Student Learning through a Rural Community Library

A case study from Uganda

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to explore and investigate the phenomenon of rural community libraries (RCLs) in Sub-Saharan Africa through an in-depth study of one such library located in Uganda. Specifically, it sets out to investigate the role of the RCL in relation to student learning. This is done by a thorough account of what the library offers, who the users are and what they do at the library. To approach the question of student learning through the library, the study includes two models on libraries' influence on student learning developed for a Western context.

The methodology covers both quantitative and qualitative methods to produce rich and varied data, but the main emphasis is on the latter. In addition to traditional data collection techniques, the study includes a kind of improvised action research that contributed to the range of data collected.

The library in question is above average in terms of materials and use, and its existence seems to increase the amount of reading, particularly the number of storybooks read by pupils. The secondary students, who are the focus of this study, mainly read their own notes, schoolbooks (pamphlets, textbooks and past papers) and to some extent fiction. This group does read more due to the library, it seems, especially schoolbooks, but the library's contribution to their learning beyond mere reading, such as study skills, use of reference works and co-operation, is somewhat limited. There are five conditions that work against the library having a full potential impact on student learning: the curriculum, the exams and the traditional way of teaching; lack of reading culture; lack of library tradition; limited resources; and the problems related to the language of instruction. Despite these limitations, by bringing books to a print-poor environment the library does make a difference.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES

List of figures

List of tables

ABBREVIATIONS

BAI	Book Aid International
FAVL	Friends of African Village Libraries
FLP	Family Literacy Project
ICT	Information and communication technology
IKS	indigenous knowledge systems
L1	First language (mother tongue)
L2	Second language (here: English)
MAASC	Minds Across Africa School Clubs
NAADS	National Agriculture Advisory Services
NABOTU	National Book Trust of Uganda
NLS	New Literacy Studies
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
NTBRM	non-textbook reading materials
PLE	Primary leaving exam
RCL	Rural community library
RQ	Research question
SIDA	Swedish International Development cooperation Agency
UCE	Uganda Certificate of Education
UgCLA	Uganda Community Library Association
ULA	Uganda Library Association
UNCST	Uganda National Council for Science and Technology
UGX	Ugandan shillings. At the time of my fieldwork, the exchange rate was approximately 1,000 UGX = 0.50 US dollars
US	United States
UTRT	Under the Reading Tree

You can't study education in Africa without dealing with the issue of language of instruction.

Birgit Brock-Utne

1. SETTING THE STAGE

1.1 Introduction

'We Ugandans lack a reading culture' is a phrase I often heard during my fieldwork in Uganda.[1] Some point to the oral tradition; reading has no precedence in their culture. Others stress the fact that books and other reading materials are not available, at least not in a language and with a content that make people want to read. Is the little reading that takes place due to the fact that they do not have books? Will providing books through a rural library offset reading on a large scale? What about a library that provides books to a community where books are scarce and reading habits are limited?

Figure 1.1. Caezaria Library (during Book Week)

[1] This statement came from more or less educated people since most of the people I engaged in conversation with were teachers and others with some level of higher education.

Some argue that in Africa, community libraries (see 2.4) can play an important role of supplementing the formal school system by providing books and other resources in a place with a 'neutral image' (Stilwell 1989:263) and without the constraints of school bureaucracy. This is what this study sets out to investigate: What is the role of the rural community library (RCL), and implicitly, can an RCL contribute to student learning? What materials and services does it offer, who use it and how do they use it? This study further attempts to analyse the library's contribution to learning on the basis of two models taken from the literature on school libraries. Lastly it moves beyond this and discusses the conditions under which such a library works and other aspects of the library in relation to student learning.

The library in this study is called Caezaria Complex Public Library. Both (public) libraries and school libraries receive attention in this study, and in a sense, Caezaria Library is both, or somewhere in between. It is spacious, well-stocked and approaching its 10th anniversary. Based on the literature and my own observations of libraries in Uganda, it is well above average. Choosing a relatively good (by my standards and impressions) library would, however, make it more likely that I would be able to give a 'thick description' and draw models that can serve as analytic generalisation. This means that abstractions (models, theories) developed on the basis of this library can be useful for future studies of rural libraries—either to provide a conceptual framework or to 'test' the model/theory, that is, see whether this can give insight into the role of the library/libraries in question (see 5.4.2).

1.2 Objectives of the study

There are few empirically based scholarly works on rural community libraries in Africa, making it difficult, even pointless, for me to 'find my niche'—something that has not yet been studied in this field. Rather, I see it as a main objective of this study to explore the phenomenon of rural community libraries (RCLs), to the extent that this is possible by basing the study on one single library. Gaining an understanding of what goes on at an RCL, how it is used, what role it plays for the community in general and student learning in particular, is the focus of this study. Another central objective, but one that is not included in the problem statement, is to explore how RCLs can improve, mainly with regards to student learning. Implied in this is also plotting out a path for further research, which is urgently needed as the

phenomenon of RCL is increasing considerably. These last objectives are discussed in 8.2 and 8.3.

1.3 Problem statement

The main research problem of this study is: *What is the role of the rural community library (RCL) in relation to student learning?* This study employs a mixed methods approach, which means that both qualitative and quantitative data collection instruments have been used, the first being the most important ones in this study. The research problem has been broken down into five research questions that both methods, but primarily the qualitative one, attempt to answer. The questions are:

1. *What and how do students read and write in the nearby schools and in the community?* This will provide the context of the study, and limited effort has been put into investigating this.

2. *What kind of materials and services does the library offer?* This serves to explore the preconditions for the library's influence on student learning.

3. *Who are the library users and how do they use the library?* This includes all the different groups of library users, even though the main focus is on secondary students. Use, and non-use, is essential when learning is at the centre of attention.

4. *What is the relationship between the schools and the library?* Because student learning is largely ascribed to the school, and because in the Western world there is a strong tendency to bring the two together in the form of school libraries, this relationship between school and library is thought to be relevant for student learning through the library.

5. *What patterns, tendencies or structures emerge from this study that shed light on the role of the library in relation to student learning?* In accordance with the literature on case studies, this study will attempt to outline models and concepts that can describe patterns and tendencies.

In addition to these five research questions, the quantitative part sets out to investigate the following two questions:

6. *Do any of the factors age, gender and socio-economic background correlate with reading habits, language preference, perception of reading, perception of people who read a lot, and library use?* This encompasses what inferences can be derived from these correlations (if any) in terms of the role of the library for student learning.

7. *Is there a correlation between library use on the one hand and reading habits, language preference or perceptions of reading and readers on the other hand?* This encompasses what inferences can be derived from these correlations (if any) in terms of the role of the library for student learning.

These questions do not assume the character of hypotheses, but rather explorations that set out to put the findings in the qualitative part into perspective.

1.4 Significance of the study

About a decade ago, in 1997, Uganda almost doubled the enrolment to primary school, and the government states that it is time to go to similar steps at the secondary level. Like most developing countries, the population in Uganda consists largely of children and youth, and with the expansion of education, these groups are becoming increasingly literate. Yet the supply of reading materials, especially of the kind that are suitable for children and youth, is very scarce. How are these children supposed to maintain a level of functional literacy if they do not have access to enough to read? Libraries, especially community libraries, are upheld as a way of distributing reading materials, promoting reading and providing a space where people can read. The tendency to establish community libraries in Uganda and elsewhere in Africa is growing, yet there is hardly any research on this phenomenon (Dent 2006b). Previous studies indicate that such libraries contribute to increased reading (Kevane & Sissao 2004; Dent 2006b; Pranger 2007), but to date there are no studies that go beyond measuring amounts of books read, to looking at the wider picture—the role of the rural community libraries in relation to student learning. This is what this study sets out to investigate.

One should be cautious with relying too much on one single study, and more so given that it only covers one library and is of limited scope. Yet it is my hope that this study will open for more studies on this phenomenon, and that it will provide advice to how rural community libraries can improve, and what new libraries should keep in mind in order to best serve their communities.

1.5 Limitations and delimitations

This study is limited to one RCL, which leaves little room for generalizations, or even the possibility of discovering tendencies of such libraries in Uganda, let alone Sub-Saharan Africa, which I consider the wider context of this study. Furthermore, the main focus is on the library's relevance for secondary student learning. There are several groups that use the library (see 6.1.5), and secondary school students is but one of these groups. In congruence with both my expectations and my findings, this group seems to be the one with both most potential and actual benefit of the library in terms of learning, even though pupils read quite a few storybooks and benefit from the library in that way. However, claiming that the study is limited to secondary students only would be a misstatement. Although one may theoretically distinguish between benefits that accrue to secondary students from those that accrue to other users, all these students are part of a society in which the library plays an important role. Being a secondary student is a temporary stage: the secondary students of today were the primary students of yesterday and the parents of tomorrow. In addition, the use and non-use of the library, attitudes and perceptions of teachers, parents, primary school students and others have bearings on how and to what extent secondary school students use the library. At the same time, this is both a way of limiting and expanding the study, on the one hand putting emphasis on secondary school students' use of the library, on the other hand, at least to some extent, including other people's library use. Including other groups also serves to put the use of the secondary school students into perspective.

Another delimitation is excluding indigenous knowledge and parental upbringing from the concept of learning. The focus of this study is on reading and 'schooled' learning. Not just curricular, but also the transfer of skills, attitudes and behaviour that students learn or should learn in school—or in a library. Apart from reading, learning outside of these contexts is left

out of this study. It also leaves out investigating change in (improvement of) reading speed or reading comprehension, which are typically measured with psychometric tests that were beyond the scope of this study.

Most, if not all, studies by master's degree students are limited by time, money and research experience, and this study is no different. More than three months of fieldwork is more than most students in the field of education allow themselves, but I was still left with a feeling of being limited by lack of time. Partly because of this, but also because other priorities (see 5.4.4) I had little chance to study reading and learning outside the library and schools, as well as learning the vernacular, Luganda.

The literature in this study is exclusively drawn from Africa, North America and Europe. Most research on libraries comes from the West, especially research that focuses on student learning in conjunction to libraries. It would certainly be relevant to refer to literature from other parts of the world, but there seems to be little research that specifically targets student learning, and the limitations of time have not permitted me to pursue this further.

Lack of a common mother tongue, or a language both I and my informants spoke fluently, was one of the major limitations of the study. It is hard to assess what information was misunderstood, distorted, left out or otherwise how the reliability and validity of the study might be affected. This concerns both the interviews and my general understanding of the community and society—including my acquaintance with students and other potential informants. Limitations and related issues related to language in the data collection process are discussed further in 5.4.4.

1.6 Clarification of concepts

The following words and expressions have been used in specific ways in this study:

The library. Short for 'Caezaria Complex Public Library'.
Class set. Several (from about 10 to 40) books of the same title that I grouped together and promoted to some extent.

Rural Community library (RCL). A rural library ‘by and for’ ordinary people (see a discussion of the concept c*ommunity library* see 2.4).

P7. Short for ‘Primary 7’. The common way of expressing the seventh (and last) year of primary school in Uganda.

S2. Short for ‘Senior 2’. The common way of expressing the second year of secondary school in Uganda.

S3. Short for ‘Senior 3’. The common way of expressing the third year of secondary school in Uganda.

S4. Short for ‘Senior 4’. This is the common way of expressing the fourth year of secondary school in Uganda, which is the last year of lower secondary school.

Student. Refers to youth in both primary and secondary school.

Pupil. Refers to a child in primary school.

Secondary student. Refers to a youth in secondary school.

Storybook. Used to denote any level of fiction simpler than a novel. Almost all the fiction read through the library was storybooks.

Textbook. Most textbooks were old books made in and targeting students in the US or the United Kingdom. To the best of my knowledge there was only one exception to this, a biology book made for East Africa.

Pamphlet. Simplified and unbound book made in Uganda or East Africa. Typically facts and factors are enumerated or otherwise presented in a simplified form.

Past paper. Collection of past exams, and may or may not include (suggested) answers.

Schoolbook. Comprises textbooks, pamphlets and past papers.

1.7 The structure of the study

This study is organised into eight chapters. The first chapter gives a general introduction to the study and the topic, and provides the objectives and the problem statement, including specific research questions. It continues with the significance; why this is worth scholarly

attention, and describes the limitations and delimitations that are part of any study. Key concepts are described briefly.

Chapter 2 gives a very short presentation of the background of the study, looking at the history and present situation of education and libraries, mainly in Uganda, but also in Africa in general.

Chapter 3 continues the previous chapter, describing research done on libraries and student learning. The sub-chapter on research from Africa is rather limited, and mainly recounts exploratory studies of individual libraries. The second sub-chapter presents with research from the West, and is much more comprehensive, and many of the studies have a theoretical vantage point.

The theoretical framework is described in chapter 4, and the two models that are presented are taken from research presented in the previous chapter.

Since this study employs both qualitative and quantitative methods, chapter 5, Methodology, and the following chapters are split in two parts. This chapter gives an account of the methodological considerations of the study, and describes what and how data were collected, and how they were analysed. An unconventional data collection technique, 'ad hoc action research', is given extra attention. Finally, ethical issues and the question of trustworthiness (validity and reliability) are dealt with.

In chapter 6, the data and quantitative data analysis is presented. It starts with a presentation of the library, and continues with descriptions corresponding to the research questions that the qualitative part sets out to answer. The quantitative part opens with a presentation of the data that are subjected to statistical analysis, and continues with merging some related variables. Two correlation analyses are conducted, and the last sub-chapter shows these correlations graphically.

The first part of chapter 7 discusses the findings in light of the theoretical framework, including the relevance of this framework for the library in question. It goes on to discuss issues mentioned in the research questions, and five salient issues are highlighted. These

salient issues are then placed in a larger framework that constitutes a model for interpreting factors that impede and strengthen the impact of libraries on student learning. Finally, this section of the chapter draws a model of ways that students read at the library, and discusses how this model has implications for the services the library offers. The second part of this chapter gives a brief discussion on quantitative findings.

Chapter eight gives some recommendations for libraries similar to the one in this study, and outlines some recommendations for future research.

2. BACKGROUND

2.1 Introduction

To provide a context for the study, the Ugandan society, with focus on education, is briefly presented. Some information on libraries in Africa is included, but the main focus is on libraries in Uganda, with a special attention to one RCL that several scholars have described previously.

2.2 Society and education

Uganda is a land-locked country in East Africa with about 27.2 million inhabitants and 84.6 per cent live in rural areas inhabitants (UNDP n.d.). It was a British protectorate from the 1890s to 1962, when it obtained independence (Ikoja-Odongo 2004:3). The political situation was unstable until 1966, when Milton Obote assumed power. During his leadership the political and civil unrest continued until 1971, when general Idi Amin seized power and turned the country into a dictatorship (Uganda 2004:586). Stability did not come until 1986, when Yoweri Museveni became head of state, a position he has held up to this day. Despite economic growth since the end of the civil war, Uganda remains one of the poorest countries in the world (UNDP n.d.). In addition to poverty, corruption is a big problem, but in spite of this it is seen as a model for development in Africa (Ward et al. 2006:4).

English and Swahili are the official languages, but according to the National Curriculum Development Centre there are 63 main Ugandan languages (Ward et al. 2006:49). Swahili is promoted by government and is spoken as a second language in some areas. However, many are resentful against it since it was the language of the army and police, which terrorized the population during and after the rule of Idi Amin (Otiso 2006). There are four area languages that serve as languages of wider communication and are promoted by the government. They could serve as regional languages of instruction (LOIs) for an estimated 80–90 per cent of the population (Ward et al. 2006:49). In 2005 there were 20 languages used for instruction

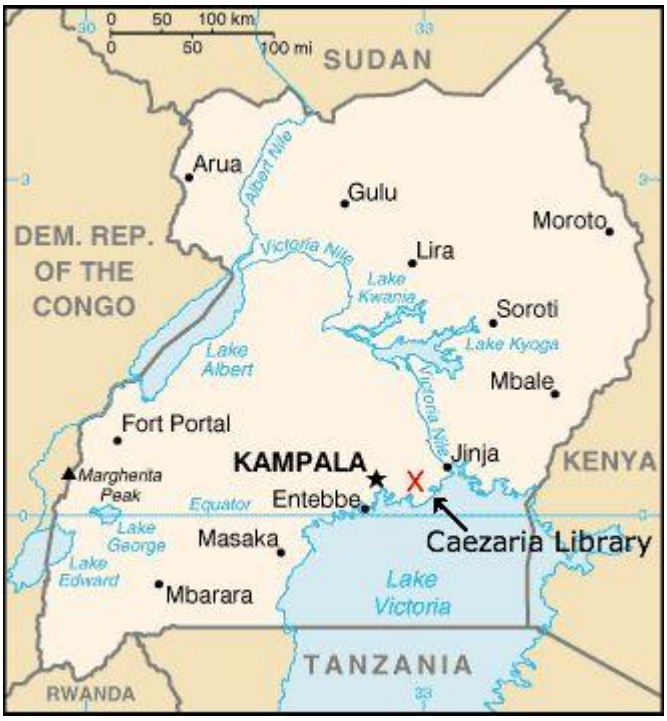

Figure 2.1. Map of Uganda and the library

Note. From http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Uganda

(Ward et al. 2006:51), but lack of materials in local languages and teachers trained in teaching in these languages is still a problem (Ward et al. 2006:42).

Missionaries, and later the British protectorate government, introduced schools to produce civil servants for the colonial administration (Kigongo-Bukenya 1990:128). In 1992 the Government White Paper on Education was published. It divides schooling into seven years of primary education, four years of lower secondary and two years of upper secondary. Vocational training is to be provided at the secondary level. At the end of each section there is an exam that entitles the students to continue to the next level, provided that they have obtained good grades. The White Paper stipulates that all exams, except those in language subjects, shall be in English. The local language, or the area language, should be the LOI in the first three years of primary school, and that the fourth year should be a transitional year to English as the LOI (Uganda Government 1992). Yet this was only partially implemented, and a mix of English and local language is the most common practice in primary schools, and sometimes this continues in secondary schools (Namuchwa 2007). In 2007 a new curriculum was introduced, and the focus on the use of mother tongue as the LOI seemed to be supported also on a practical level by the school authorities.

In 1997, Uganda introduced Universal Primary Education (UPE) with the support of several outside donors. The aim of UPE is to put every child through primary school by building more schools and removing school fees from the public schools. UPE in Uganda has been considered a success; from one year to another enrolment almost doubled. Yet parents still have to pay for notebooks and various fees such as for lunch, and many children drop out before graduating. About the same amount of boys and girls attend primary school, but girls lag behind in secondary schools by about 20 per cent (Kasente 2003:4–5). There are strict gender roles, and a division of labour where women do domestic and agricultural work, and men are breadwinners (Kendrick & Jones 2008).

Like other African school systems, the Ugandan school system is often said to be exam driven. There are several exams throughout the school year, and at the end of primary, lower and upper secondary school there is an exam that serves as a funnel to let the highest achievers pass on to the next level. The curriculum is said to be overloaded with both subjects and content, and 'there is also a tendency for an over-concentration on content knowledge and insufficient emphasis on skills and the application of content knowledge' (Ward et al. 2006:34). Ward and associates (2006:81) lament the 'banking view education', and the 'over-dependence on memorization, intellectual passivity and the uncritical acceptance of statements as facts'. Ward and associates (2006:43) found over-crowded classrooms and very little student–teacher interaction; in 70 hours observed there were only 3 questions from students. Writing about Uganda, Izizinga (2000:67) claims that 'most teachers assume they "possess" their classes'. This makes their teaching teacher-centred and they confuse reading comprehension with reading aloud.

Magara and Batambuze (2005:40) state that the textbooks that are available in schools are not used in an appropriate way. In their experience, there is a lack of accessibility to books in schools. Ward and associates (2006:59) also found that there was some poor usage or non-usage of textbooks in schools.

Traditionally, storytelling, including riddles, songs and other forms were common in Uganda and served to entertain and bring up children (Kwikiriza 2000). With the advent of Western culture and technology, such as the radio, this tradition is losing its position. Many complain

that there is a lack of reading culture, and even the literate stop reading after finishing their exams (Magara & Batambuze 2005:36). Jönsson and Olsson (2008:22) state that reading is so tied to studying for exams that students associate reading with this. They conclude that 'the education system's examination oriented structure can be seen as one of the obstacles to creating a reading culture' (Jönsson & Olsson 2008:22). It is disputed, however, to what extent this state of reading is due to a lack of interest or a lack access to materials people want to read.

2.3 Libraries in Uganda

The first public library in Uganda dates back to 1923 and was located in Entebbe, the then capital of the country. In the 1940s the colonial government took initiative to expand the library service for the whole of East Africa (Kigongo-Bukenya 1990:131). The East African Literature Bureau (EALB) was established in 1948 with a headquarter in Kampala, and its services included circulating book-boxes loaned to subscribing institutions and a postal service to individuals (Haidar 1978:19). One year after independence, in 1963, EALB changed to Uganda Library Service, and a library board was appointed. The Public Libraries Act was passed in 1964.

In 1955, William Serwadda, a Ugandan library assistant went to study in Britain, and after completing his studies he took the chance to tour libraries in Europe. In 1964, six months after returning from Europe, he was appointed as the first director of the Ugandan library services. Unlike several expatriates working with libraries in Africa at the time, he saw the need to rethink and adapt the notion of a library service to fit the needs of the Africans (Sturges 2001:41–42). With the local government Act in 1997, the responsibilities for establishing and managing the libraries were handed over to the local governments (districts and urban authorities). Most of the libraries were small, non-professional librarians managed many libraries and there was a lack of funding (Ikoja-Odongo 2004:5–6).

Hardly any schools in Uganda have school libraries (Ikoja-Odongo 2004:2). The school libraries that exist are for the most part in a poor condition and usually lack a librarian (Magara & Nyumba 2004:315). There are no government policies on school libraries, but the

idea of formulating a national policy on school libraries goes back to a report from 1963 (Ministry of Education, cited in Magara & Nyumba 2004:316). In 1995 there was a conference for the development of a school library policy, and the following year the Uganda School Library Manual was developed (Magara & Nyumba 2004:317).

As of April 2009 there are 23 public libraries in Uganda (Kayaga Mulindwa, personal communication) in addition to a number of community libraries that do not receive public funding. Uganda Community Library Association (UgCLA) has currently 26 institution members, mostly libraries (UgCLA n.d.). Their size, activity and the amount of support they receive vary, and Caezaria Library is one of the member libraries with the largest collection and usership. One library is similar to Caezaria in several ways; it is closely tied to a secondary school, has a good selection of relevant books and a considerable usership. This library, Kitengesa Community Library, is presented at length in 3.2, since it is the most-studied RCL in Uganda, perhaps in the whole of Sub-Saharan Africa (possibly with the exception of South Africa).

The number of community libraries and similar institutions is rising, and they vary from small community libraries (I visited several of these) to prestige projects like ICT centres and the Rural Library Project in Luwero District, which received support from UNESCO/ DANIDA to build five well-equipped pilot libraries (Bagenda 1996). One of these is the Nakaseke Multipurpose Community Telecentre and Library with seven computers, videotapes, CD-ROMs, books and other resources (Ikoja 2004). But put in perspective of the price for this, $600,000 from various donors, one may wonder if this Telecentre serves as a model for future projects.

2.4 Libraries in Africa

The following section will only deal with Sub-Saharan Africa, since North Africa belongs to another geographical and cultural sphere.

The first libraries on African soil were the mosque libraries in West Africa in the 16th century. Similar libraries were also established on the east coast, among other places in

Zanzibar (Wilks, cited in Sturges & Neill 1998:80). Ourgay (1991) describes a tradition of church and monastic libraries that go back to about 1500 AD in Ethiopia.

When the European colonists came they established libraries for their own purposes, which were part of the colonial infrastructure and control mechanisms. In the French colonies, propagating French culture was another incentive from the late 1930s (Stilwell 1989:264). At the time of independence, Britain left the old colonies with the notion of a national library system as central to a complete nation state (Sturges & Neill 1998:82). But their European origin made them inappropriate in the post-colonial African context, catering mainly to a literate middle and upper class with a mastery of the ex-colonial languages. This has continued as foreign aid agencies and consultancies imposed the philosophy of Western librarianship in Africa, with Western standards and even the purpose of propagating Western culture (Newa 1990:80).

Sturges and Neill (1998:90) refer to the 'slavish devotion to doing things "properly" ' as another problem post-colonial Africa faced. The desire to keep up with Western standards for cataloguing and other standards rendered some libraries unable to deal with the true needs of the libraries and communities. Yet the new states eagerly adopted the idea of the public library, and despite competition from other areas of modernisation, several former British colonies committed governments to providing free public library service only shortly after independence. This was very remarkable considering the efforts made to achieve the same in the US and Great Britain (Sturges & Neill 1998).

African libraries suffer not only from 'the introduction of an anachronistic, and inappropriate colonial model' (Mostert 2001), but also staff trained abroad that do not meet the users' needs. Often the books and other materials that make out the library collection are donations from abroad in a colonial language. The low levels of literacy and oral culture is said to warrant use of audio-visual materials, yet these are largely absent. Several authors (e.g., Issak 2000; Mostert 2001; Sturges & Neill 1998) state that it is high time that African libraries rethink their *modus operandi*, and start addressing users' needs and reach out to their constituencies.

The term *community library* has been used to describe a particular kind of library, but the use of the term differs from one author to another. Dent and Yannotta (2005) give the essence of it when they write ‘they are created by and for the local population and usually not supported with government funds’ (Dent & Yannotta 2005:40). Stilwell emphasises that they must be rooted in the community, and ideas and solutions should not be imposed (Stilwell 1989:261). Mostert provides a detailed description of community library criteria. The community library should be established at the request of the community, fully co-operate with it and be included in participative management. It should provide information linked to the everyday lives of the community members, and staff that are known to and trusted by the community should provide face-to-face contact to solve the user’s problem.

Several of authors (e.g., Kagan 1982; Adimorah 1993; Alemna 1995; Onwubiko 1996; Mostert 2001) stress the importance of information provision (and retainment and collection) in rural Africa, and suggest that rural libraries should see to this. Amadi (cited in Onwubiko, 1996) suggests a ‘barefoot librarian’ to base librarianship in rural Africa on the socio-cultural background of the people they are supposed to cater to. Besides being ‘of’ and ‘for’ the local community, rural libraries should acknowledge and take into account the limited literacy skills and oral culture of rural Africa, and offer audio-visual materials as an integral part of their services. Libraries may also be part of literacy programmes by teaching literacy and providing reading materials during and after literacy campaigns (Newa 1990; Knuth 1994).

In the post-independence era there have been different models of rural community libraries, including rooms in homes or churches where people can read called village reading rooms (Botswana, Tanzania), book distribution service in Mali and school/community libraries in Zimbabwe (Dent 2006a:16–17). Mobile libraries have operated on the continent since the 1940s in at least 15 countries (Ward 1996:121–122), and camels, cars and donkeys have been used to reach remote villages. In Tanzania these services proved expensive and were cut back in the 1970s and 1980s (Ward 1996:121; Newa 1990:86; Mlaki 2000:169).

The Tanzanian Library Services (TLS) reached as many as 99 villages with its mobile libraries (Newa 1990:79). President Nyerere was very eager to spread literacy in the new nation, and by 1984/1985 there were 3167 literacy centres with a book collection of a couple of hundred titles (Nindi 1986:281). Similar ‘village library’ programmes were undertaken in

other countries, such as Ethiopia (e.g., Mammo 1985:119).

Currently there are several NGOs financing, managing and/or supporting RCLs in Africa. Friends of African Village Libraries (FAVL) manage/support 12 libraries in Burkina Faso, Ghana, Tanzania and Uganda, and two more libraries are in process (FAVL n.d.). Osu Children's Library Fund (OCLF) runs six libraries in Ghana, including one at the School for Blind, and gives ongoing support to other libraries, including some outside Ghana (OCLF n.d.). Under The Reading Tree (UTRT) supports three libraries in Uganda (including the library in this study) and one in Tanzania (UTRT n.d.).

3. PREVIOUS RESEARCH

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents some studies that are conducted in Africa and the West on libraries and student learning. Since there are very few studies from Africa on this subject, the main focus is on libraries in the West. It also includes a brief discussion on the difficulties of studying the relationship between libraries and student learning, or more precisely, how libraries have an effect on student learning, or how this is possible to approach. In this respect this chapter serves as a prelude to the next chapter; *Theoretical Framework.*

3.2 Libraries and student learning in Uganda

Kitengesa Community Library is the best documented and researched community library in Uganda. It was established in Masaka District as a book box in 1998 by an American professor, Kate Parry, and the headmaster of the local secondary school, Mawanda Emmanuel. Four years later they had built a library building to expand the services. The library was set up to provide reading materials and other services to the community, but it was also intended to serve as a site for research (Parry 2005, 2009). From day one the library has taken care to keep records of books and borrowings, and since its inception a number of researchers have been involved and several articles have been written about the library (Parry 2005, 2009; Dent & Yannotta 2005; Dent 2006a, 2006b, 2007). The library is staffed by a librarian with a diploma in Local Government and Human Rights, and six secondary students who work as assistant librarians in return for having their school fees paid. It has solar panels to provide electricity for laptop computers and so that people can read there after dark. The books have been purchased to meet the needs of users, mostly Ugandan publications, and only some selected foreign donations have been accepted. This keeps the collection relevant and does not overcrowd the library. In March 2005 the collection consisted of 1,618 items and two newspaper subscriptions. Only 105 of these were written in the local language Luganda, which was every title they had come across in that language (Parry 2005).

According to Dent (2006a:25), readers frequently turn to the librarians with questions, who actively assist users and suggest services and programmes. One such programme was a literacy training programme for community members (Dent 2006a:25). The library is both a school and a community library, and most users are students from the secondary school, followed by teachers (Dent & Yannotta 2005:45). To describe how the library is used, Dent writes:

> Students use the library during the day to follow up on school assignments, to review of material they have just learned in class, for classroom-based activities, and homework. They also check out books to read during their free time. The students work alone or in groups, and frequently consult the librarians for assistance. During the day, the library buzzes with activity and the reference materials are heavily used, especially Geography-related materials such as atlases and maps. Teachers rely heavily on the library to supplement classroom teaching and learning, and to help them prepare for and research class lessons. They actively integrate the library into their curricula by assigning specific exercises such as using newspapers for current lessons (Dent 2006a:23).

All students preferred reading materials that were related to school, but storybooks is by far the most popular category. Health and morals were also somewhat popular, especially with girls. Over a ten-month period in 2004, the users checked out 1066 books (Dent & Yannotta 2005:49). Textbooks, reference books and some other books are not available for checking out, but are read at the library (Parry 2005). Dent (2006a) found that Kitengesa meets all the criteria set forth by Mostert (1998) as described in the previous sub-chapter.

In her study of Kitengesa Community Library and another school library in the area, Sseke Library, Dent (2006b) found that students at both secondary schools use the library frequently to study and check out books. Using the impact framework developed by Williams and Wavell (see 4.3), she found evidence of motivation, progression, independence and interaction at both libraries. Students enjoyed their time at the library and expressed enthusiasm (motivation), ‘had learned how to utilize particular library resources over time’ (progression) and ‘were very comfortable using the library resources on their own’ (independence) (Dent 2006b:411–412). A major difference between the two libraries was that Sseke Library was only open during school hours and students only used it for school work. The author compared the grades between Kitengesa Secondary School and Masaka High School, and found that the students at Kitengesa Secondary School scored higher in the three subjects she investigated, and the difference was greatest in English (Dent 2006b:414).

She warns that the differences can not necessarily be attributed to the library, but claims that the findings warrant further investigation.

In her Bachelor's thesis, Lutaaya (1999) did a similar comparison of two secondary schools in Uganda, one with a library and one without. The grade differences were stark, but there was no information about the socio-economic background of the students. With the large and sometimes even extreme differences between student attainments in Uganda, one should be cautious with assuming that the library was an important factor.

In 2000 and 2002, Minds Across Africa School Clubs (MAASC) donated boxes with 420 non-textbook reading materials (NTBRMs) to 380 schools in Uganda to improve reading skills and stimulate reading interest. As the name indicates, MAASC also set up clubs for dialogue, problem-solving and recycling stories written by children. The evaluation of the programme discovered low levels of understanding and pupils' inability to relate what they read to their own reality and present their own views and ideas (Muwanga et al.:2–5).

To map the availability and accessibility of non-textbook reading materials in primary schools, a comprehensive study was undertaken that included 28 MAASC schools and 15 other schools (Muwanga et al. 2007). There was a library/reading room in 13 per cent of the schools and a bookstore (see 6.1.3) in 62 per cent of the schools outside Kampala (Muwanga et al.:83). There was a problem of under-utilisation of the MAASC and other books, and stake-holders showed concern that teachers did not value or promote reading other materials than textbooks. Students often don't understand what they read, and reading materials in local languages were almost completely absent, particularly for languages other than Luganda. Teachers were reluctant to lend or let pupils use the books, fearing that they might lose or tear them. One of the conclusions that the authors make is that there should be a shift at the policy level from the supply side to the demand side, that is, factors that foreground the interests of the pupil:

The views of the different stakeholders tend to characterise the promotion of good reading practices in terms of the provision of bountiful reading materials, citing such promotion as the most important precondition for the development and promotion of reading. While providing NTBRMs is essential for creating a "pull factor" for library use, the findings of

this study reveal that the low levels of literacy among primary school children has as much to do with the supply-side factors as it does with demand-side factors (Muwanga et al.:125).

3.3 Libraries and student learning in Africa

According to Dent (2006b) there are no major studies on the impact of libraries on academic achievement in Sub-Saharan Africa (Dent 2006b:409).

Kevane and Sissao (2004) did a survey of villages in Burkina Faso with and without libraries, and found that those with libraries read almost twice as many books. 10th graders without a library in their village read 6–7 books a year on average, while those with a library on average read 12 books a year. Having access to a private book collection also increases the amounts of books they read, in a way similar to libraries. By calculating the cost of starting and running a library and the increased number of books read that these libraries bring along, they found that the price of one book read is $0.74–$1.30, a small amount compared with the price of another school year, they argue.

Pranger (2007) presents an evaluation of a library's outreach programme in South Africa encompassing 26 schools. The schools receive a box with 200–250 books, and a teacher at each school is in charge of the book box. The evaluation found that at more than half of the schools the headmasters and teachers noticed a change in pupils' behaviour, such as appreciation of and interest in books and more creative compositions, to mention some. They estimated that about one third of the pupils genuinely benefitted, that is, improved different aspects of their performances through reading. More than half of them mentioned general improvement or better pass rates. There were several aspects that contributed to the pupils' achievement, such as the effort and dedication of the school staff. This included encouraging and motivating pupils to read, integrating books and reading with the classes and that the staff read. Giving pupils good access to the books, such as using pupils as assistants and a room that served as a library, was also important. There seemed to be a lack of ideas and methods on how to integrate the books into the teaching. Most of the time the pupils read in silence, and those who understood narrated what they had read to their classmates. Only a few schools and teachers had a more creative way of using the books in class.

Another study from South Africa reports from the Family Literacy Project (FLP), which established three libraries in rural areas of KwaZulu-Natal between 2003 and 2006 (Aitchison 2006). One of the libraries received a visit from a qualified librarian every month to help ensure that relevant books were displayed and correctly shelved. Primary school children constitute a large user group, while secondary school children were more reluctant and hard to draw to the library. With the help of volunteers from the US they hoped to attract teenagers by offering discussion groups. FLP facilitators run programmes for all age groups, including for theme-based sessions at the library and primary schools that include reading and writing. The children are expected to borrow a book every week and read it to their families.

Dent Goodman (2008) describes five RCLs in Burkina Faso that were established by FAVL in 2001. The five libraries had a collection of almost 1000 to 3000 books each in 2007. That year they had 37,000 visits and checked out 10,000 books in total. There is a membership fee on a sliding scale at all five libraries, and the one library has as many as 235 members. In a survey from a school in a village with one of these libraries, all respondents stated that read in their spear time. They further said that they spent close to two hours every day reading other than for school. The author found indications that the library users got better grades in school, although the evidence did not meet scientific standards. The librarians helped users to locate materials, answer questions such as how to use a dictionary and help with a mathematics exercise.

Dent Goodman (Entrup, cited in Dent Goodman 2008) reports from a survey and interview study of two Ghanan RCLs. As many as 90 and 94 per cent of the pupils surveyed used the library in the two villages respectively, and all the students from the senior secondary school outside the village said they use it when they are back in the village on holiday. The study found indication that students who use the library to higher degree have friends who read other than for school, which gives an indication that they are socialised into reading through peers. The survey further showed that many students disagree that ‘reading is fun’ (70% and 44% in the two villages), which is taken to indicate that much of the reading serves academic purposes regardless of what they read.

3.4 Libraries and student learning in the West

Up until the 1970s, studies on library use and users were by and large quantitative and with no theoretical framework that could serve to interpret the findings. They typically focused on input and output: what materials and services the library offered, who used it and what they borrowed or did at the library (Audunson 1992). This limited focus was criticised in the late 1970s, and in the 1980s there was a shift towards more qualitative studies (Audunson 1992).

Research on students' use of libraries has largely focused on school libraries. The US, Great Britain and Scandinavia have been on the forefront of developing school libraries—and conducting school library research (Rafste 2001, Limberg 2003:21). Much of the recent research has focused on information seeking, information competence and the teaching of these skills (Limberg 2003:19). But since these were largely absent in the data materials, studies with a broader perspective are presented here.

In a review of the research on school libraries, Limberg (2003:29) identifies three themes in the research: (1) the library's educational role, (2) the library's role for developing reading skills/habits, and (3) the educational role of the library space. In 7.2.7 I return to these themes and briefly discuss them in light of the findings of this study.

A much-cited study from Colorado found that the size of the school library's[2] staff and collection were good predictors of student achievement. In fact, they were second only to 'at-risk' conditions such as poverty (Lance et al. 1993).

In her Ph.D. dissertation Kühne (1993, see also Rafste 2001) studied a project on the teaching and learning process where library use was integrated into the teaching in four Swedish schools. The teachers, the librarian and the researcher worked together in order to make the most out of the libraries. She found that the principal played an important role in new work methods and that in teacher–librarian cooperation the teacher has most influence, with the result of downplaying the competence of the librarian. Furthermore, the teachers saw little point in integrating the library with the teaching, but the teachers in lower secondary school became more positive as time passed and continued 'inquiry based work

[2] The study uses the American term *school library media centre*.

methods' after the project had finished. There were some disciplinary problems, but overall students worked more efficiently.

In a study from Texas, Burke (1993, cited in Rafste 2001) found that whether students use the library or not mainly depends on whether they are given assignments they must do there. When they do use it, it is mostly to do homework or school assignments. Teachers play an important role in getting students to use the school library, but many of the teachers do not know the materials that the school library has within the subject area they teach.

Kuhlthau (1999) presents the findings from a study on school libraries in the US that were given extra funding through the National Library Power Program to improve opportunities for student learning.[3] To do this the researchers used a hierarchical model for operationalising opportunities for student learning. Increase in the library stock with new materials (input) is on the lowest level; followed by increase in the library use and number of borrowed items (output); change in student attitude, library and information skills; and lastly 'opportunities for student learning that apply inquiry integrated into the curriculum areas' (utilization) (Kuhlthau 1999:83). The researchers found indications of opportunities for student learning on all five levels. However, level five, utilization, was the most important one, since the other levels provided a background and it is the highest level of opportunity for learning. Level five is also closely linked to what Kuhlthau calls 'an inquiry approach to learning': Students develop their own questions and learn from a variety of sources and questions guide the student, who then actively construct their own understandings, as opposed to 'the predigested format of the textbook' (Kuhlthau 1999:80). This approach is most effective when it is shared by teachers, librarian and students and administrators, and cooperation between teachers and librarians is fundamental for a programme that is based on this approach. The schools in this part of the study had developed an inquiry approach to learning to different degrees from previous reform efforts, and the study found indication that the National Library Power Program had most influence when an inquiry approach had been more highly developed.

[3] Only one part of a bigger study is presented here for reasons of brevity.

In a comprehensive study from Scotland, Williams and Wavell (2001a, 2001b, 2001c) conducted a two-phased study on school library resource centres' (SLRC) impact on learning. They studied project based library use in various subjects which often included an introductory course in school library use. In the first phase of the study they elicited possible impacts from librarians, teachers and pupils, and used these proposals to make an initial framework for developing a case study—the second phase. They approached learning in a broad sense, and apart from progression in learning (skills and knowledge), they acknowledged that the SLRC can contribute to other forms of learning as well. The first phase yielded the following areas of potential impact: information and knowledge, skills, school achievement, habits encouraging independence, motivation to learn, using and transferring skills and social skills (Williams & Wavell 2001a, 2001c). These were then categorised under four categories of learning as proposed in *Taxonomy of Educational objectives* (Bloom, cited in Williams & Wavell 2001a:124): motivation, progression, independence and interaction. For each category they found evidence in the study: enthusiasm, absorption in task and change in attitude towards work over time (motivation); awareness and use of information skills and application of skills or knowledge in a new situation (progression); continuing and progressing with a task unaided, awareness of need for help and confidence to seek it, increased self-esteem (independence); discussion and co-operation (interaction). Lastly they identified a number of factors that influenced effective learning: interest and appreciation shown by others; intervention to ensure progression; foundation of necessary skills; opportunity to build on understanding; frustration caused by problems; tensions; time factors; and lack of focus, skills and background theory.

Rafste (2001) had a different approach in her research on school libraries. She studied how students from two upper secondary schools in Norway use their school libraries and found that there is little use of the school libraries for curricular purposes. Apart from homework, the students mentioned finding information not covered by the textbooks, group work and project work as reasons for using the library for curricular purposes. The teachers thought the library was necessary for the students to find information, but they did not integrate library use in their teaching, did not see it as their responsibility to assist the student at the library nor teach or show them how to use it. However, curricular use is not at the focus of her study, but rather the use of the school library in a wider sense, and points out that the library

is both an extension of the classroom and a learning arena, and a place for leisure activities and informal interaction.

Like Rafste (2001), Shilling and Cousins (1990) emphasised the social aspect of school library use analysing the library as a social space, and claimed that this can not be ignored when looking at the role of the school library for student learning.

Todd and Kuhlthau (2005) report from a large study on student learning through school libraries in Ohio comprising both quantitative and qualitative data. They found that the school library plays an important role when it comes to finding and using information, especially what the librarian does to help students with the process of identifying information needs and related issues. It also helps students form their own opinions and points of view based on the different resources and instructions of how to use the different kinds of resources available. The students especially appreciate skills that enable them to 'identify main ideas, take notes, evaluate, sort, and organise ideas' (Todd & Kuhlthau 2005:75), and it seems like there is a tendency for explicit and systematic instruction of these skills. The students further indicated that research took a lot of time, but valued the result of the hard work and expressed their feelings of success and satisfaction. Fifty per cent of the students indicated that the school library helped them understand new things. The authors interpret this as an indication that an effective school library is not just an information store, it also enables the users to 'build their understanding and resolve any misunderstandings or confusions they might have' (Todd & Kuhlthau 2005:77). There is also indication that the library shaped and changed their minds, giving new ideas and opinions. This is what the authors call the *formational* role of the library, as opposed to merely *informational*. When it came to computers there were two aspects that stood out: how accessing information through electronic media helped them achieve better and how the librarian helped them use ICT better. The school library had a lower effect on reading interest than any other area they investigated in the survey. Other roles of the library were deemed more helpful: curriculum resource, technical and instructional help that accommodated their immediate needs. What motivated them to keep reading was 'knowledge of their reading interests, availability of a range of books, access to current best-seller literature, and follow-up dialogue' (Todd & Kuhlthau 2005:80). Many expressed that they enjoyed reading more because of the school library, and this was partly ascribed to the librarian's suggesting books based on their

interests. There are mainly two ways in which the school library creates an interest in a topic: It can develop from a curriculum topic into one of personal interest, or browsing will let them come across topics by chance that catch their interest. Lastly, the students claimed that for library instruction to be effective, it should build on existing knowledge, be contextualised by specific curriculum content and explicitly and concretely linked to completing their research.

3.5 Getting to grips with impact

In *Evaluating the impact of your library*, Markless and Streatfield (2006) point out that in order to evaluate a library one must first define a set of objectives of what the library should accomplish, how it should have an impact. Once the objectives are clear it is time to look at how these objectives can be met by formulating impact indicators. This will let us know how we can know whether the library is having an impact or not. This approach is not designed for academic research, but rather for libraries themselves to demonstrate effectiveness and accountability. It is a sort of grounded theory approach, where impact is whatever the library itself decides that it is. As such it also shows how difficult it can be to even talk of library impact if the specific objectives are not chiselled out.

Many researchers have pointed out that it is difficult to pinpoint and measure libraries' impact on student learning (e.g., Streatfield & Markless 2006; Rafste 2008)—but there are some general tendencies on how school libraries can help students, even if they are hard to actually measure: getting better grades, acquiring research skills and new attitudes, to mention some. But this will not happen automatically—it takes more than a room full of books and a couple of computers with Internet connection for students to really learn and benefit from a (school) library. Physical resources like books, reference works and computers are necessary, but by no means sufficient. Engaged principals as well as teachers who work closely together with the (school) librarian seem to be *sine qua non* for a (school) library to effectively help students learn (e.g., Lance et al. 1993; Rafste 2008).

Based on a review of the literature, Limberg (2003) claims that teachers' involvement in the school library and their cooperation is not all it takes for a school library to be effective. The

tasks that the students carry out can still be trivial. The quality of the learning depends on the nature and structure of the assignments, how the teachers and librarians act in the library and classroom and their view on knowledge and learning.

4. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

4.1 Introduction

The theoretical framework that guides this study was developed on the basis of research from the West, specifically the US and Great Britain. The societies and libraries that they were meant to describe are quite different from the society and library in this study.

Theories in the social sciences may be of a general or specific level, describing a phenomenon in general, or a specific phenomenon situated in time and space, or 'historically and culturally located,' as Ezzy (2002:4) puts it. Many theories, however, do not indicate 'how situated' they are, and other researchers must test, adapt or consider their appropriateness in another context (time/space). But since theories in social sciences, especially in qualitative research, are often used to interpret and understand findings (as opposed to testing hypothesis), it is not crucial to decide 'how situated', or how appropriate for a new context, a theory is. Rather, using a theory or a model to guide a study conducted in a different context (relative to the context the theory was developed in) may serve both as a way of investigating the 'universality' of the theory/model as well as a point of entry for collecting and interpreting data.

There are very few studies on rural community libraries in Africa, let alone Uganda, and the literature review has not provided any theories that have been developed for this context. One should keep in mind that the theoretical framework, as well as most of the previous research on libraries comes from the West, and as such there is a risk of interpreting the findings on biased premises (this is further discussed in 7.2.4). Two models from research presented in the previous chapter will inform this study. Durrance and Fisher (2003:329) warn against developing a fixed set of outcomes to measure library impact across libraries, and this statement serves as a warning to use models developed in the West in Uganda. The theoretical framework presented below must thus be considered with caution, at the most as some careful guidelines, not a fully fledged framework ready to be applied.

4.2 Learning and reading

In the research community there is no unanimously agreed upon theoretical understanding of what constitutes learning or how learning occurs. There are two main approaches to understanding and studying learning—the cognitive and socio-cultural perspective, but some researchers try to incorporate them into one theory of learning (see Bråten 2002). The cognitive perspective focuses on the psychological aspect of learning, how the learner creates mental models and how actions and information are 'stored' and applied. The socio-cultural perspective views learning as a social praxis, situated within a cultural and historical context. Learning takes place through artefacts, such as language, and through interaction with others.

This study does not limit itself to either of the two perspectives, but rather attempts to draw on both. A library is one of many places where learning may (or may not) take place. In an exploratory study like this one it would seem inappropriate to limit learning to merely be looking at such things as how the students read or how they are instructed at the library. I will point out some elements that constitute learning, drawing on both perspectives. Learning is both acquisition of knowledge, skills, attitudes, ideas and behaviour, but also participating, communicating and interacting in a social context. It makes little sense to talk about learning without considering acquisition of skills, knowledge and so forth, and it is also necessary to include the context, previous knowledge, function and meaning of learning in order to analyse it. Learning in relation to a (school) library is further discussed in the following sub-chapter from the vantage point of a model that purports to show how a (school) library can have an impact on student learning.

Learning through a library, that is, in the library itself or by borrowing books there, is closely tied to reading, since that is what a library is 'supposed to' promote, facilitate and provide means for. Reading is at the centre of especially schooled learning; reading and learning are inextricably linked in a modern society. Research shows that reading supports reading, the more children read, the better they become at both reading and writing (OECD, cited in Clark & Rumbold 2006). Krashen (2004) claims that reading benefits other school subjects, and giving children time to read yields better results than traditional teaching of grammar and exercises.

4.3 Libraries and learning

Most research on students' use of school libraries is conducted in the West, and often focuses on how school libraries can serve as an extension of the classroom and be used by teachers in cooperation with the librarian, typically in project based learning (e.g., the work by Williams and Wavell). Another focus is on the library as a place to search for information, and as such develop students' information seeking skills. Kuhlthau (1993) developed a framework for the information search process; how people identify information needs and the process of retrieving and making use of that information. Her work has been groundbreaking in the field of library and information science, but it is developed for a situation with databases, materials and other resources, which are not always present at rural libraries in Africa. In general, the research and the models for understanding students' library use is closely tied to a Western context, often with ample library resources, educated librarians, ideas of learning that include problem posing and inquiry based information seeking (Kuhlthau 1999). This is not to say that students' library use is perfect in the West, often far from it, but the context for studying library use is very different from the situation in Uganda. Access to books, library resources, the education system, including curriculum, conception of learning and exams, and the society in general are likely to be very different. It is in due place to pose the question: How relevant is research on students' use of libraries from the West for Uganda? This is partly a rhetorical question. It is necessary to be aware that research from the West might distort as much as enlighten our understanding of students' library use in Uganda. After reviewing the data in light of the previous research and theories developed in a Western context, I hope to transform the question form being merely rhetorical to becoming a valid and relevant one: Are research and theories on students' library use from the West relevant and applicable to the Ugandan society?

In a study on school libraries' impact on learning, Williams and Wavell (2001b, 2001c) developed a framework for conceptualizing and operationalising impact on student learning (see 3.3). In the first phase of the study they elicited possible impacts from librarians, teachers and pupils, and used these proposals to develop an initial framework for developing a case study—the second phase. The case study led to further development of the conceptual framework for impact on learning. The version presented here is based on both the 2001b

and 2001c versions (the authors also list evidence of impact, but this has been relegated to the appendix for reasons of brevity; see Appendix A).

In the model (Table 4.1) there are four areas of library impact on student learning, and each area lists potentials and indicators of such impact. It may be in place to point out that this model was mainly developed based on library use in the context of project work with close teacher–librarian cooperation, so the students had a purpose for and assistance in using the library. This model guided the analysis of the data, at the same time as a meta-evaluation (of the model itself) took place. Were *motivation*, *progression*, *independence* and *interaction* relevant labels for interpreting library use the library in question?

Kuhlthau (1999) developed a hierarchy of ways in which school libraries can contribute to student learning (see 3.3). The first level describes how the resources that the library has or acquires are of value. In the case of Caezaria Library there was no new input during my fieldwork, so the materials they already disposed of make out this level. The second level, *output*, refers to who and how many use it, how often they use it and what they borrow. The first two levels have traditionally been the most studied as they are the most tangible ones, but also the least important in that they don't really say anything tangible about the impact or relevance the library has, it only serves to give an indication and potential of that. Together with *attitude* (towards the library) and *skills* (acquired at the library) they are prerequisites for *utilisation*, which is the highest form of impact, according to Kuhlthau. The latter she defines as 'the use of resources for learning through inquiry' (Kuhlthau 1999:89).

Table 4.1. Impact framework

Motivation	*Progression*	*Independence*	*Interaction*
Enthusiasm	**Library skills** (familiarity of layout, terminology, resources, catalogue, etc.)	**Confident use** (of skills introduced and developed in progression)	**Peer support & teamwork** (help others find & use resources, co-operation, learn from others)
Motivation to learn	**ICT skills** (confident use of keyboard skills, CD-ROM & Internet searching etc.)	**Reinforcement** (practice and revision in own time)	**Social interaction** (development of communication skills & new relationships)
Imagination	**Information skills** (understanding, selection, note-taking, evaluation etc.)	**Transferability** (of skills, knowledge & understanding cross- & extra curricular, lifelong learning)	**Awareness of others** (needs of others, study/work ethos, differing opinions, social skills, behaviour, respect for resources)
Satisfaction (of success)	**Reading skills** (developing a habit of reading for pleasure, information, skimming, scanning etc.)	**Initiative** (development of ideas)	
Self-esteem (see work displayed, positive experience)	**Study skills** (organisation, time management)	**Serendipity & exploration** (interest in information & books)	
	Quality of work (school work & exam results, accuracy, presentation, fact, vocabulary)		
	Increased knowledge (range & depth, including awareness of wider world)		

Note. From *The impact of the school library resource centre on learning: A Report on research conducted for Resource: The Council for Museums, Archives and Libraries* (p. 128), by D. Williams and C. Wavell, 2001, Aberdeen, Scotland: Robert Gordon University.

Table 4.2. How school libraries can contribute to student learning

Level	*Kind*	*Description*
1	Input	Library collection, materials and resources, quantity, quality and appropriateness
2	Output	Number of borrowed items, number of users, what users do at the library
3	Attitude	Change in students' attitude
4	Skills	Location of resources and use of technology
5	Utilisation	Using resources to learn through inquiry in content areas of the curriculum

Note. Adapted from "Student learning in the library: What library power librarians say," by C. C. Kuhlthau, 1999, School Libraries Worldwide, 5(2), p. 83.

Note that the last three levels in Table 4.2 overlap with the categories used by other researchers, including the ones who have developed the other model for analyzing impact on student learning that is described above.

4.4 Literacy as a social practice

Under the name *New Literacy Studies* (NLS), the study of literacy has entered a new paradigm and is at the centre of much academic research in a wide range of areas. Up until the 1980s, literacy was invariably conceived of as a set of technical skills, such as decoding words, that the learner could then use as s/he saw fit. Literacy was also thought to have an effect on the individual; becoming literate meant becoming a new person, more capable of logical thought and similar positive changes. Building on two previous anthropological studies and his own research from rural Iran, Street (1984) introduced the terms *literacy practices* and the *autonomous* versus the *ideological* model of literacy.

Street (1984, 2001) critiques earlier conceptions of literacy as being autonomous; 'the assumption that literacy in itself – autonomously – will have an effect on other social and cognitive practices' (Street 2001:7). The case is quite the contrary, he argues, and proposes an alternative view. Literacy is not disconnected from people's social practices, it is

embedded in them and part of the power relations between groups in a society. Some talk of literacy as having an impact on people, but this notion assumes that literacy is fixed, and its consequences can be understood and predicted without looking at the social context in which this takes place. The task of the researcher is to understand what literacy means to the people themselves. What literacy means to a person is not always in the open, and Street (2001:9) goes claiming that the researcher should study the social contexts from which reading and writing derive their meaning.

Before presenting the concept *literacy practices*, it is necessary to know what is meant by *literacy events*, since the two are related. This term is given slightly different meanings, but roughly means 'occasions in life where the written word has a role' (Barton 1994:36). This includes everything from reading newspapers and time tables, to taking notes and writing graffiti on a wall. Barton (1994:36) claims that the literacy events must be at the centre of focus, and gives the example of reading a book to a child in bed at night. This is an example of a repeated event (usually), with repeated patterns of interaction. Events like these are important in understanding people's learning of literacy.

As already pointed out, reading and writing takes place in a social context, and people carry with them cultural knowledge and understanding when they engage in literacy events. Barton (1994:37) describes literacy practices as 'the general cultural ways of utilizing literacy which people draw upon in a literacy event'. He gives an example of two men talking about writing a letter to a newspaper. 'In deciding who does what, where it is done, along with the associated ways of talking and the ways of writing, the two participants make use of their literacy practices' (Barton 1994:37).

Different settings call for different uses and different meanings of the use of the written word (Barton 1994:34–39). Writing a letter calls for a cultural knowledge that is different from writing an academic paper. It is common to talk of several literacies, such as home literacy, school literacy, legal literacy and so on. These are often connected to certain domains; for example school and marketplace. Literacies are perceived of differently, some are regarded highly, and others the complete opposite. One can distinguish between the purposes of literacy; literacy can be *imposed* (e.g., filling out forms) or it can be *self-generated*, that is, meet and outside demand (e.g., filling out forms) or it can be self-generated.

In a study of reading and writing in two towns in south-eastern United States, Heath (1983:198, 258) gives a list of types of uses of literacy, such as *instrumental* (e.g., labels, bills) and *social-interactional* (e.g., letters). The specific uses of literacy within these types vary between the two towns as their socio-economic situations differ.

4.5 From theory to practice

In the chapter six, *Analysis and Results*, I borrow Kuhlthau's library terms *input* and *output*. As mentioned 4.3, the last three levels in Kuhlthau's model overlap with that of Williams and Wavell. Together these are used in chapter seven, *Discussion,* in an attempt to discuss the findings in light of the concepts that the models introduce. This chapter also moves beyond these models by discussing their limitations in light of the African context. I continue by briefly discussing the literacy practices of the library and the implications of the role of the context of the library for its impact on student learning. In light of this I return to the two perspectives (cognitive and socio-cultural) on learning mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, and suggest that both perspectives deserve attention when studying the role of a rural community library for student learning.

5. METHODOLOGY

5.1 Introduction

This study combines quantitative and qualitative research methods, but the main emphasis is on the latter. This chapter presents a brief discussion on combining these approaches, and how the research strategy has been based on a combination of the two. The main methodological discussions have been placed under the heading ‘qualitative’ for practical purposes, while the issues exclusively pertaining to the quantitative part are discussed in that section.

5.2 The choice of Caezaria Library

I came in contact with Friends of African Village Libraries (FAVL), an NGO that promotes and supports rural libraries in Sub-Saharan Africa, and through them Uganda Community Library Association (UgCLA) and Professor Kate Parry. Professor Parry has worked with rural community libraries in Uganda for many years and was in an excellent position to pick out libraries that would be suitable for my study. We decided that two libraries, one month at each, and the remaining five weeks not specified, would be a good choice. One of the two libraries was Busolwe Community Library. When I visited the library I soon realised that it would not suit my needs as a researcher because at that time there were very few users and the library was very poorly stocked. But the people running the library had expectations of my coming, and indeed of some help to get things up and running, so I went there on four occasions, spending a few days and helping out as best I saw fit.

5.3 Research strategy

There are two main research strategies in social research, quantitative and qualitative. They differ in what they consider data and how data is collected and analysed. But the differences between how they view and treat data are only a part of it. They have been ascribed

incompatible and incommensurable epistemological and ontological foundations (e.g., Lincoln and Guba 1985) and the conflict between them has been called the ‘paradigm war’ (e.g., Oakley 1999). This clash of paradigms, and consequently conflict between qualitative and qualitative methods has been much criticised on different levels. Bryman (cited in Vulliamy 1990:9) points out that this debate ‘has generally been confused by a failure to differentiate considerations of epistemology from those of techniques of data collection and analysis’. Some claim that the ‘old’ positivist paradigm is dead—it is the straw paradigm everyone loves to hate. Patton (1990, 1997), calls for a paradigm of choices: the researcher should choose from the different paradigms as she pleases according to what suits the purpose of the study. In response to critics of mixing the two strategies/paradigms, he further points out that ‘the practical mandate in evaluation’ (Patton 1990:252) compels us to gather data from many sources, and this outweighs purely philosophically based arguments (Patton 1990:252).

An increasing number of researchers now view them as complimentary, and some advocate ‘mixed methods’, combining quantitative and qualitative approaches in a study. There are several arguments for this, notably getting the best from both methods and triangulating, that is, using different methods to validate the findings (see 5.4.7).

There are, according to Creswell (1994, 2008), three ways of doing this: (1) a sequential or two-phase design—where one of the approaches comes first in time, and the other serves as a follow-up (qualitative) or as building instruments and categories (quantitative), (2) dominant–less dominant or embedded design—where one of the techniques plays a leading role, and (3) mixed methodology design—where the two approaches are used at the same time with the purpose of triangulating the data.

The overall research design used in this study is an embedded design—the qualitative approach is the dominant one and the quantitative data played a supportive role (Creswell 2008:558). In this study, viewing the use of the library in light of the statistical (quantitative) data is seen as the main rationale for this approach. The study is conducted within a qualitative research tradition and it is inductive in its character. However, as part of exploring learning in relation to the library from an inductive point of view, in the quantitative part it also investigates whether the factors age, gender and socio-economic

background correlate with reading habits, language preference, perception of reading and readers in relation to library use. This is treated more as an expansion of the qualitative approach (hence the embedded design) than a separate hypothesis testing. It is worth noting that this area of study, rural community libraries and learning, would be very suitable for a sequential (exploratory) study, where qualitative data provide categories, themes and instruments for conducting a quantitative study, but that has not been the purpose here.

It is my intention to embed the quantitative part as much as possible in the qualitative part, to 'mix' them in the literate sense of the word. This is only possible, and reasonable, to some extent. The overall research design, case study, is described in the chapter on qualitative methodology. In the chapter on qualitative analysis and results (6.1) I have included some elements of quantitative data, since the purpose of this data is to put the qualitative data into perspective.

5.4 Qualitative part

5.4.1 Research questions

The main research problem of this study is: *What is the role of the rural community library (RCL) in relation to student learning?* The qualitative part will attempt to answer this by looking into what and how the students read, write and learn; the services and materials that the library offers; who the library users are and what they do and the relationship between the library and the schools. The last research question—*What patterns, tendencies or structures emerge from this study that shed light on the role of the library in relation to student learning?*—will be discussed in 7.2.

5.4.2 Research design

All research must have a research design that provides the framework for collecting and analyzing the data (Bryman 2004:27; Yin 2003:19). A research design shows how the research will be carried out, what methods will be used to answer the research questions and

how the data will be collected and analysed (Yin 2003:20). Furthermore, a research design should guide the data collection to decide what data are relevant and what should be collected (and not collected) (Yin, cited in Holmarsdottir 2005:162). In the following the research design of this study is presented.

The research design of this study is exploratory case study. A case study is the study of one or more cases within a bounded system. A case can be a number of things—such as a person, an organization or a phenomenon. In this study the case is not the library as an organization in a strict sense, but rather the library and its context, including the students, schools, parents and other people who use it, or, because of their proximity, can be considered potential users, as well as the relationship and interactions between these users and potential users and the library. The decision to include potential users has to do with the library's potential and possible shortcomings, not just actual role. The time frame of the case was about ten weeks, from early September to mid-November 2008.

The purpose of case studies is to 'understand an issue or problem using the case as a specific illustration' (Creswell 2007:73). Yin (2003), one of the most prominent case study methodologists (Andersen 1997:9), points out that the study of the context of the phenomenon are crucial, and that it encompasses data collection techniques ('multiple sources of evidence') and approaches to analyzing the data (Yin 2003:13–14). He refers to the case study as a comprehensive research strategy (Yin 2003:14). Bryman (2004) claims that case studies 'elucidate the unique features of the case' (Bryman 2004:50).

Unlike many quantitative studies, case studies do not offer the possibility to generalise on a *statistical* level (Yin 2003; Andersen 1997). Instead of making inferences based on many observations (statistical generalization), case studies can be used to test or make *analytical* generalizations. If there is a theory in the area of study, whether from other case studies or otherwise, this theory can be tested in a case study. Or, a case study can develop models, concepts and theories. These are (in this context) analytical generalizations that both deepen our understanding of the phenomenon/a being studied and provide grounds for replication, that is, testing the models or theory. As indicated by research question number five, this study will attempt to formulate concepts and shape models that can serve as a framework for

understanding the phenomenon of rural community libraries (in Uganda/developing countries[4]).

5.4.3 Research assistant

As part of the research design I had planned to hire a research assistant, and before I arrived the director had been assigned with finding a suitable candidate. I hired a Kikubo Micheal, a student from a distant teacher college who was home on vacation, and the contract lasted one month, since his vacation ended at that time. To ensure ethical research, he signed a confidentiality agreement stating that he would not disclose any information obtained as a research assistant. His assignments consisted of interpreting (both language and culture), interpreting the one interview that was conducted in Luganda[5], accompanying me to schools on observations and administering the questionnaires, entering the answers to some of the questionnaires into a computer, and other tasks such as translating dictionary and storybook materials.

5.4.4 Data collection

A characteristic of case studies is that it tends to use a number of different sources data (Yin 2003:14), and this is also the case for this study. Because of the exploratory nature of this study and because little research has been done in this area, it is even more pertinent to use a range of sources and techniques to explore library use and other aspects of this case. The data collection techniques used in this part of the study are presented in Table 5.1, and further description of the main techniques is outlined in the following sub-chapters.

Interviews

Social science interviewing is an art, and it demands a good deal from the interviewer both before (preparation), during and after (coding and analysis) the interview (Patton 1990). Questions should be neutral (not leading or biased) and one should be careful not to ask

[4] On principle, there is no need, or even justification, to limit this geographically, but 'applying' any model theoretically or practically presupposes that such application is meaningful. (Rural community) libraries across the world might be too different for any models to be useful.

[5] The librarian translated and transcribed this interview because my research assistant left before he could do it.

Table 5.1. Qualitative data collection techniques used

Technique	*Description*
Interviews	Semi-structured interviews with students, teachers and library staff
Reports and internal documents	Reports and internal documents have provided background information as well as views and goals held by the library
Field notes	Notes of observations, conversations, reflections, 'incipient conclusions' and methodological issues that came to me in the course of the fieldwork
Ad hoc action research	This form of data collection seems to be new (and possibly controversial), and is discussed at length below

dichotomous (yes/no) questions only. Some researchers advocate a conversation-like interview style, while others recommend a more questions-and-answer-like approach. The choice (or degree) of style is not as much about personal preference, but the purpose of the interview—what kind of data the researcher wants the interview to yield (research design).

I conducted interviews with one pupil, five secondary students, two teachers and the library staff—eleven interviews total. All the interviews were semi-structured, meaning that I had an interview guide with questions and possible follow-up questions. The purpose of a semi-structured interview is to probe certain themes and attempt to elicit reflections on these themes.

I waited with conducting the interviews for several weeks since I wanted to get to know the library and the potential respondents. This served two purposes: I hoped to develop some preliminary understanding of the library and its role in relation to student learning, but also to get acquainted with the users so that we would establish some degree of mutual trust and familiarity. At the same time I would identify some students and teachers that I could interview. I decided to interview three students and two teachers from school A that I knew used the library and that I had had several conversations with. I hoped that this familiarity, although limited, would allow them to relax and open up more for reflections during the interviews. I asked the librarian to identify an active library user from P7, but somehow I ended up interviewing a pupil from a lower class. Identifying two secondary student library

users from schools other than School A proved a bit difficult since there were not so many of them.

I wrote a general interview guide, taking care to ask 'open' questions that would allow the informant to give a reflection and 'rich' answer (Patton 1990). I adapted this guide to 'fit' the different groups of informants, asking questions that were relevant to each group (the interview guide for the secondary students is Appendix B). During the interviews it became clear, however, that the degree of 'reflection' and elaborate answers varied quite a lot between the informants. This seemed to reflect their confidence and especially ease with speaking English, but age/maturity might also have been the key factor. The teachers, and to some extent the library staff gave elaborate answers which made follow-up questions and a dialogue-like interview easier, whereas the students were much shorter in their responses.

I gave the issue of interview language some thought before, during and after the interviews themselves. All interviews except the one with the pupil were conducted in English. I contemplated using a translator for all the student interviews, but I feared that it would be at the expense of entering some kind of dialogue and allowing follow-up questions in a natural way. I hoped that sampling students who had a fair level of English would render translation unnecessary. During all the student interviews it struck me that I had overestimated their level of English, and they all misunderstood some of my questions. Part of that was the fact that I spoke English with an accent that was unfamiliar to them. In the end one can only speculate at how they would have responded had the interviews been conducted in their mother tongue.

Observation

Observation is a data collection technique where the researcher enters 'the field' (physical context of the study) to get a first hand impression and data. But observation is not as straight-forward as it may seem: What is a researcher supposed to observe? The ideal of 'objective observation' has long been abandoned. Instead, observations should be guided by the research design and nature of the questions that guide the study (Patton 1990:278). 'Sensitizing concepts' may also play an important role. These are 'loosely operationalised concepts … that provide some initial direction to a study' (Patton 1990:278). The five

analytical levels of measuring libraries' impact from Kuhlthau (1999) (see 4.3) served as sensitizing concepts in this study.

There are many variations to observation, but only the most relevant to this study are presented and discussed here: the role, furtiveness and focus of the observer (Patton 1990:227). These three aspects of the observation, or rather the decisions of the researcher-as-observer, can be presented as continua (Figure 5.1).

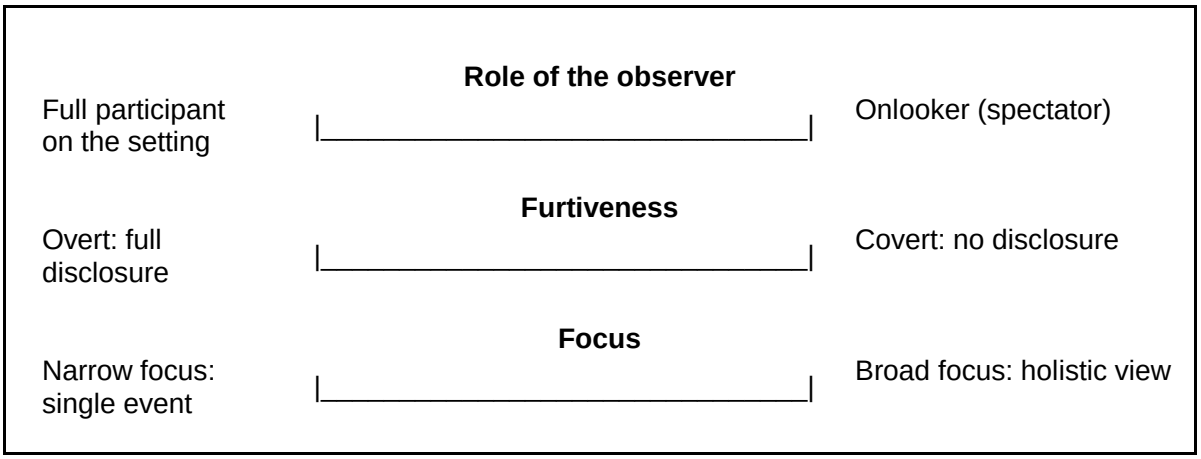

Figure 5.1. Dimensions of observation

Note. Adapted from *Qualitative Evaluation Methods* (p. 277), by M. Q. Patton, 1990, Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Patton (1990:265) and Creswell (2008:223) point out that the researcher may shift role, and to some extent that was the case for me. I shifted my role by sometimes chatting with students, teachers and the librarian (close to 'full participant'), sometimes looking from a distance at what the users did (closer to 'onlooker'). Often I would observe from a distance, take notes, and then approach a user, asking her what she was doing.

I had no intention of hiding my identity as a researcher, but giving a full account of my reason for being there to everyone I met was not feasible. I was wary of going into detail about the purpose of my study with the library users (i.e., teachers and students) since I was concerned that any such discussions might influence their use of the library or otherwise compromise the study. I consider this a degree of furtiveness. (In retrospect I think I was over-cautious, to the extent that I might possibly have missed out on valuable data.)

The focus of observation refers to what the researcher is focusing on, ranging from a single event to a holistic view. The focus of the study seemed to be somewhere between narrow and broad at first: the library and its users. But gradually I realised that viewing and studying this in isolation would be faulty, I would ignore the wider context and quite possibly valuable observations and not least insights and understandings. For instance, I reflected on how the learning, studying and literacy practices of upper secondary and University students would be significant to the library use, since many of the students aspire to continue with higher education, and the library may or may not help to prepare them for this. Unfortunately, there was no time to observe upper secondary lessons or university lectures. Because of the limitations of the study I was not able to expand the focus to the extent I wanted, but even the reflection around focus is valuable in itself. It says something about what initial observations and reflections in the field can do to how the researcher views the focus of the study.

Observation is just as much about observing what takes place as what does not take place, in fact, they are two sides of the same coin (Patton 1990:295–297). Being prepared for and ready to 'observe' 'non-events' can be important, but also difficult if the researcher is not looking for anything in particular. Observing something that is not present may seem like a paradox. *Reflection* might be a more appropriate term than *observation*, but to keep both 'events' and 'non-events' together, and because both are the researcher's interpretation of the world around her (based on her personal and professional background), the difference is only illusory. Discussions of what I consider observations of 'non-events' are part of this study, and are dealt with in 6.1.5.

Ad hoc action research

Greenwood and Levin (2007) present action research as a form of research whereby the researcher and a community or organization ('stakeholders') work together as a team to change something that is important to the local community. In their view, action research differs from 'ordinary' research in a number of ways: there is no separation of theory and praxis or researcher and actors and it 'is context bound and addresses real-life problems holistically.… The meanings constructed in the inquiry process lead to social action, or these reflections on action lead to the construction of new meanings' (Greenwood and Levin

2007:63). Sarantakos (1998) state that mapping the problem is part of the preparation of action research (Greenwood and Levin 2007:111).

When I was planning my field trip and data collection, I had no intention of doing action research of any kind, or assisting at the library. But I also did not really know what to expect, both in terms of what the library looked like, what the users did and the role of the librarian. Gradually I became aware of a number of shortcomings and areas with rooms for improvement. On the one hand I wanted to help this library improve, on the other hand I 'was supposed to' to do research there, not help out. I spent a great deal of time weighing this—should I 'intervene' or should I reserve my role to that of an 'observer'? As many before me have pointed out, a researcher being present, interacting with people—participant observation—always entails some kind and degree of interference. To me there were two sides to this: I wanted to contribute to the library in the ways I saw fit—might it even be irresponsible of me not to teach computers, not to sort the books so they would be more accessible to the youngest readers? (This is an issue of reciprocity, which I will discuss in more detail in 5.4.6). The other side is that of data collection. There are limits to all data collection techniques, and the same applies to those used in this study, even though I have tried to include a number of different ways of gathering data. By using what I have named 'ad hoc action research' I remedy that to some extent, or, more precisely, I expand the number of techniques. This is different from 'genuine' action research, since I did not work with the community to address a specific problem, but it does draw upon action research. Like in action research, my interventions (my term that parallels 'action') lead to 'reflections on action lead to the construction of new meanings' (cited above). I suspect that this kind of data collection and unplanned action research might be controversial, but I will leave that debate here, and only establish what I did.

There was an obvious risk of interfering in a way that would make it impossible to separate what took place before my 'interventions' and what came as a result. I was constantly aware of this and cautious about it. For the most part I waited with intervening until I had a better picture of what was going on. But for most of the things I did there was no change in behaviour or attitude that could be expected, at least not in the short run.

One of the most conspicuous interventions was showing the students how to use dictionaries. I did not see anyone use dictionaries at the library the first couple of weeks, but some said they used dictionaries sometimes. To me as a researcher that information did not tell me very much. *How* do they use dictionaries? How can one even answer that question? Mainly to increase the use of dictionaries, but also to gain insight into dictionary use, I 'admonished' a group of secondary students to use dictionaries by putting them at the table and asking them to look up words. As I observed them in looking up words, and on a later occasion assisting them, I realised that some of them lacked basic skills in looking up words—such as knowing the alphabet, and 'the best ones' were in my view very slow, using about 30 seconds to look up a word.

The biology teacher at school A left for further studies towards the end of my stay, so I decided to spend a few hours of the last week teaching biology to two classes. Like the case with the dictionaries, this was partly to help them in their studies, but I also hoped to be able to infer something from the observations of these lessons. I used the textbooks at the library and tried to show the students how they could use them themselves after I had left. I focused on how to locate relevant information and make relevant summaries and use key words.

These were only two of my 'interventions', but to give a full account of my research (including 'fringe' research) activities and increase the transferability (see 5.4.7) of the study they are enumerated in Appendix C. All interventions/contributions were discussed with/ presented to the director and librarian, and most were implemented with the latter.

5.4.5 Data analysis

All the interviews were transcribed, as recommended in the literature. This allows for a closer approach to the data, and facilitates analysis of the interviews. Kvale (1997:123–136) describes five methods for analysing interviews. In my opinion they are all valuable, but their usefulness depends on the interviews' nature and number. I only have six interviews with the same group (students), so looking for patterns is of limited use. The student respondents typically gave short answers, and hardly ever did they elaborate beyond my explicit question. The more the respondent narrates, the more the interview lends itself different methods of analysis.

The only method I used to analyse the interviews was *condensation*. This is a reduction of text into short, concise phrases or words. This provides the researcher with a better overview of the material, and makes it easier to keep all the interviews in mind at the same time. Some of the statements opened for an interpretation and discussion, and these have been presented directly in 6.1.

5.4.6 Ethical considerations

Ethical considerations are not limited to one part of the study, but should follow the researcher from the planning stage through to the presentation of the results (Kvale 1997:65). Angen (cited in Creswell 2007:205) states that 'all research agendas must questions [*sic*] their underlying moral assumptions, their political and ethical implications, and the equitable treatment of diverse voices'. A major reason for conducting this study was my personal belief that rural community libraries have the potential of contributing to more reading, and possibly yield other benefits to their communities, and that empirical studies, such as this one, are necessary to explore and map existing roles and impact of RCLs. This motive seems to be aligned with the stated wishes of the library staff and users. However, hopes and intentions are only part of the picture, and in themselves do not assure ethical procedures.

As part of the planning stage of the study, an outline of the research proposal was sent to Uganda National Council for Science and Technology (UNCST) that granted me a research permit.

Obtaining consent and assuring confidentiality and anonymity are often considered to be at the core of ethical research procedures. The names of the library staff have, with their consent, been mentioned as a sign of recognition (Patton 1990:411–412), but all other names have been replaced with pseudonyms. The only consent I obtained from parents of the student informants was from the father of the pupil informant, who let me interview his son. Two other student informants were under the age of 18, but since they were staying at a boarding school, I did not attempt to obtain their parents' consent, but rather relied on their own ability to make a sound decision about taking part in an interview.

Sometimes complete anonymity is beyond what a researcher can promise. Discovering the identity of the four schools in the study will not be very difficult for people who know the area well, but the answer that each of the questionnaire respondents gave is unknown even to the researcher. However, since there is no information that I would consider sensitive is presented in this study, I deem such potential disclosure to be within limits of what is acceptable, indeed necessary for social research to be possible.

Reciprocity vis-à-vis the informants is a debated issue among researchers (Patton 1990:412–415). Informants sacrifice time and sometimes disclose personal information that might unsettle or otherwise affect them. While some researchers propose remuneration, others warn that paying or giving vouchers might influence their answers. In an attempt to circumvent this conflict, I decided to give the student informants a pocket English dictionary after the interview, without telling them about it first. However, one informant learnt this from a previous informant, and another asked the librarian, who told him that he 'might get a dictionary'. When I asked principals and teachers for permission to administer the questionnaire at their schools, I also asked them to write down a list of schoolbooks that they wanted the library to have. I bought about 15 of the schoolbooks that different schools had requested. One teacher asked for an English dictionary for his school, which I gave to the school.

Storing the data, both electronic and paper documents, can have ethical implications, as they contain data obtained from informants as well as my own notes. I wrote all my field notes in Norwegian as a security measure, and never wrote down any names. I kept the questionnaires and other documents in my unlocked room in want of a better place, but since they were unnamed, I saw little risk in this. Safeguarding the electronic data was less straight-forward. All interviews were recorded on my lap top computer and transferred to another lap top computer that I had brought for my research assistant so that he could enter the answers to the questionnaire and transcribe the interviews.[6] The library users used the same computer as my research assistant (and sometimes my personal computer), and as such they technically had access to the files. But the files were 'hidden' in folders, and there is little reason to think they would look for it, especially considering that I was always present. The decision to let

[6] I ended up transcribing them myself afterwards to assure accuracy.

the users 'play with' the computers used for research was based on pragmatism: I thought it was more important to let them learn and explore the computers than to execute 'extreme' regard for an ethical research principle. Ethical considerations are most certainly important, but they are not the only considerations a researcher in the field has to keep in mind.

5.4.7 Trustworthiness

In quantitative research there are two established criteria for ensuring quality and scientific standards: reliability and validity. While some early qualitative researchers sought to transfer these criteria directly to qualitative methods, there is now a strong tendency to develop such criteria for qualitative research in its own right. In their groundbreaking book *Naturalistic Inquiry*, Lincoln and Guba (1985) used the term 'trustworthiness', asking what it would take for 'the findings of an inquiry [to be] worth paying attention to, worth taking account of' (Lincoln & Guba 1985:290). To elaborate this, they used the terms *credibility*, *transferability*, *dependability* and *confirmability* as alternative terms to the 'qualitative' terms *internal validity*, *external validity*, *reliability* and *objectivity* respectively (see 5.5.4 for a discussion of these criteria in relation to the quantitative part of this study). Other researchers have used other terms, and Creswell (2007:203) lists eight scholarly works on the subject with a total of 33 terms used in qualitative validation.[7]

Rather than discussing trustworthiness on a general level, I will attempt to tie it to this study, making it more of a practical issue, and discussing it in relation to strategies that I have or might have used in this study (see Creswell 2007:207–211). As part of *credibility*, Lincoln and Guba (1985:301–307) mention 'prolonged engagement and persistent observation'. It takes time to understand a new culture, and to allow salient issues to emerge. Some researchers, especially in the ethnographic tradition, recommend one year or more for fieldwork, including learning the vernacular (Veeck 2001). That was beyond the time frame of this study. Nevertheless— ten weeks goes a long way in assuring prolonged engagement, and together with persistent observation of emerging issues is enhances the validity of the study.

[7] Creswell (2007) uses the term validation instead of validity, and other researchers use other words altogether.

The other part of *credibility* is triangulation, a way of cross-checking the findings. Denzin (1978:295) identifies four kinds of triangulation: data, methods, investigators and theories triangulation. According to Lincoln and Guba (1985:307), theory triangulation does not apply to naturalistic inquiries (qualitative methods), and since I was the only investigator in the field, only the first two ways of triangulating will be discussed further.

Different sources of data have been used in the qualitative part, including interviews, observations and *ad hoc action research*. This allows for data triangulation. The fact that this is a mixed methods study means that methods triangulation is used. It is well worth noting, however, as Patton points out, that

> a common misunderstanding about triangulation is that the point is to demonstrate that different data sources or inquiry approaches yield essentially the same result. But the point is really to *test for* such consistency. Different kinds of data may yield somewhat different results because different types of inquiry are sensitive to different real-world nuances. Thus, understanding inconsistencies in findings across different kinds of data can be illuminative. Finding such inconsistencies ought not be viewed as weakening the credibility of the results, but rather as offering opportunities for deeper insight into the relationship between inquiry approach and the phenomenon under study (Patton 1990:248, emphasis in original).

Because of the difference between the sources of data, including the use of quantitative and qualitative data, they are likely to contribute differently to the analysis. This is precisely the strength of triangulation: It views the phenomenon from different angles, providing a deeper and broader perspective as well as enabling the researcher to 'test for consistency'. If there is a complete lack of consistency somewhere, or outright contradiction, the researcher must question both sources (data, methods), and investigate which is likely to be the unreliable one.

Geertz (1973) introduced the term *thick description* in anthropology, and since then is has been widely incorporated into qualitative research. It refers to a thorough description of a society that can provide a basis interpretation, and 'must specify everything that a reader may need to know in order to understand the findings' (Lincoln & Guba 1985:125) in order to establish transferability (Lincoln & Guba 1985:316). Transferability refers to the possibility of comparing one or more studied phenomena with another one, but this presupposes that both contexts are well known (Lincoln & Guba 1985:217).

The last part of *credibility* discussed here is ‘member checking’, whereby the participants are asked to give their opinion and comment upon the credibility of the findings and interpretations (Creswell 2007:207; Lincoln & Guba 1985:314–316). Taking data, interpretations and conclusions back to the participants is considered vital for establishing credibility (Lincoln & Guba 1985:314). One form of ‘member checking’ I did was to give the transcript of the interviews to three students and two library staff, and they said they had no additions or corrections that they wanted to make. Ideally, I would also show and discuss preliminary findings and data summaries with the participants, but the long distance makes that difficult.

Reliability, the ‘degree to which a measure of a concept is stable’ (Bryman 2004:543), is well-established and fairly straight-forward in quantitative research, while in qualitative research its applicability is debated. Some, according to Brock-Utne (1996) and Østerud (1998), claim that it is superfluous within this research strategy. It tends to become more theoretical than practical; with claims such as another researcher interpreting the same data should come to the same conclusions. Østerud (1998:123) points out that diverging interpretations of the same data is not necessarily bad, in fact it can yield new and interesting perspectives on the data. Kleven (cited in Brock-Utne 1996:614) asks: ‘Would we have seen the same and interpreted what we saw the same way if we had happened to have made the observation at another time?’. The equivalent in Lincoln and Guba (1985) is *dependability* which involves an external ‘audit’. It is rare to see researchers actually invite other researchers to ‘audit’ their data and data collection procedures, data and data analysis (Bryman 2004:275–276). Yin (2003) emphasises the importance of making a ‘trail’ throughout the research process so that ‘auditing’ at least is possible. This seems to be the only tangible measure to assure reliability unless another researcher is involved.

5.5 Quantitative part

5.5.1 Research questions

The purpose of this section is two-fold: Firstly, do any of the factors age, gender and socio-economic background correlate with reading habits, language preference, perception of reading and readers, and library use, and what inferences can be derived from these correlations (if any) in terms of the role of the library for student learning? Secondly, is there a correlation between library use on the one hand and reading habits, language preference or perceptions of reading and readers on the other hand, and what inferences can be derived from these correlations (if any) in terms of the role of the library for student learning? In this section I will present the data collection process, the framework for data analysis and methods.

5.5.2 Research design

The main focus of the quantitative part is on the questionnaire survey. Since the point of interest for the quantitative analysis is which factors correlate with reading, library use and so forth, a questionnaire survey is deemed the most appropriate method. This part also comprises the list of borrowed books, which I converted into a database. The last two categories of data are what Bjørnestad (2009) calls ‘number materials’; they are quantifiable, but treated as indications of occurrence or frequency that can be interpreted and discussed (in relation to other data), a sort of quasi-qualitative data. For this study it is not the exact numbers in themselves that are of interest, but rather what they indicate by being high, low or something else. The procedure for collecting and analysing these two data categories is presented in this section, whereas the analysis itself and the discussion of the results are presented in chapters 6 and 7 respectively.

5.5.3 Data collection

Data collection instruments

Questionnaire survey

There are many different ways of writing a questionnaire, and one should take care to avoid leading and biased questions. Furthermore, the researcher should plan how to code and analyse the questionnaire before (or in the process of) writing it.

I had written a draft questionnaire before going to Uganda, which I revised on site in light of the information I got there and conversations with a number of people. A regular pilot study was beyond the scope of my capacity, which in retrospect I consider a drawback. Instead I gave the questionnaire to a student from school A (see below) who was not included in the sample to check for unclear questions and other irregularities. One minor correction was made based on her comments.

Many questionnaires used in social sciences use provide a scale for each question, typically ranging from one to five or one to seven (interval scale). Many of the questions in the questionnaire I designed for this study provide the respondent with a scale, both it is not numbered, so there are no intervals between the options of equal size. This scale is called ordinal. I thought it more reliable to provide options like ‘every day or almost every day’, instead of asking ‘on a scale from 1 to 5, how often do you use the library?’. When using an ordinal scale, Spearman’s rho correlation analysis is an appropriate tool for conducting statistical analysis in the data (see 6.2.4).

I considered making the questionnaire bilingual, but in the end I decided against it. As for the S3 students, who they are in their 10th year of schooling with English as the language of instruction, it would only be reasonable to assume (and in congruence with my impressions) that they would understand the simple language of my questionnaire. All students were given the questionnaire in English (Appendix D), but to prevent misunderstandings my research assistant translated the questions, which I printed in four copies which we made available for the students during the administration of the survey (see below).

Library records of borrowed books

The library keeps records of all borrowed books, both individual borrowings and books borrowed by schools (‘borrowing in bulk’, see 6.1.6). They librarian writes down ‘title’, ‘author’, ‘date of borrowing’, ‘name of borrower’ and ‘membership status of borrower’ for each book. After about three weeks I introduced ‘book category’ to the record keeping system. After introducing this category I made a copy of all the individually borrowed books, and the librarian informed me of the school and gender of each borrower. I also made a copy of the quantity of books borrowed in bulk and by which schools. The copy of my records stretch over a period of two months, and includes three days after I had left the library.

Population and sampling

In quantitative studies it is common to make a sample based on the population using any of a number of techniques to make a representative sample (Bryman 2004:84–88). However, unlike most other case studies (in my experience) there is no clearly defined population in this study because library users come from different villages and even a town more than 20 km away. One could argue that the people living in the vicinity of the library are the target users (and thus the population of the study), but when one looks at how the library is used it is more complex than that (see below).

There are nine primary and four secondary schools with about 2700 students within a radius of three kilometres of the library[8] according to the estimates that the director of the library made. However, there are huge differences in the number of library users and even how they use the library, which made sampling more problematic.

Throughout this study I have focused on lower secondary school students, but, as I argue in 1.5, it would be a mistake to completely ignore other users. I decided to include students in their last year of primary school (P7), since they are the secondary students-to-come, but also those who fail or choose not to go to secondary school. The second group was students in

[8] Two primary schools and two secondary schools are an estimated 3 km from the library, the other two are closer.

their third year of lower secondary school (S3). However, the sample consists of one S3 class, one S2 class[9], and two P7 classes.

Conversations with the library director made me aware of the fact that there are huge differences between the number of users from each school. The students from some near-by schools hardly use it all, while others use it quite a lot. Considering the total number of users based on my observations at the library, it became clear that I would have to select schools with a relatively high number of users, since my sample size would be limited to four classes (about 200 students).

To make a sample of the users I asked the director of the library to identify the schools with the highest number of library users. We discussed this, and eventually I decided on the four schools presented below. The whole class was included in the sample at each school, giving a total of N = 173. The four schools are presented below.

School A is a small secondary school founded in 2006 by the director of the library, and has very close ties to the library. Library use is on the timetable one school hour (40 minutes) every week for each class, and twice every week for S3.[10] Some 15 students are boarding students, and they use the library to study every evening.

School B is a Primary school. Together with school A the students at this school make out the largest group of borrowers according to the library record I investigated (see 6.1.5).

School C is a secondary school outside of the 3 km radius. It was included because according to the director it was one of the best users of the library. The English teacher at the school said that she visits the library regularly (every week or every two weeks) to borrow storybooks in large numbers (80–140 according to the records of borrowed books) which she brings to the students in the English lesson. They then have to read them and write or give an oral presentation of the books they have read. After conducting the survey I discovered through the library records that the number of library visits to borrow books was

[9] As I was about to carry out the survey at school C I was informed that it was in fact the S2 students who had read the books from the library, not the S3 students, so I decided to swap class on that school.

[10] During my fieldwork I observed that they did not always go to the library during this time.

considerably inflated. According to the director the students from this school come from more wealthy families than most other students in the area and this is reflected in their answers (see Table 6.3).

School D is a primary school about three kilometres from the library, so few students, if any[11], come to the library in their free time. However, the P7 class comes to the library a few times every semester[12] for primary quizzes (see 6.1.5). Together with School C the director considers it a model school when it comes to library use so I decided to include it in the study.

Administration of the survey

The survey was carried out in September 2008. I visited the four schools included in the survey together with my research assistant a few days prior to administering the questionnaires. On that first visit I also personally greeted the classes in the survey (with the exception of the class in school C), briefly informing them that I was conducting a questionnaire study on the library and reading, and that I would come back a few days later with a questionnaire.

Before conducting the survey my assistant (who spoke 'African English' and Luganda) and I told them that participation was optional and instructed them on how to fill in the questionnaire. To minimise language difficulties we held four translated copies of the questionnaire in our hands as we walked around in the classroom or stood by the blackboard, offering them to the students as they filled in the questionnaire. In addition, for the P7 classes my assistant read every question aloud in English, then translated/explained in Luganda.

Response rate

The questionnaire was given to 174 students, and 173 completed questionnaires were returned, giving a response rate of 99.4 per cent.

[11] There were no records of any students or teachers from this school borrowing books in the library records for the ten weeks I was there, but I did not learn this until after conducting the survey.

[12] They came twice for primary quizzes and once during Book Week while I was there.

5.5.4 Reliability and validity

Reliability refers to the extent to which the results of a study are reliable. For the results to be reliable they should be stable over time. If the same measure is conducted under the same circumstances at a different time it must give similar results for the study to be reliable (Bryman 2004:70–72). If the data are reliable they are not due to any undesired influence or effect.

There are several kinds of validity, and they are all measures of how valid the findings of a study are. For the results to be valid, the questions must measure what they set out to measure, i.e., how well the investigation really elicits answers it is trying to answer (Bryman 2004:72–75). Unclear questions, for instance, give poor internal validity, and reduce the overall validity of the findings.

Although a number of steps have been taken to ensure a high level of reliability and validity, including writing the questions in as simple English as possible, testing the questionnaire on a student, translating the questions into Luganda, being present while the students filled out the questionnaire (which ensured a very high response rate (Bell 1993:85)), there are a number of things which I can identify that give indication of reduced reliability/validity.

There is reason to believe that the language posed a problem to some students, and the teacher at one school rushed the students to finish. Based on my observations and the library record (triangulation), there is little doubt in my mind that at least some respondents overestimated their library use. What other socially desirable responses they made one can only guess at.

The questionnaire was given to 174 students, and 173 completed questionnaires were returned, giving a response rate of 99.4 per cent, which is very high for this kind of survey and increases the validity of the findings. Some respondents left some questions blank or ticked two or more boxes for one question, which means they are reported as missing. This can be a problem if the rate of non-response is very high, or if there is a tendency that one group (e.g., men) fail to answer a question, since this will skew the results. Therefore it is necessary to check for non-random tendencies in the missing values, at least if there are

many missing answers to one question (Pallant 2007:56–57). Two questions (12 and 13) were left blank by 13 respondents (7.5%), but there is no indication that they belong to the same group, so this has no bearing on the analysis.

There were some irregularities in the responses: 19 respondents (11%, N = 173) ticked for never using the library as well as using it in different ways. Several also ticked for both not having any parents/guardians or just one parent/guardian and their parents'/guardians' education and opinions about studying and reading, contrary to the written and oral instructions. One can only speculate whether this was due to language difficulties or 'common mistakes' with filling in questionnaires, but either way it does affect the reliability of the study. Since reliability is a prerequisite for validity, all these irregularities lower the validity of the study, at least to some degree.

5.5.5 Coding the questions

The questions in the questionnaire have been coded as shown in appendix E. A description of the variables used in the thesis is presented in Table 5.2.

5.5.6 Data analysis

All the dependent variables are ordinal, meaning that they are rank-ordered but they do not have the same distance between them (Bryman 2004:227). To show which of the independent variables have significant correlations with the dependent variables, a Spearman's rho correlation analysis has been conducted (Bryman 2004:233–234).

Missing values have been excluded pairwise throughout.[13] SPSS 16 for Mac has been used to analyse the data. The results are presented in 6.2.

[13] This means that when a single value is missing, the rest of the values of that case are kept in the analysis. The alternative is to exclude cases listwise, which means that the whole case is left out if one value is missing.

Table 5.2. A description of the variables used in the thesis

Question number	*Variable label*	*Description*
4	use library	How often they use the library
8	own books	Whether they or their families own textbooks, storybooks or both
9	books read in English	How many books they have read in English
10	books read in an African language	How many books they have read in Luganda or another African language
12	Perception of reading in L1	Do they think reading in one's own language has an affect on the ability to read in English?
15	parents say about reading	What do their parents say about reading?
16	father's education	Father's education
17	father read	How well their fathers read
18	mother's education	Mother's education
19	mother read	How well their mothers read
20	perception of people who read a lot	Are people who read many story books different from other people?
21	assets	How many 'assets' they have; electricity, radio, bicycle, motorcycle, TV and car
22	read stories	Whether anyone read them stories when they were younger
23	tell stories	Whether anyone told them stories when they were younger
24	read for family	Whether they read for their families
25	language preference	Which language they prefer to read in (English is coded '1' and 'Luganda/own language' is coded '2', so a negative correlation means that there is a correlation with English)

Some variables that appear to be related and are suspected to correlate considerably were subjected to a cross tabulation to see whether they indeed do correlate. The results are presented in 6.2.3. The variables are:

1) ‘books read in English’ and ‘books read in an African language’
2) ‘father’s education’ and ‘mother’s education’
3) ‘father read’ and ‘mother read’

Because only the students from school A and B use the library on their own initiative, the other two schools have been left out of the variable ‘use library’ (see 6.2.4). However, school A is a secondary school with strong ties with the library and can be suspected to use it more, whereas school B is a primary school, and the students are likely to be younger. Age can be presumed to correlate with number of books read: Older students can be suspected to have read more books. Therefore it is necessary to control for ‘school’ as a confounding factor for the variables ‘age’, ‘books read in English’, ‘books read in an African language’ and the construct ‘books read in total’ (which is based on the two previous variables).

5.5.7 Conceptual framework

The conceptual framework (Figure 5.2) shows how the quantitative part of the study is broken into two stages. The first stage refers to the question: *Do any of the factors age, gender and socio-economic background correlate with reading habits, language preference, perception of reading, perception of people who read a lot and library use?*

‘Socio-economic background’ and ‘reading habits’ are conceptual constructs that several questions try to capture. Socio-economic background is measured through ‘parent education’, ‘parent read’ and ‘assets’. Reading habits is measured through ‘books read in total’ and ‘read for family’.

The second stage refers to the question: *Is there a correlation between library use on the one hand and student’s reading habits, language preference, perceptions of reading or perception of people who read a lot on the other hand?*

Each box in Figure 5.2 represents a variable. If there is a correlation between two variables, the arrows show the direction of the influence. The double-pointed arrows indicate that it is not possible to establish the direction of a relationship, only of the presence of such. Because

'school' might be a confounding factor (see 5.5.6), the arrows between the variables that 'school' might affect are drawn with a dotted line.

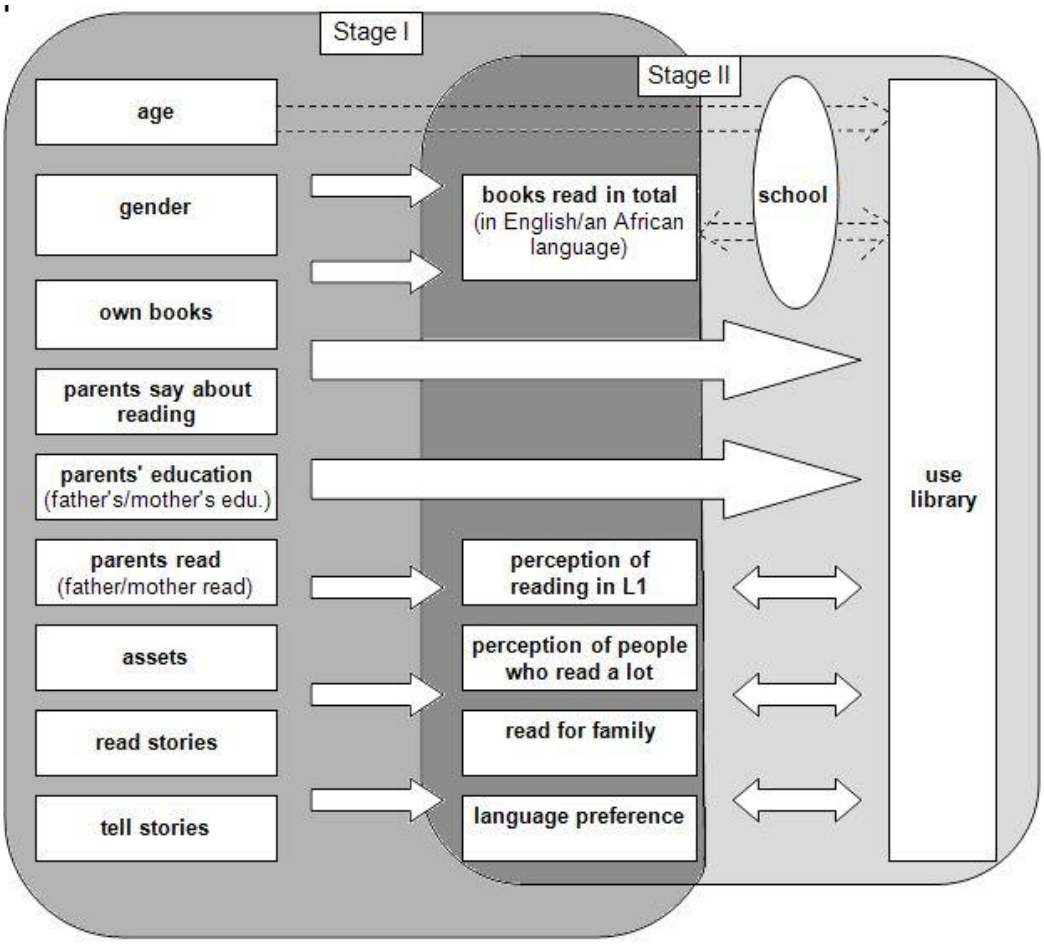

Figure 5.2. Conceptual Framework

6. ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

6.1 Qualitative part

6.1.1 Introduction

Apart from the presentation of the library, this sub-chapter is organised according to the research questions (except the last one, which is discussed in 7.1, as it attempts to draw upon the all previous chapters and the quantitative data.) The description of the library and its resources, use, users and the community attempts to provide a *thick description* (see 5.4.7) and a foundation for the discussion in the following chapter.

Figure 6.1. The librarian (second from the left), two primary and two secondary student users

6.1.2 Presenting Caezaria Library[14]

Caezaria Complex Public Library, commonly known as Caezaria Library, is located in Ajijja village/trading centre, Buikwe Sub-county, Buikwe County, Mukono District. Ajijja consists of some 20 shops on three streets which are joined by a roundabout, a church and a mosque. The library is no more than 100 metres from the roundabout. It is only 50 km from Kampala, but about 3 hours by public transport. Mukono is a fertile district bordering Lake Victoria and has attracted immigrants from the whole country, making it a mix of ethnic groups and languages. However, most people in the area speak Luganda as their first or second language. Most people are subsistence farmers, and many grow coffee or take on small jobs to eke out a living.

There are nine primary, one vocational and four secondary schools with a total of about 2700 students within a radius of three kilometres of the library, according to the estimates that the director of the library made (see Figure 6.2).

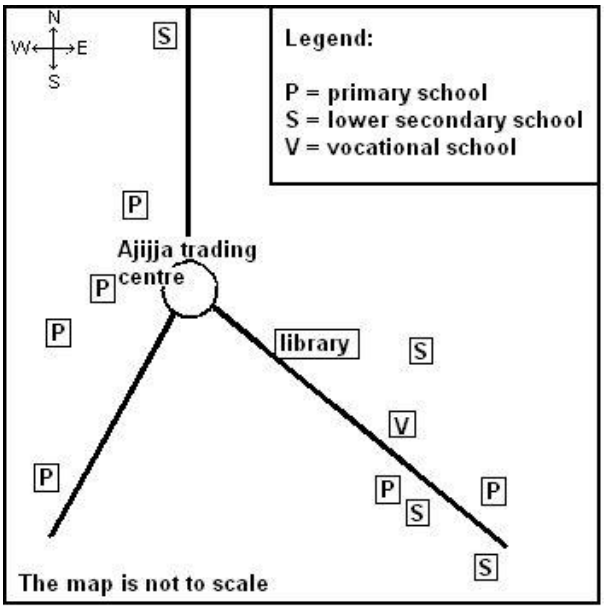

Figure 6.2. Schematic map over Ajijja trading centre with indications of the nearby schools

The library is the brainchild of the library director Kigobe Francis, a local farmer whose family owns a small factory for removing the husks from coffee beans. The idea of building a

[14] This sub-chapter is based on the interviews and conversations with the director, coordinator and librarian, as well as internal documents (such as copies of reports from the library to cooperating organizations).

community library sprang out of some good and bad experiences, as he puts it. The good experience was having access to library at Ordinary Level (lower secondary) where he could read and study. When he continued with Advanced Level (upper secondary) he was staying at a hostel with no library or study room. In his view, this was the reason he did not get good enough marks to continue with university education.

The stated objectives of the library are:

- enable easy access to information by the local community
- make the library a centre of service to the local community
- to stimulate and promote reading culture among the local people
- to provide reading facilities to the local community

After working some time to earn money, he decided to start a library so that the students and other people in his village could benefit from it. He built it in 1999 with no external support and started operating it in December 2000. The library opened before the building was fully constructed with his collection of textbooks together with around 60 magazines. He hired Amina Kwagala, a S4 leaver (11th grade) as a librarian, bought a typewriter and told her to learn typing while people read books. Getting people interested in coming to the library was difficult in the beginning, and many people did not even know that it was a library. A few art students came to read their notes there, so to accommodate them he bought some art pamphlets. He continued buying books, bought a cyclostyle (mechanical copying) machine for making exams and put up some shelves.

In the beginning it was hard to attract users to the library. Francis Kigobe would talk to schools and people he met, and through his work collecting coffee he travelled to a number of villages. Apart from the art students and some pupils from primary schools there were not many users. It was not until they launched the primary quizzes (see 6.1.5) that the library became well-known and properly established in the community. Every two weeks they invited the last class of primary school (P7) to come for a quiz that would help them pass the primary leaving exams (PLE), and this gave the library a boost of users and made people aware of its existence.

After some time he came into contact with the National Library of Uganda (NLU) and in 2002 they started a partnership. That year the library was also registered as a non-governmental organization (NGO). NLU has provided workshops for him and the librarian, and channelled books from international donors, notably Book Aid International (BAI).

From this meagre beginning the library has grown to offer a number of services, in addition to a wide range and number of books. In the following I will give an account of these services, including cooperation with other organizations.

Apart from NLU and BAI, the library has received support from and cooperated with several organizations. Development Network of Indigenous Voluntary Associations (DENIVA) provided workshops on advocacy and capacity building, Libraries Across Borders provided three computers, a TV set and a DVD player, National Book Trust of Uganda (NABOTU) funds Book Week (see 6.1.4). Ka Tutandike funded Children's Christmas in 2007, and Uganda Community Library Association (UgCLA) has given two workshops for the librarian and the director on how to start and run community libraries. Uganda Library Association (ULA) funded the first Children's reading tent in 2004 (which is now part of the Book Week) and has offered several workshops for the volunteer librarian and the director. The library is also used as an occasional venue for the Local Council, the lowest administrative level in Uganda, and National Agriculture Advisory Services (NAADS).

Since April 2007 the library has received a monthly grant of 300,000 Ugandan shillings (UGX) (approx. 150 dollars) to pay for a librarian, coordinator, security, stationary and other petty expenses from Under the Reading Tree (UTRT). This amount was recently adjusted to 375,000 shillings.

Since it started getting support from UTRT, the library has had two paid staff: a librarian, Namata Jane Frances, and a coordinator, Kaziba Cyprian. The librarian works full time, i.e. six days a week. She has a background as a plumber, but has been trained in Kampala for one month by NLU and on one other occasion. Her work consists of assisting users, keeping records of loans and other library work.

The coordinator is not stationed full-time at the library, but is supposed to promote the library by visiting surrounding schools and write reports to UTRT. However, since he started studying in Kampala he has not been able to keep up with visiting schools on a regular basis.

Officially there is a library board, but it rarely convenes and only plays an advisory role.

On Heroes' Day the newspaper *New Vision* awards a certificate and 2,000,000 shillings to a Ugandan who makes a difference to his society. In June 2008 Kigobe Francis was given the recognition for the work he has done with the library and for promoting a reading culture in his community.

6.1.3 Reading, writing and learning in the community

RQ 1: *What and how do students read and write in the nearby schools and in the community?*

For youth in Buikwe, literacy is largely confined to school. The director claims that only one person in Ajijja, a shopkeeper, subscribes to a newspaper. According to the respondents, 60 per cent own storybooks and 64 per cent own textbooks, yet only one out of five answered that s/he got books to read from home. Some people have the Bible or Qur'an in English or Luganda, and reading them seems to constitute most of the reading that is not related to school. Books are only sold in cities and the price of a textbook is around 10,000 to 20,000 shillings; about a week's salary for a local teacher.

Some of the student respondents told me that they had some books and reading materials when they grew up, others that they did not have any but came across some from time to time. Overall, reading materials appeared to be scarce, but not completely absent. Five out of the six student respondents read the Bible or the Qur'an. One student respondent said her family had a dictionary.

Students in Buikwe make their own 'textbooks' by writing in their notebooks what the teachers write on the blackboard or dictates. It seems like the pupils in upper primary school write off the blackboard, while secondary students write what the teacher dictates. The

teacher uses the blackboard to write down words with difficult spelling and new words that call for an explanation. Illustrations are also typically drawn on the blackboard for the students to copy them. One respondent from an upper secondary school said that her teachers would give the students a paper to copy, leave the classroom and return after a while to explain the notes. After writing/dictating, the teacher sometimes spends the last part of the lesson to explain, comment upon or, as I observed in an upper primary classroom, give written exercises. The teachers sometimes have a textbook that they use to write lesson notes, that is, what they will write/dictate, and sometimes they use a book from the library. Or, as a student respondent said, they borrow from another school. Lessons are typically teacher-centred, quite monotonous and with little variation and student–teacher interaction. Based on her findings from primary schools in Eritrea, Wright (2001:61) warns against interpreting what takes place in African classrooms based on the foreign researcher's immediate impressions and interpretations, which are often implicitly based on Western ideals and understandings. It was far beyond the scope of this study to thoroughly investigate classroom interaction in the surrounding schools, but the point is, as modestly as it can be made, that the teaching was teacher-centred and seemed to have changed little from colonial times.

All classroom teaching in secondary school (and the upper primary classes I observed) is done in English. I observed some code switching, but only for short periods of time. It seemed like changing to Luganda was used mainly to give 'metacomments', such as reprimands or a comment about the situation. Switching language also meant switching roles; the teacher went from lecturing to negotiating and interacting. In light of the moments when Luganda was spoken, there was something artificial, theatrical about the rest of the class when English was spoken. Teachers and student prefects admonish students to talk English outside the classroom, especially at school, but even teachers often speak Luganda, and I never noticed anyone ever speaking English when I was not part of the conversation.

The secondary students mostly read their own notes, but sometimes they read schoolbooks, especially pamphlets. Many say they like to read and want to, but there is no time, and reading for exams is more important. As for writing, they take notes in class, and those with a formal student leadership role of some kind ('head girl', 'student prefect') write admonitions or similar texts directed at other students. Some students at school A write

'school articles', short texts on a subject of their choice. Five of the student respondents write letters, and several write diaries or similar personal notes.

All the schools I visited had a 'bookstore' of some kind; a space at the school with some books. For most schools this meant having a shelf in the principals' office with old, apparently discarded Western textbooks, and in some cases a few other books. At one primary school they had a book box with books donated from or through the library (the library was a mediator), but the students I spoke to had never read any of them, and when I asked to see the box, a teacher had to pick it up from his home, where he had kept it over the holidays (and a few weeks into the school year). At all these schools I was told that the books were available for the students, but in practice that did not seem to make much of a difference. The books did not seem very relevant and the very location of the bookstore in the principals' office or a similar secluded area of the school probably meant that no or little casual browsing took place. School C was an exception to this, as it had a tiny room facing the school yard used as a bookstore. The books were apparently all foreign donations, both textbooks and fiction, both quite popular with the students. Two students worked as librarians, and the opening hours were generous. It is worth keeping in mind that school C stood out of from the rest of the schools in that it is far away from the library, and according to the director, it was a school largely for city children from relatively affluent families.

Schooling is widely seen as paramount to personal progress both by students and parents, so the exams are perceived as very important. According to the survey, almost all the parents value reading (79% of the parents) and especially studying (97%) highly. The students I talked to expressed the same view—reading and studying is important. In the survey they also expressed that they like reading very much (95% of the students). Education (and a good level of English) is necessary to get a well-paid job, for the most part in urban areas. Those who stay behind become peasants, fishermen, housewives, petty traders or take on similar jobs. This is that most of their parents do for a living, while the students I talked to want to become a nurse, engineer, doctor or get another professional occupation. In light of this it is curious that the director and some teachers talked about how parents are reluctant to sending their kids to school and that many students do not take their studies seriously or read very much.

6.1.4 Library materials and services

RQ 2: *What kind of materials and services does the library offer?*

This section describes what in Kuhlthau's (1999) terminology is the *input* level: the materials and services that the library offers. Normally, *input* also focuses on new acquisitions, but during my stay there were no changes or new acquisitions apart from the ones I introduced.

The library has three staff: director, coordinator and a full-time librarian. Only the librarian is present and interacts with the users on a daily basis, so only her role will be presented here. The librarian opens in the morning, between nine and ten, and closes in the evening around five or six. On Saturday the opening hours are shorter, and on Sunday it is usually closed. There are no posted opening hours anywhere.

The librarian is a local plumber trained in librarianship by NLU twice in Kampala. She cleans the library in the mornings, attends users and keeps a record of borrowed books. Attending users consists of many things, but mostly she answers questions and shows them where certain categories of books are located when they ask for it. When I was present she did not spend very much time helping users with the computers, but then I spent quite some time working on the computers and apparently I did most of that work for her. She said she read to pupils from time to time, but I did not observe this until after I encouraged her to do it, and then only once. One day she handed out to a group of pupils books from a class set that I had arranged and commended (see section 6.1.5).

The library is spacious, and includes a reading room adjacent to the library itself where some students go to read—mainly their own notes. The collection of materials at the library consists of books, science equipment (for experiments in science classes at school), a typewriter, two computers (plus one for the coordinator) and a TV with a DVD player that is used for showing films on certain occasions. It also has shelves full of books on most walls, two racks for displaying books, some illustrations and student drawings on the wall, clay figures from a workshop, tables, chairs and benches. The books are classified and shelved into sections. The book collection numbered 9377 copies according to the library records, but some might have been lost or otherwise not included. When I left, about 200 newly donated

Table 6.1. Estimated quantity of books at the library, by category (only selected categories)

Category	*Estimated quantity*
English storybooks (excluding duplicate copies)	500
English dictionaries	25
Books written in Luganda (many in 4–5 copies)	100
Classic English literature and commentary on English literature	100
African novels in English (several in multiple copies)	50
Novels (about 50 of which were written by well-known authors)	1200
Chemistry books (one of which in 10 copies)	50
Biology books	50
Primary textbooks, including teachers' guides (several in multiple copies)	250
Pamphlets (all subjects)	30
Categories that I introduced	
First English readers (one word or one sentence per page)	50
Easy English readers	50
Class sets for pupils (10–40 books in each class set)	25
Class sets for secondary students, some possibly suitable for upper primary (8–20 in each class set)	25
Class sets of Luganda books (one set with different books in the same series)	3

books were stored in boxes in the director's home because of lack of space. Table 6.1 gives my estimates of the number of books in some categories (only the subjects *Biology* and *Chemistry* are included here).

When I came, the books were grouped by category but there was no distinction based on level of difficulty of the English storybooks. The Luganda books were not together with the

rest of the children's books, but in a room with schoolbooks and novels. Some books were displayed on the two book racks. Many shelves had labels indicating the category, but not always very clearly.

There are some 100 books in Luganda, including some storybooks, a few lower primary Luganda textbooks and books on Muganda culture (the main local ethnic group) and similar books for adults. In general they are have fewer pictures and are mainly in black and white, and as such less appealing than the books in English, and the selection of storybooks is much smaller.

The textbooks for primary level were all from the West, as far as I could see, except some English books which seemed to be made for Africans. The storybooks in English are of a wide variety and cover all levels of difficulty. It is worth noting that almost all of them portray Africans and African life, and some were probably rooted in the oral storytelling culture. There are many stories and anecdotes of children's books from America or Europe that find their way to African children, who end up reading about ice skating and skyscrapers in lack of better reading materials. At another library in Uganda I saw a little boy 'reading' (I do not know how much he actually understood) a story about a young boy who was teased because he had freckles. What does an eight-year-old from Uganda know about freckles?

For the secondary students and teachers there were novels, storybooks, pamphlets, past papers and textbooks. The pamphlets were made in Uganda and presumably covered the curriculum, but they were much simpler than textbooks and typically enumerated facts, factors, advantages and disadvantages, or otherwise gave a simplified presentation. Almost all the textbooks were donations from the US and Great Britain, but from what I could see as an 'ad hoc biology teacher', the biology textbooks covered the Ugandan curriculum fairly well.

There are some rules and regulations on borrowing books and membership fees, but these are all flexible. Users are 'supposed' to pay an annual membership fee, but only a few actually do this, and some only pay parts of it. The same goes for fees for overdue books. One respondent thought that there was a fee for borrowing books, and was surprised when I told him that was not the case. He only read his own notes and schoolbooks at the library.

Borrowed books may be kept for a few days only: one day for pupils' storybooks, three days for textbooks and one week for novels. But these due dates are not strictly enforced.

There are two computers available for the users and one for the coordinator. When I came there was little more software than MS Office and a car game installed on them. I installed the encyclopaedia Microsoft Encarta, dictionaries, typing tutors and typing games.

6.1.5 Library use

RQ 3: *Who are the library users and how do they use the library?*

This section describes what in Kuhlthau's (1999) terminology is the *output* level: what the library yields in terms of number of users and borrowed books. In other words, measurable forms of library use that give an indication of efficiency, and that often are assumed to give evidence of effectiveness. The data presented here give an indication of who the users are and the scope and nature of their library use. Any attitudes towards the library and skills that the students have acquired there are also presented here.

Use and users

There are mainly three groups of users that use the library, and the pattern of use for each group is rather distinct. These are pupils, secondary students and teachers. Apart from the three groups there are some few other individuals that I observed or were in the records for borrowing books during the time I was there: a local adult, two university students and a university teacher. Their number and use frequency is so low that it has little relevance for this study, beyond noting that parents and other adults virtually never use it.

The pupils usually come in groups after school, and the records of borrowed books confirm this: often between three and ten pupils from the same school borrow books on the same time/day. They typically come in, look around, browse the section with English storybooks and look at and/or read some, and sometimes sit down and rest. They usually spend about 10 minutes reading books. On several occasions I observed them reading books seemingly beyond their level, including past papers for secondary students that probably would not make much sense to them. When I asked them (my research assistant translated) it became

clear that they did not always understand what they read, including some storybooks. In the beginning the books were not separated by level, and at least some pupils seemed to pick books at random, that is, not considering the difficulty level of the books. I also observed ‘reading-mumbling’—reading aloud in a very low voice. Some of the younger pupils would practice pronouncing words without paying attention to the meaning.

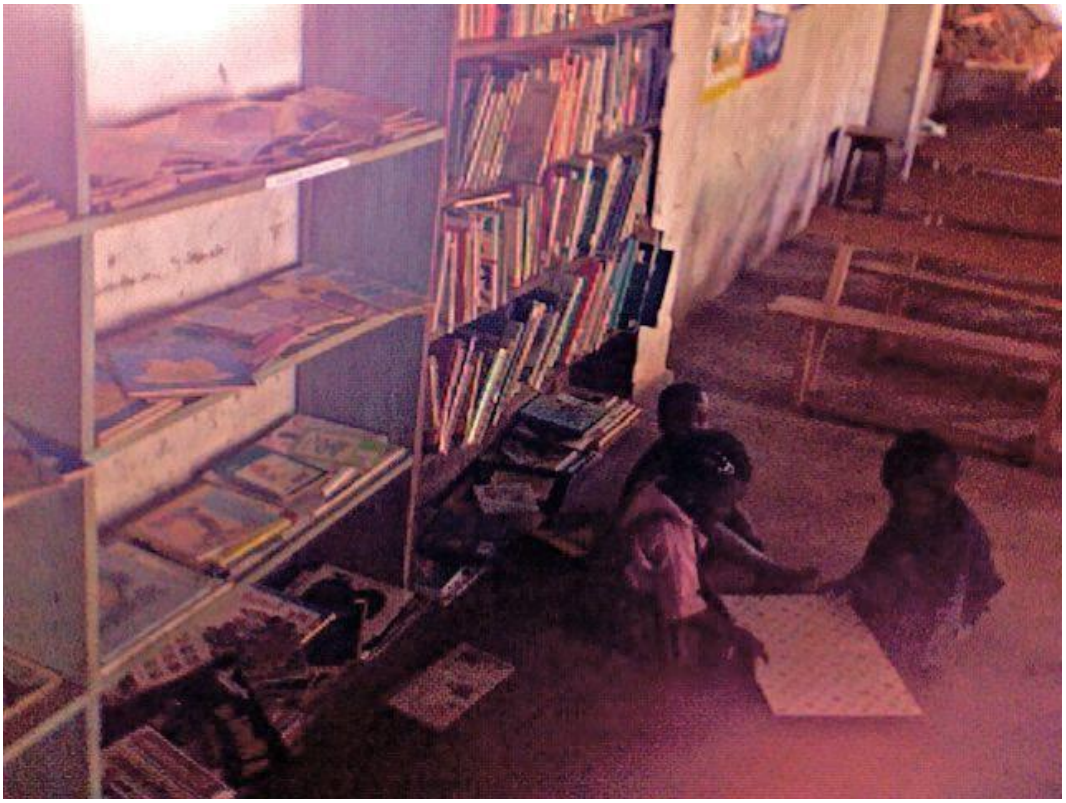

Figure 6.3. Children looking at books

English storybooks are by far the most popular books for reading/looking at in the library among this group, but Luganda books are also read to some extent. Textbooks for the primary level are borrowed and brought home; I did not observe anyone reading them at the library. The last set of activities the pupils engage in at the library is sitting at the tables, chatting, walking around, helping the librarian with cleaning and other tasks and typing or playing on the computer. All of these take up enough time to take them into consideration. It is clear that the library is also a place to stay, especially for some few students who come every week or even several times a week, often without reading or borrowing anything.

There are some parallels in how the primary and secondary students use the library. They both use the computers, and to some extent they also chat or sit idle. Reading storybooks at the library is not very common among the secondary students, but I saw one student taking a break from reading his notes by reading a storybook. By far the most time-consuming form of library use that the secondary students engage in is reading/revising their own notes. There are different ways of doing this, including simply reading through, copying a pamphlet word by word into their notebooks, and reading, memorizing and checking if they remembered what they just read. Most students at school A who write school articles write from memory, but one of the informants used the encyclopaedia at the library on one occasion. This is the only student I observed using the encyclopaedia. I observed no skimming or other ways of getting an overview of the text, and only one student, the best at her school, took down keywords from a pamphlet, extracting the most important information and as such demonstrating analytical skills. This way of studying was the same outside the library, the informants told me, and coincided with what I observed. When I explained and admonished them to do this in the biology class I taught, only one student managed to do this as far as I could see. It was clear that this was not a way of studying that was familiar to them. One student said they used 'cram work', lamenting that they knew it was not good, but they did it anyway.

The records of borrowed books show that some teachers borrow quite a few books (see below), and teachers drop by from time to time to borrow, return or simply come on a social call. Sometimes they sit down at the tables and take notes for a lesson. I did not observe any student–teacher interaction at the library beyond casual conversation.

After a few weeks I introduced a number of 'interventions', some of which led to incidents of changed behaviour and new literacy events (see Appendix C for a full list and description of these). There was apparently increased computer use, especially using the new software typing tutors and typing games, and when I prompted it, the encyclopaedia Encarta. It should be noted that before my introducing them, there was little to do on the computers except typing in MS Word. It is hard to assess whether splitting up and reshelving the English storybooks changed the pupils' reading pattern or library use, but it seemed like it promoted more meaningful browsing and selection of books on their level. They played Scrabble, the letter cubes and board games, but only, as far as I observed, when the librarian or I suggested

it. The most conspicuous literacy event was when a group of about eight pupils asked the librarian for a class set (several copies of the same title), sat down on the benches in a group and started reading. This surprised me at first, and when I asked the librarian she told me that the previous day she had given them a class set and asked them to read. One day I saw a pupil sitting idle at a table, and I fetched a Luganda storybook which I put on the table in front of her without saying a word. She immediately started to read, and seemed to be absorbed right away. I did the same on a couple of occasions, and they all started reading. Another time I put a big colour book with animals on the table and opened it. During the day I saw a number of students leafing through, some reading the titles. Both *New Vision* and *Bukedde* newspapers were read, often 'casually'; users would flip through the paper at the librarian's desk were it was lying. I did not observe any new users come to read the newspapers or anyone coming solely to read them, but I do not know this for sure. I never observed anyone using atlases or dictionaries except when I showed/taught how to do it, and when I did it was clear that they were very inexperienced, especially with atlases/maps, and some students had no idea how to use a dictionary. A few days after I had explained some students how to use a dictionary and left it on the tables in the library, I observed some use it.

Borrowed books

Over a two-month period, 356 books were borrowed, but 32 of these were renewed or borrowed again within ten days,[15] and as such are excluded from further presentation of the data.[16] If one leaves out the days when no books were borrowed (slow days, Sundays and one week when the librarian did not allow any borrowing because she was reorganizing the books), we find that on average 7.7 books (324 books/42 days) were borrowed every day. The highest number of books borrowed in one day was 19.

The borrowers came from four primary schools,[17] ten secondary schools, one vocational school and one university. Two primary schools and three secondary schools accounted for 96 per cent of the borrowings. In other words, almost all student borrowers come from one of these five schools. The teachers represented nine different schools.[18]

[15] 24 of these were renewed by the same teacher.

[16] One respondent borrowed no books before and six after the interview. These have been included, even though there is strong reason to believe that the interview itself led the student to borrow these six books.

[17] One teacher taught at two schools, and one of these schools was only represented by this teacher.

[18] Including the school mentioned in the previous footnote.

Table 6.2. Borrowers and borrowed books

Borrower category	*Number of different borrowers*	*Total number of borrowed books*	*Average number of books per borrower*	*Highest numbers of borrowed books by one person*
Primary pupils	37	145	3.9	12, 11, 10
Secondary students	35	90	2.6	15, 13, 6
Teachers	15	85	5.7	20, 13, 10, 10
University students	2	4	2	2, 2
Total	89	324	3.6	20, 15, 13, 13

The most popular category was 'Easy English readers' (104 borrowings), followed by pamphlets (55), secondary textbooks (44), primary textbooks (36) and different categories of Luganda books (31). Other categories had few borrowings: only English storybooks (16) and novels (10) had 10 or more. Secondary students borrowed 10 storybooks, 16 Luganda books, seven novels and one play.

If one calculates the price of the price of one book borrowed (analogically with Kevane & Sissao's *price of one book read* in 3.3), the result is about $1.30 per book borrowed.[19] This does not, however, take into account the books read at the library, books borrowed in bulk or how many people read each book that is borrowed.

Gender and library use

Based on my observations, there seem to be more girls using the library than boys. The interviews for the most part support this perception; several informants thought more girls than boys use it. Some said that girls are more serious than boys in their studies and library use. The gender roles and division of labour favour males in several ways. Boys are given fewer chores and more freedom to move around, and men are the breadwinners, which gives them more economic power. One student respondent pointed out that boys know that they

[19] 232 books borrowed in the course of two months, and the $150 donation for the monthly upkeep.

can always find unskilled work and start making money. This is making them relax in their studies.

At all four classes in the survey girls are the majority, and more than 70 per cent of the students in three of them are girls. This is reflected in the borrowing pattern: female students borrowed about twice as many books, 154, compared to male students, who borrowed 81 books in the two-month period. The situation for teachers is reversed. There are few female teachers, and they borrowed only 4 books, while male teachers borrowed 81 books.

Claims of new behaviour and attitudes

When I asked the respondents what the library had done for them, every one of them praised the library very much. That the library had brought about more books and reading is not surprising, but they mentioned some other issues as well. One mentioned interest in reading and another said that she had learnt the meaning of *author*, *title* and *publisher* at the library. Previously she would just read the books without paying attention to those aspects of a book.

The director reported that in the beginning it was very hard to invite students to come to the library, and he almost had to lure them in. 'They were shy in the beginning, they would just peep inside. Now they march in without knocking' (interview with the director). One student had a personal account of what the library had done for her in this respect: 'I can come to the library with so many people without fearing anyone. I tell the librarian what I want. Before I couldn't. … I'm not shy now, I'm confident' (interview with student A). Another student gave a similar account:

> The library has helped me so much in that I never knew how to read both books written in Luganda and English. Even my behaviour and my performance in class have improved since I started coming to library. Also, at least I know how to use the computer. … If the library wasn't in existence I wouldn't have been who I am now. It has done something good in changing my life and I feel so good (interview with student B).

6.1.6 The library and schools

RQ 4: *What is the relationship between the schools and the library?*

There are several primary and lower secondary schools in walking distance (about 1 km) from library, and more schools two or three kilometres away. Several student respondents attest that their teachers encourage them to use the library so that they will learn to read and speak English better.

The library is mostly used on an individual basis, that is, students and teachers go there and borrow books for themselves. During the time of my fieldwork there were several ways in which the library was used by schools: primary quizzes, Book Week, 'borrowing in bulk' (see below) and use by the 'library school'—school A.

Figure 6.4. Book Week

The primary quiz is a kind of competition where P7 classes are invited to the library to answer questions from two subjects. Before the quiz starts, the director gives a little speech about the library and the importance of reading, and pupils read for about half an hour. The

primary quiz is supposed to be held every two weeks, but seems to be held with somewhat longer intervals, and it was arranged twice in the eight weeks of schooling I was there.[20]

Book Week is a National celebration targeting primary schools that coincides with the first week of the school year. The library got some financial support from NABOTU and Swedish International Development cooperation Agency (SIDA) through NLU to celebrate Book Week, which lasted six days and drew more than 2,500 visitors according the library's count. 14 schools were represented, and a several local officials also attended. There were a number of activities, including writing, booklet making, drawing, awarding prizes, exhibiting books and crafts, dancing and giving speeches. On the official opening, someone granted a subscription of the English newspaper *New Vision* to the library, and the director announced that they would also get a subscription for the Luganda newspaper *Bukedde* (that I donated anonymously), and I took the opportunity to publicise 'I need to know' and 'Reader's club' (see Appendix C). 'Reader's club was a programme to encourage reading storybooks and writing synopses of these, with the chance of winning a 25,000 shillings study grant. No one had written any synopses by the time I left, about six weeks later.

'Borrowing in bulk' means that a teacher goes to the library and borrows a large number of books (mostly storybooks), from 60 to 200, and brings them back to the school for the students to read. This scheme has been going one for several years, but only a few schools are involved. School C borrowed books on seven occasions in 2007, and on two occasions in 2008 (until late November 2008). In the twelve months previous to my fieldwork, only two other schools had borrowed books in bulk, one time each.

The library director built school A in part because people in the community asked him to make a lower secondary school, and in part because he wanted to se the library being used more. This fact has led me to call it 'the library school', and there is no question that this school has the highest number of users. Every class has library use on the timetable and they are supposed to go there with a teacher, but I only observed some students using the library on those occasions, and never with a teacher. One class has computers at the timetable, and

[20] The primary schools opened for the autumn semester two weeks into my stay.

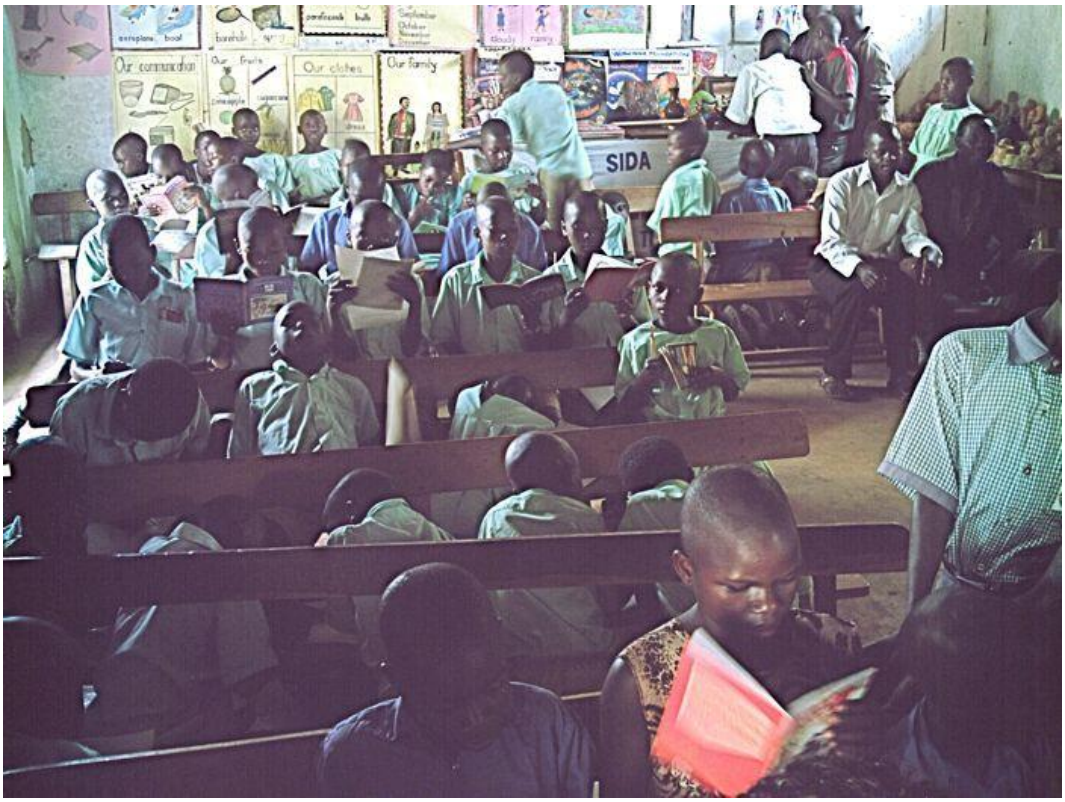

Figure 6.5. Pupils reading during Book Week

this subject is taught at the library. But lack of teachers meant that this did not always happen. There are some boarding school students at school A and they use the library every evening for two to three hours when they read with the electric bulb in the reading room of the library. Most of the time they read their own notes or rest (take breaks). On Sundays they sometimes watch a video, and previously they did some activities with the coordinator.

6.2 Quantitative part

6.2.1 Introduction

The results of the quantitative analyses are presented in this section. 6.2.2 gives overview of some key factors and how they differ between the four schools. 6.2.3 investigates whether related variables can be merged, creating new variables for further analysis. 6.2.4 presents an analysis of the correlation between all the variables in this study. This is the core of this chapter, and it is organised according to the last two research questions.

6.2.2 Presenting the data

Both to give a presentation of the data and to show some differences between the schools, the responses to some questions are presented in Table 6.3.

Table 6.3. Some statistics, broken down by school

	School A	*School B*	*School C*	*School D*	*Total*
Number of respondents	24	37	92	20	173
Level	S3	P7	S2	P7	N/A
Number of girls (%)	79%	73%	55%	74%	64%
Age (mean)	17.0	13.5	14.9	13.3	14.7
Assets (mean)	2.0	2.5	3.5	2.7	2.9
Use library (median)	'Yes, once, twice or three times a week'	'Yes, but not every month'	N/A	N/A	'Yes, once, twice or three times a week'
Books read in English (median)	'More than 20'	Split between 'Between 1 and 5' and 'Between 6 and 10'	Split between 'Between 16 and 20' and 'More than 20'	'Between 1 and 5'	'Between 11 and 15'
Books read in an African language (median)	'Between 16 and 20'	'Between 1 and 5'	'Between 6 and 10'	'Between 1 and 5'	'Between 6 and 10'

6.2.3 Merging variables through cross tabulation

To reduce the number of variables and thus make is easier to interpret the results, six related variables have been merged pairwise, as described below.

Merging 'books read in English' (9) and 'books read in an African language' (10)

A cross tabulation shows that reading of books in both language categories coincide quite a bit: On a scale from one to six, 41 per cent have read the same amount of books in both language categories, and another 26 per cent have a difference of one step on the scale, giving a cumulative per cent of 67 per cent (N = 106). This means that 67 per cent of the sampled students have read more or less the same amount of books in the languages in question. This is not a very high correlation, but high enough for it to be meaningful to create new variable based on the average of these to variables: 'books read in total'. This new variable has been included in the Spearman's rho analysis (see 6.2.4).

Merging 'father's education' (16) and 'mother's education' (18)

These two variables coincide to a considerable extent: 56 per cent have the same level of education, and 38 per cent have a difference of just one step on the scale, giving a cumulative per cent of 94 per cent (N = 77). This means that 94 per cent of the parents have the same or adjacent level of education on a scale from 1 to 5. This is a very high correlation, so it is reasonable to create new variable based on the average of these to variables: 'parents' education'. This new variable has been included in the analysis (see 6.2.4).

Merging 'father read' (17) and 'mother read' (19)

There is also a fairly high correlation between 'father read' and 'mother read'. 82 per cent of the parents (N = 95) have the same reading ability; they can either 'read a little bit' or 'read very well'. No one had two illiterate parents. Based on this, the new variable 'parents read' has been included in the analysis (see 6.2.4).

6.2.4 Correlation analyses

This section presents the results of a bivariate correlation analysis between all the variables investigated in this study. Stage I looks at the correlation between the independent and dependent variables, and Stage II covers the correlation between the dependent variables from stage I and how often the students use the library ('use library').

Because of the small sample size, only a few correlations are statistically significant, meaning that there is only a small chance (less than one or five per cent) of presuming a relationship when there in fact is none. The results that are statistically significant at the five per cent level have been written with boldface.

Stage I

RQ 6: *Do any of the factors age, gender and socio-economic background correlate with reading habits, language preference, perception of reading, perception of people who read a lot, and library use?*

The correlations between the independent and dependent variables give an indication of which factors influence library use, reading habits, perception of reading and readers and language preference, as presented in Table 6.4. Because the variables in the first column are independent, the direction of the relationship can be assumed to go from them ('age', 'gender' etc.) to the dependent ('use library', 'books read in English' etc.). For example, from Table 6.4 one can read that the higher the age of the student, the more s/he uses the library and the more books s/he has read (first row). The second row shows that gender is not a significant predictor of any of the variables in this study.

Table 6.4 shows that there s a very strong correlation (.555) between 'age' and 'use library'. But as Table 6.3 indicates, the students at school A are very frequent users and are on average 3.5 years older than the pupils from school B, who rarely use the library. It seems that that difference in use lies with the school, not age.

Stage II

RQ 7: *Is there a correlation between library use on the one hand and reading habits, language preference or perceptions of reading and readers on the other hand?*

Table 6.5 gives an indication of which variables correlate with how often the library is used. It is not possible to establish a causal relationship; it might be that students use the library more because they are avid readers, or the other way around—that frequent library users become 'big' readers. A combination, or interaction, is also conceivable.

Table 6.4. Correlations between the independent and dependent variables

	use library[a] *(4)*	*books read in English (9)*	*books read in an African lang. (10)*	*books read in total*	*per-ception of reading in L1 (12)*	*per-ception of people who read a lot (20)*	*read for family (24)*	*language prefer-ence*[b] *(25)*
age (1)	.**555**** (.000)	.**316**** (.000)	.**184*** (.021)	**.325**** (.000)	-.117 (.148)	-.037 (.644)	-.122 (.127)	-.103 (.209)
gender (2)	-.243 (.090)	-.105 (.180)	-.038 (.630)	-.106 (.185)	.063 (.432)	.029 (.712)	.124 (.114)	.133 (.098)
own books (8)	.204 (.175)	**.200*** (.012)	**.205**** (.010)	**.250**** (.002)	-.048 (.558)	.041 (.608)	**.180*** (.023)	-.124 (.128)
parents say about reading (15)	-.253 (.097)	**-.172*** (.050)	-.136 (.121)	**-.189*** (.034)	.072 (.416)	.014 (.872)	.005 (.957)	-.033 (.712)
father's edu. (16)	-.192 (.368)	**.394**** (.000)	.**232*** (.026)	**.388**** (.000)	.038 (.723)	-.095 (.366)	-.134 (.202)	**-.308**** (.004)
father read (17)	.333 (.067)	**.225*** (.021)	.162 (.094)	**.234*** (.018)	-.119 (.223)	-.034 (.724)	-.046 (.634)	-.045 (.650)
mother's edu. (18)	**-.395*** (.046)	**.207*** (.037)	**.211*** (.034)	**.260**** (.010)	.055 (.586)	.066 (.506)	-.099 (.316)	**-.229*** (.026)
mother read (19)	**-.419*** (.012)	.007 (.936)	.068 (.453)	.085 (.363)	-.026 (.781)	.092 (.309)	.036 (.693)	-.004 (.970)
parents' education	-.332 (.064)	**.347**** (.000)	**.210*** (.021)	.**347**** (.000)	.024 (.796)	.006 (.952)	-.157 (.084)	**-.252**** (.007)
parents read	-.163 (.314)	.091 (.287)	.096 (.261)	.141 (.104)	-.067 (.436)	.020 (.815)	.027 (.751)	.002 (.977)
assets (21)	**-.295*** (.037)	.116 (.142)	-.083 (.294)	.037 (.648)	-.106 (.185)	-.020 (.801)	-.033 (.677)	-.113 (.159)
read stories (22)	-.019 (.897)	.121 (.133)	**.279**** (.000)	**.239**** (.003)	.097 (.236)	.050 (.532)	**.290**** (.000)	-.094 (.249)
tell stories (23)	-.102 (.485)	**.175*** (.029)	**.167*** (.037)	**.206*** (.011)	-.052 (.522)	-.016 (.845)	**.205**** (.009)	.072 (.380)

Note. Question number and level of significance in parentheses.

[a]Only schools A and B (N = 50). [b]One respondent ticked for not having any preference. This has been left out in order to perform the test of correlation.

*p < .05, two-tailed. **p < .01, two-tailed.

There seems to be a strong correlation between the number of books read and the frequency of library use. But at closer inspection it becomes clear that the high correlation can be attributed to the differences between school A and B. The students at school A are older and have read more books (‘more than 20’ on average in English). One should be careful to attribute this to the library. There certainly might be a relationship, but the data are too limited to support this supposition.

Table 6.5. Correlations between the dependent variables in stage I and ‘use library’

	use library[a] *(4)*
books read in English (9)	**.552**** (.000)
books read in an African language (10)	**.468**** (.001)
books read in total	**.573**** (.000)
perception of reading in L1 (12)	-.091 (.530)
perception of people who read a lot (20)	-.193 (.185)
read for family (24)	.075 (.608)
language preference[b] *(25)*	-.049 (.743)

Note. Question number and level of significance in parentheses.

[a]Only schools A and B (N = 50). [b]One respondent ticked for not having any preference. This has been left out in order to perform the test of correlation.

*p < .05, two-tailed. **p < .01, two-tailed.

6.2.5 Graphic presentation of results

The tables 6.4 and 6.5 can be presented graphically, and Figure 6.6 shows the statistically significant correlations.

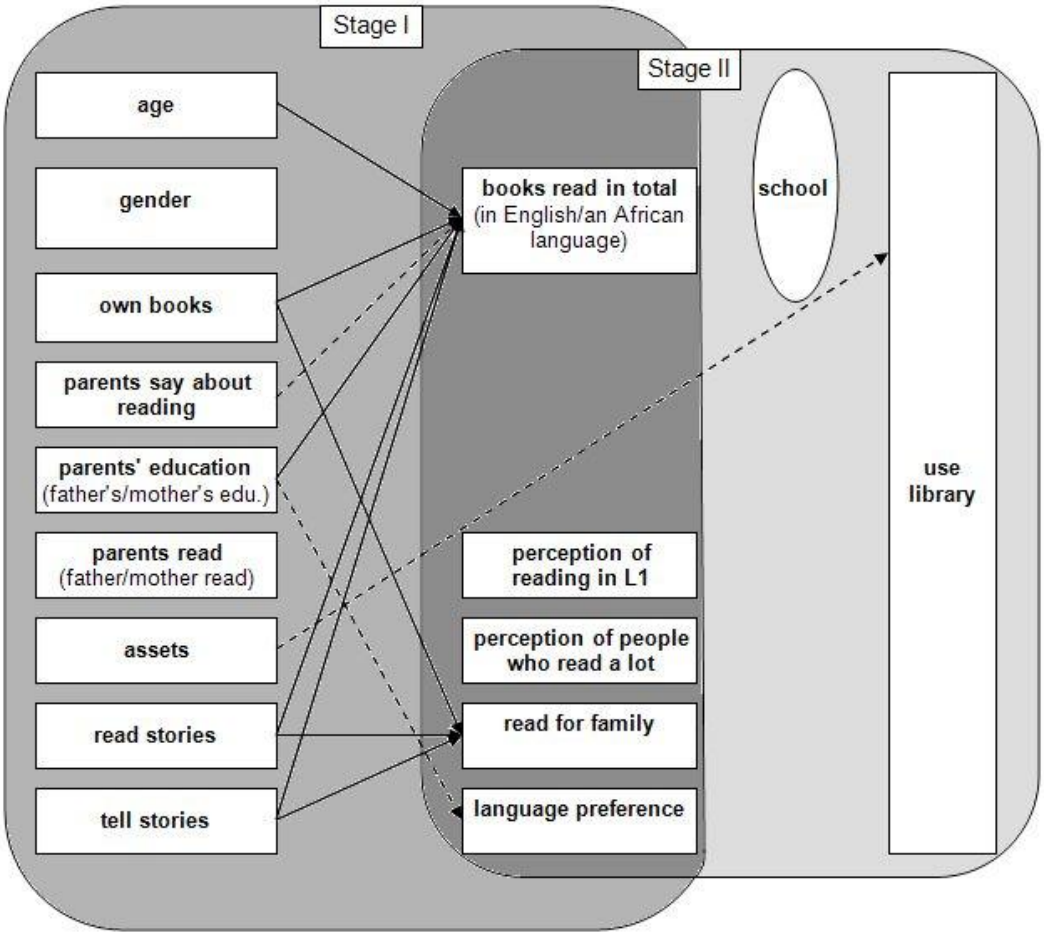

Figure 6.6. The statistically significant correlations

Note. Dotted line indicates a negative correlation.

6.2.6 Summary of the findings

Age seems to be the variable that is the strongest predictor of library use. That is, older students use the library more. But when controlling for 'school' it becomes clear that it is merely so that the students from school A use the library more than students from other schools, which was evident at the outset of the survey. Parents' education, having books at home and being frequently read to and told stories when they were younger (some socio-economic factors), are predictors of number of books read in both languages. None of the variables correlate significantly with perception of reading or readers, and owning books and being read to and told stories when they were younger predict reading frequently to their family. Lastly, the higher education their parents have, the more likely they are to prefer reading in English.

7. DISCUSSION

7.1 Introduction

This chapter opens with a reflection on the findings in the previous chapter, and sets out to discuss the two models outlined in 4.3. It also provides a model of how the wider context of a library impedes and strengthens its possibilities of having an impact on student learning, in line with the notion of analytical generalisation that is described in 5.4.2. Three different 'types of reading' are identified and their implications for the library are discussed. A brief discussion on the findings from the quantitative part follows.

7.2 Qualitative part

RQ 5: *What patterns, tendencies or structures emerge from this study that shed light on the role of the library in relation to student learning?*

7.2.1 Introduction

There is little doubt that the library leads to more reading among the students in the area. This seems to hold true especially for the pupils, who have little, if any, access to storybooks other than those that they read at the library. They probably read their own notes to some extent at home and at school, but printed material is scarce, and there is little doubt that the library increases the amount of storybooks that these pupils read. The library records show that this group also borrows some textbooks, but since the main focus is on secondary students I will concentrate on this group of library users.

Secondary students also seem to read more, or at least they seem to read other materials than just their own notes because of the library. The notes they take in class are by far the most common reading material both in and out of the library. Apart from the Bible and the Qur'an, there is little reading material available outside the library. All schools I visited have some

books, but these do not seem to be in circulation, at least not to an extent that would require further discussion. The students read some fiction, but they say they do not have time because they have to read for their exams, and this is reflected in their reading pattern. Most books they borrow are schoolbooks, and apart from leisurely flipping through the newspaper, almost all they read at the library is their notes or schoolbooks. The atlases, dictionaries and encyclopaedias are left virtually untouched. The way they study at the library is little or no different from how they study elsewhere, and I saw no indication of the library having any influence on their way of studying. The library, either in itself or through teachers or the librarian, did not seem to lead them to or teach them any other efficient ways of reading or writing, such as taking notes (not just copying), taking down keywords, making summaries (they use the word but with the meaning *copies*), skimming, scanning, leafing through or using the index in the books.

The librarian has the same level of schooling as the bulk of the secondary users (lower secondary), is trained as a plumber and has two courses in librarianship. She does her best to accommodate users and assist them with their queries, but does little on her own initiative, such as reading to young users or showing students how to use dictionaries. She seemed to lack a perspective on how to promote books and reading, and was concerned with 'doing things "properly" ' (to borrow the phrase from Sturges & Neill in 2.4): She was a bit troubled by the Dewey Decimal System she has learned in Kampala; so many books were difficult to categorise. On the one hand this shows a dedication to her work, but also a lack of perspective on what is important. The books in question were non-fiction that were virtually not used at all, and since the library is relatively small, it did not make much sense to use the Dewey Decimal System.

Teachers use the library to borrow books and to prepare their lessons with books from the library. Apart from the primary quizzes I did not observe any teachers using the library together with the students (except for the computers class), such as group work, group reading or teaching anything from or related to the library. The primary quizzes represent precisely such joint use. They read some, and the remaining part of the time spent at the library during the quizzes seems to resemble 'ordinary' school learning. The cooperation between schools and libraries is present, but its potential is much higher.

Besides the primary quizzes, Book Week was the only event during my fieldwork where students were invited to the library. But through the year there are several events like this one, and as such they can be said to be of some importance. There is some reading, writing and other learning-related activities related to Book Week, but it probably does more to introduce students and teachers to the library and reading in general than what it does in terms of actual reading and other learning.

7.2.2 The impact framework by Williams and Wavell

The model by Williams and Wavell (2001b, 2001c) described in 4.3 was not only developed for a Western (Scottish) school library, but also in a context where library use was well integrated with the teaching, and teachers brought the students to the library for a specific task. In every one of these respects the situation is different for the library in question, where most use is on the students' initiative. This sub-chapter attempts to apply the model to the library in Buikwe, and by doing that discusses its relevance and appropriateness.

There are four areas of potential impact on student learning in the model, and the authors list possible indicators of such impact (Appendix A).

Motivation

In the interviews all the students expressed an interest in the library, and several stressed how important it had been for them. The fact that most of the users use it on their own initiative is itself an indication of motivation. By the same token, some students seemed absorbed in what they were doing, but to talk of 'absorption in task' makes little sense when it is the students themselves who select and regulate the tasks they engage in. Lastly, some students help the librarian with cleaning, sorting books and other tasks. This is an indication of motivation, but also of interaction (see below).

Progression

Two months is far too little time to be able to identify progression actually taking place, but it is possible to discuss progression based on the wider context of the library; what takes place at schools and in the community and how the use of the library differs from activities elsewhere. The model lists a number of skills that the investigation identified (suggestions by

the students, teachers and librarians) and that the authors found evidence of in their study. I found no indications of the library skills, information handling skills, study skills (with one exception), reading skills or 'the ability to apply skills or knowledge in a different context' (Appendix A) that were any different at the library or seemed to have been influenced by the library, but part of this is that I did not do an in-depth investigation of exactly *how* the students study. I observed their reading, writing and studying and asked them some questions about it, but there was clearly a limitation to my investigation in this respect. What I did find indications of was familiarity with books and computer skills with some students. Allegedly some students used dictionaries, and at least one used an encyclopaedia. They may not have become experts in the use of either of them, but even the most basic use of such reference works is evidence of progression (insofar as they have not used these previously), and they are likely to benefit from them later on, especially if they continue with further education. One student did study in a more 'progressive' way by making genuine summaries, as opposed to the common way of simply cramming the text. But there are no grounds for attributing this to the library.

In the model there is no mention of personal development as a form of progression. This may seem like a lofty form of impact, and perhaps not very relevant in a Western context. Yet this form of impact emerges from the data as perhaps one of the most important ways that the library has an impact on the students (in a very wide sense, 'impact on student learning'). It has taken years to make the library into a frequented study and recreational space, and the director and students gave accounts of a progression in terms of interest and assertiveness.

Independence

The very nature of students' use of the library is evidence of their independence. New users ask the librarian for help with locating books, but most users do not turn to the librarian for help. One might consider the ease with which students currently use the library, as opposed to the early days, when they were shyer and would peek inside, as an indication of their being more independent now. This is closely linked to the previous point; some have become more confident in using it, and being confident can make a person more independent.

Interaction

There is some interaction between students; they sit together and read or chat. There is no group work or group assignments given in school, and students typically study individually, but often sit in pairs or in a group. This is also the case for the primary students, who usually come in a group, and do an activity (e.g., read, rest) together. There is little, if any, cooperation, but the library does provide a space for socialisation and serves as a meeting place for different groups of people. Primary and secondary students meet at the library, and it is an informal area for interacting with teachers and other adults. One should keep in mind that there are really no indoor public spaces other than the church and the mosque in the community, so the library as a place for informal, casual interaction between peers and groups should not be dismissed as trivial.

7.2.3 Kuhlthau's five levels of potential influence

Kuhlthau provides five levels of a library's potential influence on student learning, each of which is discussed below.

Input

Compared to other libraries in Uganda and Africa, the library in question is well-stocked with both schoolbooks and storybooks, and boosts with a full-time librarian. It has a somewhat poor selection of books in Luganda, and the textbooks are from abroad, but it clearly provides resources, including materials, space and staff to cater to the different groups of users. This is the lowest step in the hierarchy, and these resources are the foundation that the other levels build on.

Output

The student users come from materially rich and poor families, and both sexes use and borrow fairly equally when one takes into account that there are more female students on the schools in the area. They borrow 7.7 books per day on average, in addition to what they read at the library without borrowing.

Attitude

This does not refer to attitudes obtained through the library, but the students' attitudes towards the library as an indication of whether it has an influence or impact on the students. Attitude as an indicator of a positive influence makes sense if a teacher brings or sends the students to the library, which is the case in most use of the libraries in Kuhlthau's study. If they go there on their own, they will most likely have a more or less positive attitude towards the library, and it serves poorly as an indicator in this context. In general the students expressed satisfaction with the library, and stressed its importance for their studies, and some even their personal development. This indicates that the students who do use the library have attitudes towards it that are conducive to further use and a beneficial influence. But there is no data about other students' attitudes, thoughts and opinions about the library. The attitudes towards people who read a lot are overall positive, and reading is very popular among the students in the survey. There is no indication that negative attitudes towards the library keeps people from using it, but the issue of non-use—why some students do not use it—is a blank space in this study, and is one of the areas suggested for further research in 8.3.

Skills

In the context of Western school libraries, skills such as information handling skills, reading skills and so forth (see Table 4.1) are at the centre of the rhetoric on school libraries' role for student learning. This is not to say that all Western school libraries truly offer this, or even try, but some certainly do, and many aspire to teach and instil in their students various skills related to learning. This is meaningful and possible in a school system that promotes critical, problem-based learning, where 'learning to learn' epitomises a core part of the view of education. But there is more to imparting or instilling skills than rhetoric and policies; it takes materials and qualified people to teach or otherwise get students to acquire the skills in question. Both the explicit desire (rhetoric, policies) and the prerequisites (material and immaterial resources) are largely absent at Caezaria Library. This makes it much more difficult to achieve what only some Western school libraries succeed in achieving. This is not to say that students do not learn anything from the library, far from it. Familiarity with books (title, author etc.), knowing 'how they work', so to speak, is a very low-level skill, but in a community where books are very scarce, this probably makes a difference to some students at least.

The same goes for the use of dictionaries and encyclopaedia. Dictionaries were not used very often, and encyclopaedias even more seldom, but even if a student uses them once a month, it will likely build his or her speed in looking up a new word, and possibly give him or her an understanding of other parts of the dictionary, such as phonetic transcription. *ICT skills* is a buzz word in the West, and the library can boast of two computers at the disposal of the users. A few users are quite apt, and some know the basics. Once again it should be stressed that even low-level ICT skills, such as familiarity with computers, basic typing skills and handling the mouse are important first steps for those who encounter computers later on in life. To talk of information handling skills and library skills seems out of place in the context of this library. Instead of highlighting the skills that stakeholders in the West uphold and promote, and implicitly or explicitly compare with these, it is more fruitful to look at the skills that the library indeed does, or can, impart.

Utilisation

'The use of resources for learning through inquiry' is at the top of the hierarchy, yet conspicuously absent in my data. The immediate reason seems to be that the teachers do not use the library as part of their teaching, except to some very limited extent. The library is primarily used on an individual basis, both by students and teachers, and not integrated into the teaching of the curriculum. Like the previous level, this is partly related to the limited resources, but also teachers' education and background and the school system, which are discussed further in 7.2.8.

7.2.4 The challenge of using two Western models to interpret the findings from a rural library in Uganda

From the discussion above it appears that the models are of limited relevance to the library in Buikwe. One might argue that making a list of possible forms of impact is in itself problematic, especially when the forms of impact have been developed not only for a different library, but for a different context altogether. I have not based this study on the models in a narrow sense, ticking for observations that match in a sort of quasi-quantitative fashion. Rather, I have tried to tone down the role of these models as a set of 'lenses' with which observations are interpreted. It is worthwhile relating to them, and they do contribute with fruitful perspectives, but there are clear limitations when it comes to applying them in

an alien context. For instance, there is no room for the library per se playing an important role, that is, the value of having a library present. A discussion on the roles of the library is presented below (7.2.7).

This said, the models do help by giving a broad structure for how the library can help the students. The specifics, such as information skills, may not always be the most relevant, but breaking down 'impact' into both the four areas motivation, progression, independence and interaction, and the five levels in Kuhlthau's model, would be a good starting point for developing a model that is more appropriate for the African context. Tentatively I would propose that the local community and the library itself (in a symbolic and physical sense) play a central part of such a model or theory (see 8.3).

The greatest problem of basing an analysis of an African library on a Western model is the fundamental differences of the societies in terms of access to/presence of reading materials (print environment) and other services. A library in the developed world, whether a public or a school library, is one of many places where students can get books, reference works and study (the use of the space and light after dark). Having a school library or not makes less of a difference to many students in the West in terms of access to reading materials. Western school libraries serve, or may serve, many purposes, including providing materials for project based learning, learning how to search for and use information, in addition to functioning as a reading/study space and a provider of books. In principle, an RCL in Africa may serve the same purposes, and ideally it should, but the fact remains that its greatest contribution, at least on the face of it, is to provide books (in the case of Caezaria Library, largely good and adequate storybooks and schoolbooks) to students who would have grown up with minimal access to these books without the library. The same goes for computers and the services that the librarian offers (e.g., answering questions). The library makes an important difference by being the only place where most students, if not all, have access to these materials and services. This has implications both on a concrete level (e.g., reading more books, possibility to read after dark) and a more subtle and symbolic level (e.g., the library as a public space). In 7.2.7, 7.2.8, 7.2.9 and 7.2.10 I continue this discussion on role and impact of the library, moving beyond the model by Williams and Wavell.

Another difference between the situation that students in Africa and the West are in is the

fact that in Africa the language of instruction in secondary schools (and to some extent in primary schools) is a foreign one (e.g., English, French), and excelling in school is perceived as paramount for a better way of life by students and most parents. This makes reading in the LOI more important, since the students need to develop their abilities in this language to grasp the content of the other subjects. One price to pay for this focus on learning the LOI is that developing reading skills in the local language and thereby reading skills in general, is largely disregarded. Cummins (2000) argues that studying in the mother tongue in the first years of schooling will allow the children to develop an understanding of the content and concepts in the curriculum, which can be transferred to the foreign LOI later on. There were few, if any, truly relevant Luganda textbooks at the library, and at this library they would probably make no difference. But the library did offer enough Luganda fiction for an untrained reader to improve. But most students and parents seem to be unaware of this. Despite the recognised benefits of using a familiar language (the students' mother tongue or a similar language) as the LOI in school, this only takes place in primary schools in Sub-Saharan Africa, and only to a limited extent. Brock-Utne (2000) claims that political and financial interests of the elite in each country and the World Bank is a major reason why the policy of using colonial languages for instruction is still in effect.

7.2.5 Literacy practices in and out of the library

Reading storybooks and schoolbooks (pamphlets, textbooks and past papers) other than through the library was not very common. One informant owned some pamphlets, but he seemed to be the exception. Books were to some extent present at all schools I visited, but seemingly available to, or at least used by, students only to a very limited extent. The students' own notes constituted the major type of reading material in the school domain, that is, reading for school purposes at school, at home, at the library or elsewhere. School literacy practices, by virtue of the fact that lecture notes are more or less the sole reading material, seem to be oriented towards serving the purposes of the school. As pointed out, the school domain reaches beyond the walls of the school, and overlaps with other domains (e.g., home and library). The reading of storybooks and other fiction through the library, I would argue, is part of the school domain and school literacy, but also transgresses both. Through the library students read for pleasure and 'for school', and the voluntary ('self-generated') aspect of doing this is part of this transgression.

In most rural schools, teachers possess or have access to the textbooks and other schoolbooks that are used, while most students are dependent on the teacher to dictate the parts of the content in the way they see fit. This clearly renders the teachers much power. By providing these materials (to some extent), the library changes this utter dependency on the teachers, and gives the students the chance to read for themselves, and not just take the teachers' word for it. This is not to say that students distrust or do not need teachers when they have the library, but the library does tilt the relationship to some degree.

According to the ideological view of literacy, literacy is always context-bound, situated in a culture and time/space (see 4.4). The storybooks at the library were mostly from Africa, and, it seemed, draw upon the oral storytelling tradition to a varying degree. This is an example of how the library successfully connects oral and written culture, and thereby stimulates the interest in reading among the users. The quantitative analysis shows that students who were read to or told stories when they were younger are more likely to read to their families. Reading, writing, and telling stories are connected in some way, to some extent. But the nature, strength and importance of this connection varies from one place to another. Through its ample collection of storybooks and fair collection of schoolbooks, all available in a 'public' space, the library probably plays a part in changing the literacy practices of at least some of the students in the local community.

7.2.6 Gender, education and the library

The gender differences in library use or number of borrowed books are not great, and because there are considerable differences between the genders at the schools that I have data about, one should be cautious with jumping to conclusions. Female students and male teachers borrow more books and use the library more, but this seems to be fully accounted for by the fact that there are more of these two groups at the schools in the area. Female students get better grades and are said to be more serious in their studies. There is little doubt that the gender roles in Buikwe are changing, and studying is becoming more important for girls. The fact that there are more girls than boys in the schools might be an indication that girls are getting the upper hand, even though statistics show that girls are still lagging behind in secondary education.

Why are girls actively pursuing an education and using the library? As one of the female students put it, boys can go and make a living by fishing or other manual labour; there are few opportunities like that for girls. Traditionally, girls were given more chores at home, and as such more responsibility, but also less time to study. While the students in general felt under pressure to study, and had little or no time to read non-fiction, they said their parents gave them enough time to study. Based on the students' accounts, their parents take studying very seriously, and I found no indication of any gender difference in this respect. That is not to say there are none, but whatever differences still are present, they are not conspicuous to the foreign observer.

7.2.7 Different roles of the library

The library is an unrestricted space—one does not need a permission or reason to go there. It is mainly used by students, and as such it serves as an informal social venue for them outside school to meet peers, chat, read, help the librarian or just hang out: the library serves social and recreational purposes.

The more conspicuous role of the library is that of a study space. Most of the users come to use the physical space, tables and chairs (and, at night-time, light bulb) to read their own notes. The library is fairly quiet, and there are few other places where students can study. Apart from reading their notes they use the books and computers, and sometimes it serves as an extension of the school, such as when primary quizzes or computer classes are held there.

These three roles; the social/recreational role, a place for studying and the role as an extension of the school, are all more or less self-evident; anyone can see what the students do at the library, and thereby what function it has. These roles of the library are also the ones that Limberg (2003) identified in her review of the literature (see 3.3). Yet a possibly equally important role is more subtle and requires some speculation. Apart from the Catholic Church and the mosque, the library is the only public building in Ajijja, and it is the only indoor venue for casual, social interaction. There are some public buildings in the county, such as health clinics, hospitals and police stations, but all these are at some distance, and they serve formal purposes such as getting an inoculation, not random visits and socialisation. The church and mosque are both popular social venues, but the rules of interaction are more or

less fixed, and there is little room for individual agency or self-assertion. Many students in the area have little personal experience with public venues, especially where they themselves decide whether to go and what to do there. The fact that many student users were shy in the beginning, as the director attests to, gives an indication that, over time, the library becomes a place where they feel comfortable and at ease.

The library is unique in the community in this sense; it allows students to come, explore, assert themselves and interact with older and younger youth and adults in a public space. Moreover, the library is not just any public space; it represents and embodies the modern society. By using the library, students get acquainted with books (including *author*, *title* and *publisher*), computers and the public building itself. Confidence and familiarity with this might help prepare students for future education and jobs.

Finally, the roles of the library reflect the kinds of learning and the ways in which learning can take place at or through the library, directly or indirectly. The library as a social space opens for personal and interpersonal development and socialisation. The library as a study space and an extension of the school means that traditional ways of studying (reading and copying notes) takes place, but there is also learning through the use of schoolbooks and computers. The library as a modern, public space integrates the students with their future, inasmuch as their community and their country is undergoing constant development, and some of the students will occupy 'modern' jobs that are not found in the traditional society they come from.

7.2.8 Salient issues

It is worth reflecting on not only those who use the library—but also on those who do not use it. Why do no parents or other community members (with one exception) use it? What does this mean for their children who do, or might use it?

There are several primary and lower secondary schools within walking distance from the library. Even though many of the students at these schools live further way from the library than the distance between the library and their school, the proximity of the schools should give an indication of how many students the library can reach. According to the library

records, 37 pupils and 35 secondary students borrowed books in the course of two months. In addition, some used books at the library without borrowing any. These numbers still strike me as low, compared to the number of students attending schools so close to the library. Why do not more students use it? The survey showed that the students, both users and non-users, like reading very much. Youth in Uganda are often given chores at home, but the ones I talked to all said their parents gave them enough time to study.

There is some indication that the library benefits some students more than others. Of all the potential library users, only some use it, and some use it more than others (some had borrowed between 10 and 15 books). I do not have much data to support this, but it seems like students that are diligent, and perhaps also gifted, from well-off families and relatively proficient in English, use the library often, and might benefit in the form of improved English and better grades.

Why is the library used in a limited way, by a limited number of people? What are the obstacles for (effective) library use? There are a number of answers to this:

1. *The curriculum, the exams and the traditional way of teaching.* Uganda has a history of schooling that goes back more than a century. The colonial school system—the curriculum, the exams and the way of teaching—is still largely present in Uganda. Whereas the former colonial power Great Britain changed its educational system in the postcolonial era, Uganda has retained it to a large extent (Parry 1992:434). There is very much focus on remembering, and little on understanding, assessing and reflecting, which favour teacher-centred teaching and little direct or indirect teaching of study skills. Exams are paramount for advancement in the educational hierarchy, and they reflect a banking view of education (Freire 1972). This makes cramming more sensible, and more innovative library use (group work, exploration and varied use of textbooks, including note taking) less meaningful. Why should the geography teacher bother with teaching (basic) map reading if that will not come on the final exam, Uganda Certificate of Education (UCE)? Teachers are taught how to dictate, not how to teach textbooks use. This makes sense insofar as the students do not have access to any textbooks, and this is especially the case in the countryside, where textbooks are largely absent. The curriculum is overloaded, and this puts great pressure on teachers and students to leave out topics and skills that are not examinable. Leisure reading, map reading, proper and

efficient dictionary use and essays on topics the library as materials to cover are, explicitly or implicitly, sacrificed. The school system favours a short term perspective on studying (exams) and is not adapted to the use of a school library or similar institutions, largely because there are virtually no school libraries or RCLs for school children around.

2. *Lack of reading culture*. Literacy is more widespread in Buikwe than elsewhere in Uganda, and there are some books and other reading materials around. Parents are, according to the survey, surprisingly literate and educated. Hardly any of the parents are illiterate, and few have not completed primary school. Yet none of the parents come to the library, and apparently there are few readers who act as role models among the adults in the community. The adult Ugandans I talked to were unison about the lack of reading culture in the country, even among the educated elite. There is not only a lack of reading abilities, but also a lack of reading interest. Reading seems to be something that is confined to school, and with the purpose of obtaining a diploma that can bring the student to the next level, and eventually to a job. (The Bible and the Qur'an were also read, but I can not say anything about the extent or role of this reading, and so I will leave it out in this discussion.) Lack of a reading culture does not favour reading and library use, insofar as reading is not an activity that is part of everyday life, something that youth relate to and are socialised into. Before the library was established, people in the community had few ways of accessing reading materials and that way creating an interest in reading, let alone a reading culture. With the advent of the library this opportunity to read came, but there was no reading culture to support an interest in reading. Students do come to the library to read, but not to the same extent as if there had been an established reading culture in the community when the library started operating.

3. *Lack of library tradition and the library not being rooted in the society*. Libraries in Uganda do not go very far back in time, and in Mukono, the district where the library is located, there is really no library tradition at all. The library does stay in contact with the National Library, but it can not be said to be part of a national library network the way rural libraries in the West are. When Kigobe Francis built the library, people did not know what he was doing, and many did not comprehend it either. The library was not imposed from outside, no foreign NGO has decided to build a library in Buikwe. The library is a local innovation, but also a novelty that no one is quite familiar with. It is local in the sense that a local farmer initiated, built and ran (and is running) it, but foreign in its concept. The

teachers, parents, students, even the staff, had no or little experience with libraries before, especially integrating library and teaching. The school system is well-established and its role in the society and for the students is clear. The same can not quite be said about libraries as an institution. Rural community libraries in Uganda are still in an early phase, and they are yet to be integrated on a local and national level, with the community and with the school system.

4. *Limited resources and under-qualified staff*. Compared to other libraries in Uganda and Sub-Saharan Africa, Caezaria Library is relatively well-stocked and running well. It has a plethora of storybooks from Africa, many textbooks, two computers and a full-time librarian. This is all good, even great, but it does not mean that things could not be better. There are hardly any textbooks from the syllabus, no bilingual books (except one that I made), no audio on the computers, only some software (some of which I installed) and no Internet connection. The librarian is dedicated, but under-qualified. She seemed to lack a perspective on how to 'think outside the box'; what she can do besides responding to questions (such as take initiative to read to children, explain, show-case books, invite teachers to borrow in bulk). The co-ordinator used to travel to schools to promote the library, but this did not happen during the two and a half months I was there.

5. *Discrepancy between language of instruction (LOI) and language of communication*. English is used as the LOI even though it is not spoken outside school. Students learn, or are supposed to learn, English in school, but many do not learn it properly, and struggle to understand the teachers and what they read. Even the older and better students have a limited mastery of English. Apart from being used in school, English is the official language, and the language of national communication. It enjoys a very high status, and it is a strict requirement for almost all employment and further studies. Indeed, as the saying goes, English is the key to everything, or at least so it is perceived in Uganda. This has bearings on how the library is used. In part it might boost interest in reading in English ('purposive reading', see 7.2.10), and since there are so few places where a selection of reading materials is available, the library is a likely place to turn to. But apart from creating a necessity to improve one's reading and comprehension skills in English, the fact that the LOI is a foreign language to all the users creates a barrier to comprehension and meaning. Apparently, most pupils had a hard time understanding even the simplest storybooks. Some read anyway,

practicing pronouncing the words, spelling them out in a low voice. Some upper primary pupils had probably acquired a foundation firm enough to learn by just reading on, ignoring the words and structures that they did not understand. But how many did not come to the library because they did not understand the books anyway? What does reading for pleasure, or any kind of reading, mean to people who struggle for years to learn the language, and after a decade or more of instruction in this language and reading mostly in this language, only master it mediocrely? At this point one might argue that reading materials in Luganda are available at the library. This is true, but there is very little value attached to the ability of reading in Luganda. Being *functionally* literate in Uganda means, by and large, to be literate in English. Reading and writing in Luganda serves personal communication, ability to read the Luganda newspaper and some few books, but little more. Education, jobs, money, prosperity—they are all inextricably linked to English. Educationists may point out that reading skills in L1 can transfer to L2, but what do pupils, or their parents, know about that? Can they be expected to see the advantages of developing reading interest and skills in their mother tongue; that in the long run this will help them becoming better in English? Reading in L1 is not just about having (good) reading materials available, but also of promoting it, explicitly and implicitly (see 7.2.10).

7.2.9 Factors that impede and strengthen library impact on learning

The model that is discussed in 4.3 (Table 4.1) encompasses potential impact on an individual level, and does not take into account the structural preconditions for such impact to be possible or effective. It assumes—rightly so, given its Western context—that the wider context (school, society) provides a context conducive to library impact on student learning.

I cannot stress enough how different the libraries are in Uganda and the West. The differences are not just between the libraries themselves, but also the wider context, which provides the preconditions for effective libraries. Both to put the wider context of the library into perspective and to juxtapose Western and Ugandan library contexts, I have made a model (see Figure 7.1) that schematically shows an idealised picture factors that impede and strengthen libraries' impact on student learning. The model should not be interpreted to mean that Western libraries benefit from all the strengthening factors, and Caezaria/Ugandan/

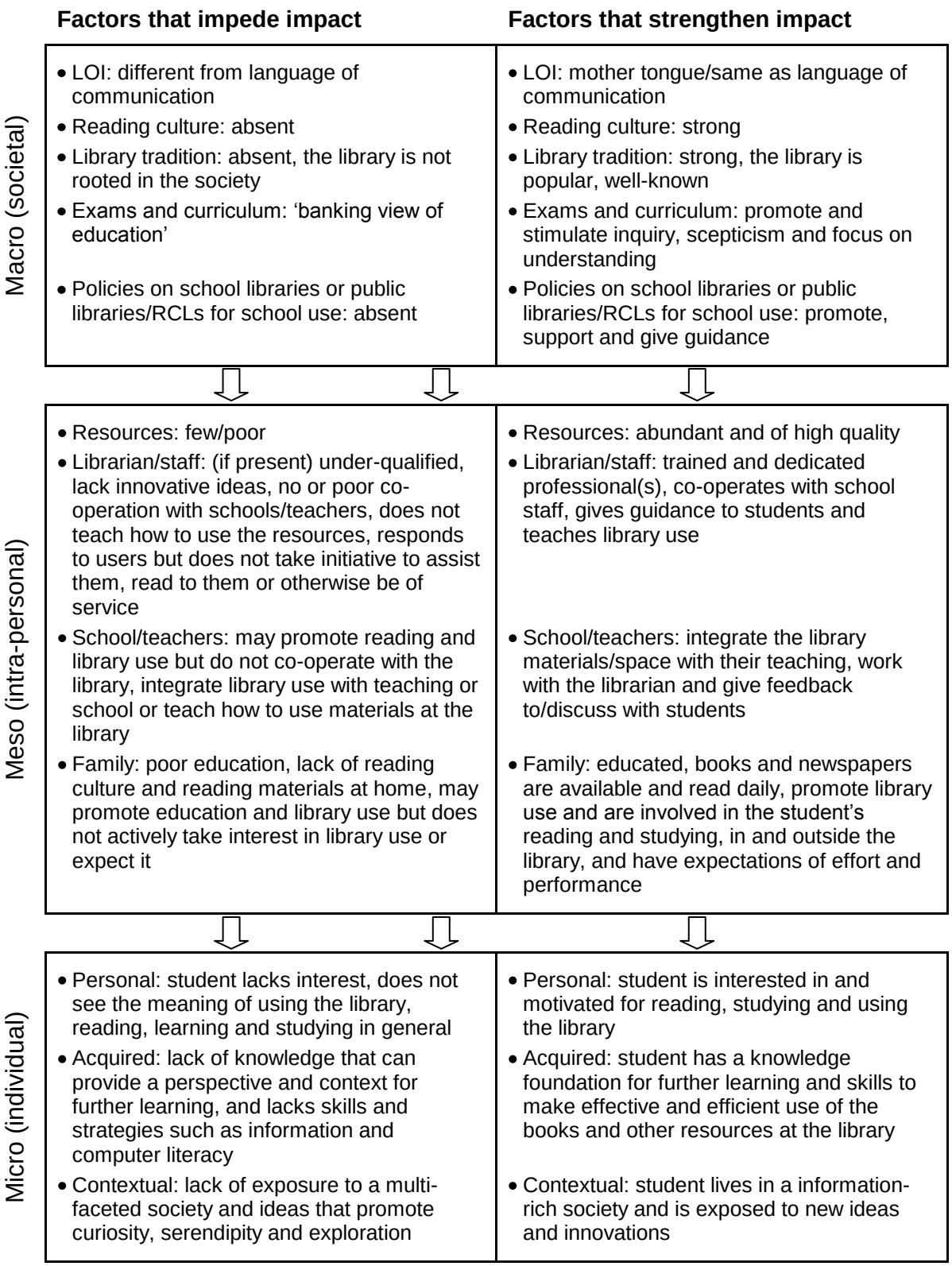

Figure 7.1. Factors that impede and strengthen library impact on learning[21]

[21] The analysis of the quantiative data does not support the supostition that poor family background leads to less frequent library use. However, the way the students use the library might be affected by the family background, and the same is true for the parents' interest and expectations of library use.

African libraries lack these altogether. The model merely purports to show a tendency, and even though not all the factors in the upper two tiers are 100 per cent valid for Caezaria Library, they are all present in some degree. The same can be said about the two upper tiers regarding (good) Western school libraries, based on my review of the literature.

I argue that, in general, Caezaria Library scores low on the upper two tiers, unlike many libraries in the West. The bottom tier, however, holds a somewhat different position. Students in Buikwe may be not enjoy the same information and computer literacy skills that are imparted in many Western schools and school libraries, but their desire to excel in school seems to be bigger. At least the students who do use the library seem to be motivated. This is a strengthening factor for this library that is worth making note of.

Each of the three tiers merits a short comment. The macro level describes structures that have an indirect effect on impact, and can not be readily affected or changed by the participants. It certainly changes over time, based on political decisions, economic cultural development. The meso level refers to conditions and relations at school and other arenas, and covers both the conditions embedded in them (i.e., teachers' previous training) and relations that are negotiable, changeable, such as library–school co-operation. As the arrows indicate, the macro level exerts influence on the meso level, and limits/expands its scope of action.

The lowest level refers to the user's own 'factors'—motivation, knowledge and skills. Effective learning presupposes all three, and they may be present to a larger or lesser extent. Some are more 'personal'—in some degree motivation and other factors originate in the person, and to some (lesser?) degree they are affected by outside influence. The other two points are to a much larger degree affected by conditions outside the person. Skills and knowledge are usually taught, and the society a student lives in can widen his/her horizon and promote exploration. This level is also linked to the previous two; the nature of the society and intra-personal relations shapes the individual.

The model implicitly raises the question whether factors at the macro level (i.e., exams, LOI) make change at the meso level irrelevant or less effective. Would a professional librarian be able to do more for students given the other circumstances? I would argue conversely; the

model indicates that the meso level does play an import role, and this is where stakeholders can exert influence. This was, in my opinion, the case at Caezaria Library, and will probably be the case at other libraries working in generally adverse conditions.

The print environment in a community has bearings on the reading culture. If there are no or few suitable reading materials around, people will not read; they will not have the chance to develop a reading culture. When a (well-stocked) library appears in a print-poor environment, the fact that the print environment is poor strengthens the impact of the library. This is because the library is making a much bigger difference, as opposed to a situation where a library was built in a community where reading materials were readily available. This means that a negative feature of a community (poor print environment) has a positive effect on the impact of a library on students, contrary to the other factors listed in Figure 7.1 at the macro level.

In 5.4.2 I describe analytical generalisation as one of the possibilities (and purposes) of a case study. This model does not purport to be valid for all African, or even Ugandan rural libraries, but it may serve as part of a theoretical framework for further analysis of libraries, in Uganda or elsewhere. Hopefully it will provide a tool for analysing challenges and limitations that libraries face by viewing these in a larger, and structured, perspective. What are the conditions these libraries are working in? What can be done to ameliorate the situation in light of these limiting circumstances? Are the same impeding and strengthening factors present elsewhere, or do other factors turn out to be relevant?

7.2.10 Types of reading and their implications for the library

As I mention in 4.4, Heath (1983) lists several types of uses of literacy she found in her study of two communities. She classifies them according to the purpose of the literacy events. I have not done the same in this study, since my focus is more narrow, looking at literacy mainly at the library. Moving beyond the *purpose* of a literacy event in a narrow sense, I attempt to identify types of reading (in want of a better expression), as outlined below.

In principle there is no difference in reading in a library and reading elsewhere. Whatever motive, purpose or wider context of the reading is, in principle it can be the same anywhere.

But the library does provide a new physical, and potentially also other contexts of the reading that students engage in. Scholarly literature from the West point to the fact that libraries have a different tradition than schools, are less constrained and more 'free' than classrooms (e.g., Rafste 2001). Yet libraries can be used as extensions of the classroom, and this was, to some extent, also present in my data. During the primary quizzes and Book Week, students were told to sit down and read. This is similar to the classroom setting, and I call this 'imposed reading'.[22]

Most reading seems to be purposive, that is, have a specific purpose. Students read to pass exams, to advance in the educational system, perhaps to please their parents and even teachers; 'purposive reading'.

Another type of reading was 'leisure reading': Students read stories for the pleasure of it. One secondary student read a storybook as a break from revising his notes; this I consider leisure reading in a relatively 'pure' form.

However, there are no clear lines between reading for a purpose and reading for pleasure; most students claim they do both. Proficiency in English is paramount for good grades, and reading is an obvious way of achieving this. Students and teachers are fully aware of this, and reading to improve one's level of English is embedded in the local discourse on reading. Even imposed reading blends with the other two contexts of reading. Students are told to read, both under controlled circumstances (primary quiz, at school) and without any control ('you should read'). The three types of reading described here are all interconnected. What on the surface may seem like one form, is likely to carry with it one, or both of the other types of reading, as Figure 7.2 illustrates. If a student goes to the library to read because a teacher tells her to do it, she picks her favourite English storybook and reads—what type of reading is that? Probably a bit of all three.

[22] Barton (1994) distinguishes between imposed and self-generated literacy (see 4.4). In this context I use *imposed* in a more literate sense.

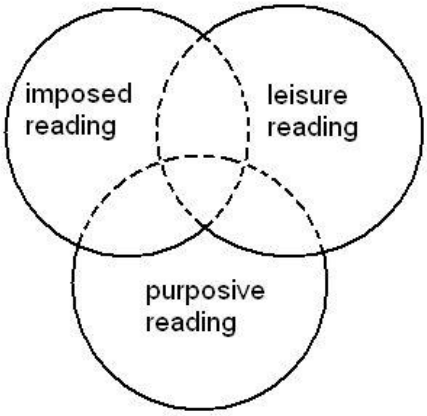

Figure 7.2. Types of reading and how they are interconnected

Identifying three ‘types of reading’ is not unique to this library (and probably not novel in the immense literature on reading). The point of reflecting on this serves partly to understand library use, but just as much to reflect on how teachers, library staff and even the students themselves can ‘impose’ reading and stimulate an promote leisure reading and purposive reading. Can reading storybooks, newspapers or other ‘light’ reading material be used as a break from ‘heavy’ (for school) reading? Almost all students stated that they like reading, but especially the secondary students said, in different ways, that they had no time because studying for school took so much time. This is not to say that they are studying every minute of the day. Reading, especially fiction, between before and after classes was very limited, and on those occasions I only observed some students reading their notes, and then typically when they apparently had designated an hour or so for that purpose. There seems to be ample space for more leisure reading in the school, especially outside class. One should keep in mind that studying and reading simple non-fiction are quite different: studying normally requires more concentration, effort and longer time span. Reading a storybook for 10–15 minutes can be amusing, relaxing and educative. The same can not be said about reading one’s notes or a schoolbook for such a short time. Reading in Luganda, the first or second language of most students, could also be promoted this way; both by encouraging it and instigating them to do it (this sounds better than ‘imposing reading on them’).

7.2.11 A note on different perspectives on learning

Both models presented in 4.3 appear to be closer to the cognitive perspective on learning. Especially Williams and Wavell focus on the individual, and write about learning in a more or less tangible, measurable way. In an attempt to widen this perspective I have looked at reading and writing as social practice, and continued with looking at more indirect ways of learning (the availability of books, the library as a 'modern space') and preconditions for learning. Both cognitive and socio-cultural perspectives contribute to an understanding of how RLCs contribute to learning. After all, the question is indeed wide and calls for variety of approaches, both theoretical and methodological.

7.3 Quantitative part

There are no findings that can be said to come as a surprise. If anything, one might suspect that frequent library use would correlate with number of books read, but when controlling for school there is virtually no such correlation. The lack of correlation between library use and other factors can be interpreted to mean that the library is used by students regardless of socio-economic background. There are some differences in how many books they have read based on their background, including parents' education and how often they were read to or told stories when they were younger. The differences in number of assets in the student's household give an indication of differences in wealth between families in the community, and there are clearly some notable differences here. Many families have a radio, but no electricity or other 'assets', whereas others have TV, motorcycles or cars. One should be very cautious to draw inferences since the number of respondents is low and there are differences between the schools in both assets and library use, but it seems like the library is used by students regardless of their socio-economic background. It must be stressed, though, that the sample size for 'use library' is very small, making it more difficult to find correlations with this variable.

Students who were read to or told stories when they grew up read more books and read more for their families. The oral storytelling culture is waning, but telling children stories evidently (or to be more modest, apparently) increases the likelihood that they will read more when they get older. That the same is true for reading is well-known from the West (Krashen

2004), and these data indicate that telling stories is just about as valuable as reading for children when is comes to reading later on in life. The library is a perfect venue for storytelling hours, whether the stories are read or told. Eight pupils (out of 37) said they would visit the library more if someone would read them stories in English. This is not a high figure, but one should keep in mind that these were pupils at the highest grades, aged 12–19. Younger pupils might be more inclined to coming for storytelling hours.

The only factor that significantly correlated with preferring a language was ‘parents’ education’. The higher their parents’ education, the more they prefer English. This indicates that language preference is a ‘class issue’. Students with well-educated parents are more likely to master English better, and perhaps get support and encouragement from their parents with regards to English as well. Using English as the language of instruction and providing reading materials in English favours the well-educated—and the well-educated favour it.

There were few negative attitudes towards readers, and no factors were found that could predict attitudes towards people who read a lot. This indicates that reading enjoys a certain status among the students. There is little reason to believe that negative attitudes towards readers or reading in general should affect the use of the library.

It is also worth noting that gender is not a predictor for any of the variables. This supports the impression that there are few differences between the genders when it comes to reading, studying and library use.

In conclusion, a strong socio-economic background is conducive to reading, and being read to or told stories leads to more of the same as the student gets older, including reading for himself/herself. However, there are no significant correlations with library use (except a weak negative one with assets, which should receive much attention to due to the differences between the schools). This can be interpreted to mean that library is open to and used by all sorts of students. However, further investigations with larger sample sizes are required to say something more substantive about library use in relation to the other variables.

7.4 Summing up

As a way of summing up the findings and returning to the initial research questions, I have repeated them one by one with a short answer. This is not to reduce a fairly large study of a complex issue to a handful of manageable findings, but is an attempt to highlight some key findings that are described in detail above.

RQ 1: *What and how do students read and write in the nearby schools and in the community?* Outside the library there are fewer reading materials available and secondary students mainly read their own notes, the Bible and the Qur'an. Teaching is teacher-centred and students cram for the exams, which call for remembering rather than understanding.

RQ 2: *What kind of materials and services does the library offer?* The library is relatively well-equipped with books, including reference books, but the array of textbooks are for the most part from abroad, requiring adaptation in order to use them with the Ugandan curriculum. The librarian works full-time, knows the community and is dedicated, but lacks training/education and skills and perspective on how to assist and reach out to the users.

RQ 3: *Who are the library users and how do they use the library?* There are mainly three groups of users. Pupils mainly read storybooks, and borrow storybooks and textbooks. Secondary students read mainly their own notes, pamphlets and other schoolbooks. Reference books such as encyclopaedias, dictionaries and atlases are mostly left untouched, and the use of the schoolbooks was by and large limited to reading and verbatim copying. The students seem to read more because of the library, but it seemed like the learning outcome beyond the effect of reading in itself was somewhat limited.

RQ 4: *What is the relationship between the schools and the library?* One school co-operates very closely with the library, but there is room for much improvement in terms of how the use is organised and how it is used. A few other schools borrow books in bulk, come for primary quizzes or Book Week. This is all good, but the library–school co-operation seems somewhat erratic, and it is my impression that the students would benefit from a more regular and guided use through library–school co-operation.

RQ 5: *What patterns, tendencies or structures emerge from this study that shed light on the role of the library in relation to student learning?* The library has several functions: it is a place for socialisation/recreation, studying and a serves as an extension of the school. In addition, and new not previously described in the literature, is its role as a public space. I identified five circumstances that can explain the limitations of library use:

1. The curriculum, the exams and the traditional way of teaching
2. Lack of reading culture
3. Lack of library tradition and the library not being rooted in the society
4. Limited resources and under-qualified staff
5. Discrepancy between language of instruction (LOI) and language of communication

These circumstances, or factors, have been put in a model that places the factors on three levels, and the model shows how the circumstances at the highest (societal) level act as preconditions for those at the intra-personal and individual level. The library works under poor circumstances (LOI, reading culture, exams etc.) that influence the library and the schools and people who use it. This is not to say that change is impossible, only that a number of factors at the societal (macro) and intra-personal (meso) levels make an impact on student learning more difficult for the library to achieve. One factor works in the opposite direction: if reading materials are lacking in the community, the impact of a library is greater, since it provides books to people who can not readily get them elsewhere. Lastly, I identified three types of reading: imposed, leisure and purposive reading. These are interwoven in a way one might not expect, and this insight into the interrelatedness of the types of reading can be used to yield more reading without imposing or forcing it onto the students in a traditional sense.

RQ 6: *Do any of the factors age, gender and socio-economic background correlate with reading habits, language preference, perception of reading, perception of people who read a lot, and library use?* Some socio-economic factors predict the amount of books the students have read and how often they read to their families, but there are no correlations with *use*

library (with one exception[23]).

RQ 7: *Is there a correlation between library use on the one hand and reading habits, language preference or perceptions of reading and readers on the other hand?* There was no support in the data for any correlation with the variable *library use*, but the critically low number of cases for *library use* must be taken into consideration.

Is it the lack of reading culture or lack of reading materials that is the reason for the little reading that takes place in Uganda? Based on the findings of this study, I would say a little bit of both. Without books or other materials there can be no reading. The coming of a library in a rural area changes this, but it takes time to attract users and build an interest in reading. Time is another central factor. Time for doing chores at home did not appear to be the most pressing factor, but rather the fact the secondary students would rather read their notes to study for exams than read storybooks and browse books such as *Animals of the Sea*.[24] Paradoxically, school, the very institution that is supposed to impart and promote reading, seems to be a major reason why reading among secondary students is largely limited to cramming lecture notes.

[23] There was a weak negative correlation with assets that should not be given much attention due to the differences between school A and B for these two factors.
[24] The sort of book I put on a table and several students browsed for a few minutes (see 6.1.5).

8. RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1 Introduction

The last chapter gives a list of recommendations to RCLs based on the findings from Caezaria Library, but also drawing on the literature review. It further gives some recommendations for further research that can broaden our understanding of the RCLs and hopefully assist in improving those that exist, and shaping those to come.

8.2 Recommendations for rural community libraries

The aim of this study has been to explore the phenomenon of rural community libraries (in Uganda/Sub-Saharan Africa) through an in-depth study of one such library. In the process I have used a theoretical framework developed on the basis of Western libraries in an attempt to interpret the role of this library for the students in the community.

Rural community libraries are not merely of academic interest, they are attempts of contributing to the development of local communities and assisting students in advancing in their academic and personal development. A central aim of this study, in addition to the aforementioned, is to provide an understanding of how these libraries already contribute to, or play a role in, students' learning. Lastly, I hope to be able to make some recommendations based on the insights from two months of observing, participating and conversing, and endless hours of reading about libraries. The following recommendations are written based on my experience with Caezaria Library (and the literature), but I believe that they are at least worth taking into consideration at other libraries more or less similar to this one.

1. *Collaborate closely with schools and teachers*. Perhaps the biggest impact an RCL can have on student learning is through schools, largely because that way it reaches out to a large number of students. The use of RCL on an individual basis is very important, but the fact is that only some students find the way to the library on their own. There are several ways of

collaborating with schools, and Caezaria shows some ways this can be done. Borrowing in bulk presupposes that the library has a collection of a certain size, partly because books are more likely to be lost when they are brought out of the library in that manner. One should keep in mind that one of the major findings in the study by Muwanga and associates (2007) (see 3.2) was that the books given to schools were often left unused, partly because people were worried they might be lost of torn. Some damage and loss is only a proof that the books and materials are in fact used, and no well-functioning library can be without it. There are several ways in which a borrowing in bulk scheme can be done successfully. Ideally it should be done on a regular basis, and the novelty effect of having a new set of books every once in a while should be exploited for what it is worth (e.g., a teacher can rouse expectations in the students). Teachers/schools should make reading non-fiction (storybooks) as commonplace as breathing. Students say they love to read, yet most students read very little outside school. No more than a fraction of them visit the library, and only a few of them can be said to be regular leisure readers (reading non-fiction). As I have indicated with the interwovenness of the types of reading, there are good chances of 'imposing' reading on students in a way that is 'leisurely' to them (and axiomatically reading is beneficial; i.e., serves a purpose). This might create a burgeoning reading culture, which the researchers Dent and Parry see emerging around the library in Kitengesa (see 3.2). There are a few simple steps that can be taken to this end: (1) Every child should at all times have a book to read (from the library or elsewhere). If there are few books available, two students can share a book. This can be a good idea anyway, since they are likely to have difficulties understanding words and content, and this way they can help each other. (2) Read in class: read 15 minutes every day, as Krashen (2004) recommends. Read until the teacher comes, as teachers tend to be late and sometimes do not show up for class at all. (3) Read in school breaks and after chores at home. 4) Read aloud to friends and family, and talk about it. This helps create interest and understanding. 5) As soon as the students are capable, they should write a short summary for the teacher, in the student's mother tongue or the LOI.

2. *Arrange events such as a Book Week/Book Day*. The Book Week at Caezaria Library showcases the library to literally thousands of people and attracts quite a bit of attention. Even a smaller event, such as one day where some nearby schools are invited to the library, can introduce students and teachers to the library, and might encourage some to come back on a later date. Book Week is typically filled with entertainment and learning activities, but if

it is only held once a year, the learning outcome is most likely limited, and events that take place on a more regular basis should be considered.

3. *Planned and spontaneous activities*. It is important to attract youth to the library, and if they are familiar with it through non-reading activities, they are more likely to come back on another occasion to read or borrow books. Activities such as reading aloud, reading competitions, discussion groups, reading clubs and game nights can be both spontaneous and planned, but planning (including co-operating with schools and parents) is recommendable in the beginning, and after a while the youth might take it upon themselves to arrange such activities.

4. *Make storybooks, 'textbook' booklets and games*. Homemade booklets do not need to be much more expensive than the paper they are made of. They can be handwritten or photocopied at a price of less than that of a bottle of water for a 24-page booklet if one can afford to invest in a couple of hundred. We did this (some were only prototypes because of lack of time) at Caezaria Library, and made a dictionary, bilingual and monolingual storybooks with and without drawings. This is perfect for local language and local content materials, and as long as one goes away from the 'slavish devotion to doing things "properly" ' in the sense that a storybook or a textbook has to printed, in colours, guaranteed without spelling mistakes and so on, there is really nothing stopping anyone from doing this. I would like to stress the value of making duplicates of a story, with or without full/single word translations. If a whole class reads the same text (perhaps two–three students to a booklet) then it is possible to talk about and explain words and content. This is not possible in most situations at a library or a school in Uganda, where books are usually only available in one, or maybe two copies. Games such as Scrabble, Snakes and Ladders and letter cubes can be made with local materials such as wood and cardboard. They can help teach math, spelling and vocabulary. More information is available at http://espensj.net/dictionary.

5. *Emphasise catering to students more than the information needs of the community.* The literature on community libraries in Africa often stresses the information needs of the community (implicitly focusing on the adult community, I would add). They point out that rural Africa has an oral tradition and that many are illiterate or semi-illiterate, and recommend that libraries, or information centres, provide audio-visual materials (e.g., tapes,

posters) to meet the community's needs on its own terms (oral/visual mode). The librarian should be knowledgeable and competent to convey the information requested and reach out to the community. All of this seems laudable, but after two and a half months at a relatively well-equipped rural library I question how feasible this is, and whether this should be given priority. Many rural areas do not have electricity for tape recorders, and even if they do have it, there is nothing on such a recording that could not be read aloud. For an RCL to contribute to economic development and cater to information needs, much more resources and qualified personnel are likely to be required. That said, it is certainly not impossible, but would probably take quite a few resources, and that is not what most rural community libraries have at the moment. The fact that hardly anyone put any questions in the 'I need to know' envelope (see Appendix C) and that only one adult (except teachers) visited the library gives an indication that at the present, at least, rural community libraries serve the student population, and that is, in my opinion, where most effort should be put.

8.3 Recommendations for future research

There are three areas that I would like to highlight for future research based on my experience from Caezaria Library.

1. *Pupils' use of libraries and what literacy practices they bring about*. The most conspicuous area for future research is pupils' use of the library. Pupils borrow as many books as do secondary students, and read more printed materials (i.e., materials other than their own notes) at the library than the secondary students, but they have not been at the centre of attention in this study. Since the language of instruction is a foreign one, gaining proficiency through reading is likely to contribute to the success of these pupils' academic performance.

2. *Action research*. The area of rural community libraries is not only understudied, it has, at least until recently, received little attention from donors and other stakeholders as a contribution to education and development. We know little about what exists, and less about what works, and what does not work. In this scenario action research could be a valuable tool for researching and developing rural community libraries in Africa or elsewhere.

Researching what already exists faces the challenge that some of these libraries are so poorly funded that their potential, even with small amounts of financial and other support, is left out, and the study might conclude that libraries serve as little more than a shaded study space (which is the case in many places today). Action research could be employed to find out how library–school co-operation can work best, and how the library can render even better services to the users. It could also look into why people do not use the library, and whether there is a way of getting more people involved, including parents.

3. *Develop an African impact framework and a typology of RCLs*. The libraries, especially rural community libraries in Africa, are very different from the libraries in the West, both in their content and function. A future study might focus on developing an impact framework based on African conditions and context; including the national curricula and indigenous knowledge systems (IKS), to the extent this makes sense. As mentioned in 7.2.4, I suggest that such a model take into account the library in itself in a physical and symbolic sense, but it would be premature to decide what should be part of such a model and what should be left out. Making a typology of RCLs in Africa or the whole developing world should also be undertaken, and might help libraries to learn from each other. By describing how they are financed, operated and anchored in the local community, it would be possible to compare libraries across borders and facilitate co-operation and knowledge exchange. Håklev (2008) describes a community library movement in Indonesia and how it has developed, which it in part did through 'best-case' libraries. One such library is *Rumah Dunia* ("The World House") in a province that is considered backwards. It offers an after school programme for children seven days a week, attracting 50–60 children every day. This includes storytelling, compositions on familiar subjects like home or school, theatre, dance and workshops on writing. The library tradition, economic and social conditions in Indonesia are different from those of Uganda (and the rest of Africa), but the example of Rumah Dunia is an example of how children can be attracted to reading, writing and other activities, but also the potential of learning from the experiences of providing libraries and similar services to children across borders. Let this serve as an example of bringing existing research across borders together can serve both the research and the libraries themselves.

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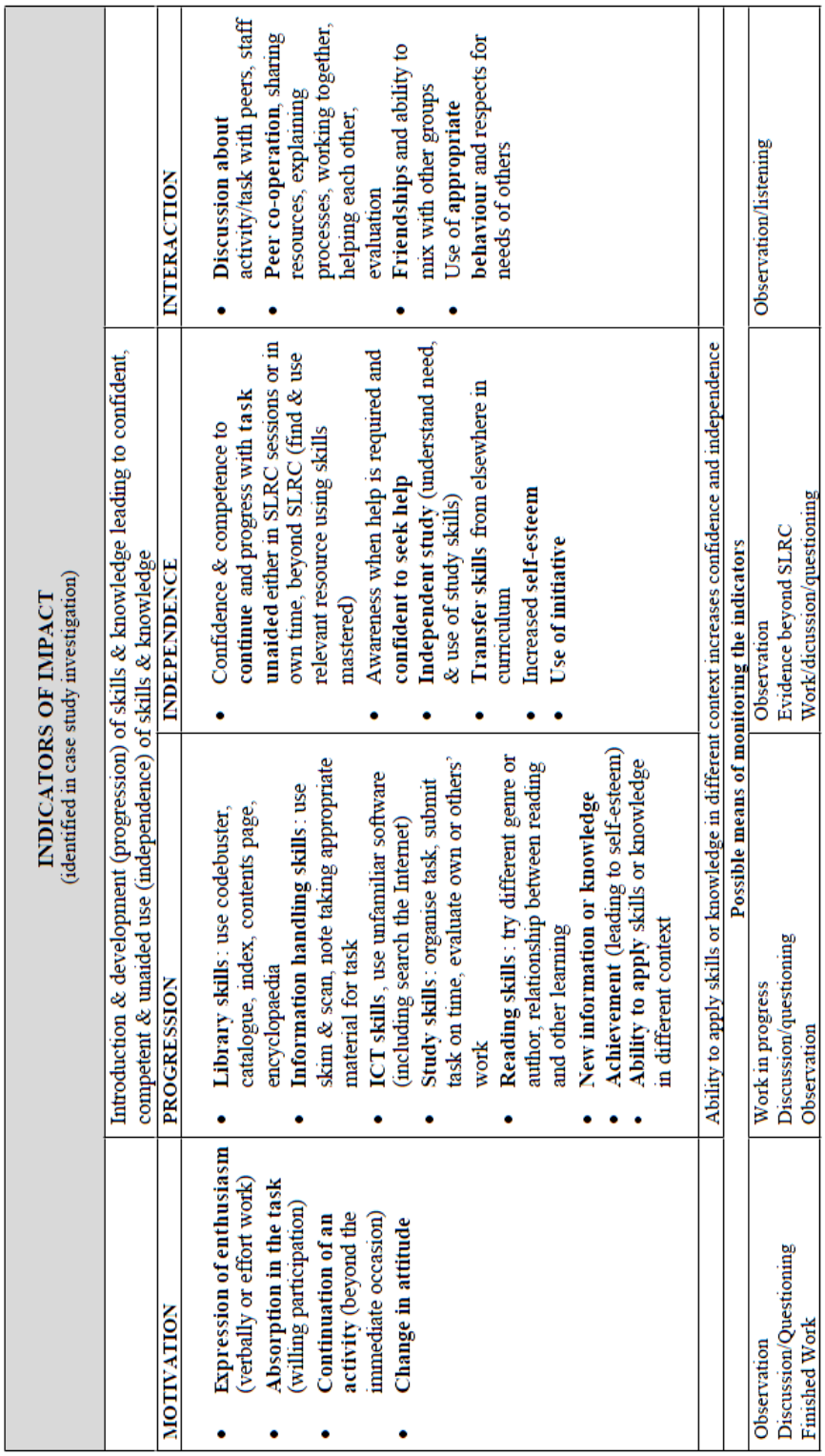
UNPUBLISHED SOURCES

The following data are in the possession of the author:

- Internal documents of Caezaria Complex Public Library and its reports to donor organizations.
- Interviews with six students, two teachers and three library staff, one translated from Luganda to English, recorded and transcribed. In possession of the author.
- 173 questionnaires.
- Copy of the library record of borrowed books at the library from 2008-09-23 to 2008-11-22.

APPENDIX A. INDICATORS OF IMPACT



INDICATORS OF IMPACT
(identified in case study investigation)

	Introduction & development (progression) of skills & knowledge leading to confident, competent & unaided use (independence) of skills & knowledge	
MOTIVATION	**PROGRESSION**	**INDEPENDENCE**
• **Expression of enthusiasm** (verbally or effort work) • **Absorption in the task** (willing participation) • **Continuation of an activity** (beyond the immediate occasion) • **Change in attitude**	• **Library skills**: use codebuster, catalogue, index, contents page, encyclopaedia • **Information handling skills**: use skim & scan, note taking appropriate material for task • **ICT skills**, use unfamiliar software (including search the Internet) • **Study skills**: organise task, submit task on time, evaluate own or others' work • **Reading skills**: try different genre or author, relationship between reading and other learning • **New information or knowledge** • **Achievement** (leading to self-esteem) • **Ability to apply** skills or knowledge in different context	• Confidence & competence to **continue** and progress with **task unaided** either in SLRC sessions or in own time, beyond SLRC (find & use relevant resource using skills mastered) • Awareness when help is required and **confident to seek help** • **Independent study** (understand need, & use of study skills) • **Transfer skills** from elsewhere in curriculum • Increased **self-esteem** • **Use of initiative**
	Ability to apply skills or knowledge in different context increases confidence and independence	
	Possible means of monitoring the indicators	
Observation Discussion/Questioning Finished Work	Work in progress Discussion/questioning Observation	Observation Evidence beyond SLRC Work/dicussion/questioning

	INTERACTION
	• **Discussion about** activity/task with peers, staff • **Peer co-operation**, sharing resources, explaining processes, working together, helping each other, evaluation • **Friendships** and ability to mix with other groups • Use of **appropriate behaviour** and respects for needs of others
	Observation/listening

Note. From *The impact of the school library resource centre on learning: A Report on research conducted for Resource: The Council for Museums, Archives and Libraries* (p. 129), by D. Williams and C. Wavell, 2001, Aberdeen, Scotland: Robert Gordon University.

APPENDIX B. STUDENT INTERVIEW GUIDE

1. How old are you?
2. Can you tell me about books, reading and storytelling when you grew up? Did anyone read to you, did you have books to read and so on? What is the situation now?
3. What do your parents/guardians do for a living and what education do they have?
4. What do your parents/guardians say about going to school and about reading?
5. Do they give you enough time to read and study, or do you have to help out a lot at home?
6. Why do you study at [student's school]? Do your fellow students give the same, or different, reasons?
7. What do you think about your school? Could it be better? How?
8. How would you describe they way your teachers teach?
9. What do you think about the way they teach?
10. What do you think about the exams? Could they be better? How?
11. What would you like to do later in life? Do you have any particular ambitions?
12. Do you like to read story books or novels?
13. What kind of story books or novels do you like? (Categories). Do your fellow students like the same kind of stories?
14. Before the Europeans came to Uganda there was a strong oral storytelling culture here. What is the situation now? Why? What do you think about it?
15. Do students at your school use it more or in a different way compared with students from other schools? Why?
16. Do girls use it more or less, or in a different way compared with boys? Why?
17. What does the librarian do? How does she help/interact with the people who use the library?
18. What do you think about the library? What has it done for you?
19. What would it be like for you if the library was not there?
20. What do your teachers say about the library and about reading?
21. How would you describe you level of English. How well do you master the language in these four areas: reading, writing, listening and speaking. What about your fellow students?
22. What do you think about studying in English?
23. Would you prefer to study in Luganda if you had text books in Luganda? Why (not)? What do your fellow students think about this?

(Continues)

APPENDIX B. (Continued)

Part II

24. Tell me about how you use the library, what you do there?
25. Tell me about how and where you study, for exams or otherwise. I'm thinking about the use of notes, text books etc. Discuss with fellow students?
26. How do you decide on using text books, and which ones you will use? Teacher, fellow students, librarian, look in the shelves yourself?
27. How do you read the text books? Just read through, take notes, summaries, something else?
28. How do you decide which subject to revise?
29. How do you revise you notes? Just read through, take notes, summaries, something else?
30. Are your ways of studying different from your fellow students?

Part III

Think of everything you read in your everyday life, in and outside of school. What do you read and how often? For each category, tell me where and how often, and also if there has been a change in the last year or so. Can you comment briefly on each category?

a) text books
b) pamphlets
c) own notes
d) other students' notes
e) dictionaries
f) encyclopaedias
g) handbooks
h) English story books
i) English novels
j) Luganda story books
k) religious books/ texts (Bible, Quran, songs, psalms...)
l) other songs (written)
m) other books/texts (specify)

Think of everything you write in your everyday life, in and outside of school. What do you write and how often? For each category, tell me where and how often, and also if there has been a change in the last year or so. Can you comment briefly on each category?

a) notes in lessons
b) copying notes from fellow students
c) taking notes during revision
d) other school work (what?)
e) letters
f) diary/journal
g) school articles
h) other (specify)

31. Is there anything you would like to add?

APPENDIX C. LIST OF MY INTERVENTIONS AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Intervention/ contribution	*Comment*
Changing book categories	Previously the Dewey Decimal was more or less used, but did not seem to be of use for neither the librarian nor the users. We switched to using about 30 categories, mostly different levels of readers and textbook categories.
Rearranging textbooks	We went through the textbooks, sorted and rearranged them in a more orderly manner.
Sorting English readers, putting on colour labels and redisplaying them	There were about 1000 English readers at the library—with virtually no grouping by level of difficulty or otherwise, except for the novel-like storybooks (about 60 pages and above). They had tried to group books by difficulty level, but according to the librarian the kids would just mix them again. We went through every booklet, taking out the duplicates (about half of the booklets) and sorting them in four categories (‘picture books’, ‘one sentence per page’, ‘a few sentences per page’ and ‘simple stories’). These booklets were then given a colour label on the spine, and the two easiest categories were displayed lying down on a shelf within reach of an child, making them more accessible.
Making ‘class sets’ of booklets, including translations, and bringing/ promoting these to schools	In the process of sorting the easy readers, it became clear that the library had a number of duplicate books, ranging from three or four up to forty. Nothing had been done to take advantage of this before. We grouped the books with about 10 copies or more of the same title, and placed them in the shelf behind the librarian’s desk, where they would be most conspicuous, hopefully attracting the attention of teachers. The idea was for a group of students, either at the library or in school, to read the same booklet. Reading comprehension is a big problem in African schools because they are mostly reading in a foreign language. It was my hope that reading the same text would enable the students, on their own or with the help of a teacher or librarian, to grasp the meaning of words and the whole story. To facilitate this even more, we made translations of the words I deemed the most difficult, between 10 and 30 words in each booklet. We glued these translations on the inside cover. Furthermore, I went out to two schools with a bag full of books asking them to borrow them and return them on a later date. I also admonished the librarian to use these in the library and further promote this to schools, a way of rejuvenating the ‘borrowing in bulk’ scheme that was already established, but in my opinion underutilized.
Games	There were no games at the library when I came. I had a bilingual (English and Luganda) Scrabble game made at the local carpentry, and elsewhere a game of wooden letter cubes that I came up with. I also made Snakes and Ladders, and gave the library a board game I had made at home. I asked my assistant to make a chess board (I didn’t finish the pieces) and some students used the chess game to play draft with bottle caps. In some primary textbooks at the library I came across some simple instructional board games that the librarian had seen, but not understood how to play. I took out the board games and showed them how to play (the instructions were printed on the games).

(Table continues)

APPENDIX C. (continued)

Intervention/ contribution	*Comment*
Introducing computer software	I installed and showed how to use some computer software, including Encarta Encyclopedia and typing tutors and typing games.
Computer course and instructions	I gave a computer course over eight evenings to about five community members. I made a two-page basic instruction sheet in English and Luganda. I also showed the librarian and some students how to use the computer, including two computer lessons for a class at school A.
Bukedde newspaper	At the opening of Book Week (see 6.1.4) I donated a 'subscription' to the Luganda newspaper Bukedde to the library, about 100 issues/days. I chose that day because it was by far the most visited day of the year, and many parents, teachers and other stakeholders were present.
Reader's club	On the opening of Book Week I also launched a programme named 'Reader's Club'. In short, it offered a diploma to anyone who would read and write a summary of ten story books at their level. One of these would then be awarded a prize of 25,000 UGX through a lottery on the next Book Week. However, no one submitted any summaries while I was there.
'I need to know'	'I need to know' was a concept I learned about from another library in Uganda and introduced to the library on the opening of Book Week. On a sheet of paper one could write a question and submit it to the librarian, who would provide an answer and write it on the same sheet of paper. By the end of my fieldwork, only three questions had been posed through this service.
Weeding books	The library had no more shelf space when I came. We took out a couple of shelf metres of duplicate textbooks and novels that were never or hardly ever used.
Exhibiting books	The library had two racks for exhibiting books. I changed the books, emphasizing books that I thought might be popular.
Donating textbooks and pamphlets	I asked teachers (and some students) to write a list of schoolbooks they would like to see at the library. I bought and donated about 15 of these books. (See 5.4.6).
Promoting books within the library	On a couple of occasions I put a Luganda book or easy reader in front of a primary student who was sitting idle at the table or looking in a book beyond his/her level. They all started reading it. I also put some nice picture books with animals on the table, and some students would browse through them as they discovered the picture book.

(Table continues)

APPENDIX C. (continued)

Intervention/ contribution	*Comment*
Teaching dictionary and encyclopaedia use and basic map reading	After a few weeks it was clear that these kinds of books were hardly ever used, and so I set about to show them how to use them. One morning I had a lengthy conversation with the director, where I bemoaned the lack of information skills in general and map reading in particular, he told me that he had taught map reading a few years ago, but recently he hadn't had any time. Later that day, without my knowing, he sent a group of eight students to me to teach them map reading at the library.
Changing the way of keeping records of borrowed books at the library	When I came to the library, I didn't quite comprehend the way the librarian kept the records of borrowed books. On a later occasion, as I was trying to grasp it, and also see how I could utilize the records for my research, I soon realized that there was room for improvement. We arranged the borrowings by date, and introduced the book category for each borrowing. This was crucial for my research purposes of knowing how many books were borrowed by category.
Discussions and recom-mendations	I discussed and recommended a number of issues with the library staff, including promoting books to target users outside the library, improved school–library cooperation, introducing sustained silent reading at school A and reading aloud to children.
Teaching biology at school A	Towards the end of my stay I gave some lessons in biology since the biology teacher had just left. I used the textbooks at the library, and tried to show the students how they could use them themselves after I had left. I focused on how to locate relevant information and make relevant summaries and use key words.
Making dictionaries and storybooks	I asked my research assistant to translate a popular story from English to Luganda (to make a bilingual storybook) and revise a list of English–Luganda translations I had downloaded from the Internet. I expanded this list with another 700 words and asked some people to translate them. I then had these printed—the dictionary in 500 copies, and the bilingual story only in a few trial copies because of lack of time. I also brought some trial copies of a booklet with English stories with translations of 'difficult' words in Luganda that I had made at another library. These were meant to inspire similar projects in the future, and I said I would compile anything they sent me and put it on *http://espensj.net/dictionary* so that they could make more in the future.

APPENDIX D. QUESTIONNAIRE

(For internal use only)
S: G: N:

Questionnaire about reading (26 questions)

This questionnaire is part of a study on reading in Uganda. We hope that in the long run it will contribute to improved education and living for the people of Uganda. All questionnaires are anonymous and confidential, this means that no one will know what you answered. If you do not wish to fill out this questionnaire you are free to do so. If you have questions about this questionnaire we will be glad to tell you more about it, so please ask!

Please answer all questions as truthfully as possible, and remember that there is no right or wrong answer. If there is a question you don't fully understand, please ask! And finally, Thank you for participating!

Please tick (☑) the right answer.

1. How old are you?

I'm _____ years old.

2. Are you a boy or a girl?

☐ Boy ☐ Girl

3. Do you know Ceazaria Community Library?

☐ No ☐ Yes

If you ticked "No" please continue with question no. 7

4. Do you use this library?

☐ No, never
☐ I used to, but not anymore
☐ Yes, but not every month
☐ Yes, once, twice or three times a month
☐ Yes, once, twice or three times a week
☐ Yes, every day or almost every day

If you ticked "No, never" please continue with question no. 6

5. How do you use the library? (You may tick all answers that you find correct)

☐ I borrow books to bring home
☐ I read story books there
☐ I read text books there
☐ I use the computer there
☐ I revise my notes there
☐ Other: _____

6. Would any of the following make the library (more) interesting or worth visiting (more often)? (You may tick all answers that you find correct)

☐ More interesting books
☐ More books in English
☐ More books in Luganda
☐ More text books/books I need for school
☐ If someone would read aloud in English
☐ If someone would read aloud in Luganda
☐ Other: _____

(Continues)

APPENDIX D. (Continued)

7. Do you read story books? If yes, where do you get them? (You may tick all answers that you find correct)

- ☐ I don't read any story books
- ☐ From home
- ☐ From a friend or relative
- ☐ From the community library
- ☐ At school
- ☐ Other: _____

8. Do you or your family own any story books or text books?

- ☐ No, neither
- ☐ Only text books
- ☐ Only story books
- ☐ Yes, both

9. How many story books have you read in your life up to today <u>in English</u>?

- ☐ None
- ☐ Between 11 and 15
- ☐ Between 1 and 5
- ☐ Between 16 and 20
- ☐ Between 6 and 10
- ☐ More than 20

10. How many story books have you read in your life up to today <u>in Luganda, Swahili or another African language</u>?

- ☐ None
- ☐ Between 11 and 15
- ☐ Between 1 and 5
- ☐ Between 16 and 20
- ☐ Between 6 and 10
- ☐ More than 20

11. Do you like to read?

- ☐ No, I don't
- ☐ Yes, very much
- ☐ Yes, a little bit

12. Do you think reading many story books in one's own language (or a similar one) has an effect on one's ability to read in English?

- ☐ No, there is no effect
- ☐ Yes, it has a positive effect
- ☐ Yes, it has a negative effect

13. Do you have a mother (or a female guardian) and a father (or a male guardian) who take care of you?

- ☐ No, I don't have any of them
- ☐ I have only a mother/female guardian
- ☐ I have only a father/male guardian
- ☐ Yes, I have both

If you ticked any of the first three options, please skip question 14-15, 16-17, or 18-19, or all four of them, accordingly.

(Continues)

APPENDIX D. (Continued)

14. What do your parents/guardians say to you about studying?

- ☐ They say it is not important
- ☐ They say it is very important
- ☐ They say it is a little bit important
- ☐ They don't say anything about it

15. What do your parents/guardians say to you about reading other than for school?

- ☐ They say it is not important
- ☐ They say it is very important
- ☐ They say it is a little bit important
- ☐ They don't say anything about it

16. How much education does your father/male guardian have?

- ☐ He has not gone to school
- ☐ Primary school, not completed
- ☐ Primary school, completed, or "O" level, not completed
- ☐ "O" level, completed, or "A" level, not completed
- ☐ "A" level, completed, or more
- ☐ I don't know

17. How well can your father/male guardian read (in any language)?

- ☐ He can't read
- ☐ He can read a little
- ☐ He can read well (books, newspapers)
- ☐ I don't know

18. How much education does your mother/female guardian have?

- ☐ She has not gone to school
- ☐ Primary school, not completed
- ☐ Primary school, completed, or "O" level, not completed
- ☐ "O" level, completed, or "A" level, not completed
- ☐ "A" level, completed, or more
- ☐ I don't know

19. How well can your mother/female guardian read (in any language)?

- ☐ She can't read
- ☐ She can read a little
- ☐ She can read well (books, newspapers)
- ☐ I don't know

20. Are people who read many story books different from other people? (You may tick all answers that you find correct)

- ☐ No, there is no difference
- ☐ Yes, they do better in school
- ☐ Yes, they do not have so many friends
- ☐ Yes, they don't help their parents very much
- ☐ Other: _____

(Continues)

APPENDIX D. (Continued)

21. Does your family/home have any of the following?

	No	Yes
Electricity	☐	☐
Radio	☐	☐
Bicycle	☐	☐
Motorcycle/boda-boda	☐	☐
Television	☐	☐
Car, truck or tractor	☐	☐

22. When you were younger, did anyone read out stories from books to you?

- ☐ No, never
- ☐ Yes, but not every month
- ☐ Yes, once, twice or three times a month
- ☐ Yes, once, twice or three times a week
- ☐ Yes, every day or almost every day

23. When you were younger, did anyone tell you stories?

- ☐ No, never
- ☐ Yes, but not every month
- ☐ Yes, once, twice or three times a month
- ☐ Yes, once, twice or three times a week
- ☐ Yes, every day or almost every day

24. Do you read aloud for your family?

- ☐ No, never
- ☐ Yes, but not every month
- ☐ Yes, once, twice or three times a month
- ☐ Yes, once, twice or three times a week
- ☐ Yes, every day or almost every day

25. Which language do you prefer to read in?

- ☐ I prefer to read in English
- ☐ I don't prefer any language
- ☐ I prefer to read in Luganda/my own langauge

*If you ticked "*I don't prefer any language*" please skip question no. 26*

26. Why do you prefer reading in this language? (You may write in Luganda or English)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Thank you very much!

APPENDIX E. QUESTIONNAIRE CODING AND ANSWER FREQUENCY

Number	*Question*	*Answers*	*Coding*	*Answer frequency*
1	How old are you?	—	—	mean: 14.7 median: 14
2	Are you a boy or a girl	Boy	1	61
		Girl	2	110
3	Do you know Ceazaria Community Library?	No	1	3
		Yes	2	57
4	Do you use this library?	No, never	1	9
		I used to, but not anymore	2	2
		Yes, but not every month	3	9
		Yes, once, twice or three times a month	4	16
		Yes, once, twice or three times a week	5	14
		Yes, every day or almost every day	6	8
5	How do you use the library?	I borrow books to bring home	1	25
		I read story books there	1	45
		I read text books there	1	28
		I use the computer there	1	23
		I revise my notes there	1	19
		Other: _____	1	5
6	Would any of the following make the library (more) interesting or worth visiting (more often)?	More interesting books	1	33
		More books in English	1	46
		More books in Luganda	1	15
		More text books/books I need for school	1	32
		If someone would read aloud in English	1	9
		If someone would read aloud in Luganda	1	6
		Other: _____	1	2
7	Do you read story books? If yes, where do you get them?	I don't read any story books	1	0
		From a friend or relative	1	27
		At school	1	125
		From home	1	34
		From the community library	1	103
		Other: _____	1	6
8	Do you or your family own any story books or text books?	No, neither	0	26
		Only story books	1	30
		Only text books	1	40
		Yes, both	2	68
9	How many story books have you read in your life up to today in English?	None	1	0
		Between 1 and 5	2	43
		Between 6 and 10	3	28
		Between 11 and 15	4	13
		Between 16 and 20	5	18
		More than 20	6	62

(table continues)

APPENDIX E. (continued)

Number	*Question*	*Answers*	*Coding*	*Answer frequency*
10	How many story books have you read in your life up to today in Luganda, Swahili or another African language?	None	1	9
		Between 1 and 5	2	60
		Between 6 and 10	3	24
		Between 11 and 15	4	27
		Between 16 and 20	5	13
		More than 20	6	31
11	Do you like to read?	No, I don't	1	0
		Yes, a little bit	2	8
		Yes, very much	3	163
12	Do you think reading many story books in one's own language (or a similar one) has an effect on one's ability to read in English?	No, there is no effect	2	51
		Yes, it has a negative effect	1	22
		Yes, it has a positive effect	3	88
13	Do you have a mother (or a female guardian) and a father (or a male guardian) who take care of you?	No, I don't have any of them	0	9
		I have only a father/male guardian	1	12
		I have only a mother/female guardian	1	35
		Yes, I have both	2	105
14	What do your parents/guardians say to you about studying?	They say it is not important	1	0
		They say it is a little bit important	2	2
		They say it is very important	3	149
		They don't say anything about it	—	2
15	What do your parents/ guardians say to you about reading other than for school?	They say it is not important	1	3
		They say it is a little bit important	2	16
		They say it is very important	3	117
		They don't say anything about it	—	12
16	How much education does your father/male guardian have?	He has not gone to school	1	0
		Primary school, not completed	2	7
		Primary school, completed, or "O" level, not completed	3	14
		"O" level, completed, or "A" level, not completed	4	35
		"A" level, completed, or more	5	39
		I don't know	—	25
17	How well can your father/male guardian read (in any language)?	He can't read	1	0
		He can read a little	2	15
		He can read well (books, newspapers)	3	98
		I don't know	—	9

(table continues)

APPENDIX E. (continued)

Number	*Question*	*Answers*	*Coding*	*Answer frequency*
18	How much education does your mother/ female guardian have?	She has not gone to school	1	3
		Primary school, not completed	2	7
		Primary school, completed, or “O” level, not completed	3	21
		“O” level, completed, or “A” level, not completed	4	48
		“A” level, completed, or more	5	28
		I don’t know	—	27
19	How well can your mother/female guardian read (in any language)?	She can’t read	1	4
		She can read a little	2	25
		She can read well (books, newspapers)	3	100
		I don’t know	—	8
20	Are people who read many story books different from other people?	No, there is no difference	2	19
		Yes, they do better in school	+[a])	134
		Yes, they do not have so many friends	–[a])	15
		Yes, they don’t help their parents very much	–[a])	8
		Other: _____	—	9
21	Does your family/home have any of the following?	['Yes' answers have been summed, giving a scale from 0 to 6]	0	13
			1	23
			2	40
			3	24
			4	37
			5	18
			6	14
22	When you were younger, did anyone read out stories from books to you?	No, never	1	22
		Yes, but not every month	2	56
		Yes, once, twice or three times a month	3	27
		Yes, once, twice or three times a week	4	30
		Yes, every day or almost every day	5	27
23	When you were younger, did anyone tell you stories?	No, never	1	6
		Yes, but not every month	2	38
		Yes, once, twice or three times a month	3	31
		Yes, once, twice or three times a week	4	42
		Yes, every day or almost every day	5	45
24	Do you read aloud for your family?	No, never	1	17
		Yes, but not every month	2	40
		Yes, once, twice or three times a month	3	22
		Yes, once, twice or three times a week	4	43
		Yes, every day or almost every day	5	44
25	Which language do you prefer to read in?	I prefer to read in English	1	123
		I prefer to read in Luganda/my own langauge	2	35
		I don’t prefer any language	3	1

Note. Answers for questions 3–6 have only been provided for school A and B.

a) The questions have been coded with 1 (one negative answer or two negative and one positive), 2 (one negative and positive answer) and 3 (only positive answer).