30  31-40  41-50  51-60  makiria ma 60
3. Wĩra ũrĩa ũrũtaga kana biacara ira ũrutaga: \_\_\_\_\_
4. Ndihikanĩtie/Ndũrimũhiku  Nĩũhikite/nĩũhikanĩtie
5. Wĩra wa mũthuri guo/wĩra wa mutimia: \_\_\_\_\_
6. Ūrĩ ciana cigana: \_\_\_\_\_
7. Ūraikara kũ rĩu: Taũni  Mũgũndaini
8. Ūkinyĩtie gĩthomo ha (hũthĩra x)
  - Primary
  - Secondary
  - College  *onania ni mũthemba ũrĩkũ:* \_\_\_\_\_
  - University
  - Ndirĩ ndathĩ cukuru

## Appendix 10

### B. Wira ūria ūrutaga mathaa ma kuhuruka

9. Nĩ mawĩra marĩkũ hari maya ūrutaga hari wiki?

		Mohoro:
Kuona TV	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Kuona video	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Gũthikiriria radio	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Gũthoma gathĩti	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Gũthoma magazines	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Gũthoma mabuku	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Gũthoma Bibilia	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Gũtumira mathaa na andũ a mũciĩ kana arata	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Kuhuruka hari irabu cia ikeno	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Mathako	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Maũndũ.mangi _____ (onania haha)	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____

10. Ūtumagira mbecha cigana hari maũndũ macio hari wiki?

Gutiri	<50Ksh	50-100Ksh	100-250Ksh	250-500Ksh	500-1000Ksh	>1000Kshs
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

11. Ūngikorwo na mbecha makiria ũngienda gũcitumira gwika atia? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

### C. Mahinda ma gũthoma

12. Nĩ maita maigana ũthomaga ici?

	omũthenya	wiki	mweri	rĩmwe.mwaka	ndithomaga	Mataririo:
Gathĩti	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Gathĩti cia rũthiomi rũaku	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Magazines	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Mbuku cia tũrugano	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Novels.cia andiki a Afrika	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Novels.cia andiki athũngũ	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Mbuku cia akristo	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Bibilia	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Mabuku mangi ta ma Health Psychology, Economics, Technology	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____

13. Nĩ ibuku rirĩkũ wathomire rita ria muico? (heana title/mwandiki) \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

14. Wathomire ibuku rĩu rĩ? \_\_\_\_\_



## Appendix 10

---

### D. Kīria gigukenagia

15. We niuthomaga magathīti kana magazines? Ī  Aca  (*twarithia na 17.*)

16. Nī maūndū marīkū magūkenagia hari?

- |                                 |                          |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Health/Fitness                  | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Movies/TV                       | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Cartoons                        | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Headlines/uhoro wa kuguciriria  | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Siasa cia būrūrī                | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Maūndū ma būrūrī/mawihia        | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Maūndū ma thi                   | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Biacara                         | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Mathako                         | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Ūhoro wa ikeno                  | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Bashoni(fashion)uthaka          | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Ūhoro wa uturo                  | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Maisha ma akristo/kiroho        | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Matangatho ma maūndū na ikuo    | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Na mangi ( <i>andika</i> )_____ | <input type="checkbox"/> |

17. Nī maūndū marīkū magūkenagia ? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

18. Nī ūri kibindi gigūkenagia hari redio kana ūkiona TV? Ī  Aca

19. Akorwo nīguo, nīrīkū? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

20. Ūkiendete nīkī? (*tariria*) \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

*Nī ngatho mūno nīkuonania wendi waku nagūcokia ciūria.*

## Appendix 10

---

### Research Project: Reading Habits in Multilingual Kenya

Christine Pawlitzky  
University of Hamburg, Germany  
Contact: [cpawlitzky@yahoo.co.uk](mailto:cpawlitzky@yahoo.co.uk)  
(cell) 0722 474847

Dwe \_\_\_\_\_ Kanye \_\_\_\_\_ Japenjo \_\_\_\_\_

#### Ndiko ne jodwok penjo

Tij dwaro ng'eyo ni itime gi thuolo mar *Ministry of Education Science & Technology* (MOEST thuolo namba 13\001/31C140/2)

Wach ma ibiro chiwo ka biro konyo fwenyo kit timbe mag somo kod gik ma raia ma Kenya ohero timo. Dwokoni biro konyo etwak mar dwaro ng'eyo gik somo mowinjore gi jo piny mar Kenya to gi kaka gigo nyalo konyo gi kod dwachgi eyo maber mogik.

Weche ma ichiwo ka ibo tigo kaka ose nyisi maloka kendo ok nolandgi adharani.

#### *Erokamano kuom yie konyowa!*

##### A. Weche motelo

1. Chalni: Miyo  Wuoyi
2. Hiki: 15-20  21-30  31-40  41-50  51-60  mohingo 60
3. Tich/kit tich: \_\_\_\_\_
4. Kendruok: Si/misumba  (*dhi nyime gi 6.*) Okendi/ikendo
5. Tij jaot: \_\_\_\_\_
6. Kuan nyodo: \_\_\_\_\_
7. Kama sana idakie: Boma  Dala
8. Okang' mane mamalo mogik mar somo ma ichope (*ket tik kama owinjore*):
  - Skund chakruok (Primary)
  - Skund pon (Secondary)
  - Skund tiegruok (College)  *yie inyis kit somo:* \_\_\_\_\_
  - Mbarariany (University)
  - Ne ok adhi sikul

## Appendix 10

---

### B. Yweyo gi kik ma itimo sechego

9. Gin gik mage ma ondik piny kaendi ma idich gago e juma?  
(*ye iket tik e mowinjore*)

Ndiko kuom wechego:

Neno television	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Neno piche mege video	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Winjo radio	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Somo gazeede	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Somo magazin	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Somo buge moko	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Somo muma maler	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Bed kod joodi kata osiepe	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Yweyo kar budho kata math	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Tuke mege sports	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Mamoko _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	

(*ye inyis*)

10. Itiyoga gi pesa madi rom nade e juma egigo mitimo seche ma iyweyo?

Onge	<u>&lt;50Ksh</u>	<u>50-100Ksh</u>	<u>100-250Ksh</u>	<u>250-500Ksh</u>	<u>500-1000Ksh</u>	<u>&gt;1000Kshs</u>
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

11. Kadipo ni iyudo pesa moro mang'ebya, ang'o madi her timo kod pesa?

---



---



---

### C. Hero somo

12. Kuom gik misomo mondik piny ka, ijasomogi ga maluore bang kinde marom nade?

	Pile	Juma	Dwe	1/higa	maonge	<u>Ndiko kuom wechego</u>
Gazede mapile	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Gazede mag dholuo	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Magazin	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Storybooks	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Buge mondik gi jo Afrika	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Buge mondik gi odieche	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Buge weche jokristo	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Muma maler	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Buge moko kuom thieth,paro dhano, uchumi, technoji	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	

13. En buk mane ma nyocha isomo mogik? (*nyis nying buk/jandiko*) \_\_\_\_\_

---

14. To bugno, ne isomo mogik karang'o? \_\_\_\_\_

## Appendix 10

---

### D. Gik ma ihero timo

15. Be ing'iyoga gazede kata magazin? Eee  Ooyo  (*dhi nyime gi 17.*)

16. Gin weche mage ei gazede/magazin ma mori ahinya?

- |  |                          |
|--|--------------------------|
| Thieth/Ngima                             | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Sinema/TV                                | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Gik mogor ma ikonyruok go kar gima adier | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Weche mokuongo/madongo motimre           | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Siasa ma piny Kenya                      | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Gik ma timre e pinywa/mahundu            | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Siasa mar piny ngima                     | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Ohala/Pesa                               | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Tuke mopogore                            | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Gik mor/miyo mor                         | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Ruakruok kod ber (fashon)                | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Gik madier mose timre ne ji engimagi     | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Ngima jo Kristo/warruok                  | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Lendo mag ohala/tho                      | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Mamoko ( <i>ye inyis</i> ) _____         | <input type="checkbox"/> |

17. Be nitie weche mamoko mopogore ma chunyi ohero? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

18. Be nitie chenro moro amora e television kata radio ma isega neno kata winjo ma chunyi ohero ahinya? Eee  Ooyo

19. Ka dipo ni nitie, en mane? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

24. To, en ang'o ma omiyo ihero chenrono ahinya? (*nyis gima omiyo*) \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

*Erokamano ahinya kuom kao saa mar dwoko penjo gi duto.*

## Appendix 11

### Summary of survey results 2001

In the following, the results of the first questionnaire survey conducted in 2001 are presented. The summary comprises results for all questions included in the questionnaire (see Appendix 9), although not all compilations and correlations are discussed in the thesis (see Chapter 3.4).

**Table 1: Question 1. – 6. Background Information: Sample description**

	<b>Total (N= 304)</b>	<b>Kikuyu (N=161)</b>	<b>Luo (N=143)</b>
<b>L1</b>			
Kikuyu	53% 161		
Luo	47% 143		
<b>Sex</b>			
Female	45% 136	47% 76	42% 60
Male	55% 168	53% 85	58% 83
<b>Age</b>			
15-20	4% 14	3% 5	6% 9
21-30	47% 143	43% 69	52% 74
31-40	24% 72	25% 40	22% 32
41-50	16% 49	17% 28	15% 21
51-60	5% 15	6% 9	4% 6
Above 60	4% 11	6% 10	1% 1
<b>Education</b>			
Never attended	1% 1	1% 1	0% 0
Primary	22% 68	28% 46	15% 11
Secondary	34% 104	44% 70	24% 34
College/University	43% 131	27% 44	61% 87
		<i>sig. level <math>p = .003^1</math></i>	
<b>Income</b>			
Low	60% 181	67% 108	52% 74
Middle	36% 112	29% 46	46% 65
High	4% 11	4% 7	4% 4
<b>Marital status</b>			
Single	38% 118	38% 61	40% 57
Married	61% 184	62% 100	59% 84
Widowed	1% 2		1% 2
<b>No. of children</b>			
Mean	3,4	3,4	3,4
<b>Place of residence</b>			
Urban	59% 178	59% 95	58% 83
Rural	41% 126	41% 66	42% 60

<sup>1</sup> Because the present study does not use randomly sampled data, using significance tests (to examine differences in the distribution of variables) for inferential analysis is controversial (Labovitz 1971, Blalock 1979). However, significance (sig. level according to chi-square) is reported as an arbitrary criterion in deference to its widespread use in social science for exploratory analysis of non-random data

Note: Income was set on the basis of the present occupation of informants.

## Appendix 11

Table 2: Question 7. Which language(s) do you speak? – L1

Language	Total (N=304)		Kikuyu (N=161)		Luo (N=143)	
L1	5%	16	7%	12	3%	4
L1 + S	9%	29	13%	21	6%	8
L1 + E	2%	5	1%	1	3%	4
L1, S, E	76%	231	76%	123	75%	108
L1, S, E + X(Y)	8%	23	3%	4	13%	19
<i>sig.level p = .030</i>						

E= English, L1= first language, S = Swahili, X (Y) = Kikamba, Kimeru, Kikuyu, Borani, Luhya, Lingala (6 cases), French (20 cases)

Table 3: Question 7. Description of subsamples according to oral (multi)lingual competency

	Total (N = 304)		L1 (N = 16)		L1+S (N = 29)		L1 + E (N = 5)		L1,S,E (N = 231)		L1,S,E+X(Y) (N = 23)	
<b>L1</b>												
Kikuyu	54%	161	75%	12	72%	21	20%	1	53%	123	17%	4
Luo	46%	143	25%	4	28%	8	80%	4	47%	108	83%	19
<b>Sex</b>												
Female	45%	136	50%	8	41%	12	20%	1	43%	100	65%	15
Male	55%	168	50%	8	59%	17	80%	4	57%	131	35%	8
<b>Age</b>												
15-20	5%	14	0%	0	7%	2	0%	0	5%	12	0%	0
21-30	48%	143	19%	3	21%	6	0%	0	51%	118	70%	16
31-40	23%	72	31%	5	10%	3	40%	2	25%	58	17%	4
41-50	15%	49	31%	5	28%	8	60%	3	13%	30	13%	3
51-60	5%	15	6%	1	10%	3	0%	0	5%	11	0%	0
above60	4%	11	13%	2	24%	7	0%	0	1%	2	0%	0
<b>Education</b>												
Never attended	0%	1	6%	1	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0
Primary	22%	68	94%	15	80%	23	40%	2	12%	28	0%	0
Secondary	35%	104	0%	0	7%	2	0%	0	43%	100	9%	2
College/University	43%	131	0%	0	13%	4	60%	3	45%	103	91%	21
<b>Income</b>												
Low	60%	181	100%	16	100%	29	40%	2	55%	126	35%	8
Middle	37%	112	0%	0	0%	0	40%	2	42%	97	56%	13
High	3%	11	0%	0	0%	0	20%	1	3%	8	9%	2
<b>Marital status</b>												
Single	38%	118	13%	2	24%	7	20%	1	40%	93	65%	15
Married	61%	184	87%	14	72%	21	80%	4	59%	137	35%	8
Widowed	1%	2	0%	0	4%	1	0%	0	1%	1	0%	0
<b>No. of children</b>												
Mean	3,4		4,1		5,6		4		3,1		2,4	
<b>Place of residence</b>												
Urban	59%	178	6%	1	28%	8	40%	2	64%	147	87%	20
Rural	41%	126	94%	15	72%	21	60%	3	36%	84	13%	3

E= English, L1= first language, S = Swahili, X(Y) = Kikamba, Kimeru, Kikuyu, Borani, Luhya, Lingala (African languages in 6 cases), French (in 20 cases)

## Appendix 11

**Table 4: Question 8. Which language(s) do you use most in your daily life? – L1**

Language	Total (N = 302) not stated 2		Kikuyu (N = 160) not stated 1		Luo (N = 142) not stated 1	
<b>L1</b>	55%	166	69%	110	39%	56
<b>Swahili</b>	13%	38	11%	17	15%	21
<b>English</b>	22%	67	10%	16	36%	51
<b>English + Swahili</b>	3%	10	2%	4	4%	6
<b>English + L1</b>	2%	6	2%	4	1%	2
<b>Swahili + L1</b>	2%	7	2%	4	2%	3
<b>English, Swahili + L1</b>	3%	8	3%	5	2%	3

*sig.level p < .001*

L1 = first language

**Table 5: Question 8. Which language(s) do you use most in your daily life? – Place of residence**

Language	urban				rural									
	Total (N=302) not stated 2		Total (N= 177) not stated 1		Total (N=94) not stated 1		Luo (N=83)		Total (N=125) not stated 1		Kikuyu (N=66)		Luo (N= 59) not stated 1	
<b>L1</b>	55%	166	38%	68	55%	52	19%	16	79%	98	89%	58	68%	40
<b>S</b>	13%	38	16%	29	14%	13	19%	16	7%	9	6%	4	8%	5
<b>E</b>	22%	67	32%	57	15%	14	53%	43	8%	10	3%	2	14%	8
<b>E + S</b>	3%	10	4%	7	4%	4	4%	3	2%	3	0%	0	5%	3
<b>E + L1</b>	2%	6	3%	5	3%	3	2%	2	1%	1	1%	1	0%	0
<b>S+ L1</b>	2%	7	3%	4	3%	3	1%	1	2%	3	1%	1	3%	2
<b>E, S + L1</b>	3%	8	4%	7	6%	5	2%	2	1%	1	0%	0	2%	1

*sig. level p < .001*

*sig. level p < .001*

E = English, L1 = first language, S = Swahili

**Table 6: Question 8. Which language(s) do you use most in your daily life? – Sex, education**

Language	Total (N=302) not stated 2		Female (N = 136)		Male (N=166) not stated 2		Primary (N=68)		Secondary (N=103) not stated 1		College/ University (N=130) not stated 1	
<b>L1</b>	55%	166	56%	76	54%	90	88%	59	55%	57	38%	49
<b>S</b>	13%	38	10%	14	15%	24	9%	6	16%	16	12%	16
<b>E</b>	22%	67	22%	30	22%	37	1%	1	21%	22	4%	44
<b>E + S</b>	3%	10	6%	8	2%	2	1%	1	4%	4	4%	5
<b>E + L1</b>	2%	6	2%	2	2%	4	0%	0	0%	0	5%	6
<b>S+ L1</b>	2%	7	2%	2	3%	5	1%	1	4%	4	1%	2
<b>E, S + L1</b>	3%	8	2%	4	2%	4	0%	0	0%	0	6%	8

*sig.level p < .001*

E = English, L1 = first language, S = Swahili

*Note: The group of informants who never attended school is omitted because it comprises only one interviewee. Together with missing values the total sample for educational groups adds to 301 instead of 304.*

## Appendix 11

**Table 7: Question 8. Which language(s) do you use most in your daily life? – Age**

Language	Total (N=302) not stated 2	15-20 (N=14)	21-30 (N=143)	31-40 (N=72)	41-50 (N=47) not stated 2	51-60 (N= 15)	Above 60 (N=11)
<b>L1</b>	55% 166	43% 6	49% 70	60% 43	58% 27	60% 9	100% 11
<b>S</b>	13% 38	14% 2	18% 25	10% 7	6% 3	7% 1	0% 0
<b>E</b>	22% 67	28% 4	22% 31	20% 14	28% 13	33% 5	0% 0
<b>E + S</b>	3% 10	14% 2	4% 6	3% 2	0% 0	0% 0	0% 0
<b>E + L1</b>	2% 6	0% 0	2% 3	1% 1	4% 2	0% 0	0% 0
<b>S+ L1</b>	2% 7	0% 0	1% 2	5% 4	2% 1	0% 0	0% 0
<b>E, S + L1</b>	3% 8	0% 0	4% 6	1% 1	2% 1	0% 0	0% 0

E = English, L1 = first language, S = Swahili

**Table 8: Question 8. Which language(s) do you use most in your daily life? – Income**

Language	Total (N=302) not stated 2	Low (N = 181)	Middle (N=110) not stated 2	High (N=11)
<b>L1</b>	55% 166	71% 128	35% 38	0% 0
<b>S</b>	13% 38	14% 26	11% 12	0% 0
<b>E</b>	22% 67	10% 17	38% 42	73% 8
<b>E + S</b>	3% 10	3% 6	4% 4	0% 0
<b>E + L1</b>	2% 6	0% 0	4% 4	18% 2
<b>S+ L1</b>	2% 7	2% 4	3% 3	0% 0
<b>E, S + L1</b>	3% 8	0% 0	5% 7	9% 1

*sig.level p < .001*

E = English, L1 = first language, S = Swahili



## Appendix 11

**Table 9: Question 9. How well do you read books, magazines, newspaper etc. in this/these language(s)? – L1**

Language	Total (N=304)	Kikuyu (N=161)	Luo (N=143)
<b>L1</b>			
Fluently	46% 140	48% 78	43% 62
Moderately	31% 95	30% 48	33% 47
With difficulty	22% 67	21% 34	23% 33
No competency	1% 2	1% 1	1% 1
<b>S</b>	not stated 1		not stated 1
Fluently	49% 147	60% 96	36% 51
Moderately	34% 103	24% 38	45% 65
With difficulty	10% 31	8% 13	13% 18
No competency	7% 22	8% 14	6% 8
		<i>sig.level p &lt; .001</i>	
<b>E</b>			
Fluently	70% 212	61% 98	80% 114
Moderately	12% 37	14% 22	11% 15
With difficulty	3% 10	4% 8	2% 2
No competency	15% 45	21% 33	8% 12
		<i>sig.level p = .002</i>	
<b>X(Y)</b>			
Fluently	1% 4	1% 1	2% 3
Moderately	1% 4	1% 1	2% 3
With difficulty	5% 14	1% 2	8% 12
No competency	93% 282	97% 157	88% 125
		<i>sig.level p &lt; .001</i>	

E = English, L1 = first language, S = Swahili, X(Y) = Kikamba, Kimeru, Kikuyu, Borani, Luhya, Lingala, French

*Note: Self-assessed proficiency levels were requested for each language spoken.*

**Table 10: Question 9. How well do you read books, magazines, newspaper etc. in this/these language(s)?– Sex, place of residence, income**

	Fluently reading L1	Fluently reading S	Fluently reading E
<b>Female</b> (N=136)	46% 63	53% 72	72% 98
<b>Male</b> (N= 168)	46% 77	45% 75	68% 114
<b>Urban</b> (N= 178)	37% 65	53% 94	79% 140
<b>Rural</b> (N= 126)	60% 75	43% 54	55% 69
	<i>sig. level p &lt; .001</i>		<i>sig. level p &lt; .001</i>
<b>Low</b> (N = 181)	35% 64	33% 60	49% 88
<b>Middle</b> (N= 112)	29% 32	35% 39	51% 57
<b>High</b> (N= 11)	27% 3	18% 2	36% 4
	<i>sig. level p = .022</i>		<i>sig. level p = .042</i>

L1 = first language, S = Swahili, E = English

*Note: Self-assessed proficiency levels were requested for each language spoken. Furthermore, lower levels of proficiency (moderately, with difficulty, no competency) are omitted for the purpose of comparison.*

## Appendix 11

**Table 11: Question 9. How well do you read books, magazines, newspaper etc. in this/these language(s)? – Age**

	Fluently reading L1		Fluently reading S		Fluently reading E	
<b>15-20</b> (N=14)	43%	6	43%	6	79%	11
<b>21-30</b> (N=143)	39%	56	51%	73	78%	112
<b>31-40</b> (N=72)	49%	35	47%	34	72%	52
<b>41-50</b> (N=49)	57%	28	43%	21	59%	29
<b>above 50</b> (N=26)	58%	15	50%	13	31%	8
	<i>sig.level p &lt; .001</i>					

L1 = first language, S = Swahili, E = English

*Note: Self-assessed proficiency levels were requested for each language spoken. Furthermore, lower levels of proficiency (moderately, with difficulty, no competency) are omitted for the purpose of comparison.*

**Table 12: Question 9. How well do you read books, magazines, newspaper etc. in this/these language(s)? – Education**

	Fluently reading L1		Fluently reading S		Fluently reading E	
<b>Primary</b> (N=68)	56%	38	34%	23	22%	15
<b>Secondary</b> (N=104)	54%	56	61%	63	81%	84
<b>College/University</b> (N=131)	35%	46	47%	61	86%	113
	<i>sig.level p = .008</i>		<i>sig.level p = .007</i>		<i>sig.level p &lt; .001</i>	

L1 = first language, S = Swahili, E = English

*Note: Self-assessed proficiency levels were requested for each language spoken. Furthermore, lower levels of proficiency (moderately, with difficulty, no competency) are omitted for the purpose of comparison.*

## Appendix 11

**Table 13: Question 9. How well do you read books, magazines, newspaper etc. in this/these language(s)? – Non-English/English**

Language	Non-English speaking (N=45) 15% of total		English-speaking (N=259) 85% of total	
<b>L1</b>				
Fluently	53%	24	45%	116
Moderately	38%	17	30%	78
With difficulty	9%	4	24%	63
No competency	0%	0	1%	2
	<i>sig.level p = .012</i>			
<b>S</b>	not stated 1			
Fluently	21%	9	53%	138
Moderately	18%	8	37%	95
With difficulty	25%	11	8%	20
No competency	36%	16	2%	6
	<i>sig.level p &lt; .001</i>			
<b>E</b>				
Fluently			82%	212
Moderately			14%	37
With difficulty			4%	10
No competency	100%	45	0%	0
<b>X(Y)</b>				
Fluently			2%	4
Moderately			2%	4
With difficulty			5%	15
No competency	100%	45	91%	236

E = English, L1 = first language, S = Swahili, X(Y) = Kikamba, Kimeru, Kikuyu, Borani, Luhya, Lingala, French

*Note: Self-assessed proficiency levels were requested for each language spoken.*

## Appendix 11

**Table 14: Question 10. How often do you read in this/these language(s)? – L1, Non-English/English**

Language	Total (N = 304)	Kikuyu (N = 161)	Luo (N = 143)	Non-English- speaking (N = 45)	English- speaking (N = 259)
<b>L1</b>	not stated 1		not stated 1		not stated 1
daily	22% 68	27% 43	18% 25	40% 18	19% 50
weekly	25% 77	25% 40	26% 37	38% 17	23% 60
monthly	25% 76	23% 37	28% 39	16% 7	27% 69
once a year	14% 42	11% 17	18% 25	4% 2	16% 40
never	13% 40	15% 24	11% 16	2% 1	15% 39
<b>S</b>	not stated 7		not stated 7		not stated 7
daily	29% 86	35% 56	22% 30	22% 10	30% 76
weekly	30% 87	26% 41	34% 46	9% 4	33% 83
monthly	17% 51	12% 20	23% 31	11% 5	18% 46
once a year	14% 42	13% 21	15% 21	20% 9	13% 33
never	10% 31	14% 23	6% 8	38% 17	6% 14
		<i>sig. level p = .003</i>		<i>sig. level p &lt; .001</i>	
<b>E</b>	not stated 1		not stated 1		not stated 1
daily	70% 213	61% 99	80% 114		82% 213
weekly	10% 29	12% 19	7% 10		12% 29
monthly	5% 16	5% 8	6% 8		6% 16
once a year	0% 0	0% 0	0% 0		0% 0
never	15% 45	21% 34	7% 11	100% 45	0% 0
		<i>sig. level p &lt; .001</i>			
<b>X(Y)</b>	not stated 1		not stated 1		not stated 1
daily	0% 0	0% 0	0% 0		0% 0
weekly	1% 4	1% 1	2% 3		2% 4
monthly	2% 7	0% 0	5% 7		3% 7
once a year	2% 7	1% 2	4% 5		3% 7
never	94% 285	98% 158	89% 127	100% 45	93% 240

L1 = first language, S = Swahili, E = English

Note: Due to missing values, totals of the different languages differ from the ones given in the first line.. Missing values are indicated for each language.

**Table 15: Question 10. How often do you read in this/these language(s)? - Sex, place of residence**

Language	Total (N = 304)	Female (N = 136)	Male (N = 168)	Urban (N = 178)	Rural (N = 126)
<b>L1</b>	not stated 1		not stated 1	not stated 1	
daily	22% 68	21% 29	23% 39	18% 31	29% 37
				<i>sig. level p &lt; .001</i>	
<b>S</b>	not stated 7	not stated 2	not stated 5	not stated 7	
daily	30% 86	31% 42	24% 39	29% 49	29% 37
<b>E</b>	not stated 1		not stated 1		not stated 1
daily	70% 213	68% 92	72% 121	89% 153	48% 60
				<i>sig. level p &lt; .001</i>	

L1 = first language, S = Swahili, E = English

Note: Due to missing values totals of the different languages differ from the ones given in the first line. Missing values are indicated for each language.

## Appendix 11

**Table 16: Question 10. How often do you read in this/these language(s)? - Age**

Language	15-20 (N = 14)	21-30 (N = 143)	31-40 (N = 72)	41-50 (N = 49)	Above 50 (N = 26)
<b>L1</b>	not stated 1				
daily	23% 3	18% 26	21% 15	27% 13	42% 11
<b>S</b>		not stated 2	not stated 1	not stated 2	not stated 2
daily	36% 5	31% 44	27% 19	23% 11	29% 7
<b>E</b>					not stated 1
daily	79% 11	80% 115	69% 50	84% 41	36% 9

*sig. level p < .001*

L1 = first language, S = Swahili, E = English

*Note: Due to missing values totals of the different languages differ from the ones given in the first line. Missing values are indicated for each language.*

**Table 17: Question 10. How often do you read in this/these language(s)? - Income**

Language	Total (N = 304)	Low (N = 181)	Middle (N = 112)	High (N = 11)
<b>L1</b>	not stated 1	not stated 1		
daily	22% 68	30% 54	12% 13	0% 0
<b>S</b>	not stated 7	not stated 5	not stated 2	
daily	30% 86	29% 52	31% 34	0% 0
<b>E</b>	not stated 1		not stated 1	
daily	70% 213	51% 93	97% 109	100% 11

*sig. level p < .001*

L1 = first language, S = Swahili, E = English

*Note: Due to missing values totals of the different languages differ from the ones given in the first line. Missing values are indicated for each language.*

**Table 18: Question 10. How often do you read in this/these language(s)? - Education**

Language	Total (N = 304)	Primary (N = 68)	Secondary (N = 104)	College/Unive rsity (N = 131)
<b>L1</b>	not stated 1		not stated 1	
daily	22% 68	37% 25	27% 28	11% 14
<b>S</b>	not stated 7	not stated 2	not stated 3	not stated 2
daily	30% 86	27% 18	41% 41	21% 27
<b>E</b>	not stated 1			not stated 1
daily	70% 213	21% 14	76% 79	92% 120

*sig. level p < .001*

L1 = first language, S = Swahili, E = English

*Note: Due to missing values totals of the different languages vary from the ones given in the first line. Missing values are indicated for each language.*

## Appendix 11

**Table 19: Question 11. What kind of reading material do you read in this/these language(s)?**

Total		
<u>L1 ranking</u>	<u>Swahili ranking:</u>	<u>English ranking</u>
1. Bible (139)	1. <i>Taiifa Leo</i> (154)	1. Newspaper (185)
2. Newspaper (68)	2. Bible (36)	2. Magazines (127)
3. Letters (34)	3. Storybooks (30)	3. Novels (107)
4. Storybooks (31)	4. Novels (8)	4. Bible (51)

L1 = first language

*Note: Interviewees were free to list more than one sort of reading material for each language category. Materials are ranked according to the frequency of their occurrence.*

**Table 20: Question 12. Do you like reading in your leisure time? – L1**

	Total (N=301) not stated 3		Kikuyu (N=160) not stated 1		Luo (N=143) not stated 2	
<b>Yes</b>	82%	248	77%	124	87%	124
<b>No</b>	17%	53	23%	36	13%	17

*Note: Due to missing values the total sample adds to 301 instead of 304.*

**Table 21: Question 12. Do you like reading in your leisure time? – Sex**

	Total (N=301) not stated 3		Female (N= 135) not stated 1		Male (N=166) not stated 2	
<b>Yes</b>	82%	248	84%	115	79%	133
<b>No</b>	17%	53	15%	20	20%	33

*Note: Due to missing values the total sample adds to 301 instead of 304.*

**Table 22: Question 12. Do you like reading in your leisure time? – Age**

	15-20 (N = 14)		21-30 (N = 141) not stated 2		31-40 (N = 71) not stated 1		41-50 (N = 49)		51-60 (N=15)		above 60 (N = 11)	
<b>Yes</b>	86%	12	87%	125	83%	59	71%	35	80%	12	45%	5
<b>No</b>	14%	2	13%	16	17%	12	29%	14	20%	3	55%	6

*sig. level p = .002*

*Note: Due to missing values the total sample adds to 301 instead of 304.*

## Appendix 11

**Table 23: Question 12. Do you like reading in your leisure time? – Education**

	<b>Primary</b> (N = 68)		<b>Secondary</b> (N = 101) not stated 3		<b>College/ University</b> (N = 131)		<b>Low</b> (N = 180) not stated 1		<b>Middle</b> (N = 110) not stated 2		<b>High</b> (N = 11)	
<b>Yes</b>	60%	41	87%	88	91%	119	74%	134	95%	104	91%	10
<b>No</b>	40%	27	13%	13	9%	12	26%	46	5%	6	9%	1
	<i>sig. level p &lt; .001</i>						<i>sig. level p &lt; .001</i>					

*Note: The group of informants who never attended school is omitted because it comprises only one interviewee. Together with missing values the total sample for educational groups adds to 300 instead of 304. The total of income groups adds to 301 due to missing values.*

**Table 24: Question 12. Do you like reading in your leisure time? – Place of residence**

	<b>Urban</b> (N = 176) not stated 2		<b>Rural</b> (N = 125) not stated 1	
<b>Yes</b>	88%	156	74%	92
<b>No</b>	12%	20	26%	33
	<i>sig. level p = .022</i>			

*Note: Due to missing values the total sample adds to 301 instead of 304.*

**Table 25: Question 13.a ) If so, why do you like it? b) If you don't, why don't you like reading it?**

<b>Reasons for liking reading</b> (N = 248)	<b>Reasons for disliking reading</b> (N = 53)
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. To get news/information (65)</li> <li>2. To increase knowledge (52)</li> <li>3. It keeps me busy (42)</li> <li>4. It is entertaining/relaxing (35)</li> <li>5. It improves language (18)</li> <li>6. For Christian content (14)</li> <li>7. It's a hobby (8)</li> <li>8. I have an interest (4)</li> <li>9. It gives new ideas (2)</li> <li>10. Others (1 each)</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Always busy/other things to do (22)</li> <li>2. No interest/it is boring (15)</li> <li>3. Tiredness/exhaustion after work (8)</li> <li>4. I can't read properly (3)</li> <li>5. No relevant materials (2)</li> <li>6. Others (1 each)</li> </ol>

*Note: Informants were free to give more than one reason. All responses were categorized as shown in the table and ranked according to the frequency of their occurrence*

## Appendix 11

**Table 26: Question 13.a ) If so, why do you like it? – Examples of responses**

Reasons (categories)	Examples of responses	Score
<b>To get news/information</b>	„to be informed“, „to update myself on current news“, „to get information about what happens in the world“, „to get news about what happened in America“ „to be updated about terrorism and how it stroke“, „to update me on politics“, „to catch up with the news“, „to get updated on the current news such as the war in Afghanistan“	<b>65</b>
<b>To increase knowledge</b>	„it gives me more knowledge“, „it increases my knowledge“, „to get knowledge and education“, „to acquire knowledge“, „enriches my knowledge“	<b>52</b>
<b>It keeps me busy</b>	„it keeps my busy“, „it keeps me busy when there are no customers“, „it helps me not to engage in irrelevant activities, e.g. drinking alcohol“, „to avoid me from being idle“	<b>42</b>
<b>It is entertaining/relaxing</b>	„it is entertaining“, „it is enjoyable“, „it is leisure too“, „when I get bored it refreshes my mind“, „to make my brain rest“, „to relax“, „to kill boredom“, „to be amused and relaxed“, „because I like to be entertained by good stories“, „it is intelligent recreation“	<b>35</b>
<b>It improves language</b>	„it helps me improve my English“, „to improve my word power and communication skills“, „to improve my speech“, „to develop my power in talking“, „it tunes my vocabulary“	<b>18</b>
<b>For Christian content</b>	„to uplift me spiritually“, „for spiritual nourishment“, „I just like reading the word of God“, „when reading the Bible I obey and trust the Lord“,	<b>14</b>
<b>It is a hobby</b>	„it’s a hobby“, „it has become kind of a habit, a hobby“, „one of my hobbies“	<b>8</b>
<b>I have an interest</b>	„it is interesting“, „I have an interest“, „it interests me“, „interesting“	<b>4</b>
<b>It gives new ideas</b>	„Because I get new ideas from reading“, „because I get to know the ideas of other people“	<b>2</b>
<b>Others</b>	„I like it, because I am a teacher“, „because I like novels“ „to get advice“, „because I am interested in work-related topics“	<b>1 (each)</b>

*Note: Informants were free to give more than one reason. All responses were categorized as shown in the table and ranked according to the frequency of their occurrence.*



## Appendix 11

**Table 27: Question 13.b ) If you don't, why don't you like reading it? – Examples of responses**

Reasons (categories)	Examples of responses	Score
<b>Always busy/other things to do</b>	“I'm always busy in the saloon”, “I am all busy in farming, so I lack time for reading”, “I don't get the time to read”, “I am always busy to make ends meet”, I don't get time to read, because I'm too busy finding money”, “because I have a lot of work”	<b>22</b>
<b>No.interest/it is boring</b>	„I don't have much interest“, „reading bores me“, „I was never interested in books and reading“, „no interest“, „it is boring“	<b>15</b>
<b>Tiredness/exhaustion after work</b>	„After work I'm usually tired and I want my mind to rest“, „At the end of the day, I'm exhausted“, „I am tired and can't read in the evening“, „It needs a lot of concentration and I can't concentrate on reading after work“	<b>8</b>
<b>I can't read properly</b>	„I never attended school, so I can't read very well“, „can't read very good“, „I don't read properly“	<b>3</b>
<b>No.relevant.materials</b>	„I can't find the books I want“, „books that interest me are not there“	<b>2</b>
<b>Others</b>	„My eyesight is poor“, „I concentrate on my family“	<b>1</b>

*Note: Informants were free to give more than one reason. All responses were categorized as shown in the table and ranked according to the frequency of their occurrence.*

**Table 28: Question 14. Do you have reading material at home nowadays? – LI, sex**

	<b>Total</b> (N = 301) not stated 3	<b>Kikuyu</b> (N = 160) not stated 1	<b>Luo</b> (N = 141) not stated 2	<b>Female</b> (N = 135) not stated 1	<b>Male</b> (N = 166) not stated 2
<b>Yes</b>	89% 269	89% 142	90% 127	89% 120	90% 149
<b>No</b>	11% 32	11% 18	10% 14	11% 15	10% 17

**Table 29: Question 14. Do you have reading material at home nowadays? - Age**

	<b>15-20</b> (N = 14)	<b>21-30</b> (N = 141) not stated 2	<b>31-40</b> (N = 71) not stated 1	<b>41-50</b> (N = 49)	<b>51-60</b> (N = 15)	<b>Above 60</b> (N = 11)
<b>Yes</b>	93% 13	90% 127	92% 65	90% 44	80% 12	73% 8
<b>No</b>	7% 1	10% 14	8% 6	10% 5	20% 3	27% 3

*Note: Due to missing values the total sample adds to 301 instead of 304.*

## Appendix 11

**Table 30: Question 14. Do you have reading material at home nowadays? - Education**

	<b>Total</b> (N = 301) not stated 3	<b>Primary</b> (N = 68)	<b>Secondary</b> (N = 101) not stated 3	<b>College/Univer sity</b> (N = 131)
<b>Yes</b>	89% 269	89% 55	91% 92	92% 121
<b>No</b>	11% 32	11% 13	9% 9	8% 10

*Note: The group of informants who never attended school was omitted because it comprised only one interviewee. Together with missing values the total sample for educational groups adds to 300 instead of 304.*

**Table 31: Question 14. Do you have reading material at home nowadays? – Place of residence, income**

	<b>Total</b> (N = 301) not stated 3	<b>Urban</b> (N = 175 ) not stated 3	<b>Rural</b> (N = 126 )	<b>Low</b> (N = 180) not stated 1	<b>Middle</b> (N = 110) not stated 2	<b>High</b> (N = 11)
<b>Yes</b>	89% 269	93% 163	84% 106	84% 152	97% 107	91% 10
<b>No</b>	11% 32	7% 12	16% 20	16% 28	3% 3	9% 1
		<i>sig. level p= .012</i>		<i>sig. level p= .003</i>		

*Note: Due to missing values the total sample adds to 301 instead of 304.*

**Table 32: Question 15. If so, what kind of are they? – L1, place of residence, sex**

<b>Kind of material</b>	<b>Total</b> (N=659)	<b>Kikuyu</b> (N = 327)	<b>Luo</b> (N = 332)	<b>Urban</b> (N = 394)	<b>Rural</b> (N = 265)	<b>Female</b> (N = 304)	<b>Male</b> (N = 355)
<b>Magazines</b>	23% 152	24% 77	22% 75	26% 101	19% 51	27% 79	21% 73
<b>Bible</b>	21% 136	22% 73	19% 63	15% 60	30% 76	22% 67	19% 69
<b>Novels</b>	17% 116	18% 59	17% 57	19% 76	15% 40	20% 61	15% 55
<b>Newspapers</b>	17% 110	20% 64	14% 46	17% 69	15% 41	14% 42	19% 68
<b>Textbooks</b>	6% 46	5% 16	9% 30	7% 27	7% 19	5% 16	8% 30
<b>Storybooks</b>	6% 39	4% 12	8% 27	5% 20	7% 19	5% 16	6% 23
<b>Christian books</b>	4% 27	3% 11	5% 16	4% 17	4% 10	4% 12	5% 15
<b>Others</b>	2% 13	2% 7	2% 6	3% 10	1% 3	2% 7	2% 6
<b>Books (unspecified)</b>	2% 12	1% 3	3% 9	3% 11	0% 1	1% 3	3% 9
<b>Newspaper L1</b>	1% 8	1% 5	1% 3	1% 3	2% 5	0% 1	2% 7

*Note: Informants were free to list all kinds of materials they have at home. The materials are ranked according to the frequency of their occurrence in the total sample. N refers to the total of answers given.*

## Appendix 11

**Table 33: Question 15. If so, what kind of are they? - Age**

Kind of material	Total (N=659)		15 – 20 (N = 47)		21 - 30 (N= 296)		31 - 40 (N = 166)		41 -50 (N = 106)		51 -60 (N = 34)		Above 60 (N =10)	
Magazines	23%	152	19%	9	28%	82	22%	37	13%	14	23%	8	20%	2
Bible	21%	136	15%	7	21%	62	21%	35	19%	20	18%	6	60%	6
Novels	17%	116	19%	9	23%	66	17%	28	10%	11	6%	2	0%	0
Newspapers	17%	110	26%	12	13%	37	16%	27	23%	24	29%	10	0%	0
Textbooks	7%	46	4%	2	7%	22	6%	11	8%	8	9%	3	0%	0
Storybooks	6%	39	13%	6	3%	9	8%	13	10%	11	0%	0	0%	0
Christian books	4%	27	2%	1	0%	2	6%	10	8%	8	12%	4	20%	2
Others	2%	13	0%	0	2%	5	2%	3	4%	5	0%	0	0%	0
Books (unspecified)	2%	12	0%	0	3%	10	1%	1	1%	1	0%	0	0%	0
Newspaper L1	1%	8	2%	1	0%	1	1%	1	4%	4	3%	1	0%	0

*Note: Informants were free to list all kinds of materials they have at home. The materials are ranked according to the frequency of occurrence in the total sample. N refers to the total of answers given.*

**Table 34: Question 15. If so, what kind of are they? - Education**

Kind of material	Low (N = 355)		Middle (N =282)		High ( N = 22)		Primary (N = 110)		Secondary (N = 239)		College/ University (N = 310)	
Magazines	21%	73	26%	73	27%	6	15%	16	26%	62	24%	74
Bible	26%	92	15%	42	9%	2	35%	38	20%	49	16%	49
Novels	14%	51	21%	60	23%	5	5%	5	19%	45	21%	66
Newspapers	19%	68	15%	42	0%	0	21%	23	16%	39	15%	48
Textbooks	4%	15	9%	26	23%	5	1%	1	3%	7	12%	38
Storybooks	7%	24	4%	13	9%	2	6%	7	8%	20	4%	12
Christian books	4%	13	4%	12	9%	2	7%	8	3%	7	4%	12
Others	2%	8	2%	5	0%	0	5%	6	1%	2	2%	5
Books (unspecified)	1%	4	3%	8	0%	0	2%	2	2%	4	2%	6
Newspaper L1	2%	7	0%	1	0%	0	3%	4	2%	4	0%	0

*Note: Informants were free to list all kinds of materials they have at home. The materials are ranked according to the frequency of occurrence in the total sample. N refers to the total of answers given.*

**Table 35: Question 16. Would you like to read more than you do now? – L1, Non-English/English**

	Total (N=300) not stated 4		Kikuyu (N=161)		Luo (N=139) not stated 4		Non- English- Speaking (N = 45)		English- speaking (N = 255) not stated 4	
Yes	82%	246	73%	118	92%	128	44%	20	89%	226
No	18%	54	27%	43	8%	11	56%	25	11%	29
			<i>sig. level p= .030</i>			<i>sig. level p&lt; .001</i>				

## Appendix 11

**Table 36: Question 16. Would you like to read more than you do now? - Sex, place of residence**

	<b>Total</b> (N=300) not stated 4	<b>Female</b> (N = 134) not stated 2	<b>Male</b> (N = 166) not stated 2	<b>Urban</b> (N = 175) not stated 3	<b>Rural</b> (N = 125) not stated 1)
<b>Yes</b>	82% 246	82% 110	82% 136	86% 151	76% 95
<b>No</b>	18% 54	18% 24	18% 30	14% 24	24% 30
<i>sig. level p= .022</i>					

**Table 37: Question 16. Would you like to read more than you do now? - Education**

	<b>Total</b> (N=299) not stated 4	<b>Primary</b> (N = 67) not stated 1	<b>Secondary</b> (N = 101) not stated 3	<b>College/Univ ersity</b> (N = 131)
<b>Yes</b>	82% 246	63% 42	86% 87	89% 117
<b>No</b>	18% 53	37% 25	14% 14	11% 14
<i>sig. level p&lt; .001</i>				

*Note: The group of informants who never attended school is omitted because it comprises only one interviewee. Together with missing values the total sample for educational groups adds to 299 instead of 304.*

**Table 38: Question 16. Would you like to read more than you do now?- Income**

	<b>Total</b> (N=300) not stated 4	<b>Low</b> (N = 179) not stated 2	<b>Middle</b> (N = 110) not stated 2	<b>High</b> (N = 11)
<b>Yes</b>	82% 246	75% 134	93% 102	91% 10
<b>No</b>	18% 54	25% 45	7% 8	9% 1
<i>sig. level p&lt; .001</i>				

**Table 39: Question 16. Would you like to read more than you do now? - Age**

	<b>Total</b> (N=300) not stated 4	<b>15 – 20</b> (N =14)	<b>21 - 30</b> (N=141) not stated 2	<b>31 - 40</b> ( N= 70) not stated 2	<b>41 -50</b> (N = 49)	<b>51 -60</b> (N = 15)	<b>above 60</b> (N = 11)
<b>Yes</b>	82% 246	93% 13	91% 128	83% 58	78% 38	53% 8	9% 1
<b>No</b>	18% 54	7% 1	9% 13	17% 12	22% 11	46% 7	91% 10
<i>sig. level p&lt; .001</i>							

## Appendix 11

**Table 40: Question 17. If so, about which topics would you like to read more?**

Topics (categories)	Score
Current news & politics	71
Religion & Christian living	63
Family life, marriage & parenting	46
Economy & Finance	35
Health & HIV/Aids	25
Real life stories of others	20
Farming & Agriculture	14
Sports	13
Computer & IT	13
History	11
How to improve business (Self-help)	10
Romance	9
National events & crimes	7
Tradition & Culture	5
Science & Technology	5
Nature & Environment	5
Mechanics & Motors	4
Adventures & Detective stories	4
Other	1 (each)

*Note: Informants were free to list as many topics as they liked. Responses were categorized and ranked according to their frequency of occurrence.*

**Table 41: Question 18. In which language(s) would you like to read more? – L1, Non-English/English**

	Total (N=246)		Kikuyu (N=118)		Luo (N=128)		Non- English- Speaking (N = 20)		English- speaking (N = 226)	
<b>L1</b>	8%	20	13%	15	4%	5	35%	7	6%	13
<b>S</b>	6%	14	11%	13	1%	1	15%	3	5%	11
<b>E</b>	64%	157	66%	78	62%	79	15%	3	68%	154
<b>E+S</b>	11%	27	5%	6	16%	21	10%	2	11%	25
<b>L1+S</b>	3%	8	4%	5	2%	3	20%	4	2%	4
<b>L1+E</b>	5%	12	1%	1	9%	11	5%	1	5%	11
<b>E + French</b>	3%	8	0%	0	6%	8	0%	0	3%	8
	<i>sig. level p &lt; .001</i>						<i>sig. level p &lt; .001</i>			

E = English, L1 = First language, S = Swahili

*Note: N refers to the number of informants who indicated a desire to read more (see Table 35 above).*

## Appendix 11

**Table 42: Question 18. In which language(s) would you like to read more? – Sex, place of residence**

Language	Total (N=246)		Female (N = 110)		Male (N = 136)		Urban (N = 151 )		Rural (N = 95)	
<b>L1</b>	8%	20	8%	9	8%	11	3%	5	16%	15
<b>S</b>	6%	14	5%	5	7%	9	4%	6	9%	8
<b>E</b>	64%	157	65%	72	62%	85	75%	114	45%	43
<b>E+S</b>	11%	27	11%	13	10%	14	7%	10	18%	17
<b>L1+S</b>	3%	8	3%	3	4%	5	1%	1	7%	7
<b>L1+E</b>	5%	12	5%	5	5%	7	5%	8	4%	4
<b>E + French</b>	3%	8	3%	3	4%	5	5%	7	1%	1
<i>sig. level p &lt; .001</i>										

E = English, L1 = First language, S = Swahili, p.o.t = percentage of total sample or total subsample

Note: N refers to the number of informants who indicated a desire to read more (see Table 35 above).

**Table 43: Question 18. In which language(s) would you like to read more? – Income, education**

Language	Low (N = 134)		Middle (N = 102)		High (N = 10)		Primary (N = 42)		Secondary (N = 87)		College/ University (N = 117)	
<b>L1</b>	14%	19	1%	1	0%	0	29%	12	8%	7	1%	1
<b>S</b>	10%	13	1%	1	0%	0	14%	6	8%	7	1%	1
<b>E</b>	54%	72	73%	75	100%	10	31%	13	66%	57	74%	87
<b>E+S</b>	10%	14	13%	13	0%	0	12%	5	9%	8	12%	14
<b>L1+S</b>	6%	8	0%	0	0%	0	14%	6	1%	1	1%	1
<b>L1+E</b>	4%	6	6%	6	0%	0	0%	0	6%	5	6%	7
<b>E + French</b>	2%	2	6%	6	0%	0	0%	0	2%	2	5%	6
<i>sig. level p &lt; .001</i>						<i>sig. level p &lt; .001</i>						

E = English, L1 = First language, S = Swahili, p.o.t = percentage of total sample or total subsample

Note: N values add to 246 and refer to the number of informants who indicated a desire to read more (see Table 35 above).

## Appendix 11

**Table 44: Question 18. In which language(s) would you like to read more?**

Language	15-20 (N = 13)	21-30 (N = 128)	31-40 (N = 58)	41-50 (N =38)	Above 50 (N =9)
<b>L1</b>	0% 0	4% 5	16% 9	13% 5	11% 1
<b>S</b>	0% 0	6% 8	9% 5	3% 1	0% 0
<b>E</b>	69% 9	71% 91	53% 31	53% 20	67% 6
<b>E+S</b>	23% 3	7% 9	14% 8	18% 7	0% 0
<b>L1+S</b>	8% 1	1% 1	1% 1	8% 3	22% 2
<b>L1+E</b>	0% 0	5% 6	7% 4	5% 2	0% 0
<b>E + French</b>	0% 0	6% 8	0% 0	0% 0	0% 0

*sig. level p < .001*

E = English, L1 = First language, S = Swahili, p.o.t = percentage of total sample or total subsample

Note: N values add to 246 and refers to the number of informants, who indicated a desire to read more (see Table 35 above).

**Table 45: Question 19. Why do you prefer this/these language(s)?**

	Reason	Example of responses	Score
<b>L1</b>	<b>Proficiency</b>	“It’s the only language I know”, “it’s the only one I can read”, “I know it better”, “it’s the language I understand”, “I am fluent in it”, “I understand it better”, “I can’t read the other languages”, “I can read it”	14
	<b>Identity/Culture</b>	“because it is my mother tongue”, “because Luo is my mother tongue”, I like reading it most, because it is my language”, “Kikuyu is my language”, “I am a Kikuyu and Kikuyu is my language” , “Im a Luo”	6
	<b>Common language</b>	“used by many people in my area”, “it’s the language commonly used in my village”, “most people around me use it”	3
<b>Swahili</b>	<b>Proficiency</b>	It’s the one I am able to read, “I learnt reading it”, I’m fluent reading it”, I understand it best”, “When I went to school I learnt reading it”	11
	<b>Status</b>	“one should not forget Swahili as it is the national language”, “national language”, “Swahili is the national language”, “Kiswahili is the national language”	4
	<b>Availability</b>	“books in Swahili are more than mother tongue”, “it has more books”, “easier to find books”	3

## Appendix 11

<b>English</b>	<b><i>Proficiency</i></b>	“it’s the easiest language for me in communication”, “better mastery of the language”, “because it’s simpler to read and write”, “because of fluency”, “I’m more familiar with English”, “I read faster”, “I understand English better than any other language”, “ it is cheap to read and understand”, “I am used to use it due to schoolsystem”	117
	<b><i>Availability</i></b>	“it is more availabe”, “because most material are published in English”, “because most books are written in English”, “easy to get books in it”, “has many reading material” “wide range of publications”	28
	<b><i>Common language</i></b>	“because it is commonly used”, “it’s a common language in the country”, “it’s common”, common language”, “common”	27
	<b><i>Status</i></b>	“because it is the official language”, “English is the official language”, “English is official”, “is used in all institutions”, “official language”	14
	<b><i>LWC</i></b>	”because it’s spoken worldwide” “E is internationally” “English is almost universally spoken”, “I found that E is widely spoken in the World”, “In Africa English is the main language spoken in a lot of countries” “because it is used worldwide”	6
	<b><i>To improve language</i></b>	“it will make me more fluent in speaking and reading the language”, “I gain more knowledge of the language”, “It improves my ability to speak it” “I learn the language, when reading it”, “gain knowledge of the language”	5

L1 = first language, LWC = Language of wider communication

*Note: Responses were categorized as shown in the table, they were ranked according to the frequency of occurrence for each language.*



## Appendix 11

---

**Table 46: Question 20. What are your favorite books/authors and/or magazines?**

Category	Title (Author) [score]
<b>Magazines</b>	Parents [56]
	Magazine unspecified [18]
	Reader's Digest [10]
	Time [9]
	Newsweek [8]
	Today in Africa [6]
	Weekly Review [6]
	Revival Springs [3]
	Miracle [4]
	Drum [3]
	Ebony [2]
	Economic review [2]
	Law monthly [1]
	PC magazine [1]
	Farming magazine [1]
	Finance magazine [1]
	Seed magazine [1]
	Sport magazine [1]
	The economist [1]
	Financial Times [1]
	Victory [1]
	Men's Health [1]
	Fairlady [1]
	Shout [1]
	Emotions [1]
	BBC Focus on Africa [1]
New Africa [1]	
<b>Novel by Western writer</b>	(Sydney Sheldon)[26]
	If tomorrow comes (Sydney Sheldon) [1]
	(Danielle Steel) [11]
	(Robert Ludlum) [10]
	(Jeffrey Archer) [9]
	The Jury (John Grisham) [7]
	(American writers unspecified) [7]
	(James Hadley Chase) [3]
	(Jackie Collins) [3]
	(Clive Cussler) [3]
	(Rebecca Brown) [2]
	Hardy boys [2]
	Nancy Drew [2]
	Enid Blyton [1]
	Romeo and Juliet (Shakespear) [2]
	(Barbara Taylor Bradford) [1]
	(Arthur Miller) [1]
	(George Elliot) [1]
	Mills & Boon [1]
	(Frederick Forsythe) [1]
(Alex Hailey) [1]	
(Ann Rule) [1]	

## Appendix 11

---

<b>Newspaper</b>	Unspecified [26] Nation [17] Taifa [14] East African [8] Kikuyu language newspapers [6] East African Standard [2] Otit Mach [1]
<b>Novel by African writer Non-fiction</b>	(Chinua Achebe) [9] No longer at ease (Chinua Achebe) [3] Things fall apart (Chinua Achebe) [2] (African writers unspecified) [11] My life in crime (John Kiriamiti) [5] My life life with a criminal (John Kiriamiti) [2] The river between (Grace Ogot) [2] (Grace Ogot) [4] (Ngugi wa Thiong'o) [8] The river and the source (Margret Ogola) [5] Luo kitgi gi tembegi (Paul Mboya) [3] The burden (John Ruganda) [3] Meja Mwangi [2] Luanda Magere (Okoi Omtatah) [2] After 4:30 (David Maillu) [2] Betrayal in the city (Francis Imbuga) [1] (Gakaara wa Wanjau) [1] (Jomo Kenyatta) [1] Daughter of Gods (Abdo Antaka) [1] (Hilary Ngwero) [1] Not yet uhuru (Odinga) [1] Asali chungu (Said Ahmed Mohammed) [1] Mashetani (Hussein Ebrahim) [1] (Wole Soyinka) [1]
<b>Non-fiction</b>	Think Big (Ben Carson) [8] (Ben Carson) [12] Business book (unspecified) [1] Elementary accountancy [1] History in Africa [1] KCPE Encyclopedia [1] Medical book [1] Legal experts [1] Engineering [1] Anthropology Textbook [1] Calendar [1] Topmark Chemistry [1] Wiruthe Guthoma [1] Kikuyu proverbs [1]
<b>Christian non-fiction</b>	Religious books (unspecified) [8] Our daily bread [5] (Joyce Meyer) [3] Heart to heart (Nancy van Pelt) [1] To have and to hold (Nancy van Pelt) [2] (Billy Graham) [3] (David Wilkerson) [1] (Robert Schuller) [1] (Myles Monroe) [1] Thorn in the Flesh (R.T. Kendall) [1] (Benny Hinn) [1] In the steps of Jesus [1] Prayer book [1]
<b>Bible Storybook</b>	[60] unspecified [7]

## Appendix 11

**Table 47: Question 20. What are your favorite books/authors and/or magazines? – L1**

Kind of material	Total (N = 512)		Kikuyu (N = 250)		Luo (N =262)	
<b>Magazines</b>	28%	142	34%	84	22%	58
<b>Novel by Western writer</b>	19%	96	13%	34	24%	62
<b>Newspapers</b>	14%	74	18%	45	11%	29
<b>Novels by African writer</b>	14%	72	10%	24	18%	48
<b>Non-fiction</b>	12%	61	11%	28	13%	33
<i>non fiction</i>	52%	32	50%	14	55%	18
<i>Christian non-fiction</i>	48%	29	50%	14	45%	15
<b>Bible</b>	12%	60	13%	32	11%	28
<b>Storybooks</b>	1%	7	1%	3	2%	4

*Note: Informants were free to list as many of their favorites as they liked. Responses were categorized and ranked according to the frequency of occurrence. N refers to total of responses given.*

**Table 48: Question 20. What are your favorite books/authors and/or magazines? – Age**

Kind of material	15-20 (N = 27)		21-30 (N = 211)		31-40 (N =163)		41-50 (N = 79)		51-60 (N = 22)		Above 60 (N = 10)	
<b>Magazines</b>	30%	8	31%	66	30%	49	22%	17	9%	2	0%	0
<b>Novel by Western writer</b>	30%	8	21%	45	15%	25	20%	16	9%	2	0%	0
<b>Newspaper</b>	7%	2	10%	20	20%	33	15%	12	18%	4	30%	3
<b>Novel by African writer</b>	18%	5	16%	33	15%	24	10%	8	4%	1	10%	1
<b>Non-fiction</b>	4%	1	10%	21	11%	18	19%	15	23%	5	10%	1
<i>Non-fiction</i>	100%	1	43%	9	50%	9	73%	11	40%	2	0%	0
<i>Christian non-fiction</i>	0%	0	57%	12	50%	9	27%	4	60%	3	100%	1
<b>Bible</b>	4%	1	11%	24	8%	13	13%	10	32%	7	50%	5
<b>Storybooks</b>	7%	2	1%	2	1%	1	1%	1	5%	1	0%	0

*Note: Informants were free to list as many of their favorites as they liked. Responses were categorized and ranked according to the frequency of occurrence. N values add to 512 and refer to total of responses given.*

## Appendix 11

**Table 49: Question 20. What are your favorite books/authors and/or magazines? – Sex, Place of residence**

Kind of material	Female (N = 246)		Male (N = 266)		Urban (N = 307)		Rural (N = 205)	
<b>Magazines</b>	30%	73	26%	69	30%	93	24%	49
<b>Novel by Western writer</b>	21%	53	16%	43	26%	80	8%	16
<b>Newspaper</b>	9%	23	19%	51	10%	32	20%	42
<b>Novel by African writer</b>	8%	20	20%	52	10%	31	20%	41
<b>Non-fiction</b>	15%	36	9%	25	15%	44	8%	17
<i>Non-fiction</i>	58%	21	44%	11	45%	20	47%	8
<i>Christian non-fiction</i>	42%	14	56%	14	55%	24	53%	9
<b>Bible</b>	15%	36	9%	24	8%	24	18%	36
<b>Storybooks</b>	2%	5	1%	2	1%	3	2%	4

*Note: Informants were free to list as many of their favorites as they liked. Responses were categorized and ranked according to the frequency of occurrence. N values add to 512 and refer to total of responses given.*

**Table 50: Question 20. What are your favorite books/authors and/or magazines? - Income**

	Low (N = 277)		Middle (N = 210)		High (N = 25)	
<b>Magazines</b>	23%	65	32%	67	40%	10
<b>Novel by Western writer</b>	10%	28	28%	58	40%	10
<b>Newspaper</b>	23%	63	5%	11	0%	0
<b>Novel by African writer</b>	16%	44	12%	25	12%	3
<b>Non-fiction</b>	10%	28	15%	32	4%	1
<i>Non-fiction</i>	36%	10	59%	19	100%	1
<i>Christian non-fiction</i>	64%	18	41%	13	0%	0
<b>Bible</b>	16%	44	7%	15	4%	1
<b>Storybooks</b>	2%	5	1%	2	0%	0

*Note: Informants were free to list as many of their favorites as they liked. Responses were categorized and ranked according to the frequency of occurrence. N values add to 512 and refer to total of responses given.*

**Table 51: Question 20. What are your favorite books/authors and/or magazines? - Education**

Types of material	Primary (N = 100)		Secondary (N = 180)		College /University (N = 232)	
<b>Magazines</b>	20%	20	28%	50	31%	72
<b>Novel by Western writer</b>	0%	0	16%	29	29%	67
<b>Newspaper</b>	24%	24	19%	34	7%	16
<b>Novel by African writer</b>	12%	12	18%	32	12%	28
<b>Non-fiction</b>	14%	14	9%	17	13%	30
<i>Non-fiction</i>	14%	2	53%	9	63%	19
<i>Christian non-fiction</i>	86%	12	47%	8	37%	11
<b>Bible</b>	26%	26	8%	15	8%	19
<b>Storybooks</b>	4%	4	2%	3	0%	0

*Note: Informants were free to list as many of their favorites as they liked. Responses were categorized and ranked according to their frequency of occurrence. N values add to 512 and refer to total of responses given.*

## Appendix 12

### Summary of survey results 2002

The following section presents the results of the second questionnaire survey conducted in 2002. The summary comprises results for all questions included in the questionnaire (see Appendix 10) although not all compilations and correlations are discussed in the thesis (see Chapter 3.4).

**Table 1: Question 1. - 8. Background information: Sample description**

	<b>Total (N=349)</b>	<b>Kikuyu (N = 165)</b>	<b>Luo (N = 184)</b>
<b>L1</b>			
Luo	47% 165		
Kikuyu	53% 184		
<b>Sex</b>			
F	41% 143	41% 68	41% 75
M	59% 206	59% 97	59% 109
<b>Age</b>	not stated 2	not stated 2	
15-20	16% 55	7% 11	24% 44
21-30	36% 123	36% 59	34% 64
31-40	24% 84	28% 46	21% 38
41-50	12% 43	15% 24	10% 19
51-60	8% 27	9% 15	7% 12
Above 60	4% 15	5% 8	4% 7
		<i>sig. level p &lt; .001<sup>1</sup></i>	
<b>Education</b>	not stated 6	not stated 5	not stated 1
Never attended	2% 8	2% 3	3% 5
Primary	29% 98	21% 33	35% 65
Secondary	37% 128	38% 61	37% 67
College[Vocational]	13% 46	15% 24	12% 22
College [Academic]/ University	19% 63	24% 39	13% 24
		<i>sig. level p = .015</i>	
<b>Family income</b>	not stated 26	not stated 17	not stated 9
Low	78% 252	75% 112	80% 140
Middle	17% 55	22% 32	13% 23
High	5% 16	3% 4	7% 12
		<i>sig. level p = .042</i>	
<b>Marital status</b>	not stated 2		not stated 2
Married	58% 203	59% 97	58% 106
Single	41% 144	41% 68	42% 76
<b>No. of children</b>			
Mean	2,1	2,1	2,3
<b>Place of residence</b>			
Urban	52% 183	53% 88	52% 95
Rural	48% 166	47% 77	48% 89

<sup>1</sup> Because the present study does not use randomly sampled data, using significance tests (to examine differences in the distribution of variables) for inferential analysis is controversial (Labovitz 1971, Blalock 1979). However, significance (sig. level according to chi-square) is reported as an arbitrary criterion in deference to its widespread use in social science for exploratory analysis of non-random data.

Note: Family income was set on the basis of the present occupation of informants plus occupation of spouse (if married).

## Appendix 12

**Table 2: Question 9. Which of the following leisure time activities are you engaged in during the week? – L1**

	Total (N = 349)	Kikuyu (N = 165)	Luo (N = 184)
<b>Listening to the radio</b>	75% 262	74% 122	76% 140
<b>Reading the Bible</b>	69% 239	67% 110	70% 129
<b>Reading newspapers</b>	66% 229	65% 107	66% 122
<b>Spending time with family or friends</b>	65% 225	59% 97	70% 128
		<i>sig. level p = .036</i>	
<b>Watching TV</b>	59% 205	63% 104	55% 101
<b>Reading books</b>	45% 156	33% 54	55% 102
		<i>sig. level p &lt; .001</i>	
<b>Reading magazines</b>	38% 134	39% 64	38% 70
<b>Watching video</b>	34% 117	36% 60	31% 57
<b>Sports / Games</b>	26% 89	18% 30	32% 59
		<i>sig. level p = .003</i>	
<b>Relaxing at entertainment club</b>	24% 82	22% 37	24% 45
<b>Others</b>	4% 15	3% 5	5% 10

Note: Interviewees were free to choose as many activities as they engage in. Activities are ranked according to the frequency of occurrence in the total sample.

**Table 3: Question 9. Which of the following leisure time activities are you engaged in during the week? – Sex, place of residence**

	Total (N = 349)	Female (N = 143)	Male (N = 206)	Urban (N = 183)	Rural (N = 166)
<b>Listening to the radio</b>	75% 262	72% 103	77% 159	72% 131	79% 131
<b>Reading the Bible</b>	69% 239	67% 106	70% 133	69% 127	68% 112
<b>Reading newspapers</b>	66% 229	54% 77	74% 152	75% 137	55% 92
		<i>sig. level p &lt; .001</i>		<i>sig. level p &lt; .001</i>	
<b>Spending time with family or friends</b>	65% 225	68% 97	62% 128	66% 121	63% 104
<b>Watching TV</b>	59% 205	62% 89	56% 116	70% 126	48% 79
		<i>sig. level p &lt; .001</i>		<i>sig. level p &lt; .001</i>	
<b>Reading books</b>	45% 156	42% 60	47% 96	51% 94	37% 62
		<i>sig. level p = .009</i>		<i>sig. level p &lt; .001</i>	
<b>Reading magazines</b>	38% 134	43% 62	35% 72	49% 89	27% 45
		<i>sig. level p &lt; .001</i>		<i>sig. level p &lt; .001</i>	
<b>Watching video</b>	34% 117	29% 42	36% 75	43% 78	24% 39
		<i>sig. level p &lt; .001</i>		<i>sig. level p &lt; .001</i>	
<b>Sports / Games</b>	26% 89	22% 31	28% 58	22% 41	29% 48
<b>Relaxing at entertainment club</b>	24% 82	12% 17	32% 65	27% 49	21% 34
		<i>sig. level p &lt; .001</i>		<i>sig. level p &lt; .001</i>	
<b>Others</b>	4% 15	4% 5	5% 10	6% 10	3% 5

Note: Interviewees were free to choose as many activities as they engage in. Activities are ranked according to the frequency of occurrence in the total sample.

**Appendix 12**

**Table 4: Question 9. Which of the following leisure time activities are you engaged in during the week?– Age**

	<b>Total readers</b> (N = 347) not stated 2	<b>15-20</b> (N = 55)	<b>21-30</b> (N = 123)	<b>31-40</b> (N = 84)	<b>41-50</b> (N = 43)	<b>Above 50</b> (N = 42)
<b>Listening to the radio</b>	75% 260	76% 42	73% 90	75% 63	77% 33	76% 32
<b>Reading the Bible</b>	68% 237	67% 37	67% 83	64% 54	72% 31	76% 32
<b>Reading newspapers</b>	66% 228	58% 32	65% 80	70% 59	79% 34	55% 23
		<i>sig. level p &lt; .001</i>				
<b>Spending time with family or friends</b>	65% 224	60% 33	65% 80	61% 51	72% 31	69% 29
<b>Watching TV</b>	59% 203	56% 31	63% 78	58% 49	70% 30	36% 15
		<i>sig. level p &lt; .001</i>				
<b>Reading books</b>	44% 154	56% 31	47% 58	36% 30	49% 21	33% 14
		<i>sig. level p &lt; .001</i>				
<b>Reading magazines</b>	38% 132	40% 22	41% 51	35% 29	51% 22	19% 8
		<i>sig. level p = .001</i>				
<b>Watching video</b>	33% 116	40% 22	41% 50	31% 26	30% 13	12% 5
		<i>sig. level p &lt; .001</i>				
<b>Sports / Games</b>	25% 88	38% 21	30% 37	18% 15	23% 10	12% 5
		<i>sig. level p = .018</i>				
<b>Relaxing at entertainment club</b>	24% 82	24% 13	26% 32	20% 17	26% 11	21% 9
		<i>sig. level p = .038</i>				
<b>Others</b>	4% 15	0% 0	4% 5	5% 4	7% 3	7% 3

*Note: Interviewees were free to choose as many activities as they engage in. Activities are ranked according to the frequency of occurrence in the total sample.*

**Table 5: Question 9. Which of the following leisure time activities are you engaged in during the week?– Education**

	<b>Total</b> (N = 343) not stated 6	<b>Never attended</b> (N = 8)	<b>Primary</b> (N = 98)	<b>Secondary</b> (N=128)	<b>College [voc]</b> (N = 46)	<b>College[acd] /University</b> (N = 63)
<b>Listening to the radio</b>	75% 256	38% 3	79% 77	75% 96	78% 36	69% 44
<b>Reading the Bible</b>	69% 236	38% 3	77% 75	71% 91	74% 34	52% 33
<b>Reading newspapers</b>	66% 226	13% 1	47% 46	67% 86	78% 36	90% 57
		<i>sig. level p &lt; .001</i>				
<b>Spending time with family or friends</b>	65% 225	75% 6	65% 64	61% 78	71% 33	70% 44
<b>Watching TV</b>	59% 202	25% 2	36% 35	59% 75	85% 39	81% 51
		<i>sig. level p &lt; .001</i>				
<b>Reading books</b>	45% 154	0% 0	34% 33	40% 51	61% 28	67% 42
		<i>sig. level p &lt; .001</i>				
<b>Reading magazines</b>	38% 130	0% 0	24% 24	38% 49	56% 26	49% 31
		<i>sig. level p &lt; .001</i>				
<b>Watching video</b>	34% 122	25% 2	28% 27	28% 36	48% 26	40% 26
		<i>sig. level p 0 .051</i>				
<b>Sports / Games</b>	26% 85	38% 3	27% 26	23% 30	26% 12	22% 14
<b>Relaxing at entertainment club</b>	24% 79	13% 1	23% 23	17% 22	30% 14	30% 19
		<i>sig. level p = .038</i>				
<b>Others</b>	4% 15	0% 0	3% 3	2% 3	7% 5	12% 4

*Note: Interviewees were free to choose as many activities as they engage in. Activities are ranked according to the frequency of occurrence in the total sample.*

## Appendix 12

**Table 6: Question 9. Which of the following leisure time activities are you engaged in during the week?– Income**

	Total (N = 323) not stated 26	L (N= 252)	M (N = 55)	H (N = 16)
Listening to the radio	76% 247	77% 195	71% 39	81% 13
Reading the Bible	69% 224	70% 177	67% 37	63% 10
Reading newspapers	66% 212	59% 149	89% 49	88% 14
<i>sig. level p &lt; .001</i>				
Spending time with family or friends	62% 201	58% 146	75% 41	88% 14
Watching TV	59% 190	52% 130	87% 48	75% 12
<i>sig. level p &lt; .001</i>				
Reading books	46% 149	40% 101	64% 35	81% 13
<i>sig. level p &lt; .001</i>				
Reading magazines	39% 127	34% 86	55% 30	69% 11
<i>sig. level p = .001</i>				
Watching video	34% 111	27% 69	62% 34	50% 8
<i>sig. level p &lt; .001</i>				
Sports / Games	26% 83	25% 62	27% 15	38% 6
<i>sig. level p = .018</i>				
Relaxing at entertainment club	24% 78	21% 52	36% 20	38% 6
<i>sig. level p = .038</i>				
Others	4% 14	4% 9	5% 3	13% 2

Note: Interviewees were free to choose as many activities as they engage in. Activities are ranked according to the frequency of occurrence in the total sample.

**Table 7: Question 9. Which of the following leisure time activities are you engaged in during the week? Readers /non-readers– L1**

	Total (N = 349)	Kikuyu (N = 165)	Luo (N = 184)
Readers	94% 329	93% 154	95% 175
Non-readers	6% 20	7% 11	5% 9

Note: The information on leisure time activities pursued were used to further examine the reading activities of interviewees. Informants who reported at least one kind of reading activity (plus any other activity) from the pre-set list of activities used in question 9. were categorized as readers. Informants who chose activities excluding reading were summarized as non-readers.

**Table 8: Question 10. How much money do you spend for those activities per week? - L1, sex, place of residence**

Money spend per week	Total (N =346) not stated 3	Kikuyu (N=162) not stated 3	Luo (N=184)	Female (N=141) not stated 2	Male (N=205) not stated 1	Urban (N = 182) not stated 1	Rural (N = 164) not stated 2
None	15% 51	18% 29	12% 22	31% 44	3% 7	12% 21	18% 30
<50	16% 55	14% 22	18% 33	16% 23	16% 32	10% 18	23% 37
51 - 100	20% 70	23% 37	18% 33	18% 25	22% 45	18% 33	23% 37
101 - 250	19% 65	19% 31	19% 34	12% 17	23% 48	19% 35	18% 30
250 - 500	18% 61	17% 28	18% 33	11% 15	22% 46	22% 40	13% 21
501 - 1000	9% 32	7% 12	11% 20	7% 10	11% 22	14% 25	4% 7
>1000	3% 12	2% 3	4% 9	5% 7	2% 5	6% 10	1% 2
<i>sig. level p &lt; .001</i>					<i>sig. level p &lt; .001</i>		



**Appendix 12**

**Table 9: Question 10. How much money do you spend for those activities per week? - Age**

Money spend per week	Total (N =344) not stated 5		15-20 (N = 55)		21-30 (N = 121)		31-40 (N = 84)		41-50 (N = 43)		Above 50 (N = 41)	
None	15%	51	26%	14	13%	16	10%	8	9%	4	22%	9
<50	16%	55	27%	15	13%	16	12%	10	7%	3	27%	11
51 - 100	20%	69	16%	9	26%	31	19%	16	17%	7	15%	6
101 - 250	19%	65	18%	10	17%	20	20%	17	26%	11	17%	7
250 - 500	18%	60	9%	5	20%	24	18%	15	30%	13	7%	3
501 - 1000	9%	32	4%	2	9%	11	14%	12	9%	4	7%	3
>1000	3%	12	0%	0	2%	3	7%	6	2%	1	5%	2

*sig. level p < .001*

**Table 10: Question 10. How much money do you spend for those activities per week? - Income**

Money spend per week	Total (N =321) not stated 26		L (N = 250)		M (N = 55)		H (N = 16)	
None	15%	49	17%	42	13%	7	0%	0
<50	17%	51	20%	49	4%	2	0%	0
51 - 100	19%	61	20%	51	14%	8	13%	2
101 - 250	19%	61	19%	47	24%	13	6%	1
250 - 500	18%	59	16%	41	25%	14	25%	4
501 - 1000	9%	29	7%	17	14%	8	25%	4
>1000	3%	11	1%	3	6%	3	31%	5

*sig. level p < .001*

**Table 11: Question 10. How much money do you spend for those activities per week? - Education**

	Total (N =340) not stated 9		Never attended (N=7)		Primary (N= 97)		Secondary (N=128)		College [voc] (N= 46)		College [acd] / University (N = 63)	
None	15%	51	43%	3	24%	23	12%	15	16%	7	5%	3
<50	16%	53	43%	3	25%	24	18%	23	4%	2	2%	1
51 - 100	20%	68	0%	0	24%	23	23%	29	13%	6	16%	10
101 - 250	19%	64	14%	1	11%	11	21%	27	31%	14	17%	11
250 - 500	18%	61	0%	0	14%	14	15%	19	16%	7	33%	21
501 - 1000	9%	32	0%	0	2%	2	9%	12	18%	8	16%	10
>1000	3%	11	0%	0	0%	0	2%	3	2%	1	11%	7

*sig. level p < .001*

## Appendix 12

**Table 12: Question 11. If you had more money to spend, what would you like to spend it for?**

Priorities (categories)	Examples of responses	Entries
<b>Income creating activities</b>	“start a small business”, “put it into farming”, “buy fertilizer”, “enlarge my business”, “start my own garage”, “equip my saloon”	156
<b>Entertainment</b>	“go out with friends”, “visit the bar”, “cinema”, “go to the movies”, “play golf”, “go to the gym”	48
<b>Education</b>	“paying school fees”, “further my education”, “attend accountancy course”, “send my kids to school”	45
<b>For reading material</b>	“buying gospel literature”, “for newspapers”, “buy books for my kids”, “buy Christian books”, enlarge my library”	45
<b>For supplementary goods</b>	“buy nice furniture”, “buy a TV set”, “buy me a radio set”, “have nice garments” “buy a DVD player”, “buy toys for the kids”	35
<b>Basic needs</b>	“buy food”, “buy food and clothes for the family”, “buy medicine”	10
<b>Charity</b>	“help the needy”, “for charity” “support the orphanage”, “help the streetkids”	7
<b>Church</b>	“support my church”, “contribute to the church building”, “help the church”	6

*Note: Informants were free to give more than one reason. All responses were categorized as shown in the table and ranked according to the frequency of occurrence.*

**Table 13: Question 11. If you had more money to spend, what would you like to spend it for? - L1, sex, place of residence**

Priorities (categories)	Kikuyu (N = 162)		Luo (N = 190)		Female (N = 147)		Male (N = 205)		Urban (N=188)		Rural (N=164)	
<b>Income creating activities</b>	41%	66	47%	90	38%	56	49%	100	38%	72	51%	84
	<i>sig. level p = .033</i>											
<b>Entertainment</b>	20%	32	8%	16	16%	24	12%	24	20%	37	7%	11
	<i>sig. level p = .001</i>											
<b>Education</b>	12%	20	13%	25	14%	21	12%	24	14%	27	11%	18
<b>For reading material</b>	13%	21	13%	24	15%	22	11%	23	14%	26	12%	19
<b>For supplementary goods</b>	11%	18	9%	17	9%	13	11%	22	6%	12	14%	23
	<i>sig. level p = .021</i>											
<b>Basic needs</b>	2%	3	4%	7	4%	6	2%	4	3%	6	2%	4
<b>Charity</b>	0%	0	4%	7	3%	4	1%	3	3%	5	1%	2
	<i>sig. level p = .015</i>											
<b>Church</b>	1%	2	2%	4	1%	1	2%	5	2%	3	2%	3

*Note: N values add to 352 and refer to total of responses given.*

## Appendix 12

**Table 14: Question 11. If you had more money to spend, what would you like to spend it for? - Age**

Priorities (categories)	15-20 (N = 55)	21-30 (N = 130)	31-40 (N = 85)	41-50 (N = 44)	Above 50 (N = 38)
<b>Income creating activities</b>	36% 21	38% 49	45% 38	54% 24	63% 24
<b>Entertainment</b>	9% 5	19% 25	15% 13	7% 3	5% 2
<b>Education</b>	15% 8	12% 15	12% 10	16% 7	14% 5
<b>For reading material</b>	13% 7	13% 17	16% 14	11% 5	5% 2
<b>For supplementary goods</b>	20% 11	10% 14	6% 5	5% 2	8% 3
	<i>sig. level p = .050</i>				
<b>Basic needs</b>	0% 0	2% 3	4% 3	5% 2	5% 2
<b>Charity</b>	4% 2	4% 5	0% 0	0% 0	0% 0
<b>Church</b>	2% 1	2% 2	2% 2	2% 1	0% 0

Note: N values add to 352 and refer to total of responses given.

**Table 15: Question 11. If you had more money to spend, what would you like to spend it for? - Education**

Priorities (categories)	Never attended (N = 8)	Primary (N = 101)	Secondary (N = 134)	College[vo c] (N = 63)	College[ac d.]/Univer sity (N = 46)
<b>Income creating activities</b>	64% 5	59% 60	42% 56	37% 23	26% 12
	<i>sig. level p &lt; .001</i>				
<b>Entertainment</b>	12% 1	3% 3	11% 15	21% 13	35% 16
	<i>sig. level p &lt; .001</i>				
<b>Education</b>	12% 1	8% 8	15% 20	14% 9	15% 7
<b>For reading material</b>	0% 0	7% 7	17% 22	15% 10	14% 6
<b>For supplementary goods</b>	0% 0	16% 16	9% 12	8% 5	4% 2
<b>Basic needs</b>	12% 1	4% 4	2% 3	3% 2	0% 0
<b>Charity</b>	0% 0	2% 2	2% 3	0% 0	4% 2
<b>Church</b>	0% 0	1% 1	2% 3	2% 1	2% 1

Note: N values add to 352 and refer to total of responses given.

**Table 16: Question 11. If you had more money to spend, what would you like to spend it for? - Income**

Priorities (categories)	L (N = 260)	M (N = 68)	H (N = 22)
<b>Income creating activities</b>	50% 131	25% 17	36% 8
	<i>sig. level p = .004</i>		
<b>Entertainment</b>	7% 19	32% 22	32% 7
	<i>sig. level p &lt; .001</i>		
<b>Education</b>	12% 32	16% 11	9% 2
<b>For reading material</b>	12% 32	15% 10	14% 3
<b>For supplementary goods</b>	11% 29	6% 4	9% 2
<b>Basic needs</b>	3% 8	3% 2	0% 0
	<i>sig. level p = .051</i>		
<b>Charity</b>	2% 5	0% 0	9% 2
	<i>sig. level p = .005</i>		
<b>Church</b>	2% 4	3% 2	0% 0

Note: N values add to 352 and refer to total of responses given.

## Appendix 12

**Table 17: Question 12. How often do you read the following reading material?  
Frequency – L1**

		Total (N = 335) not stated 14		Kikuyu (N = 160) not stated 5		Luo (N = 175) not stated 9	
<b>Daily newspapers</b>	Daily	52%	176	60%	96	46%	80
	Weekly	26%	87	20%	31	32%	56
	Monthly	3%	9	1%	2	4%	7
	Once/year	2%	7	3%	5	1%	2
	Never	17%	56	16%	26	17%	30
<i>sig. level p = .015</i>							
<b>Newspaper in L1</b>	Daily	2%	6	1%	1	3%	5
	Weekly	12%	39	11%	17	13%	22
	Monthly	10%	32	8%	13	11%	19
	Once/year	3%	11	1%	2	5%	9
	Never	73%	237	79%	122	68%	115
<b>Magazines</b>	Daily	2%	7	3%	4	2%	3
	Weekly	23%	76	20%	31	26%	45
	Monthly	31%	103	39%	60	25%	43
	Once/year	3%	10	2%	3	4%	7
	Never	41%	133	37%	58	43%	75
<b>Storybooks</b>	Daily	8%	27	3%	4	13%	23
	Weekly	13%	43	10%	16	15%	27
	Monthly	14%	47	12%	18	17%	29
	Once/year	8%	25	9%	14	6%	11
	Never	57%	188	66%	102	49%	86
<i>sig. level p = .001</i>							
<b>Novels by A.writers</b>	Daily	2%	8	1%	2	4%	6
	Weekly	12%	38	8%	13	15%	25
	Monthly	15%	47	16%	24	14%	23
	Once/year	11%	36	13%	20	9%	16
	Never	60%	194	62%	96	58%	98
<b>Novels by W.writers</b>	Daily	5%	15	4%	6	5%	9
	Weekly	10%	31	9%	13	11%	18
	Monthly	17%	55	16%	24	19%	31
	Once/year	8%	26	10%	16	6%	10
	Never	60%	193	61%	94	59%	99
<b>Christian books</b>	Daily	24%	77	28%	42	20%	35
	Weekly	25%	80	22%	33	27%	47
	Monthly	12%	40	12%	17	13%	23
	Once/year	6%	20	8%	12	5%	8
	Never	33%	106	30%	45	35%	61
<b>The Bible</b>	Daily	53%	177	60%	93	48%	84
	Weekly	28%	92	24%	37	31%	55
	Monthly	2%	8	4%	6	1%	2
	Once/year	2%	5	1%	1	2%	4
	Never	15%	50	11%	18	18%	32
<i>sig. level p = .036</i>							
<b>Other books like about health, , economics, psychology, technology etc.</b>	Daily	5%	15	5%	7	5%	8
	Weekly	11%	33	12%	17	10%	16
	Monthly	18%	56	19%	27	17%	29
	Once/year	10%	29	10%	13	10%	16
	Never	56%	170	54%	74	58%	96

*A.writers = African writers, W. writers = Western writers.*

## Appendix 12

**Table 18: Question 12. How often do you read the following reading material?  
Frequency – Sex, place of residence**

	<b>Total</b>	<b>Female</b> (N = 135, 134, 132, 136, 130, 132, 131, 135, 124)	<b>Male</b> (N = 200, 191, 197, 194,193, 188, 192, 197, 179)	<b>Urban</b> (N = 178, 178, 176, 177, 173, 175, 173, 177, 177)	<b>Rural</b> (N = 157, 155, 153, 153, 150, 145, 150, 155, 132)
<b>Daily newspapers</b>					
Daily/Weekly	79% 263	66% 89	87% 174	86% 153	70% 110
<b>Newspaper in L1</b>					
Daily/Weekly	14% 45	9% 12	18% 33	8% 15	20% 30
<b>Magazines</b>					
Daily/Weekly	25% 83	22% 29	27% 54	31% 55	18% 28
<b>Storybooks</b>					
Daily/Weekly	21% 70	21% 28	22% 42	15% 27	28% 43
<b>Novels by A.writers</b>					
Daily/Weekly	14% 46	15% 20	14% 26	14% 24	15% 22
<b>Novels by W.writers</b>					
Daily/Weekly	14% 46	13% 17	15% 29	16% 28	12% 18
<b>Christian books</b>					
Daily/Weekly	49% 157	49% 64	48% 93	49% 85	48% 72
<b>The Bible</b>					
Daily/Weekly	81% 269	88% 119	76% 150	81% 144	81% 125
<b>Other books</b>					
Daily/Weekly	16% 48	12% 15	17% 33	16% 28	15% 20

*Note: Due to missing data total values (to which percentages refer) vary for each reading material listed. Therefore, N-values of subsamples are listed for each reading material. The first N value refers to the first line of reading material e.g. N = 135 is the valid total of the female subsample for the frequency of newspaper reading and 89 female informants or 66% of this total reported to read the daily newspaper on a daily or weekly basis. Significance was not tested for merged frequency levels.*

## Appendix 12

**Table 19: Question 12. How often do you read the following reading material?  
Frequency – Age**

	<b>15-21</b> (N = 54, 54, 53, 55, 52, 52, 52, 52, 50)	<b>21-30</b> (N = 119, 116, 118, 116, 114, 116, 116, 117, 111)	<b>31-40</b> (N = 76,74, 75, 76, 71, 73, 73, 78, 67)	<b>41-50</b> (N = 43, 40, 41, 41, 41, 40, 40, 42, 36)	<b>Above 50</b> (N = 41, 39, 40, 40, 40, 40, 40, 41, 37)
<b>Daily newspapers</b>					
Daily/Weekly	76% 41	79% 94	84% 64	91% 39	56% 23
<b>Newspaper in L1</b>					
Daily/Weekly	17% 9	11% 13	14% 10	13% 5	21% 8
<b>Magazines</b>					
Daily/Weekly	24% 13	29% 34	29% 22	20% 8	13% 5
<b>Storybooks</b>					
Daily/Weekly	40% 22	23% 26	20% 15	5% 2	10% 4
<b>Novels by A.writers</b>					
Daily/Weekly	26% 14	14% 16	6% 4	17% 7	13% 5
<b>Novels by W.writers</b>					
Daily/Weekly	21% 11	13% 15	13% 9	17% 7	10% 4
<b>Christian books</b>					
Daily/Weekly	58% 30	49% 57	42% 31	50% 20	43% 17
<b>The Bible</b>					
Daily/Weekly	77% 40	78% 91	83% 65	90% 38	80% 33
<b>Other books</b>					
Daily/Weekly	10% 5	15% 16	13% 9	36% 13	14% 5

*Note: Due to missing data total values (to which percentages refer) vary for each reading material listed. Therefore, N-values of subsamples are listed for each reading material. The first N value refers to the first line of reading material (e.g. N = 54 is the valid total of the 15-20 age group for the frequency of newspaper reading and 41 informants aged 15 – 20 or 76% of this total reported to read the daily newspaper on a daily or weekly basis.) Significance was not tested for merged frequency levels.*

## Appendix 12

**Table 20: Question 12. How often do you read the following reading material?  
Frequency – Education**

	<b>Never attended</b> (N = 6, 6, 6, 6, 5, 5)	<b>Primary</b> (N =93, 90, 92, 92, 89, 92, 92, 93, 89)	<b>Secondary</b> (N = 124, 122, 123, 120, 121, 115, 115, 124, 109)	<b>College [voc]</b> (N =42, 42, 44, 43, 43, 43, 43, 44, 49)	<b>College [ac.]/University</b> (N = 62, 62, 61, 60, 60, 59, 61, 61, 61)
<b>Daily newspapers</b>					
Daily/Weekly	0% 0	55% 51	86% 107	93% 39	98% 61
<b>Newspaper in L1</b>					
Daily/Weekly	0% 0	23% 21	16% 19	7% 3	3% 2
<b>Magazines</b>					
Daily/Weekly	0% 0	16% 15	22% 27	23% 10	46% 28
<b>Storybooks</b>					
Daily/Weekly	0% 0	49% 19	26% 32	14% 6	13% 8
<b>Novels by A.writers</b>					
Daily/Weekly	0% 0	13% 12	15% 18	14% 6	17% 10
<b>Novels by W.writers</b>					
Daily/Weekly	0% 0	10% 9	12% 14	21% 9	25% 15
<b>Christian books</b>					
Daily/Weekly	0% 0	49% 45	57% 65	21% 9	51% 31
<b>The Bible</b>					
Daily/Weekly	80% 4	80% 74	84% 104	57% 25	75% 46
<b>Other books</b>					
Daily/Weekly	0% 0	8% 6	14% 15	8% 4	38% 23

*Note: Due to missing data total values (to which percentages refer) vary for each reading material listed. Therefore, N-values of subsamples are listed for each reading material. The first N value refers to the first line of reading material e.g. N = 93 is the valid total of the primary subsample for the frequency of newspaper reading and 51 primary attendants or 55% of this total reported to read the daily newspaper on a daily or weekly basis. Significance was not tested for merged frequency levels.*

## Appendix 12

**Table 21: Question 12. How often do you read the following reading material?  
Frequency – Income**

		L (N = 242, 234, 237, 240, 234, 229, 233, 243, 213)	M (N =53, 53, 53, 52, 52, 49, 52, 52, 52)	H (N =12, 16, 14, 12, 12, 12, 12, 14, 12)
<b>Daily newspapers</b>	Daily/Weekly	74% 179	87% 47	100% 16
<b>Newspaper in L1</b>	Daily/Weekly	16% 37	8% 4	0% 0
<b>Magazines</b>	Daily/Weekly	20% 47	47% 25	57% 8
<b>Storybooks</b>	Daily/Weekly	23% 55	17% 9	17% 2
<b>Novels by A.writers</b>	Daily/Weekly	14% 32	14% 7	25% 3
<b>Novels by W.writers</b>	Daily/Weekly	12% 28	13% 7	50% 6
<b>Christian books</b>	Daily/Weekly	52% 121	38% 20	57% 8
<b>The Bible</b>	Daily/Weekly	81% 197	85% 44	79% 11
<b>Other books</b>	Daily/Weekly	12% 25	23% 12	58% 7

*Note: Due to missing data total values (to which percentages refer) vary for each reading material listed. Therefore, N-values of subsamples are listed for each reading material. The first N value refers to the first line of reading material e.g. N = 242 is the valid total of the low income group for the frequency of newspaper reading and 179 low income earners or 74% of this total reported to read the daily newspaper on a daily or weekly basis. Significance was not tested for merged frequency levels.*

**Table 22: Question 13. Which was the last book you read?**

Category	Title (Author) [score]
<b>Magazines</b>	
<b>Novel by Western writer</b>	
	A stranger in the mirror (Sydney Sheldon) [3]
	Doomsday conspiracy (Sidney Sheldon) [3]
	Moonlight (Sydney Sheldon) [2]
	Range of angels (Sydney Sheldon) [2]
	Sands of time (Sidney Sheldon) [2]
	Tell me your dream (Sydney Sheldon) [1]
	The other side of midnight (Sydney Sheldon) [1]
	The sky is falling (Sydney Sheldon) [2]
	A perfect stranger (Danielle Steel) [1]
	Summer's end (Danielle Steel) [2]
	The Promise (Danielle Steel) [2]
	Wanderlust (Danielle Steel) [1]
	(Danielle Steel) [1]
	Honour among thieves (Jeffrey Archer) [1]
	Kane & Abel (Jeffrey Archer) [2]
	A twist in the tale (Jeffrey Archer) [1]
	The eleventh commandment (Jeffrey Archer) [1]
	(Jeffrey Archer) [1]
	A time to kill (John Grisham) [1]
	The firm (John Grisham) [3]



## Appendix 12

---

The pelican brief (John Grisham) [1]  
The street lawyer (John Grisham) [1]  
Bourne identity (Robert Ludlum) [1]  
The apocalypse watch (Robert Ludlum)[2]  
The parsifal mosaic (Robert Ludlum) [1]  
The fist of God (Frederick Forsyth) [1]  
(Forsyth) [1]  
The Godfather (MarioPuzzo) [2]  
Sons and lovers (D.H.Lawrence) [2]  
The vulture is a patient bird (J.H.Chase) [3]  
(James Hadley Chase) [1]  
Mills & boon [3]  
Mortal fear (Robin Cook) [1]  
The orange thieves (Charly Dahal) [1]  
Helliconia Summer (Aldiss Brian) [1]  
Lunatic express (Charles Miller) [1]  
The rich and the famous (Jacky Collins) [1]  
The reindeer hunters (Joan Wolf) [1]  
The French Kiss (Eric van Lustbader) [1]  
The Poor Man (McScott) [1]  
I know why the caged birds sing (Maya Angelou) [1]  
Elephant Song (Wilbur Smith) [1]  
The eagle has landed (Jack Higgins) [1]  
Hard times (Charles Dickens) [1]  
Oliver Twist (Charles Dickens) [1]  
The wooden horse [1]  
Hardy Boys [2]

### Novel by African writer

A man of the people(Chinua Achebe) [6]  
No longer at ease (Chinua Achebe) [1]  
Arrow of God (Chinua Achebe) [1]  
Things fall apart (Chinua Achebe) [9]  
The ministers daughter (Mwangi Ruheni) [4]  
The sinister trophy (John Kiriamiti) [1]  
Son of fate (John Kiriamiti) [5]  
My life in crime (John Kiriamiti) [5]  
A Grain of wheat (Ngugi wa Thiong'o) [2]  
Devil on the cross (Ngugi wa Thiong'o) [1]  
I will marry when I want (Ngugi wa Thiong'o&Ngugi wa Miiri) – play - [1]  
The river between (Ngugi wa Thiong'o) [1]  
The river and the source (Margaret Ogola) [5]  
Mine boy (Peter Abrahams) [3]  
The burden (John Ruganda) [2]  
The river without frogs (Anthology Phoenix young readers) [2]  
Son of a woman (Charles Mangua) [2]  
The beautiful ones are not yet born (Ayi Kwei Armah) [1]  
Whispers (Wahame Mutahi) [1]  
Painful tears (Wairimu Gitau) [1]  
Looking for a rain God (Anthology edited by Ian Gordon) [1]  
Colour of carnation (Ayub Ndii) [1]  
The girl was mine (David Karanja) [1]  
The herdsman's daughter (Bernard Chahilu) [1]  
Times beyond (Omowunmi Segun) [1]  
Judy the nun (P.M. Waweru) [1]  
A novel called two in one [1]  
Siku njema (Ken Walibora) [2]  
Kaburi bila msalaba (Peter Munuhe Kareithi) [1]

### Non-fiction

Long walk to freedom (Nelson Mandela) [1]  
Think big (Ben Carson) [7]  
Gifted hands (Ben Carson) [4]  
The power of positive thinking (Norman Peale) [3]  
Dare to succeed(Van Crouch) [1]  
Unlimited power (Anthony Robbins) [1]  
The strong willed child (Dr. James Dobsen) [1]  
Happy marriage [1]

## Appendix 12

---

	How to lead [1] A textbook [2] African Medical Guide [1] Introduction to Sociology [1] Master insurance tactics [1] Management and accounting [1] Management mathematics [1] Modern economics (Beardshaw) [1] A textbook of economics [1] A book on animal husbandry [1] Veterinary immunology [1] Agricultural crops protection (S.J.N. Mwiniki) [1] Kiswahili kwa darasa la saba [1]
<b>Christian book</b>	The Anointing (Benny Hinn) [3] Good morning holy spirit (Benny Hinn) [2] The Biblical road to blessing (Benny Hinn) [1] The Abundant Life (Ray Baugham) [2] Final dawn over Jerusalem (John Hagee) [1] The kingdom within (Sanford) [1] Blessings or curse (Derek Prince) [1] Spirit of offence (Bishop Oyedopo) [1] Key to answer prayer (David Oyedepo) [1] Simple prayers for women (Kenneth & Karen Boa) [1] Winning souls (T L Osbone) [1] Let prayer change your life (Tressy Becky) [1] My friend Jesus (Etta B. Degering) [1] The power of prayer (R.A.Torrey) [1] My life today (Ellen G. White) [1] Understanding the power and purpose of men (Munroe) [1] Second Coming of Christ [1] Aids in a Christian perspective [1] Dynamics of Discipleship [1] Prayers for Christians [1] A prayer book [3] Hymn book [2] Bible commentary [1] A Christian book [2]
<b>Newspaper or magazine</b>	Otit Mach [4] Parents [8] Muiguithania [2] Ma doko tim? [1] Men's Health [1] Wathiomo Mukinyu [1] Reader's Digest [1] Taifa Leo [1] Revivial Springs [1] a magazine [1] only a newspaper [1]
<b>Can't remember</b>	Can't remember title [12] A novel but I can't remember the title [1] I can't remember the name [1] I can't remember the book [1]
<b>Storybook</b>	Safari Book No.4 [1]

*Note: Some informants didn't remember the author of the book they last read. When possible, the name of the author was complemented. Book titles and author were then used to categorize them as novel, non-fiction etc. In cases where informants remembered the author but not the title of the book, only the author was listed and categorized.*

## Appendix 12

**Table 23: Question 13. Which was the last book you read?**

**Last book read – L1**

	Total (N = 320) not stated 29		Kikuyu (N = 147) not stated 18		Luo (N = 173) not stated 11	
<b>Bible</b>	27%	85	30%	44	24%	41
<b>Novel by Western writer</b>	21%	68	22%	33	20%	35
<b>Novel by African writer</b>	20%	64	22%	33	18%	31
<b>Non-fiction</b>	10%	33	10%	13	11%	20
<b>Christian book</b>	10%	32	6%	9	13%	23
			<i>sig. level p = .032</i>			
<b>Newspaper or magazine</b>	7%	22	8%	12	6%	10
<b>Can't remember title</b>	5%	15	2%	3	7%	12
			<i>sig. level p = .038</i>			
<b>Storybook</b>	0%	1	0%	0	1%	1

Note: Title and author of the last book read were used to categorize the books.

**Table 24: Question 13. Which was the last book you read?– Sex, place of residence**

	Female (N=133)		Male (N=187)		Urban (N = 166)		Rural (N = 154)		L (N = 233) not stated 19		M (N = 48) not stated 7		H (N = 16)	
<b>Bible</b>	29%	39	25%	46	14%	24	40%	61	33%	77	4%	2	6%	1
					<i>sig. level p &lt; .001</i>				<i>sig. level p &lt; .001</i>					
<b>Novel by W. writers</b>	20%	26	22%	42	30%	49	12%	19	16%	38	36%	17	32%	5
					<i>sig. level p &lt; .001</i>				<i>sig. level p = .005</i>					
<b>Novel by A. writers</b>	16%	22	22%	42	19%	31	21%	33	21%	50	23%	11	6%	1
<b>Non-fiction</b>	10%	13	11%	20	13%	22	7%	11	8%	17	10%	5	38%	6
					<i>sig. level p = .002</i>									
<b>Christian book</b>	10%	13	10%	19	16%	27	3%	5	8%	17	23%	11	6%	1
					<i>sig. level p &lt; .001</i>				<i>sig. level p = .003</i>					
<b>Newsp. or magazine</b>	8%	11	6%	11	4%	6	10%	16	8%	19	4%	2	6%	1
					<i>sig. level p = .017</i>									
<b>Can't remember title</b>	6%	8	4%	7	4%	6	7%	9	6%	14	0%	0	6%	1
<b>Storybook</b>	1%	1	0%	0	0%	1	0%	0	0%	1	0%	0	0%	0

Note: Due to missing values total of female/male and urban/rural adds to 320 instead of 349.

Total of income adds to 297 instead of 349. Title and author of the last book read were used to categorize the books.

**Table 25: Question 13. Which was the last book you read?– Age**

	15-20 (N = 55)		21-30 (N = 123)		31-40 (N = 84)		41-50 (N = 43)		51-60 (N = 27)		Above 60 (N = 15)	
<b>Bible</b>	15%	8	18%	22	19%	23	33%	14	33%	9	60%	9
					<i>sig. level p &lt; .001</i>							
<b>Novel by W. writers</b>	18%	10	20%	24	15%	19	26%	11	7%	2	13%	2
<b>Novel by A. writers</b>	27%	15	24%	29	6%	10	12%	5	15%	4	0%	0
					<i>sig. level p = .026</i>							
<b>Non-fiction</b>	7%	4	10%	12	7%	9	14%	6	7%	2	0%	0
<b>Christian book</b>	13%	7	7%	9	6%	7	12%	5	11%	3	7%	1
<b>Newsp. or magazine</b>	0%	0	9%	11	5%	6	0%	0	15%	4	0%	0
					<i>sig. level p = .020</i>							
<b>Can't remember title</b>	13%	7	3%	4	2%	3	0%	0	4%	1	0%	0
<b>Storybook</b>	0%	0	0%	0	1%	1	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0

Note: Due to missing values total adds to 347 instead of 349. Title and author of the last book read were used to categorize the books.

## Appendix 12

**Table 26: Question 13. Which was the last book you read?– Education**

	Never attended (N = 8)	Primary (N = 98)	Secondary (N = 128)	College[voc] (N = 46)	College[acad.]/ University (N = 63)
<b>Bible</b>	25% 2	48% 47	20% 26	13% 6	5% 3
<i>sig. level p &lt; .001</i>					
<b>Novel by W. writers</b>	0% 0	7% 7	27% 26	30% 14	3% 19
<i>sig. level p &lt; .001</i>					
<b>Novel by A. writers</b>	13% 1	10% 10	27% 35	15% 7	1% 8
<i>sig. level p = .007</i>					
<b>Non-fiction</b>	0% 0	8% 8	6% 8	15% 7	1% 10
<i>sig. level p &lt; .001</i>					
<b>Christian book</b>	0% 0	6% 6	8% 10	13% 6	1% 10
<b>Newsp. or magazine</b>	0% 0	10% 10	5% 7	4% 2	5% 3
<b>Can't remember title</b>	13% 1	4% 4	5% 6	7% 3	2% 1
<b>Storybook</b>	0% 0	1% 1	0% 0	0% 0	0% 0

Note: Due to missing values total adds to 343 instead of 349. The title and author of the last book read were used to categorize the books.

**Table 27: Question 14. When did you read that book? Read when – LI**

	Total (N = 299) not stated 50	Kikuyu (N = 139) not stated 26	Luo (N = 160) not stated 24
<b>Within the last 7 days</b>	34% 107	36% 51	35% 56
<b>8 to 14 days ago</b>	30% 90	32% 44	29% 46
<b>15 to 30 days ago</b>	20% 60	19% 26	21% 34
<b>More than 1 to 6 months ago</b>	5% 15	5% 7	5% 8
<b>More than 7 to 12 months ago</b>	3% 10	2% 3	4% 7
<b>More than 1 to 2 years ago</b>	1% 4	1% 1	2% 3
<b>More than 2 years ago</b>	4% 13	5% 7	4% 6

Note: Commonly informants reported the time when they last read the book in an approximate manner including “last week”, “two weeks ago”, “half a year ago”. These specifications were summarized in categories as shown in the table above. ) Significance was not tested

**Table 28: Question 15. Do you go through newspapers or magazines? – LI, sex**

	Total (N = 347) not stated 2	Kikuyu (N = 163) not stated 2	Luo (N = 184)	Female (N = 142) not stated 1	Male (N = 205) not stated 1
<b>Yes</b>	86% 299	86% 140	86% 159	76% 110	92% 189
<b>No</b>	14% 48	14% 23	14% 25	24% 32	8% 16
<i>sig. level p &lt; .001</i>					

**Appendix 12**

**Table 29: Question 15. Do you go through newspapers or magazines?- Age**

	<b>Total</b> (N =345) not stated 4	<b>15-20</b> (N = 55)	<b>21-30</b> (N = 123)	<b>31-40</b> (N = 84)	<b>41-50</b> (N = 43)	<b>Above 50</b> (N = 40) not stated 2
<b>Yes</b>	86% 297	84% 46	89% 109	87% 73	93% 40	71% 29
<b>No</b>	14% 48	16% 9	11% 14	13% 11	7% 3	29% 11
<i>sig. level p = .055</i>						

**Table 30: Question 15. Do you go through newspapers or magazines?**

	<b>Urban</b> (N = 183)	<b>Rural</b> (N = 164) not stated 2	<b>L</b> (N = 251) not stated 1	<b>M</b> (N = 55)	<b>H</b> (N = 16)
<b>Yes</b>	92% 168	80% 131	82% 207	94% 52	100% 16
<b>No</b>	8% 15	20% 33	18% 44	6% 3	0% 0
<i>sig. level p = .001</i>			<i>sig. level p = .035</i>		

*Note: Due to missing values total place of residence adds to 347 instead of 349. Total income adds to 322 instead of 349 due to missing values.*

**Table 31: Question 15. Do you go through newspapers or magazines?- Education**

	<b>Never attended</b> (N = 8)	<b>Primary</b> (N = 98)	<b>Secondary</b> (N = 128)	<b>College [voc]</b> (N = 46)	<b>College[acd]/University</b> (N = 63)
<b>Yes</b>	13% 1	70% 69	94% 120	96% 44	95% 60
<b>No</b>	87% 7	30% 29	6% 8	4% 2	5% 3
<i>sig. level p &lt; .001</i>					

*Note: Due to missing values total adds to 343 instead of 349.*

## Appendix 12

**Table 32: Question 16. Which topics/sections are you most interested in?- L1, Sex, place of residence**

Topics/Section	Total (N = 347)		Kikuyu (N = 163)		Luo (N = 184)		Female (N = 142)		Male (N = 205)		Urban (N = 183)		Rural (N = 164)			
Headl/Outs.news	44%	152	47%	77	41%	75	34%	48	51%	104	49%	90	38%	62		
National politics	34%	118	31%	51	36%	67	15%	21	47%	97	36%	66	32%	52		
							<i>sig. level p &lt; .001</i>									
Sports& Games	28%	96	28%	46	27%	50	13%	19	38%	77	31%	57	24%	39		
							<i>sig. level p &lt; .001</i>									
Christian living	26%	90	36%	59	17%	31	27%	39	25%	51	22%	41	30%	49		
			<i>sig. level p &lt; .001</i>								<i>sig. level p = .015</i>					
Bus-. & Economy	24%	83	29%	48	19%	35	17%	24	29%	59	27%	49	21%	34		
			<i>sig. level p = .018</i>													
National events	24%	82	15%	25	31%	57	9%	13	21%	44	17%	31	16%	26		
							<i>sig. level p = .015</i>									
Leisure	22%	76	29%	47	16%	29	23%	33	21%	43	26%	48	17%	28		
			<i>sig. level p = .002</i>													
World politics	20%	68	20%	32	20%	36	11%	16	25%	52	23%	43	15%	25		
							<i>sig. level p = .010</i>									
Real life exp.	20%	68	28%	42	14%	26	26%	37	15%	31	21%	38	18%	30		
			<i>sig. level p = .005</i>					<i>sig. level p = .001</i>								
Movies/TV	18%	64	26%	42	7%	12	20%	29	12%	25	16%	30	15%	24		
			<i>sig. level p &lt; .001</i>					<i>sig. level p = .004</i>								
Health & Fitness	17%	59	18%	29	16%	30	21%	30	14%	29	22%	41	11%	18		
							<i>sig. level p = .012</i>								<i>sig. level p = .022</i>	
Adv & Obit.	16%	54	12%	20	18%	34	13%	19	17%	35	14%	26	17%	28		
Fash. & Beauty	13%	44	17%	27	9%	17	27%	39	2%	5	14%	26	11%	18		
			<i>sig. level p = .036</i>					<i>sig. level p &lt; .001</i>								
Cartoons	12%	43	11%	18	14%	25	12%	17	13%	26	11%	21	13%	22		
Others	6%	21	5%	8	7%	13	7%	10	5%	11	5%	10	7%	11		

*Note: Informants were free to choose as many sections as they liked. Sections are ranked according to the frequency of occurrence in the total sample.*

## Appendix 12

**Table 33: Question 16. Which topics/sections are you most interested in?- Age**

Topics/Section	Total (N = 347)	15-20 (N = 55)	21-30 (N= 123)	31-40 (N = 84)	41-50 (N = 43)	50 (N= 41) not stated 2
Headl/Outs.news	44% 152	33% 18	46% 56	42% 35	65% 28	29% 12
National politics	34% 118	20% 11	34% 42	38% 32	37% 16	27% 11
<i>sig. level p = .052</i>						
Sports& Games	28% 96	33% 18	38% 47	26% 22	16% 7	2% 1
<i>sig. level p &lt; .001</i>						
Christian living	26% 90	18% 10	23% 28	30% 25	2% 10	32% 13
<i>sig. level p = .016</i>						
Bus-. & Economy	24% 83	15% 8	20% 25	30% 25	37% 16	17% 7
National events	24% 82	11% 6	16% 20	17% 14	19% 8	17% 7
Leisure	22% 76	20% 11	31% 38	21% 18	16% 7	2% 1
<i>sig. level p = .015</i>						
World politics	20% 68	7% 4	22% 27	10% 16	30% 13	20% 8
<i>sig. level p = .026</i>						
Real life exp.	20% 68	15% 8	20% 24	21% 18	26% 11	10% 4
Movies/TV	18% 64	18% 10	23% 28	14% 12	5% 2	2% 1
Health & Fitness	17% 59	15% 8	23% 28	13% 11	21% 9	5% 2
Adv & Obit.	16% 54	18% 10	11% 14	19% 16	21% 9	7% 3
<i>sig. level p = .051</i>						
Fash. & Beauty	13% 44	16% 9	19% 23	8% 7	12% 5	0% 0
Cartoons	12% 43	18% 10	16% 20	8% 7	9% 4	0% 0
Others	6% 21	5% 3	7% 8	7% 6	7% 3	0% 0

*Note: Informants were free to choose as many sections as they liked. Sections are ranked according to the frequency of occurrence in the total sample.*

**Table 34: Question 16. Which topics/sections are you most interested in? – Education**

Topics/Section	Never attended (N = 8)	Primary (N = 98)	Secondary (N = 128)	College[vocat.] (N = 46)	College[acad.]/University (N = 63)
Headl/Outs.news	0% 0	41% 40	39% 50	65% 30	49% 31
<i>sig. level p = .042</i>					
National politics	0% 0	21% 21	36% 46	50% 23	44% 28
Sports& Games	0% 0	28% 27	31% 40	35% 16	16% 10
Christian living	0% 0	24% 23	29% 37	24% 11	25% 16
Bus-. & Economy	0% 0	16% 16	25% 32	26% 12	33% 21
National events	0% 0	12% 12	0% 25	20% 9	16% 10
Leisure	0% 0	12% 12	21% 27	33% 15	33% 21
World politics	0% 0	9% 9	14% 18	26% 12	46% 29
<i>sig. level p &lt; .001</i>					
Real life exp.	0% 0	10% 10	19% 24	35% 16	27% 17
Movies/TV	0% 0	9% 9	19% 24	30% 14	8% 5
Health & Fitness	0% 0	3% 3	22% 28	37% 17	17% 11
<i>sig. level p = .003</i>					
Adv & Obit.	13% 1	13% 13	19% 19	26% 12	14% 9
Fash. & Beauty	0% 0	9% 9	13% 16	26% 12	11% 7
Cartoons	0% 0	14% 14	10% 13	13% 6	13% 8
Others	13% 1	3% 3	5% 7	17% 8	3% 2

*Note: Informants were free to choose as many sections as they liked. Sections are ranked according to the frequency of occurrence in the total sample.*

## Appendix 12

**Table 35: Question 17. Which topics are you interested in otherwise?**

Interests (categories)	Score
World Politics	33
Christian living/Spirituality	32
Sports	27
Business/Finance/Economy	25
Health/Fitness	24
National Events/Crimes	16
Leisure/Entertainment	16
Being with family/children	15
National Politics	15
Advertisements/Obituaries	15
Fashion/Beauty	14
Family topics/parenting/child care	14
Real life experience	13
Helping the needy	12
Movies/TV	11
Commentaries	8
Traveling	8
Preaching/Counseling	7
Agriculture	6
Cartoons	6
Making friends	6
Reading	5
Playing games (board games, cards, puzzles)	4
Headlines	4
Music	4
Letters	4
Singing	3
Cookery/Recipes	3
Vacancies	3
Weather	3
Crafts	2
IT	2
Globalization	2
Others: human rights, law, chemistry, biology, history, picnic, drama, psychology, tips on simple things, romance, detective topics, Swahili, dancing, horror	1(each)

*Note: During administration of the questionnaire it turned out that most interviewees related the question to the previous question (16.), which aimed at the topical interests of informants when reading newspapers or magazines. Interviewees, therefore, referred to and used the pre-set response-categories of question 16. Different from interviewees' understanding question 17. was meant to examine topical interests beyond newspaper and magazine reading. Response- categories which did not refer to categories listed in the previous question are marked gray.*



## Appendix 12

**Table 36: Question 18. Do you have a favorite program you are listening to in the radio/you are watching in TV? Favorite program – L1**

Favorite program radio / TV	Total (N = 343)		Kikuyu (N = 163)		Luo (N = 180)	
	Not stated 6		Not stated 2		Not stated 4	
<i>Yes</i>	91%	311	90%	147	91%	164
<i>No</i>	9%	32	10%	16	9%	16

**Table 37: Question 19. If so, which one is it? – TV- programs**

TV program	Score	Description of program
The bold and the beautiful	44	American TV series
Vioja Mahakamani 'Marvels in court'	34	A Kenyan satirical court room series featuring typical Kenyan cases (KBC TV)
Kuna Nuru Gizani 'There is light in the dark'	17	Gospel program (KBC TV)
Kinyonga 'Chameleon'	15	Kenyan series (KBC TV)
Passion	12	American TV series
Music clips	10	Not specified
The Young and the restless	7	American TV series
Neno Litakuweka Huru ,The word will free you'	7	Gospel program (KBC TV)
Heart and Soul	7	United Nations sponsored TV series produced in Kenya
Kisulisuli 'giddiness' or 'whirlwind'	7	Kenyan TV series (comedy)

*Note: Programs that were reported by only one informant are omitted for the purpose of the presentation in the two tables above. Programs are ranked according to the frequency of their occurrence.*

**Table 38: Question 19. If so, which one is it? – Radio programs**

Radio program	Score	Description of program
Music programs	24	Not specified
News in radio	12	Not specified
Orindi 'Wooden stool'	9	Luo program
Jodong Abila 'The elders' hut'	7	Luo cultural and language program (KBC Western service)
Je, Huu Ni Ungwana ? 'Are these good manners?'	7	Satirical program that criticizes modern lifestyles (KBC Kiswahili Service)
Radio Theatre	7	A radio series tackling social issues (KBC English Service)
Love zone	6	Romantic music late night show (Metro FM)
Gĩithingithia 'Earthquake'	4	Educational comedy that tackles old and new lifestyles (Kameme FM)

*Note: Programs that were reported by only one informant are omitted for the purpose of the presentation in the two tables above. Programs are ranked according to the frequency of their occurrence.*

## Appendix 12

**Table 39: Question 19. If so, which one is it? Language of program – L1**

Language of program	Total (N = 309)		Kikuyu (N = 145)		Luo (N = 164)	
<b>L1</b>	8%	31	10%	14	10%	17
<b>Swahili</b>	33%	86	25%	36	31%	50
<b>English</b>	45%	150	55%	81	42%	69
<b>Not clear</b>	14%	42	10%	14	17%	28

*Note: The titles of the favored TV or radio programs were used to identify the language of these programs. However, some informants didn't specify the name of their favorite program, but answered in a general manner indicating, for instance, to favor "news" or "music programs" as those are available in either language it is not possible to specify them. They were, therefore, categorized as "not clear".*

**Table 40: Question 20. Why do you like it?**

Reasons (categories)	Examples of responses	Score
<b>Leisure</b>		<b>91</b>
<i>Entertaining</i>	"I get entertainment", "I never get bored", "it entertains me even when I am alone"	53
<i>Humorous</i>	"it has a lot of fun" "for the laughs" "it really amuses me" "	17
<i>Thrilling/Fascinating/ Makes me excited</i>	"It's thrilling", "It makes me very excited", "It's very fascinating" "It's captivating"	11
<i>Relaxation/Refreshment</i>	„it relaxes my brain" Helps in refreshing me after a long day f work", "refreshes my mind"	10
<b>Educative</b>	"it's educative", "it educates us on development matters", "There is teaching in it" "for the teaching contained in documentaries"	<b>83</b>
<b>Religious information/ Christian encouragement</b>	"it gives me wisdom in things of God", "it builds me spiritually" "it makes my faith stronger", "it talks about problems Christians go through", "it teaches me about God"	<b>50</b>
<b>Informative</b>	"briefs me on events around", "updates me on events that occur globally", „to know news of the country" „it's informative"	<b>45</b>

## Appendix 12

---

<b>Realistic about real life</b>	“because it is about real life”, “it’s realistic”, it gives a touch of reality”, “It is realistic about life in Kenya today” “talks about true human habits” “it has life issues” “the story line looks close to real”	<b>30</b>
<b>Interesting</b>	“It is interesting”, “interesting program”, “it is interesting to me”	<b>27</b>
<b>Actors/Performance/Story</b>	“I love the actors”, „like how they act“, “I like the characters”, “I like the twists and turns of the story” “I like the flow of the story”	<b>11</b>
<b>Romance</b>	“it is very romantic”, “it has good romance”, “like the romantic stories”	<b>6</b>
<b>Culture and tradition</b>	“it teaches on the Luo culture”, “It has information about our culture and people”, “gives stories about the ancient Luo”, “informs about the way of our ancestors”	<b>4</b>

*Note: Responses to this open-ended question were summarized for analysis resulting in the categories shown above. Categories are ranked according to the frequency of their occurrence.*

## **Eidesstattliche Erklärung**

---

Ich erkläre durch meine eigene Unterschrift, dass ich die vorliegende Dissertation selbstständig und ohne fremde Hilfe verfasst, andere als die angegebenen Quellen und Hilfsmittel nicht benutzt bzw. die wörtlich oder sinngemäß entnommenen Stellen als solche kenntlich gemacht habe. Diese Versicherung bezieht sich auch auf die in der Arbeit gelieferten Zeichnungen, Skizzen, bildlichen Darstellungen und desgleichen.

Hamburg, den 21.11.2005

Christine Pawlitzky