

CULTURE AND AESTHETICS AMONG THE ADOLESCENT YOUTH:
A CASE STUDY OF EASTLANDS AREA.

BY

WANDERE DONALD OLUCHINA.

University of NAIROBI Library



0548546 1

Thesis submitted in Partial fulfilment of the
Postgraduate Diploma in Cultural Studies - -
Institute of African Studies, University of Nairobi.

AUGUST 1987

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
INST. OF AFRICAN STUDIES
LIBRARY.

TO MY LATE FATHER MICAH SAULO WANDERE

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT:

A considerable amount of human and non-human input led to this dissertation taking the form in which it is. For practical purposes it will be futile to attempt naming all sources that contributed to the eventual being of the dissertation. I am gratified for all those contributions but for which the study will not have been concluded.

Special recognition goes to Dr. Joshua Akong'a, A Senior Research Fellow at the Institute of African Studies of the University of Nairobi who unreservedly and ungrudgingly accepted the onerous duty of supervising this work. The disagreements and agreements we had with him while performing his duty culminated in the formation of this Thesis. I wish to exonerate him from any errors that the reader may find in this work. I take full responsibility for any such errors.

Secondly, I wish to recognize the special role played by Professor Gideon S. Were, the Director of the Institute of African Studies of the University of Nairobi. I feel perennially indebted to Prof. Were for the formal and informal discourses upon which we have shared together; his words of encouragement at a time of stress which he discharges with some good humour ("who has seen a person die of hard-work?") and the shrewd and understanding manner

in which he approached my problems both personal and official.

Other scholars who helped shape this thesis included Dr. Odak and Dr. Amuka both of the Institute of African Studies of the University of Nairobi. I am deeply gratified for their ideas.

My day-long arguments on the concept of 'aesthetics,' with Karori Mbogua - a postgraduate student in Philosophy at the University of Nairobi formed the seed from which the whole study sprouted. I wish to acknowledge his contribution.

It is difficult to conceptualise how this work will have materialised without the young respondents who were subject of this study. Special mention goes to the 40 respondents who patiently and yet with eagerness, filled the long questionnaires administered to them. I appreciate their assistance.

I was fortunate to hire two talented young persons, Abisage Were and Saulo Were in the name of "Research Assistants." The two proved the right pair I was looking for. They were an asset in the provision of important data to do with youth lifestyles. They brought zest and

devotion to every task carried. I am most grateful for their assistance.

Finally, I very much appreciate the unsolicited gifts of love, patience and understanding of my mother and my brothers and sisters. They gave me moral and material support at a time I needed it most. And ^{were} they ready to excuse me for my unavailability at home when they were in dire need of my services. For them, God bless them all.

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
INST. OF AFRICAN STUDIES
LIBRARY.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PART I

Introduction	
Statement of Problem	I
Literature Review	VII
Methodology	XXV

PART II

Chapter 1:	
Aesthetic Appreciation: Is it Universal ?	1
Chapter 2:	
The Adolescents Appreciation of the Cinema	9
Chapter 3:	
The Adolescents Appreciation of the Literary Works	30
Chapter 4:	
The Adolescents Appreciation of music	52
Chapter 5:	
Conclusion	76
Bibliography	87

STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

Several definitions of the term culture have been advanced. Hoebel for example defines culture as "the integrated sum total of learned behaviour traits which are manifest and shared by the members of a society."¹ The idea of culture being a "shared" phenomenon is also held by Foster² and Swartz and Jordan.³ Following this definition, culture can be conceptualised as extra-somatic i.e. non-physiological, and that it is generated and shared in a social situation to guide social interaction. It includes norms, beliefs values and objects.

Ralph Linton conceptualises culture as a social heredity.⁴ He sees culture as being passed and received from one generation to another. The transmission of culture is done through socialization using language as a medium of communication. In a nutshell, culture is therefore extra-somatic, it is a result of social invention, and it may be thought of as a social heritage for it is transmitted from one generation to the other.

Aesthetics means devotion to beauty and its appreciation thereof. In general two approaches can be made to the problem of beauty: the objective approach which asserts beauty as inherent in the object beheld and hence judgement concerning it must have objective validity; and the subjective approach which identifies beauty with that which pleases the observer.⁵

This latter approach recognizes the cultural differences and consequently variations in the experience of beauty. Using this approach aesthetics can be analysed relative to specific cultures. It suffices here to quote one scholar, William Pater who in the Preface of "The Renaissance" Succintly Puts:

"Beauty like all other qualities Presented to human experience is relative, and the definition of it becomes unmeaning and useless in proportion to its abstractness. To define beauty not in the most abstract but in the most concrete term possible, to find not its universal formula but the formula which expresses most adequately this or that manifestation of it is the aim of the true student of aesthetics."⁶ (my emphasis).

Aesthetics is therefore an aspect of culture. Following observations made by Pater and the likes, aesthetics can only be meaningful when and if studied in relation to the particular rather than universal perspective. Aesthetics should therefore be seen to have specific culture orientation.

My study aims at looking at aesthetic judgements in the youth culture. The study should be seen essentially as persuing the subjective approach to aesthetics. It seeks to

III

step down from the universal conditioning of beauty to the cultural specificity. Henceforth, the study is guided by the Principle of Cultural relativity.

The idea of a youth culture is a universal phenomeno. The United States for example has its street corner society especially among the blacks, England has its "teddy boys," France has the "blouson noirs," and Germany the "halbstarcken." My study assumes the existence of a distinct youth culture among the adolescent Youth of Eastlands area in Nairobi.

The social situation in Nairobi is such that it becomes inevitable to create a distinct youth culture almost running contrary to the mainstream culture. The city swallows people from diverse cultural backgrounds persuing different interests in life. Resulting from its advantaged position in terms of the wage-labour sector and other economic stimuli, Nairobi takes a generous toll in the rural-urban influx. People with divergent cultural backgrounds converge in settlements majorly defined by economic authority. Here in such settlements, new culture is generated. Hence we see the emergence of new culture-areas. For the purposes of this study, Eastlands area constitutes a cultural-area of its right.

Most of the Nairobi youth are born and reared within this urban setting possessing its own culture. Unlike their parents who might partially be having cultural roots in the rural areas, the youth have no authentic cultural background and therefore tend to create or adopt new cultural elements to fill the yawning vacuum. ^{peer groups become their} Their main reference groups as well as their major source of security. Parental surveillance is very minimal as most of the time the parents are out on labour market while the youth are left to labour interact on their own either in their educational institutions or the settlement areas. As a result the socialisation element of culture between the parents and their children is minimal or virtually absent. The parents do not share their culture with their children. Culture therefore no longer becomes a social heredity. Since the youth have more time to themselves, they generate and share their own culture. Infact, the youth within their peer groups end up creating their own sub-culture.

My study among the adolescents of Eastlands area has the above understanding. Aesthetics being culture specific as per my earlier contention, my study among the Eastland area adolescent youth assumes that they (youth) have their own understanding and judgement of aesthetics within their own culture. I seek to understand how they conceptualise beauty in three major aesthetic areas:

Bookreading, Cinematography, and Music. I aim to know what constraints these youth. to make their aesthetic judgements. I also wish to reflect on the impact of their aesthetic judgement on their own general lifestyle.

The study eventually hopes to attract attention from those people in places of authority who can assist in defining the role of the youth in the Kenyan society particularly on what ought to be the acceptable definition of beauty among the youth - a definition which I believe can take proper form through a deliberate socialization process between members of the older generation and those of the younger generation.

FOOTNOTES TO STATEMENT OF PROBLEMS

1. Adamson Hoebel: "The Nature of Culture" in MAN, CULTURE AND SOCIETY Edited by Harry Shapiro, Oxford University Press, London, 1971 - pp. 208.
2. George M. Foster. TRADITIONAL CULTURES: AND THE IMPACT OF TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGE, Harper and Row, New York 1965 pp. 11.
3. Marc Swartz and David Jordan, ANTHROPOLOGY: PERSPECTIVE ON HUMANITY, John Wiley and Sons Inc., Toronto, 1976 - pp. 3.
4. Ralph Linton, THE STUDY OF MAN, D. Appleton - Century Company Inc., 1936 - pp. 78.
5. "New Columbia Encyclopedia," Columbia University Press New York, 1975 pp. 26.
6. Johnson R.V., AESTHETICISM, Methuen and Company Limited, London, 1969 pp. 3.

VI. LITERATURE REVIEW

The theme culture, aesthetics and the youth does not seem to auger well with writers. The reason for this lack of enthusiasm on the subject may be attributed to the conventional conception of aesthetics; a conception that may not be consonant with the youth holding such values and judgements. An indepth analysis of both the orthodox and unorthodox term of aesthetics will appear later in the course of this study.

The term 'culture' has been defined in many ways. Kroeber and Kluckhohn¹ analyse over one hundred and fifty definitions of the culture concept. For the purposes of this study a few relevant definitions may be observed.

Clyde Kluckhohn² sees culture as something learned by people as a result of belonging to some particular group. He further sees the learned behaviour as shared by others. Conclusively Kluckhohn says that culture is the social legacy as contrasted to the organic heredity.

Emphasis should be placed in Kluckhohn's notion of the importance of a group in the existence of culture. It is from the group phenomono that we can reflect on individual's culture. It is this particular group that constantly and cumulatively influences an individual's behaviour, norms and values. And to be a member of the particular group, the individual has to share with the group whatever he has got

VIII

from it.

The idea of culture as a social legacy which is lightly touched by Kluckhohn becomes the most emphatic point in Linton's³ conception of culture. Infact Linton defines culture in general terms as "the total social heredity of mankind." In specific terms, culture to Linton means a "Particular strain of social heredity."

Social heredity is therefore the central theme in Lintons' definition of culture. Culture is thus seen as a social invention. Leslie White⁴ calls it extra-somatic. By this, White means that culture is non-biological. Murdock contends that "biological factors influence culture only in so far as they affect the conditions under which learning occurs"⁵ The dismissal of the biological entity in the formation of culture hence cancels instincts, intuitions innate reflexes and any other biologically inherited forms of behaviour. These cannot be said to be cultural as they are inherent in individuals, are not socially created and hence not shared with members of a social group.

Swartz and Jordan⁶ are in harmony with the notion of culture as shared ways of believing. They also agree that each human group has its own distinctive culture which provides the basis for the way group members make their living, relate to one another and outsiders, deal with the ultimate and all other aspects of the groups way of the life. For

Swartz and Jordan the sharing of culture is done not only from one person to person within a group but it is also passed from generation to generation. We can therefore safely conclude that culture is transmitted both horizontally (from person to person) and vertically (from generation to generation).

This study looks at the Eastlands adolescent youth as constituting a social group. With the assumption that their parents, parental surrogates or guardians play a minimal role in passing culture to the youth, the study therefore further assumes that the youth generate their own culture which is, transmitted or shared horizontally, among themselves. It is within this Eastlands youth culture that we intend to identify their beauty judgement in certain aesthetic areas.

According to the Encyclopedia of Social Sciences,⁷ aesthetics is the study of mans behaviour and experience in creating art, in perceiving and understanding art, and in being influenced by art. The statement further stipulates work in aesthetics as principally concerned with music literature and the visual arts. My study is essentially within the confines of the three areas.

Johnson⁸ makes a modification on this definition: a modification that is more precise. He says that aestheticism

means a devotion to beauty primarily as found in the arts and in whatever is attractive in the world around us.

Kant⁹ called a judgement which pronounces a thing to be beautiful the judgement of taste. He said that our judgement of a thing being beautiful or ugly is the way in which our power of feeling is affected by the representation of the object. Therefore it becomes an emotive proposition, expressing feeling and not conceptual knowledge. Kant, as it has been argued, is one of the philosophers who tried to mediate between the two approaches of aesthetics: the objective and the subjective.¹⁰

The objective approach tries to fix precise conditions or properties in an object of aesthetics judgement. The approach in so doing reduce bona fide aesthetic judgements to a homogenous, easily managed group. Charlton¹¹ says that such an approach single out the one feature or at most two or three constituting aesthetic merit. All 'genuine' aesthetic judgement is then assessed by the prescribed feature(s). Charlton gives the example of one aesthetic scholar, Clive Bell, who, called the essential feature 'significant form' and held that unless an object had the 'significant form' then it was not to be judged aesthetically.

Professor Sibley is quoted as yet another scholar who seems to adopt a similar approach. He places no restriction on the number of features which may be ascribed in a genuine aesthetic judgement. He offers a rich vocabulary of expressions for them: unified, integrated, lifeless, Serene, Sombre, dynamics, powerful, vivid, delicate, moving and sentimental.¹²

Further conditions of making aesthetic judgement are given by Kant¹³. He held that an aesthetic judgement must have a peculiar freedom and disinterestedness. By saying that aesthetic appreciation is disinterested, Kant means that it is contemplative. Such an object causes satisfaction without reference to desire or the appetitive faculty. He differentiates that which causes desire with that causes satisfaction without desire. The former he calls pleasant and the latter beautiful. For Kant therefore, aesthetic judgement is indifferent to existence. For example if one looks at a point drawn on a piece of paper and appreciates its beauty, then that can be said to be an aesthetic judgement. But if he so desires to have the fruit and eat it, then his judgement can no longer be called aesthetic. Aesthetic judgement is supposed, to hold a degree of idleness and disinterestedness.

Kant's contention finds support from Reid.¹⁴ Reid says that a work of art is a highly selective construction and the experienced of art is one which we become detached from ordinary practical ways of looking and thinking about things. The detachment is the condition of a new and unique kind of concrete experience - aesthetic experience - in which body, imagination, intellect and feeling are involved. Reid says for example that if one sees a cow in a field, it is enough for him to presume it to be a 'cow'. But if the person is looking with any aesthetic intelligence at a painting of a field with a cow in it, then the person sees not a field with a cow in it, but a pattern of pigments to which he has no practical relations with. If the picture looks too real i.e. like a real cow and field so that the person starts thinking of the real cow and field, this will be an obstacle for the person in trying to look at the picture as aesthetically as he ought to.

However such arguments aimed at giving objects of aesthetic certain properties and conditions have been countered.

Charlton¹⁵ says that today the opinion is gaining ground that all these efforts are misguided : that there is no single feature which makes a situation aesthetic, no single criteria by which we can recognize aesthetic judgements. Charlton gives this example: that suppose he likes adventure stories because they thrill him, and you tell

him that such stories are not the concern of an aesthetician; aren't you being unfair to him by trying to impose your own judgements on what you think is fair to his judgement?

Sprague and Taylor¹⁶ say that not all philosophers have argued that all works of art are good to everyone. They say that the questions to be asked are: found by whom to be beautiful? And found to be beautiful under what conditions? They further say that the relativity of taste has been cited by some philosophers as a reason why we should consider beauty to be subjective rather than objective. Beauty, it is said, is in the beholder but not the object beheld. Therefore to talk of an object being beautiful is not to assert some properties in the object itself, but it is to assert that someone enjoys looking at it. Hence, the same work may be both beautiful and not beautiful at the same time, since one person may be responding to it positively and another one responding to it negatively. Sprague and Taylor thus conclude that where there are cultural differences, variation in the experience of beauty is often extreme. They ask for example if Beethovens "First Sympany", a musical classical thought to possess aesthetic value by some cultural group, also have the same value in other groups?.

The "Encyclopedia of Social Sciences" also looks at the question of University Versus cultural relativity in aesthetics. Irvin Child¹⁷ writing the article, hopes that with new concepts and techniques available a new attack on the problem of Universal Versus Cultural relativity in meaning will be launched. He agrees that in some Studies Connotative meaning of concepts is constant from one culture to another. He however laments that this work has not been oriented to aesthetics and thus provides no knowledge about cross-cultural variation in Connotative meaning of works of art and little about their elements.

William Pater¹⁸ is more candid in putting his point clear. He points blankly says that beauty is relative. It should therefore be defined in the most concrete terms possible - not in the abstract terms. He formulates the role of the true student of aesthetics as being that of finding the beauty formula which expresses most adequately its manifestations, but not to strive for its universal formula.

David Dorsey¹⁹ writing on Black Aesthetics, gives a rather realistic approach of aesthetics. He defines aesthetics as "the Syndrome of factors within a work of art which govern the audience's perception of an appreciation of the work, whether consciously or unconsciously." He says that an element may be present and sought in one aesthetic and yet expunged in another one. For example, in most African and African-American musical performances active audience participation is encouraged. However this, he says,

is excoriated in Western music. I add that, no wonder Beethoven's 'First Symphony which is more contemplative than involve the audience, is not quite popular with Africans.

Dorsey goes on to say that the audience is the arbiter not the subject. This is because external sociological conditions influence the audience's perception and choice. He however says that once a particular audience's tastes are catalogued, it becomes a useful exercise in anthropology politics or ethics to try explaining external, social causes of the aesthetic. He gives the example of the universal appeal of rock-and-roll music to urban youth which may be a reflection of similarities in the quality of life for youth in all the world's cities.

The cities have definitely an impact on the development of the adolescent. Douvan and Adelson²⁰ say that the suburban and the rural environments have the most comprehensive impact on adolescents than any simple density factor. The two represent separate and coherent cultures with distinctive styles of family life and child raising. The two further add that adolescents in large cities spend less congenial family relationships. That they are most often rebellious or overdependent on family authority. Parents do not have the closer control of adolescent activity. The child spends more of his free time beyond the range of

control of parents and parent surrogates. Douvan and Adelson remark that cities are not designed for children and perhaps that is why the children are in a hurry to arrive at adulthood.

Wattenberg²¹ too underscores the role of parents in shaping the behaviour, attitudes and values of the youth. He sets off to remind his readers that a culture becomes part of each person through the day after day contact with everyone he meets who belongs to that culture. The pre-occupation of being grown ups starts strongly in adolescence. Therefore a culture reaches teenagers in the form of the customary actions of the grown ups generally, as exemplified by parents. Wattenberg gives other strong conveyors of the youth culture as institutions, mass communication and media organized youth groups and informal peer groups.

Sherif and Sherif²² adds to this list. Constricted family finances, ones station in life relative to others, and the location of the dwellings are cited. The Sherifs say that it is in the family that the child forms his first sense of values. The home is not only an experience defining agency, it is also a status defining agency. As a member of a family a child takes on the taste and class of his parents, their socio-economic status define him to others, while from the viewpoint of this status, he in turn

defines them. Many of his attitudes, interests, values, activities are based upon the family socio-economic position in the community.

In another context Sherif and Sherif²³ say that during the adolescent period agemates in general and ones associates in particular become major reference groups for the individual. When a youth interacts with others of his own choosing in patterned relationships, he takes part in developing its 'customs' its 'traditions' and stabilizing common evaluations of other people.

Wattenberg²⁴ says that actions and ideas are shaped by the character of the neighbourhood in which the youth dwell. Because families of similar status tend to live near each other, the values associated with social or economic status will often permeate a neighbourhood. The people develop a way of life which they share with the immediate neighbours. Hence this gives emergence to sub-cultures. Watterberg alludes that neighbourhoods may alter the intimate lives of families residing in them. For example, the size of dwelling units affect both the size of families and the amount of friction in them. Overcrowding causes friction and forces children to get away from home as much as they can. As a consequence, they often run unsupervised. Due to lack of privacy, they came into

contact with all aspects of adult Living Remmers and Shimberg²⁵ in their research conclude that in general there is more friction reported by youngsters from low-income families. Friction in the high income families is sometimes produced by the efforts of parents to push their children to place more pressure on schooling and to exercise supervision over driving and dating.

Virtually all literature observed refers to the youth culture in Western Societies. A look at aesthetics in the Kenyan specifically Eastlands urban society will therefore constitute a comparative analysis with what has been observed in the Western urban centre.

FOCUS OF STUDY

My study is limited to three facets of youth aesthetics. The limit owes to the short period in which the research was expected to be concluded. The study is therefore confined to the following areas:

- i) **Music:** There is a large assortment of music if music has to be seen in its particularities: Traditional music, gospel, rock, gospel, blues classicals, and the modern African music. My classification of music is in three major categories; Gospel music, modern African music and Western Music. The study looks at the Youths' taste in the music listened and danced to what characteristics they look for in music and some of their favourite music artistes.
- ii) **Cinematography:** This represents all motion pictures. As in the assortment of music, there is a large variety of motion-pictures. They range from the horror, detective, sex, science fiction, comedies to adverts and documentaries. My classification is into the Suspense Thrillers, Religious, Sex, Romantic, or "Any Other" motion pictures. Yet again the study looks at what impresses the youth in the movies and who their movie stars are. These will define their sort of tastes in the Cinematography.

- iii) Book-reading: Here again we find a large variety of books: academic and intellectual stimulating, religious, thrillers, romantic, horror, and science fiction. My concern is with what the youth read as pass-time. The study classifies the type of books into Suspense Thrillers, Romantic, Religious and "Any Other" books read.

Eventually, the study correlates the three aspects of aesthetics and attempts to establish the Youth aesthetic judgements.

STATEMENT OF THE HYPOTHESES

The study is centered around the following hypotheses:

1) That aestheticism among the adolescent youth of Eastlands area is concretised among other things, through the films they watch, the music they listen and dance to, and the literature they read. These in turn are determined and constrained by several things. Among them are the schools they attend, their religious strength, the location of their residence, their educational level and their Parents/Parental Surrogates Socio-economic status.

2) That the adolescents of Eastlands area manifest their aesthetics concretely through dress/dressing and behaviour patterns. These are the Projections of what was internalised in the film, music and book cultures.

FOOTNOTES TO LITERATURE REVIEW

1. Kroeber A.L. and Clyde Kluckhohn "CULTURE: A CRITICAL REVIEW OF CONCEPTS AND DEFINITIONS, (Cambridge University Press).
2. Richard Kluckhohn (Ed.) CULTURE AND BEHAVIOUR, Collected Essays of Clyde Kluckhohn, The Free Press, New York, 1962 - pp. 25.
3. Ralph Linton, THE STUDY OF MAN, D. Appleton. Century Company Inc., 1936, pp. 78
4. Leslie White: "The Evolution of Culture" in CULTURE AND SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY - Edited by Peter Hammond, McMillan, Company, New York, 1969 pp. 406.
5. In MAN, CULTURE AND SOCIETY edited by Harry Shapiro, Oxford University Press, London, 1971 pp. 208.
6. Marc Swartz and David Jordan: ANTHROPOLOGY: PERSPECTIVE ON HUMANITY. John Wiley and Sons Inc., New York, 1976, pp. 3.
7. ENCYCLOPEDIA OF SOCIAL SCIENCES VOL. PP. 116.
8. Johnson R.V., AESTHETICISM, Methuen and Company Ltd., London, 1969 pp. 3.
9. In A HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY VOL. 6, Modern Philosophy Part II by Copleston Fredrick, Image Books Edition, New York, 1964.
10. New COLUMBIA ENCYCLOPEDIA, Columbia University Press, New York, 1975.

11. Charlton, AESTHETICS, An INTRODUCTION; Hutchinson University Library, London, 1970.
12. Ibid.
13. Copleston Op. Cit.
14. Louis Arnand Reid; WAYS OF KNOWLEDGE AND EXPERIENCE, George Allen and Unwin Limited, London 1961 pp. 36-37.
15. Charlton, Op. Cit.
16. Sprague and Taylor KNOWLEDGE AND VALUE, New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1959
17. ENCYCLOPEDIA OF SOCIAL SCIENCES; Vol. 1 pp. 119.
18. In Johnson Op. Cit., pp. 3.
19. Gurr A and Pio Zrimu (Ed.) BLACK AESTHETICS; East African Literature Bureau, Nairobi 1973, pp. 7-9.
20. Elizabeth Douvan and Joseph Adelson "THE ADOLESCENTS EXPERIENCE, " John Wiley and Sons Inc., New York, 1966.
21. William Wattenberg, THE ADOLESCENT YEARS, Harcourt Brace and World Inc., New York, 1955.
22. Sherif Muzaffer and Sherif Grolyn "PROBLEMS OF YOUTH" Aldine Publishing House, Chicago, 1965.

23. Sherif Muzafer and Sherif Carolyn, 'REFERENCE GROUPS'
Harper and Row Publishers, New York, 1964.
24. Wattenberg Op. Cit.
25. H.H. Fenners and Benjamin Shimberg in Wattenberg
Op. Cit.

METHODOLOGYa) Site Selection:

Generally speaking Eastlands area in Nairobi refers to the human settlement area in the eastern part of Nairobi but within the city. The Nairobi residents however know Eastlands area as certain specific conglomeration of estates located in the eastern part of Nairobi city and famous (or notorious) for their distinct culture. The three estates of Jerusalem, Jericho and Uhuru form the core estates within this culture. Therefore, three reasons can be given for considering estates as constituting one area:

(i) That the residents of the three estates can be classified as belonging to the same income bracket and hence the aspirations, needs and values of the people found here can be said to be more or less homogenous.

(ii) Following this assumption, it is safe to conclude therefore that the culture of the adolescents from the three estates is similar. This, coupled with the fact that the three estates neighbour one another, makes it convenient for the youth staying here to be tackled as one group. It further facilitates the work of a researcher who will not have to segregate some members of an estate, found on a group, against the others.

(iii) Being the core of the Eastlands area, the youth from the three estates form the ideal representation of not only most youth from the entire Eastlands, but also other parts of Nairobi - most of the whom come from the likes of these estates and hence possessing more or less the same culture.

b) Sampling:

In my research I limited myself to the adolescents aged between 17 and 23 years of both sexes. Cantwell and Svajian¹ conceptualise adolescents as the youth of the age 12 through the early 20's. They described the upper limit of adolescence as defined by the "degree to which the individual has made psychosocial adjustments, vocational, educational, sexual, social, ideological commitments to identify him as an adult."

My sampling was constrained by two factors:

(i) At the time of my research, there was an atmosphere of fear especially among the primary and secondary school-going age, stemming from a rumour, true or false, that a band of well-dressed unsuspectable characters were removing the genitals of young boys and girls. I was therefore faced with a dual problem; that the young and rather immature boys and girls proved unapproachable as they suspected any stranger who made approaches to them; and

secondly, I feared for my own security and that of my research assistants for if the public had to be called to attention about "these strangers-" then with or without my Research Permit our lives would be at stake.

(ii) My interview with the first three young members below the age of fifteen proved futile as these respondents were inconsistent ~~ev~~asive and did not seem to identify their area of tastes. I therefore feared for the unreliability of my data if I had to continue with my data collection from the likes of that age.

Having ascertained that the population of the three estates is homogenous in terms of the youths' values, aspirations and needs; I proceeded to use the Random Probability sampling, technique. I however had to make sure that my respondents hailed from any of the three estates and that he/she was within the age limit of my research work.

My initial task concerned employing the services of Research Assistants from among the lot which was the target of my research. I succeeded in employing two High School leavers, a boy and a girl aged twenty one and nineteen, respectively. Both assistants were well versed in the lifestyle of the youth here.

My research took place during the month of July when schools are in session. There was therefore general inactivity on weekdays when a large cross-section of my respondents and potential respondents were out in their various educational institutions. I ensured that the weekends, when the school-goers were at home, are thoroughly utilised in obtaining data. Generally my programme was along this lines:

In the afternoons of the weekdays, I would move within the estates surveying the activities taking place there. This was done usually in the Company of my Research Assistants. At nightfall usually when most adolescents were back from institutions and an insignificant number from jobs; there would be a hey of activities along the estate lanes and shopping centres. Although I had made friends with some of the respondents, my role in most of their activities was that of the non-participant observer. I would take that opportunity in carrying out unstructured interviews.

On weekends when the air was heavy with activity, I took the opportunity to facilitate my research by administering questionnaires to respondents. In the two of the three weekends of my research, I had succeeded in having over 40 questionnaires answered. The questionnaires

constituted seventeen structured and unstructured questions. Credit should go to my Research Assistants who ensured that all questions were answered well and fast. I also made sure that I was around whenever and wherever the respondents answered the questionnaire.

Maybe due to the energy associated with adolescents, most youngsters were eager and overenthusiastic in answering questions, whether through the interviews or the questionnaires. I was also quite impressed by the genuineness of most of them when answering questions. A few however were overzealous and tried to exaggerate certain issues. I was careful about such respondents. Eventually, I ended up with forty perfectly ensured questionnaires. Sex and estate distribution was quite even. I had 20 males and 20 female respondents. 12 respondents came from Uhuru estate, 15 from Jericho and 13 from Jerusalem. Such cooperation facilitated my research which ended within two weeks.

Eastlands estates as the name suggests, are situated on the eastern direction of the Nairobi city. The three estates that are subject of this study: Uhuru, Jericho and Jerusalem are approximately less than ten kilometres from the city centre. The three are close neighbours and it is difficult to tell the demarcating lines if not for the different architectural structures. This is so particularly

between the Jericho and Jerusalem estates. Jericho and Jerusalem seem to have similar architectural Plan. However this applies only to particular phases of the estates.

Jericho estate is the largest of the three. As a whole the estate consists of 2 phases: Ofafa Jericho and Jericho Lumumba. It is spread in an area of approximately one and a half square kilometres. With Jerusalem, the two seem to be the oldest of the three estates.

The names of the two estates originate from the cities of Jericho and Jerusalem in the Middle East.

comparatively Jerusalem is relatively the smallest of the three estates. Uhuru is fairly large and has four phases: Uhuru Phase 1, Phase 2, Phase 3 and Phase 4. Uhuru Estate specifically the phase 3 and 4 look of more recent origin.

Jerusalem and Ofafa Jericho are all storeyed flats. Jerusalem for example has 62 blocks of flats with Jericho having even more. However Jericho Lumumba does not have storeyed structures. Phases three and four of Uhuru Estate are not storey buildings. The interior designs of all the residential buildings in the three estates are of small congested rooms. Each residential unit generally constitutes two small bedrooms, a small kitchen, sitting room and a bathroom and water closet toilet. However the physical designs vary with the estates and phases. Jerusalem estate has a total of 633 units, Jericho (Ofafa and Lumumba) has

an astronomical figure of over 1000 units. The four phases of Uhuru estate in total seem to rival Jericho in terms of units. However the number of units was not specified to me.¹

The three estates were build and owned by the former Nairobi City Council, now the Nairobi City Commission. As for now Jericho, Jerusalem and Uhuru phases one and two are still owned by the City Commission. However Uhuru Phase three and four are tenant purchased. The rent paid in the City Commission houses are between Ksh 260/- to KSh.300/- per month. The houses are thus meant for the use of the low income families. However Uhuru Phase 3 and 4 which are tenant purchased can go as much as Kshs 1000/- per month.

The trios neighbouring Estates are Buruburu, Kimathi, Harambee, Bahati and Maringo. Buruburu, Kimathi and Harambee are mainly occupied by the middle income class. However Bahati and Maringo, like Jericho, Jerusalem and Uhuru Phases one and two are occupied by the relatively low-income class. The trio estates residents seem to interact much with their neighbours.

Each estate is served with a shopping centre. Each shopping centre has an average number of about fifteen shops. In a single shopping centre one finds two or three well-stocked shops selling essential commodities, one or two butcheries, two or so bars complete. with lodging facilities

two or three eating places, one tailoring shop- while other tailors plus cobblers line along the shop verandahs; and finally an open-air market selling horticultural products. The arrangement is one typically found in the rural areas. The stalls and shops in the shopping centre are privately proprietored. There is one large enclosed market the likes of municipal markets in the middle towns, which serves the estates plus other neighbouring estates like Buruburu and Harambee.

Within the three estates there are a total of about two primary schools. However within the neighbouring estates there are about three or 50 primary schools. Children from the trio estates usually attend the schools within their area and in the neighbouring estates. All these schools were built by the then Nairobi City Council. One nursery build by the council also exists within Jericho estate.

One secondary school is in existent in the area and located within Jericho estate. The school too was built by the City Council. However their exists two other Secondary Schools that are privately owned and City Council owned - in the neighbouring schools. Although the secondary schools serve students all over the City, a good number of young people from the estates attend these schools. All the schools are Day Schools and two of the Secondary

schools are mixed. Other young people of school going age find their way in other usually inexpensive schools within the city.

Due to the density of population in the eastern part of the city in general and in the Eastlands area in particular, the area is served with several city buses which ferry commuters to and fro their working places, and school goes in their various institutions out of the estates. Although the buses serving the area are many and appear quite frequently, the travellers in and out of the estates seem to have outnumbered the comfortable usefulness of the buses. The supplementary "Matatus" do not seem to have made any significant changes.

Recreational facilities aren't many and varied as to serve the residents sufficiently and satisfactorily. There is one cinema theatre - Eastlands Cinema. However, this theatre is located in the neighbouring Maringo Estates, and film goes from the trio estates / have to travel to a distance of between 3/4's of a kilometre to 2 kilometres to reach the place. However the residents are treated to open-air cinema-the courtesy of the Kenya Film Corporation. The Jericho Social Hall, the only social hall around hosts other recreational activities, limited though they may be. Boxing tournaments seem to be the

XXXIV

major activities held in the hall. On Weekends football matches which usually attract large crowds are held at the Playground ^{of} /_any of the schools in the estates. The young men in the estates seem to have organised themselves well into football teams basically on estate lines - each with a following of ardent fans. And it becomes a pleasure to watch the teams playing with their critical yet sentimental fans off the pitch.

FOOTNOTES TO METHODOLOGY

1. Cantwell and Svajian (ed) ADOLESCENCE STUDIES
IN DEVELOPMENT: F. E. Peacock, Itasca,
1974.
2. Interview with the Estate Officer of
Jerusalem; Uhuru and Kimathi.

CHAPTER 1AESTHETIC APPRECIATION: IS IT UNIVERSAL?

Aestheticism as a science belongs conventionally to the discipline of philosophy. The philosophy of aesthetics began in the 19th Century.¹ Before the existence of the name, the reflection upon beauty and fine art had long started among the Hellenic thinkers as early as the time of socrates, if not earlier. As a science, aesthetics in itself is the science of the beautiful.²

'Beauty' defined has had no universal acceptance. Among the ancients the fundamental theory of the beautiful was connected with the notions of rythmn, symmetry and harmony of Parts.³ Edmund Burke defines beauty as"..... some quality in bodies, acting mechanically upon the human mind by the intervention of the senses"⁴ And shaftesbury in "Characteristics III" said that:

"What is beautiful is harmonious and proportionable, what is harmonious and proportionable is TRUE and what is at once both beautiful and TRUE is a consequence agreeable and good"⁵

Aesthetic has often been seen primarily in the works of art. The classical conception of art as the imitation of nature was formulated by plato and further developed by Aristotle in "Poetics." Other philosophers like Kant, Schelling, Croce and Cassirer emphasized the creative and symbolic aspects of arts.⁶

Some of the major theories held in the mid 15th century were those which connected beauty with proportion, those which connected beauty with fitness, and those which connected beauty with goodness and perfection. These theories had existed since the platonic times.

One version of the proportionist theory originated with the pythagoras discovery that musical intervals depended on certain mathematical ratios of lengths of strings held at the same tension, which ratios were later held to be applicable to the other arts. Another version of the theory originated with the Greeks in Plato's "Philebus" where socrates affirms the presence of natural and absolute beauty in regular lines and figures. These resulted in the emergence among Greek Sculptors and painters a belief in proportion and symmetry, which led in turn to the search for the perfectly proportioned human form.⁷

This analogy between the proportions of the building and those of the human body had been widely acclaimed.

Michelangelo for example asserted:

"It is also certain, that the members of architecture have a reference to those human body, and he who does not understand the human figures and particularly anatomy, can know nothing of the subject."⁸

The fitness theory was central to Hogarth's theory of beautiful. For Hogarth, if any object lacks the 'fitness' quality, then the object cannot be rightly termed 'beautiful.' Such were the precise conditions, qualities and characteristics that were associated with an object of aesthetic value.

It is noticeable that most early theorists treated aesthetic beauty in the same class as moral beauty. That aside, aesthetic beauty was also given intellectual endowment hence Shaftesbury's definition that 'beauty is TRUE.' Admittedly moral beauty is less a subjective matter. It can therefore be said to be 'true'. But saying the same of aesthetic beauty is contestable. In saying that beauty or aesthetic experience is contemplative and needs some high sense of perception, the theorists were thus exalting aesthetic experience as an exceptional intellectual experience. Consequently, beauty was seen as something detached, idle, and true, which can only be reached through some unique type of experience: the aesthetic experience.

Plato for example said that the 'true lover of beauty was on the same level with the philosopher. He further conceptualises beauty as the 'object of educated love.'⁹ It has also been suggested that Aristotle's interest in beauty was mainly educational.¹⁰ He regarded education as incomplete without an attempt to develop true aesthetic perception.

Such views aimed at universalizing beauty ran into trouble with other later theorists; examples whom were Bacon, Locke, Hume, Berkeley, Rousseau, Burke, and Pater. This "Individual School" started rather from the individual feeling or individual sense perception.¹¹ The "Individual School" which can be rightly called the empirical School, can be said to have been espousing the principle that 'my thought involves my existence.' While the "universal School" objected the experience of pleasure in an aesthetic experience, the "Individual School" heralded it. David Hume¹² for example said that beauty "... is fitted to give a pleasure and satisfaction to the soul ----- Pain and Pleasure therefore are not only necessary attendants of beauty and deformity, but constitute their very essence." Hume further clearly says that beauty arises from utility which does not only concern the spectator whose sense of beauty is awakened but only the owner or person immediately affected by the real properties of the object.

Edmund Burke refutes the analogy that proportions of architecture are based on those of the human body:

"In the first place, men are rearely seen in this strained posture (with arms raised and extended at full length), it is not natural to them, neither is it becoming".¹³

Burke claims that beauty makes an immediate impact on emotions. He rejects the conception that beauty is contemplative and ascertains that it (beauty) is not to be identified with "mere approbation;"

It is not by the force of long attention and enquiry that we find any object to be beautiful, beauty demands no assistance from our reasoning....."¹⁴

One other theorist, Addison went as far as remarking that animals possess a sense of beauty.¹⁵ He speaks of sexual beauty and affirms that each species has its own type of attractiveness. This contention found criticism from other scholars, Burke included. Burke was however later to be accused of having the idea of female beauty uppermost in his mind.¹⁶

Both the "Universal School" and "Individual Schools" found culmination in the works of Emmanuel Kant.¹⁷ Kant tried to harmonise the ideas of the two schools. Kant called the aesthetic judgement, the judgement of taste. Already the term "taste" connotes subjectivity. He tried to present the distinction between that which is pleasant and that which is beautiful. The pleasant gratifies inclination or desire. It is experienced by both men and animals. The beautiful simply pleases, without any intrinsic reference to inclination or desire. It is experienced only by rational beings, but not by all. This contention is closer

to the platonic and Aristotlæic conception. If one says that a thing is beautiful, he tacitly means that it is beautiful for all. But a pleasant thing can be so to an individual.

Of late there is gaining need to look at aesthetics from a cultural context. The emergence of Black Aesthetic can be traced within this context. A black aesthetic is defined as "the syndrome of internal factors governing a black audience's perception and appreciation of a work of art."¹⁸

The study at hand takes this stand. It assumes the existence of a youth culture and hence the existence of specified aesthetic judgement within that culture. In so doing the study will be less guided by the classical theorists of aesthetics and seek approach the subject on a more concrete line.

Aestheticism should not be seen as a monopoly of philosophy. Beauty is an aspect of culture. The concept of beauty exists universally, in all cultures. Beauty is therefore, in anthropological terms, culture - universal. However, specific cultural groups have their particular beauty judgements. In this case we refer to the youth culture of Eastlands area. It is within this Cultural group that we attempt to establish their beauty judgements.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 1

1. Johnson, R.V. AESTHETICISM, Methuen and Co. Ltd., London, 1969. Basanquet however says that it was not before the latter half of the 18th century that the term "Aesthetic" was adopted. See Bernard Bosanquet "A History of Aesthetic George Allen and Unwin Ltd., New York, 1966 - pp. 1.
2. Bosanquet op. cit.
3. Ibid.
4. Edmund Burke: A PHILOSOPHICAL ENQUIRY INTO THE ORIGIN OF OUR IDEAS OF THE SUBUME AND BEAUTIFUL, " Edited by James Boulton, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1958 pp. 1 x1
5. In Burke op. cit. pp.1x111.
6. New Columbia Encyclopedia. Columbia University Press, New York and London, 1975.
7. Burke Op. cit.
8. Ibid.
9. Burke Op. Cit.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid.
15. Ibid

16. Ibid.
17. Fredrick Copleston: " A HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY VOL.6
Modern Philosophy Part II KANT," Image
Books Edition, 1964.
18. Andrew Gurr and P.O. Zirimu (Ed.) "BLACK AESTHETICS,"
East African Literature Bureau, Nairobi
1973 - pp. 7.

CHAPTER 2

THE ADOLESCENT VALUE AND APPRECIATION OF THE CINEMA

The cinema is an entirely new art. Its recent emergence has posed a challenge to the study of aesthetics. Peter Wollen¹ says that it is difficult to think of an event so momentous as the emergence of a new art. As a result Wollen concludes that many writers on aesthetics have refused the cinema any status at all. Possible exceptions named are Pudovkin, Eisenstein and Welles.

The cinema taken in its totality constitutes the moving pictures or what is popularly known in American circles as Motion Pictures. Broadly speaking, these includes all films screened through the Television Screens the cinema theatres and the more recent technology of video films. The conventional understanding of motion pictures are those films - "Hollywood like" acted and meant for the consumption, mainly entertainment, of the audience. The word 'movies' which stands for such films can rightly be said the shortening of 'moving-pictures.'

The purposes for movies are varied. They could be educative, informative, propagandist or just for entertainment. But most researchers and scholars are agreed that whatever the objectives, movies have significant impact on an individual's personality. Cinemas should be seen therefore as mass communication systems. Their results on the audience can be visible right from the moment of viewing: the cries of horror, the weeping, the applause.

A member of a movie audience should not be seen as a passive recipient to whatever is happening on the screen. Perkins calls the movie audience "Participant Observers."³ The audience should be seen as interacting with the actors or actresses. He identifies with some of them and rejects others. In identifying with them, he uses them to project his emotions, pleasures and needs. The audience is deeply engulfed and immersed in whatever is happening on the screen.

The atmosphere surrounding film watching is convenient and welcoming for such immersion. The audience is psychologically tuned for such a situation. This is so especially in the movie-theatres than in watching television at home. Television viewed at home and in some light operates in a familiar and visible physical environment carrying with it connotations of our everyday life. Not so in a cinema hall. The physical environment is strange and rather mysterious. The place is perennially dark but for some dim lights put on for identification of seats. Otherwise only staff of such theatres are best suited to tell the architectural and other physical structural plan of the theatre. The whole movie experience is therefore like a pre-hypnotic state on the part of the audience.

At this stage the audience is able to identify with particular characters. The audience cumulatively favours particular movie-stars and distastes others. It projects its desires and frustrations into this intimately accepted character. The character becomes the idol and the ideal figure of the audience. The idolisation and idealisation is characteristic of the young audience. One observation puts it that it is this idealisation of the movie-star that is a source of the audiences' fashion, style of dress, smoking, lovemaking and the rest.⁴ And according to the same observation, female audience more often fall prey to these projections than are their male counterparts. One reason given for projection being mainly a feminine trait is that the society in question (the English Society) provides a different socialisation experience to girls than that given to boys.

Tudor⁵ asserts that it is during the adolescence that audiences are most likely to grasp, at the models provided by the star-system as a way of forming a sense of identity and a social reality. His study reveals that a large proportion of fans appear to admire stars of their own sex and hence his conclusion that they tend to identify themselves with the stars and thus attempt to imitate them.

Statistical information from some British data show that adolescents between 16-24 years are the most regular cinema goers. The information also shows that most regular movie-goers attend the cinemas in company, though more women appear to do so than men. However, the information rejects a popular notion that women attend movies more often than men.⁶

In Nairobi, over fourteen cinema theatres can be located half of them being in the city centre. Two of them are however open air Drive-in theatres. The theatres out of the city centre are meant for the entertainment of the people in the residential estates. For example Eastlands area is served by the Eastlands cinema. A large percentage of the cinema theatres are privately propietered. Of the theatres three seem quite popular with most young film-goers. One of them the Nairobi Cinema, is government owned. The other two are run by the International Fox-theatres. These are the Kenya Cinema and the 20th Century Cinema. Incidentally the three charge the highest door entrance rates. Three reasons can be advanced for their popularity; that they offer comfortable facilities, that they show the newest films in the city, that they are identified with the 'respectable' class of society. The two latter reasons seem most plausible.

A quick aerial glance at the rooftops of the Eastlands area residential buildings is enough to tell one that Television sets are scantily found. Of the three estates studied, Uhuru Estate seems to have a larger share of the generally few television sets to be found here. After such conclusions one needs to take less pains in remarking that Video Cassettes are virtually absent here. Considering the income bracket in which most residents of the area fall vis-a-vis the sour price of a video cassette and its congruent colour television at best, the foregone remark seems safely made. Faced with such a situation, most Eastlands area youth movie revellers satiate their needs in cinema theatres.

A large percentage of the adolescent movie-goers interviewed said that they prefer watching movies in the Nairobi Cinema, Kenya Cinema and the 20th Century Cinema - earlier classified as the most popular theatres in the city. However they submitted that they did watch films in the Eastlands cinema - but only "good films." This could mean the films of their taste. Most males said that they preferred watching movies with the female sex. Infact for them, most of their dating places with the opposite sex is preferably the movie theatres.

The female respondents were less emphatic on this point most of them said that they did not mind watching movies with whichever sex. They most agreed that males date them in the movie theatres.

Of the total of 40 respondents interviewed , 20 said that they did watch movies. Thus 50% of the respondents were movie-goers.

Table 1:1 shows the sex distribution of the movie-goers. Of the total 20 respondents who go to the movies, the percentage of the females who attended the movies were more than the males by 10%. The statistics therefore reaffirm the popular belief that females attend movies in bigger numbers than the males and hence rejects Tudor's contention earlier referred, that such a belief is untrue. This however is not synonymous to saying that the females adolescents attend the movies more often than the males. The reverse might be the happening.

SEX DISTRIBUTION OF THE ADOLESCENT MOVIE-GOERS

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Female Movie-goers	11	55%
Male Movie-goers	9	45%
Total	20	100%

TABLE 1:1

Table 1:1 refers to the total respondents who go to the movies or watch movies at any given moment. Table 1:2 represents the sex distribution of those respondents who watch movies but who take movie-watching as their favourite pass-time activity. Asked to rank their favourite pass time activities, only 6 respondents of the 20 respondents chose movie-watching as their favourite pass-time activity.

SEX DISTRIBUTION OF THE ADOLESCENTS WHO RANKED
MOVIE-WATCHING AS FAVOURITE ACTIVITY:

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Female Movie-goers	3	50%
Male Movie-goers	3	50%
TOTAL	6	100%

Table 1:2

Table 1:3 represents the percentage of the six respondents against the total movie-watchers and against the total respondents. Table 1:2 tells that though the number of female movie goers is more than that of the males as shown in Table 1:1, the percentage of the female movie goers who take to the activity as their favourite pass-time is equal to that of the male movie-goers.

PERCENTAGE OF THE ADOLESCENTS WHO RANKED MOVIE-
WATCHING AS FAVOURITE ACTIVITY OF THE TOTAL MOVIE-
GOERS AND TOTAL RESPONDENTS:

	Of the total Movie-goers		of the total
	No	%	respondents
Female Percentage	3	15%	7.5%
Male Percentage	3	15%	7.5%
Total	6	30%	15%

Table 1:3

Compared to figures found in data elsewhere, the Eastlands area adolescents who attend movies at any given moment is relatively lower. Compare the Eastlands area statistics of 50% total movie-goers with the British data⁷ in Table 1:4 obtained in 1968. The figures show that the percentage of the British adolescents (Age 16-24 (who attend movies at any given moment (Regularly, occasionally and Infrequently) is higher than the Eastlands area adolescents by 39%.

	16-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Cinema going Regularly	19	5	2	2	1	2
Occasionally and Infrequently	70	67	57	45	31	19
Never	10	27	41	54	70	79

Table 1:4

On the tastes of the movies, the twenty respondents who watch motion pictures at any given moment were asked the type of films which they liked. Four classifications of films were proposed to them: Suspense Thrillers like the James Bond films, Romantic movies, Religious movies, sex movies, or any other type of movies not catalogued here. Table 1:5 stands for the tastes of movies of the respondents. A single individual could have tastes of all the four classifications. Plus any others. The table thus suggests that most numbers of the Eastlands youth adolescents have tastes for the suspense Thrillers types of movies. The type of films classified as "Suspense Thrillers" are those whose substance essentially connotes violence. Table 1:6 shows a larger percentage of the males watch the Suspense Thriller movies than are the females. Table 1:7 infact shows that all the males who watch Suspense Thrillers have the highest taste in the type of movies. The table also shows that a majority of the respondents who watch movies have their highest taste

MOVIE-TASTES OF THE RESPONDENTS:

	Number	Percentage
Suspense Thrillers	13	28.9%
Romantic Movies	9	20 %
Religious Movies	7	15.6%
Sex Movies	5	11.1%
Comedies	9	20 %
Musical Movies	2	4.4%
TOTAL	45	100 %

TABLE 1:5

SEX DISTRIBUTION OF THE TASTES OF MOVIES

SEX	Suspense Thrillers		Romantic Movies		Religious Movies		Sex Movies		Comedies		Musical Movies	
	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
Males	7	53.8	4	44.4	2	28.6	3	60	5	55.6	2	100
Females	6	46.2	5	55.6	5	71.4	2	40	4	44.4	0	0
TOTAL	13	100	9	100	7	100	5	100	9	100	2	100

TABLE 1:6

HIGHEST TASTES OF THE ADOLESCENT MOVIE-GOERS

SEX	Suspense Thrillers		Romantic Movies		Religious Movies		Sex Movies		Comedies		Musical Movies	
	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
Males	7	58.3	1	25	0	0	0	0	1	50	0	0
Females	5	41.7	3	75	1	100	1	100	1	50	0	0
Total	12	100	4	100	1	100	1	100	2	100	0	0

Table 1:7

in the suspense Thrillers of films seem to be the most popular with the female respondents as portrayed on Table 1:7. Of the total 11 female respondents who watch movies at any given moment, 45.5% of them have highest taste for the Suspense Thrillers. For the male respondents, over 77% of them seem to have their highest taste in the Suspense Thrillers.

The Romantic movies seemed to be more popular with the females than were the males. Only one male respondent chose it as his favourite type of movie although a total of 4 did not mind watching such movies.

Although 2 males respondents agree to watching Religious movies at any one moment, none of the two could rate the movies as being their highest taste. Of the females only one of five respondents who watch Religious movies at any one moment took their type of movies as her favourite. Therefore, generally Religious movies seemed quite unpopular with the youth. One reason that may be advanced for their lack of appreciation is that they appear less in the Public theatres and can thus not be assessed satisfactorily. The most plausible reason however may be that the Eastlands youth are so much secularized that religion seems to play a minimal role in their lives.

Sex movies too seem to be regarded lowly by the youth. Of the total 3 male respondents who didn't mind watching such films, none was able to bid it for his highest taste. However of the two female respondents, one agreed to the sex movies as her highest taste.

Comedies and the Musical movies were not given special classifications. It came as a surprise therefore that comedies (and Romantic movies) were rated second to the suspense thrillers as the youths' general tastes of movies. However of the nine respondents who watched Comedies only two - one male and one female - regarded them as their highest tastes. And of the two respondents who chose musical movies, one seemed to be obsessed with what he called

'Cultural Music.' This was in reference to the Popular Rastafarian associated Reggae music. The young male respondent claimed to belong to a religion called "The Twelve Tribes of Israel" essentially a Rastafarian Religion. And so for him, Sun -splash movies which is a Reggae Extravaganza Musical film came as his only taste.

On the movie-stars, none of the respondents chose on the female stars as their heroine. When they were asked to give names of three of their favourite movie actors. Of the 10 female respondents who said that they do watch movies 7 were able to identify their favourite movie star(s). And of the 10 male respondents, 8 could identify their star(s). The female respondents in their total number were able to identify a total of 15 stars while their male counterparts identified 20 stars.

Table 1:8 represents the identification of stars. The table ably refutes Tudors⁸ contention that a large proportion of the audience seem to be fans of stars of their own sex.

THE ADOLESCENT MOVIE GOERS' CHOICE OF
FAVOURITE STARS.

Respondents Sex	Male Stars		Female Stars	
	No	%	No	%
Males	20	57.1	0	0
Females	15	42.9	0	0
TOTAL	35	100	0	0

Table 1:8

Table 1:9 represents the division of the local and foreign actors. The wide disparity tells that the adolescents of Eastlands area who go to the movies have better taste for the foreign actors than the local actors. The one

THE ADOLESCENTS' CHOICE BETWEEN THE LOCAL AND FOREIGN

ACTORS

	Number chosen	Percentage of total actors
Foreign actors	10	91%
Local actors	1	9%
TOTAL	11	100%

Table 1:9

local actor chosen was a popular television comedian. Table 1:10 shows that most movie-goers had better liking for the actors who play hero in the violent movies like the Suspense Thrillers. This further reaffirms the high taste of the movie-goers in the Suspense Thrillers. Apart from these, the only other actors chosen were those who acted in comedies. The actors in the sex, religious or romantic movies did not seem to have any favour.

THE ACTORS CHOSEN AND THEIR ROLES IN THE MOVIES

	Number chosen	Percentage of total actors
Violent actors	8	73%
Comedians	3	27%
TOTAL	11	100%

Table - 1:10

Table 1:11 represents the reasons given for the choice of the Movie- Stars. Thus most respondents seem to have been more impressed by the way the stars acted. This might mean that the local cinema actors do not measure to the standards of the foreign actors and hence make little impression on the movie-goers. Considering that local actors are not that professional as the foreign ones, this contention seems acceptable.

Table 1:11

REASONS FOR CHOICE OF THE ACTORS:

	<u>Number of respondents</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Actors Techniques	12	70%
Actors Appearance	3	18%
Other Reasons	2	12%
TOTAL	17	100%

Perkin's study earlier cited referred to movie audience in terms borrowed ^{from} the Sociological Methodological Studies, as 'Participant Observers.' The audience should not be referred merely as passive observers. They interact with the screen plays and end up projecting whatever internalised in the theatres. In so doing the audience are considered as having participated actively in the screen. In my own terms, I consider the audience as co-actors with the stars in the actual film. They are co-actors as they try to identify themselves with the actors-and according

Handel⁹ they idealise and idolise the characters in the movies. As co-actors the audience extends the 'acting' in their own environment and thus become 'stars' in their own way. Tudor¹⁰ associates this mostly with the young audience and says in addition that such strong identity with movie characters is a strong source of fashion, style of dress smoking, lovemaking and so on. Tudor captures his readers with a moving 'confession' from a nineteen year old girl which is worth rephrasing here.

"The settings of the love scenes always held my interest and I have always noted little tricks (which I have put into Practice) such as curling my boyfriend's hair in my fingers or stroking his face exactly as I have seen my screen favourites do in their love scenes, one of the first things I noticed was that an actress always closes her eyes when being kissed and I don't need to add that I copied that too."¹¹

In our literature Review Wattenberg says that a culture becomes part of each person through the day-after-day contact with everyone he/ she meets who belongs to that culture. Wattenberg adds that among those cultural operations that particularly affect teenagers are the mass-communication systems.¹² In a way, Perkins, Handel, Tudor and Wattenberg agreed that motion pictures have a strong impact in not only

changing an individual's personality, but even a social groups' cultural traits. And I concur with them. Before coming to the implication of this statement on the Eastlands youth culture, it is suffice to gange their beauty or aesthetic appreciation in the movie-world.

Table 1:5 shows that the most popular movies with the movie-goers are the suspense thrillers followed by Comedies and Romantic movies, then the Religious movies, and the Sex movies and finally the musical movies. Thus most movie goers feel alright while watching Suspense Thrillers. The type of movies are thus 'tasty' to both female and 'male ' film-goers. This notion is further cemented by Table 1:6 and 1:7. Both tables suggest that all male film-goers have their highest taste in the Suspense Thrillers. As for the female respondents, all but one had the highest taste in the type of films. The support of the Suspense Thrillers is further compounded in the choice of the movie-stars. 73% of the total number of movie-stars favoured were actors in the Suspense Thrillers.

The conclusion reached then is that the films are appreciated by the Eastland youth of Nairobi and hence considered most beautiful within their culture are Suspense Thrillers. From the responses got on the reasons for choice of favourite actors, the conclusion reached is that the Suspense Thrillers are appreciated for their substance:

the thrills of the actors, the violence involved, the
 Suspense; and hence capturing the young audience.

GENERAL AESTHETIC APPRECIATION OF MOVIES BY THE ADOLESCENTS

TYPE OF MOVIES	Male respondents		Female respondents		TOTAL	
	No	%	NO	%	NO.	%
Suspense Thrillers	7	30.4	6	27.3%	13	28.9%
Romantic Movies	4	17.4	5	22.7	9	20 %
Comedies	5	21.7	4	18.2	9	20 %
Religious movies	2	8.7	5	22.7	7	15.6%
Sex movies	3	13.0	2	9.1	5	11.1%
Musical Movies	2	8.7	0	0	2	4.4%
Any others	0	0	0	0	0	0%
TOTAL	23	100	22	100	45	100

Table - 1:12

Table 1:12 shows the aesthetic appreciation of the adolescents who watch movies at any moment . The table is a vertical view of Table 1:6. The table shows that male adolescents appreciated suspense Thrillers foremost and that was followed by Comedies, Romantic Movies, Sex Movies, Religious and Musical Movies, in that order. For the female respondents the order was; Suspense Thrillers, Romantic

and Religious Movies, Comedies and Sex Movies. Table 1:13 shows the aesthetic ranking of movies termed favourite by the adolescents. It is a vertical view of Table 1:7. Suspense Thrillers still stand foremost, followed by Romantic Movies and Comedies (The latter tied with Romantic movies as second for the males), then Religious and Sex movies in that order, for the females-and no other choice by the males.

Having ascertained that the majority of movie goers appreciate Suspense Thriller movies foremost, we can attempt to get the implication of this within the Eastlands youth culture.

Earlier on, I submitted that Eastlands area youth are known peculiarly for a brand of culture - call it notorious or famous. All in all ^{their} Culture is Summarily dismissed by most observer as one jammed with delinquencies. Some Properties thought existent in the Culture include drug-smoking, alcohol taking, thuggery and vandalism and band rivalries and fights. All these are associated with the youth. My observation in the area drew the conclusion that such contentions are not wholesomely untrue. Passing through the dark corners of the area one is met with inscribed letters and marks on the walls which easily send a cold chill down the spine. Words like "Wanted - So and So," "Home

of 40 Brothers" ' We take Kaya", became familiar sites especially in Jericho and Jerusalem. All this depict some sort of violence.

The questions to be posed are that; is the Eastlands youth culture some sort of Projection? Do their beauty tastes in movies and other areas have an effect on their general culture? Do the Suspense Thrillers Movies for example, which the youth film-goers seem to appreciate most affect their behaviour and conduct?

Having agreed that movie audience particularly the young tend to ^{identify} / with characters and see them as their ideals and idols and hence try to imitate them, then the above questions can be answered in the affirmative. However these are not the only factors that lead to such conduct. Other sociological factors can also give rise to particular cultural traits like those in Eastlands area.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 2

1. Peter Wollen, "SIGNS AND MEANINGS IN CINEMA,"
Thames and Hudson, London, 1969.
2. The words cinema, movies and motion pictures will
be used in this dissertation interchangeably.
Unless otherwise stated, the use of the
words will connote acted films.
3. Perkins V.F., "FILM AS FILM," Penguin Books,
Harmondsworth 1972.
4. Handel Leo's Study in "HOLLYWOOD LOOKS AT ITS
AUDIENCE" University of Illinois Press,
Urbana, 1950.
5. Andrew Tudor, "IMAGE AND INFLUENCE," George Allen
and Unwin Ltd., London, 1974.
6. In Tudor Ibid., Page 87.
7. Ibid., Page 87
8. Tudor Op.Cit.
9. Handel Op. Cit.
10. Tudor Op. Cit.
11. Ibid., Pg. 82
12. William Wattenberg, 'THE ADOLESCENT YEARS,'
Harcourt Brace and World Inc., New York,
1955 .

CHAPTER 3

THE ADOLESCENTS APPRECIATION OF THE LITERARY WORKS

This chapter does not concern itself with aesthetics in Literature or in other words literary beauty found in the books read by the adolescents of Eastlands area. The area of literary beauty is within the hem of students of literature. I don't confess to be one. The chapter deals with the Eastlands area's youth appreciation of literary work. Thus from this we shall be able to make a classification of their aesthetic appreciation in Literature. Ours is essentially a general duty of getting what literary works impress ^{on} our subjects of study. We shall then leave it to students of literature to Siphon out the elements of beauty from the contents of the works.

There is a wide and impressive collection of literature which thrill the young generation. This is in duly reference to the literature coming from without the academic shelves. They include fiction and non-fiction books and magazines. Most works read by the youth for their own pleasure are summarily dismissed by the older generation as being of no value. In reference to the young English readers Aiden Chambers had this to say:

"My own conviction is that a great deal is read by those four million youngsters (English)-- that when we say they read "nothing " we really intend to say that they read nothing we care to recognise

as profitable, healthy or wise
Thus we say they read trash
when we may never have read for any
length of time the material the
teens see week after week."¹

Tastes adopt. And it is this that forms the most salient theme in this study. Beauty is not only culture rooted, it is also generation rooted. Dorsey writing on Black Aesthetic Literature drives this point home safely;

"It is (therefore) fruitless for Pundits to deplore a work like "Son of Woman" by Charles Mangua as un- and anti-African when a generation of young adult Africans were enthralled by it..... The first issue for determining whether the book falls within the (black) aesthetic is whether there is a (black) audience who see with joy or distress, a Dodge in themselves, who feel the book's style, form and outlook to be intimately, peculiarly their own."²

The Study is profoundly concerned with what Literature pleases the young Eastlands readers. These could be fiction or non-fiction stories, it could be political or economic literature or it could be leisure stories. And as Dorsey says it is this which thrills the young audience that is rightly their aesthetic appreciation. We cannot decide for the reader what is best for his/her appreciation. The

audience or reader is the arbitor.

In reading as with the cinema the audience is an active participant. Through interaction with reading materials contents an audience can adopt some particular leanings, some ideology or some new lifestyle. It is for such reasons that political establishment ban certain publications because of the feared impact they may have not only to their immediate audience but for society at large. Such publications are feared for they may rock the whole body-politically or socially In Kenya for example specific. leftist literature and the Pornographic literature as a whole are under ban, the former for the impact they may have for the socio-political stability prevalent and the latter for the Socio-cultural impact.

The youth are akin all over for their love for pleasure reading. In so doing they disgust and are distasted by the older generation (see chamber's earlier quotation). In Kenya foreign fiction and non-fiction books and other publications seem to be well received by the youth ganging from the stock in their personal libraries. As to whether this is a healthy or unhealthy sign is beyond the scope of this study . However the implications of this on the general cultural trend is within the sphere of the study and will later be discussed. But lets not put the cart before the horse.

A survey of the adolescents of Eastlands showed that they have a significant interest in pleasure reading. Of the 40 respondents who were sampled to answer the questionnaires, a total of twenty seven answered in affirmative as to whether they did like reading as a pass-time activity. Table 2:1 is a representation of the reading interests of both males and females of the area. Thus the percentage of male respondents who read as pass time at any moment is slightly higher than that of the females. The conclusion reached is that the male adolescents seem to have a higher affinity towards reading in general. Taken as a whole both female and male respondents seem to be good readers judging from the 67.5% of the total respondents.

MALE AND FEMALE READING INTERESTS OF THE ADOLESCENTS

SEX	No of the respondent readers	Percentage out of the total readers	Percentage out of the total respondents
Male	14	51.9%	35%
Female	13	48.1	32.5%
TOTAL	27	100%	67.5%

Table 2:1

Reading has to do with the level of literacy in a community. However not all the literate members do read for pleasure. Table 2:2 represents the educational level of the reading audience. The table however is not quite representative as the samples from the educational levels are not uniform. The strength or weakness of the data aside, the table's manifestation portrays the adolescents who had gone beyond the form 6 level as constituting the greatest percentage of pass-time readers. Assuming that the data has a reasonable degree of authority then the following hypothetical reason can be given; that most of the "over Secondary 6" adolescents were idle after completing formal secondary education and hence kept themselves busy by reading, or were engaged in some employment but could still find time to read for pleasure, or were taking part in vocational training but had time to keep themselves busy by reading. The same reasons can be proposed for the "Secondary 3-4" category although here, some adolescents in the category were still in the form 4 examination class and hence had no time for pleasure reading.³ All the 40 respondents interviewed were of Secondary level of education or over - as portrayed by the Table 2:2.

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL AND THE NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE
OF READERS.

	READERS NO	%	TOTAL RESPONDENTS IN THE LEVEL
Secondary 1 - 2	2	7.4	3
Secondary 3 - 4	21	77.8	31
Secondary 5-6	1	3.7	2
Over Secondary 6	3	11.1	4
TOTAL	27	100	40

Table 2:2

Table 2:3 represents the respondent readers whose favourite pass-time activity is pleasure reading. The table shows that more male respondents like pleasure reading most than the females. The percentage of female respondents whose favourite pass-time activity is reading is half less than the males. The percentage marches with that of the total number of pleasure readers from both sexes i.e. that the male adolescents generally liked pleasure reading more than the females as depicted on Table 2:1. The conclusion reached is that male adolescents of Eastlands area are most active in pleasure reading more than their female counterparts. Maybe this has to do with the females participating more in domestic chores and hence have little time to read and

develop this interest.

ADOLESCENTS WHOSE FAVOURITE ACTIVITY IS PLEASURE

READING

	No. of respondents	Percentage	Percentage out of the total readers
Male	6	66.7%	22.2%
Female	3	33.3%	11.1%
TOTAL	9	100%	33.3%

Table 2:3

Then comes the most pregnant issue; the issue of what literary works the adolescents read.

The classification of the books were Suspense Thrillers, Romantic books, Sex, Religious books or any other category of books. The classifications were specified. Examples of all the categories of books were given. Table 2:4 tells the number and percentage of respondents who generally read the books classified. The classifications form their general tastes..

GENERAL TASTES OF THE ADOLESCENT READERS

Book or Literature Classifications	No of respondent readers	% Out of the readers
Suspense Thrillers	18	31.6%
Romantic Books	15	26.3%
Sex Books	11	19.3%
Religious Books	13	22.8%
Any Other	0	0%
TOTAL	57	100%

Table 2:4

The table thus shows that most of the respondents who read had a taste for the Suspense Thrillers. Sex books or sex literature were the tail-enders in terms of general tastes. Contents or form of the Suspense Thrillers are usually of the Scandalous or fraudulent nature usually culminating in violence. The distinction between the Romantic and Sex is that the latter is more outrageous and candid in its sex description than the former. In other words these are erotics. A significant appearance on Table 2:4 is the wider audience which the Religious literature receives more than the sex ones. It is unlike the way the older generation conceives of the youth.

Table 2:5 is a sex division on the literature tastes.

The table shows that while the percentage of the female respondents who had tastes for the Romantic Literature was higher than that of the males, the latter had a wider taste in the Suspense Thrillers. The table also tells that the female respondents had a higher taste for sex literature while the male respondents had a wider audience in Religious Literature. As a whole the Suspense Thrillers had a wider audience followed by the Romantic Books, Religious Books and Sex Books, in that order. In all each category seem to have significant taste for both sexes.

SEX DIVISION AND THE ADOLESCENT LITERATURE TASTES

	Suspense Thrillers		Romantic Books		Sex Books		Religious Books		Any other	
	No.	%	NO .	%	NO	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
Females	8	44.4	10	66.7	7	63.6	5	38.5	0	0
Males	10	55.5	5	33.3	4	36.4	8	61.5	0	0
TOTAL	18	100%	15	100%	11	100%	13	100%	0	0%

Table 2:5

Table 2:6 shows the tastes of adolescents whose favourite pass-time activity was pleasure reading. The table portrays their tastes relative to their sex.:

HIGHEST TASTES OF ADOLESCENTS WHOSE FAVOURITE ACTIVITY
WAS READING

	Suspense Thrillers		Romantic Literature		Sex Literature		Religious Literature		Any Other	
	No	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
Females	1	25	2	66.7	0	0	0	0	0	0
Males	3	75	1	33.3	0	0	2	100	0	0
TOTAL	4	100	3	100	0	0	2	100	0	0

Table 2:6

Of the total 9 respondents whose favourite activity was pleasure-reading 4 bided for Suspense Thrillers as their favourite taste in pleasure-reading. This forms 44.4% of the total 9 respondents. The rest 55.6% is divided between the Romantic literature readers with 33.3% and Religious literature readers with 22.3%. None of the 9 respondents had the highest taste in Sex Literature. Of the 9 respondents only 3 were females 2 of whom chose Romantic literature as their highest taste in literary work and 1 chose the Suspense Thrillers.

Thus a higher percentage of male respondent readers liked the

activity most at their pass-time.

The adolescents were asked to give at most three names of their favourite authors. Of the 14 males respondents who did read books, 10 could identify their favourite authors. And of the 13 female respondent readers, 10 could identify their favourite authors. Table 2:7 shows the categories in which the favourite authors picked by the adolescents fell. The Suspense Thriller authors seemed to have been highly favoured by the respondents. The 10 male respondents gave more names of the authors than the females hence showing that the former have a higher taste in the type of authors. However the female respondents had a higher taste in the Romantic authors is significantly wide. Only one respondent a female was able to give a name of an author of sex Books. The Religious Literature authors including the Holy Quran and Bible were favourites of the male respondents.

The percentage on the taste of the foreign authors was massive. Except for a meagre 7.7% , virtually the full percentage had tastes for foreign authors as can be seen on Table 2:8 "Local authors" included all authors of African origin and writing substantively on the local African scene. Notable also is that all the authors chosen, African or Non-African, were fiction writers. Thus the tastes of the adolescents seem to be foreign oriented not only in terms of author preference but also in terms of content matter.

AUTHORS OF THE LITERATURE CATEGORIES CHOSEN AS FAVOURITES

Respondent Sex	No. of the Names of authors of Suspense Thrillers		No. of the Names of authors of Romantic Roles		No. of Names of Sex Books authors		No. of Names of authors religious Books	
	No	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
Males	14	56	2	20	0	0	3	100
Females	11	44	8	80	1	100	0	0
TOTAL	25	100	10	100	1	100	3	100

Table 2:7

	Number of the names given	Percentage
Foreign Authors	14	82.4%
Local Authors	3	17.6%
TOTAL	17	100%

Table 2 8

Apart from books all the respondent readers gave names of magazines and papers that they liked best. The magazines were classified into 5 Political and Current Affairs Magazines (Times, Newsweek and Weekly Review were ^{Some of} the names given of this category), Sports Magazines (Shoot, Action, Soccer), Spiritual Magazines (Beyond and Step), Musical Magazines (Right on, Beat and Blues and Soul) and General Information Magazines (Parents, True Love, Drum and Viva).

Table 2:9 shows that magazines on General Information, Musical Magazines, Spiritual Magazines and Political and Sports Magazines were favourite in that order. The most profound revelation on the table is the small audience with which the Political and Current Affairs Magazines receive. The female respondents particularly had no interests in both political and Sports Magazines. As a whole the male respondents seemed to have tastes in all the categories of the magazines.

	ADOLESCENT TASTES ON MAGAZINES									
	Political Magazines		Sports Magazine		Musical Magazines		General Information		Spiritual Magazines	
	No	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
Male	4	100	4	100	5	45.5	16	59.3	5	62.5
Female	0	0	0	0	6	54.5	11	40.7	3	37.5
TOTAL	4	100	4	100	11	100	27	100	8	100

Table 2:9

Variant answers were given when the respondents were asked for reason for their tastes of the particular favourite authors. Among the responses given were the style of writing the authors' creativity, the sense of humour of the authors, the message passed to the readers (for example in the Holy Books), the Suspense in which the authors leaves the audience, and the knowledge of current issues or happenings (as in the Political and Current Affairs Magazines).

We have noted that the Reading audience has one common element with the movie audience: that in both cases the audience becomes an active participant. We therefore concluded that a reading audience can adopt some new lifestyle or some ideology through interaction with the substance in literary works. Books, like cinemas are thus mass communication systems which may have an impact on their audience. Religious people can for example acquire and strengthen their faith through reading spiritual books. Young Kenyans leading a Rastafarian lifestyle may have acquired the knowledge, norms and values of the way of life through book and magazine communication. Marxist Scholars may have adopted the ideology through communication of Marxist literature. And some young sex maniac may have got some new practice and style through Pornographic literature. Hence Literary Works have major impacts on an individual's personality and conduct, as much as the cinemas.

Pleasure reading as passtime is more prevalent during the adolescent period more than any other stage in life. This has to do with the adolescent period being one where one is more of a dependent with little or no responsibilities but with a lot of vigour and energy to expend-hence these finding outlets through various activities like pleasure reading. With the perennially inquisitive mind of the

adolescent, an adolescent reader can go through as many pleasure books in the shortest time. Having^{concluded}/that literary communication can have a major impact on the reading audience, then logically the adolescent stage is more susceptible to adoption of new values and some new personality from communication sources like literature, cinemas and the rest.

Our study on Eastlands area dolescents reveal that a considerable percentage of them are pleasure readers (see Table 2:1). Generally therefore, the Eastlands area adolescents have a high taste in pleasure reading. The male adolescents however had wider taste for books than the females (see Table 2:2) The percentage of the male adolescents who liked reading most was still higher than than of the females (see Table 2:3)

On the general aesthetic appreciation of the books, the Suspense Thriller types of texts were most appreciated by the general readership audience. This was followed by the Romantic Religious and Sex Literature in that order. However the general male readership audience appreciated the Suspense Thrillers more than the female audience but the opposite was the case when it came to the Romantic and Sex Literature. The Religious texts were more appreciated by the male audience . The Same Pattern was followed by the audience whose favourite activity was pleasure-reading.

However here, there was no appreciation at all for Sex Literature (See Table 2:6).

To rank the aesthetic appreciation of the readership audience a vertical tabulation of Table 2:5 will be the fairest approach.

AESTHETIC APPRECIATION OF THE READERSHIP AUDIENCE

Males

	Number of Tastes	Percentage
Suspense Thrillers	10	37.1%
Religious Literature	8	29.6%
Romantic Literature	5	18.5%
Sex Literature	4	14.8%
TOTAL	27	100%

Females

	Number of Tastes	Percentage
Romantic Literature	10	33.3%
Suspense Thrillers	8	26.7%
Sex Literature	7	23.3%
Religious Literature	5	16.7%
TOTAL	30	100%

Table 2:10a and b

<u>TOTAL</u>		
	Number of Tastes	Percentage
Suspense Thrillers	18	31.6%
Romantic Literature	15	26.3%
Religious Literature	13	22.8%
Sex Literature	11	19.3%
<hr/>		
TOTAL	57	100%

Table 2:10 c

Table 2:10 a and b show a wide variation in terms of the aesthetic appreciation of the sexes. It was quite revealing to know that the male adolescent respondents appreciated the Religious Literature more than the Romantic ones - a very unexpected situation. However one factor which heightened the percentage was that two of the male respondents claimed to be committed Religious people, as opposed to none of the female correspondents. Table 2:10c gives a fair representation of the total aesthetic appreciation of the literary works.

Like in the Cinema aesthetics, the aesthetics of Literature show that the female adolescents find the Romantic themes of more beauty than other themes. In the same breath the male adolescents like in the Cinema aesthetics are

are impressed by the beauty in the thrilling, suspenseful scenes. What is the implication of this? Is it that the female adolescents detest violence and wish to be treated tenderly? Or is it a general representation of the females as weak or soft-hearted? Does it tell that the males have aggressive character? Does it signify that the male adolescents are involved more in violent scenes? All is it a general representation of the male personality?

Having submitted that literary communication makes impressions on its audience and that the adolescent stage forms the apex of pleasure-reading, then it is only logical to conclude that the sort of literature read by the adolescents has an impact on their general lifestyle. This is more so to the readers who are so much obsessed by the practice. This sort of readers are prominently seen moving with their type of literature, in buses within the estates, and reading them at any opportune moment - under the desks in the classrooms, while travelling by public or private means, while watching sports, or at the tea or lunch breaks. With only one copy of a title such a reader can read many more copies through the popular exchange patterns.

A fundamental bit in the influence of the literature on an adolescent reader is the language. Book-communication is passed through the medium of written language. Our study has revealed that most adolescents of the Eastlands area

are foreign oriented in terms of their tastes. Most if not all of the favoured foreign authors are American and British. A total of 14 names of foreign or non African authors were given: Robert Ludlum, Fredrick Forsyth, Sidney Sheldon, Ian Fleming, Harold Robins, Jack Higgins, J. Hadley Chase, Denise Robins, Barbra Cartland, Jeffrey Archer, Danielle Steele, Ann Martha, Jack Collins and Alistair Maclean. Of the African authors the three names given were that of Mwangi Gicheru, Chinua Achebe and David Maillu.

Authors write about the society in which they are in contact with. They write on what they see happening within their environment. Their medium of communication is the language which their audience understand. The vocabulary of the language is usually rich with their local jargon; the slangs, the symbolism, the metaphors and the similes. For example, the Kenyan authors may use words like 'matatu' 'Nyayo-man,' both understood within the Kenyan culture. Jargons are thus understood within a culture and hence become relevant to that culture.

Since the non-African fiction and non-fiction writers communicate in the with a language full of their own jargon, or whatever else they consider their literary beauty, the adoption ^{of} such a language is out of context. An immediate example which comes to my mind if I have to put my case clear concerns the campus jargons. It is only the University

of Nairobi students or the products of the university who may understand and find relevant the use of words like "Go Home," "C.C.U. Power," "Zero-grazing" and "Collection." These are words within the sphere of the University Culture. However using such words for the consumption of the general Public is quoting the words out of context.

The issue on my labouring with this point has to do with the use of the jargon meant for and well understood by people in the American or British culture but which has found its use within the adolescents culture through Book-communication. For example the use of such words like "Howdy" for 'How are you?' "Dude" for a young man or a boyfriend, "I am in Dogs" for 'I am in trouble,' 'Gas' for petrol, "I I wanna go home" for 'I want to go home' "Cheerio" and "Adios!" for 'Goodbye!' and "a nice Blonde" or "nice Brunette" for 'a beautiful girl;' are all American or British-rooted. The language of our adolescents not only in the Eastlands Culture but also in other Kenyan Youth cultures are contaminated with such words; the source of which are mostly literary works.

Language influence forms a major impact from literary works. As earlier submitted, the general lifestyle of an individual can be influenced through reading. In Eastlands area for example, I cited a few young men (most of who unfortunately were older than my expected samples) who,

from their physical outlook, seemed to be adorers of the Rastafarian culture - a movement based in Jamaica. I was lucky to have an audience with one of the young men- aged 21 and I therefore sampled him among the others. According to the adolescent, his religion was "Twelve Tribes of Israel," he liked cultural music (i.e. Reggae Music), read only Spiritual Literature and the "Black Cultural Magazines." My conclusion was that although other factors may have played a role in his adoption of the Rasta lifestyle; the literary works he read (like the 'Black cultural magazines') played a considerable role in the adoption of the life- style.' The adolescent answer to the question was that he acquired the life-style out of 'self-development.' But what is 'self-development?" It is substantively the interaction of communication media like the literary works.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 3

1. Aidan Chambers "THE RELUCATANT READER," Pergamon Press, London, 1962. pp. 20
2. P.O. Zirimu and Andrew Gurr (ed.) "BLACK AESTHETIC," East African Literature Bureau, 1973 pp. 11.
3. Following the 8-4-4 educational Programme, 1987 the year of writing this dissertation has no form 3's in the secondary schools.

CHAPTER 4

THE ADOLESCENTS' APPRECIATION OF MUSIC

Music Aesthetics

Music aesthetics seems a most popular subject especially in the western circles. Most aestheticians in music seem to have concerned themselves with strict application of precise aesthetic conditions from the western concept alone. Conditions such as the idleness, disinterestedness, the mathematical form of tone relations, the contemplativeness and yet emotion-arousing; are all of the western conception of aesthetic in music. This gives a listener the role of a spectator who applies all the "properties of aesthetic music' before making a final judgement as to whether the music is actually aesthetic or otherwise.

The beginnings of the definition of music as either beautiful or not is said to have started in the Western world as early as the 16th century with the church musician Nicolaus Listenius who applied conditions as to which sort of music he deemed beautiful and which ones he didn't.¹ Later music aestheticians included Johann Gottfried Von Herder, Jean Jacques Rousseau and Emmauel Kant- all who lived in the 18th Century.

Kant in "Critique of Judgement" defines beauty in music as 'form in the play of many feelings. By 'form' Kant was making reference to the mathematical form. And according to him this was the universally valid condition

of beauty. He finds music inferior precisely when it is an entertainment that does not "attune the mind to ideas."

Kant aside, more others aestheticians of the Western World saw only the intellectual and critical mind as one which can appreciate music aesthetically.

Carl Dahlhaus wrote:

"Music aesthetics as a whole represents the spirit of cultivated bourgeois music lovers... listening to music was supposed to have a few philosophical and literary prerequisites--- which underlies basis of 19th century aesthetics:²

This seems a fitting summary of the conventional music aestheticians. The traditional aesthetics of music is therefore suspect. It sounds remote, non-involving and inspired by philosophical ideas more than the true music experience.

At the beginning of this study I submitted that aesthetics is an aspect of culture. It is culture-specific as different cultures have their own way of judging beauty. Imposing a particular culture's aesthetic judgement is analogous to mixing oil with water. However through acculturation a culture can adopt another's elements of beauty or aesthetic judgement. I therefore submit that the western aestheticians conditions of judging beauty in

general and music in particular applies within their own culture. And yet again this will apply to a specific culture or specific cultures within the whole Western culture: be it a bourgeois culture as Dahlaus may say, or the intellectual culture.

One exponent of Black Aesthetics said;

"Sometimes an element may be present and sought in one aesthetic, expunged in another. In most African and African American Musical performances active audience participation is encouraged, it is excoriated in Western Music. But some Asian cultures also welcome it."³

Thus we cannot judge African folk music the way we may judge Mozart's music or the Symphonies of Beethoven. Yet again we should take note that the audience is the arbiter. A Maasai from Kenya may judge the music where his participation is encouraged as of more aesthetic value than that where he becomes a passive listener. He may therefore see no beauty in the mathematical tone-patterned symphonies of Beethoven. He is the arbiter; the music does not arbitrate for him.

The adolescents of Eastlands culture have their own judgements of aesthetic music. They may have their own conditions of making judgements which may not be consonant with what the Western aestheticians hold. The Eastlands culture is not a closed one. Acculturation has thus taken its toll. This may influence not only the music of the appreciation but also the values in judging such and other types of music.

Music is transitory because of its perishable nature. It comes and goes with a generation. Or its appearance and disappearance may be consonant with the dynamism of culture. As culture changes, new values also appear. The new values may govern the appreciation of the music. The type of music appreciated by the Eastlands adolescent in their culture now may not be the same to be appreciated in a few years to come. The generation of the Eastlands youth then may not hold onto the same values in music that the present generation holds. Aesthetic in music can therefore be argued to be transitory too.

This study holds that music is a mass communication system and like cinema and literature, music creates an impact on the audience. Apart from the on-the-spot or immediate impact music may have on an audience's sensation hence arousing its emotions, music may make impressions on the audience personality and life style. Music stars

particularly are known to make impressions on the physical outlook of their audience and even the behaviourisms.

The young adolescent audience mostly fall prey to such impressions. In Ethiopia for example young admirers of one American pop musician, Michael Jackson, are said to have taken the Addis Ababa City by storm with their new lifestyle, trying to imitate the physical outlook of the musician. They have gone far as to call themselves "the Michaelites." In Nairobi possible male fans of the same musician are seen trying to imitate his dressings; Curly-kitted hair wide-trousers, white-socks and sleeve folded coats. At one time, the Nairobi youth had aped some musicians hair-style and named the style after the musician: The "Ray-Parker Style."

At the time of writing a female rock-star Madonna was on a tour of Britain where she had commanded an audience of over 77,000 fans. Most of them school-girls. According to a Kenyan daily,⁴ the Madonna Mania had swept through London so much that the school-girls had camped outside her hotel, trying to catch a glimpse of her. I wish to make two quotations from the daily; one a statement from a school-girl fan and another a statement from a rock music researcher. The admiring 14 year old fan called Tracy is quoted to have said;

"I wanna be just liker her.....
I wanna be as rich as her."

The music researcher by the name of Kate Sullivan said;

"The bulk of her audience tend to be young girls who are taking Madonna as a role model. They wanna be like her and take on the success and glamour she symbolises."

Following this latter quotation may be it suffices to quote from one more school-girl and get to know her conception of how "Successful" Madonna was. The girl, Sharon aged 13 said;

"She is Sexy and Succesful and she knows it"
(My emphasis)

The impact music and the music stars have on adolescents can thus be seen to be enormous. The generalisations aside, lets now come to our subjects of study and get to know their appreciation of music and any resulting impact on them.

Listening and dancing music seem to be the most popular pass-time of the Eastlands adolescents. Table 3:1 gives a telling percentage of the youth who listen and/or dance music. No sex outnumbers the other in terms of the general interest in listening to and dancing to music.

ADOLESCENTS WHO HAD TASTES IN MUSIC

SEX	NO.	OUT OF THOSE WHO LISTEN OR DANCE	% OUT OF THE 40 TOTAL 40 RESPONDENTS
Females	18	50%	45%
Males	18	50%	45%
TOTAL	36	100%	90%

TABLE 3:1

Of the three categories of aesthetics under study i.e. Music Cinema and Book-reading, Music emerges as receiving more appreciation than the rest.

The two, listening and dancing, are quite distinct. One may like listening to music but that does not necessarily mean that the person likes dancing the music. For example most religious people like listening to music but not dancing the music (however danceable it may be). However the opposite (dancing without listening) is difficult to conceptualise although it may happen for example when one is under the influence of intoxicators or just when one is "in a mood to dance." Table 3:2 displays the interests of the respondents in dancing and listening to music.

ADOLESCENTS WHOSE TASTES WERE EITHER LISTENING
OR DANCING OR BOTH

SEX	Those who liked listening but not dancing			Those who liked dancing but not listening			Those who liked listening and dancing		
	No	%	% out of the 36 who listen and/or dance	No.	%	% out of the 36 who listen and/ dance	No	%	% out of the 36 who listen and /or dance
Males	9	56.3	25%	1	100	2.8	8	42.1	22.2
Females	7	43.7	19.4	0	0	0	11	57.9	30.5
TOTAL	16	100	44.4	0	100	2.8	19	100	52.7

TABLE 3:2

The table reveals that more males than females liked listening though not dancing, only one respondent a male liked dancing without listening; and more females than males liked both listening and dancing music. As a whole, the percentage of the respondents who liked the latter was the highest. However unless otherwise stated the three categories i.e. those who liked listening to music but not dancing, those who liked dancing but not listening to music, and those who liked both listening and dancing to music, will be dealt with as one category - that of adolescents who have tastes in music (whether listening and/or dancing or both).

The female respondents seemed to be more keen in listening or dancing to the music as can be shown on Table 3:3. This may be because they are mostly within the confines of the house and hence find more time listening or dancing to music and consequently developing the interest.

ADOLESCENTS WHOSE FAVOURITE PASS-TIME WAS LISTENING/
DANCING TO MUSIC

SEX	NO.	%	% Out of the total 36 listeners/dancer
Males	6	31.6	16.7
Females	13	68.4	36.1
TOTAL	19	100	52.8

TABLE 3:3

The respondents were asked on their tastes on the type of music they liked dancing or listening to. Initially the following categories of music was proposed to the respondents: Western Music, Modern African Music, Gospel Music and Any Other type of Music. My idea of Western Music included all the Music which emanated out of the African soil. For me this included Asian, English, American or Afro-American particularly the Reggae music of Jamaica. However that was not the idea held by youth. To them Reggae music is cultural music. It is the music

of Rastafarians and the theme of such music is quite, unlike most music classified as 'Western.' The argument was convincing. After listening to the type of music carefully I found out that apart from the Reggae beat being quite different from the music of stars from say America and Britain, the theme of the songs was usually liberation, redemption or spiritual message. I therefore concurred with their views. I consequently made a categorisation of the reggae music. Table 3:4 shows the general taste of music of the adolescents. The Western music tops the percentage with both the males and females having fifty-fifty percentage taste. This is followed by modern African music where the male respondents more than doubled the females in their tastes of the music. The percentage of the male and female respondents who listened to Gospel Music was almost equal - but in total, lower than the modern African Music. Then there was the reggae music where the male respondents were outstanding in their tastes.

THE ADOLESCENT'S TASTE OF MUSIC

Sex	Western Music		Modern African Music		Gospel Music		Reggae Music	
	No.	%	NO	%	NO	%	No	%
Males	15	50	12	70.6	8	53.3	9	75
Females	15	50	5	29.4	7	46.7	3	25
TOTAL	30	100	17	100	15	100	12	100

Table 3:4

THE TASTES OF THE ADOLESCENTS WHOSE FAVOURITE
ACTIVITY IS LISTENING/DANCING TO
MUSIC

	Western Music		Modern African Music		Gospel Music		Reggae Music	
	No.	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
Males	5	27.8	5	55.6	2	33.3	1	20
Females	13	72.2	4	44.4	4	66.7	4	80
TOTAL	18	100	9	100	6	100	5	100

Table 3:5

Table 3:5 shows that the female respondents whose favourite pass time activity was listening or dancing or both had wide taste in the Western Music. But their male counterparts still maintained percentage lead in the tastes for Modern African Music. However as opposed to their (adolescent's) general taste in music where the males' percentage in tastes for Gospel music and Reggae Music is relatively high than that of their female counterparts (see Table 3:4), the female respondents whose favourite passtime was listening/dancing to music were more keen on the Gospel and Reggae Music as shown on the table.

HIGHEST TASTE OF ADOLESCENTS WHOSE FAVOURITE ACTIVITY
IS LISTENING/DANCING MUSIC

SEX	Western Music		Modern African Music		Gospel Music		Reggae Music	
	No	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
Females	9	69.2	0	0	1	50	3	75%
Males	4	30.8	0	0	1	50	1	25
TOTAL	13	100	0	0	2	100	4	100

Table 3:6

The female respondents still maintain the percentage when it came to ranking first their highest taste in music. They bid for the Western music more than any other and followed that with Reggae and Gospel music respectively. However nobody could bid modern African music. The male respondents bid for the Western Music, none bid for Modern African Music and only ^{one} each in the Gospel and Reggae category chose the music as their best. These is seen on Table 3:6.

The pattern on Table 3:6 is followed on Table 3:7 which tells on all the respondents who listen and/or dance to music and their highest taste. The only drastic change is on Reggae music. Here over twice as many male respondents as the female ones had their highest taste in Reggae music. The conclusion drawn is that the majority of the adolescents have high taste in the Western music.

HIGHEST TASTE OF ADOLESCENTS WHO LISTENS OR/AND

DANCE TO MUSIC

SEX	Western Music		Modern African Music		Gospel Music		Reggae Music	
	No	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
Males	9	42.9	1	50	2	50	6	66.7
Females	12	57.1	1	50	2	50	3	33.3
TOTAL	21	100	2	100	4	100	9	100

Table 3:7

The respondents were asked to name three of their favourite music stars. A total of 39 names were given. Table 3:9 shows that over 80% of the names given were non-African music artistes or music groups. Most stars or

groups chosen were American, a few by Reggae Musicians and yet a fewer by British artistes. In terms of choice of sex, the male respondents had tastes in large variety of non-African musicians. Their percentage in the interest of African musicians was also higher than that of the females. Generally, their tastes in musicians, African and non-African was wide. Table 3:8 tells how wide their tastes were:

SEX TASTES IN AFRICAN AND NON-AFRICAN MUSICIANS

RESPONDENT'S SEX	Non African Music		African Music	
	Stars/Groups		Stars/Groups	
	No	%	NO	%
Females	17	39.5	4	36.4
Males	26	60.5	7	63.6
Total	43	100	11	100

Table 3:8

NUMBER OF NAMES OF MUSIC STARS GIVEN

	No.	%
Non-African Stars/Groups	32	82.1
African Stars/Groups	7	17.9
<hr/>		
TOTAL	39	100%

Table 3:9

Table 3:10 gives the number of times the non-African and African Musicians were named as the favoured stars/Groups.

NUMBER OF TIMES THE MUSICIANS WERE NAMED BY THE

SEXES

	African Musicians		Non-African Musicians;	
	No.	%	No.	%
Females	6	40	36	45.6
Males	9	60	43	54.4
<hr/>				
TOTAL	15	100	79	100

Table 3:10

Of the total 94 times of the naming of both the African and non-African musicians 79 times were names of the non African musicians. The percentage times is quite impressive - about 85%.

Of the total 39 names of the musicians that were given, the biggest percentage were musicians who sang Western Music.

NUMBER OF MUSICIANS FAVOURED IN EACH CATEGORY

TYPE OF MUSIC	NO.	%
Western Music	22	56.4
Modern African Music	4	10.3
Gospel Music	3	7.7
Reggae Music	10	25.6
Any Other	0	0
TOTAL	39	100%

Table 3:11

This included the African artistes but who sang Western type of music. Gospel Musicians were the least. Table 3:11 outlines the divisions. This further reinforces the popularity of Western Music among the Eastlands Youth.

REASONS WHY THE MUSICIAN(S) WERE FAVOURED BY THE ADOLESCENTS

Respondents	Musician(s) Voice and rhythm of play		Musician(s) looks and(or)costumes		Musicians message and words	
	No	%	NO	%	NO	%
Sex						
Males	16	50	6	50	13	52
Females	16	50	6	50	12	48
TOTAL	32	100	12	100	25	100

Table 3:12

Table 3:12 tells why the adolescents favoured the musicians. Why for example were the musicians who sang Western music favoured? Looks like the respondents were more impressed by the musicians voice and rhythm more than any single factor. However when asked to rank the reasons in order of preference, the male respondents preferred the words and message of the musicians as their first preference. The female respondents still preferred the musicians' voice and rhythm. Table 3:13 outlines the preferences.

In this chapter, I have tried to analyse the appreciation of music within a particular culture. My approach on the subject is unlike the traditional western aestheticians will have done i.e. look at the tonal relations see the idleness with which the audience approaches the music, or any other properties that western aestheticians may see in music aesthetics. I have attempted to look at the music aesthetics in that culture, from the culture's perspective. The characteristics of the chosen music may not be in harmony with those found in the western conception of aesthetics in music. However I did not want to deny the members within the culture feelings of aesthetic appreciation in music, unpalatable though it may be to others.

Our analysis revealed that the Eastlands area adolescents had a significant appreciation of music generally. The love for music within the culture surpasses that of other aesthetic areas studied here. Table 3:1 shows that the love for music is held by 90% of the total respondents interviewed. Some liked dancing to the music apart from listening to it while others preferred just listening without dancing to the music. However the former were of the higher percentage.

The type of music which seem to have had most appreciation was the Western Music. Table 3:4 shows that Western Music seem quite popular with all music-lovers. This applied to both male and female respondents. Table 3:14 gives the aesthetic appreciation of the adolescents who did listen or dance to music. The table is actually a vertical view of Table 3:4. The table does not follow the same pattern when it comes to the adolescents' ranking of favourite type of music (see Table 3:7). A vertical of Table 3:7 therefore shows that the Western music is followed by Reggae music when it comes to music of the adolescents highest taste.

GENERAL AESTHETIC APPRECIATION OF MUSIC BY THE
ADOLESCENTS

	Male respondents		Female respondents		Total	
	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
Western Music	15	34.1	15	50	30	40.5
Modern African	12	27.3	5	16.7	17	23
Gospel Music	8	18.2	7	23.3	15	20.3
Reggae	9	20.4	3	10	12	16.2
TOTAL	44	100	30	100	74	100

Table 3:14

Table 3:15 should be seen as more authoritative in ranking the aesthetic appreciation of the youth as it refers to their highest taste.

AESTHETIC APPRECIATION OF THE TYPE OF MUSIC

RANKED FOREMOST

Type of Music	Male respondents		Female respondents		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Western Music	9	50	12	66.6	21	58.3
Reggae Music	6	33.3	3	16.7	9	25
Gospel Music	2	11.1	2	11.1	4	11.1
Modern African Music	1	5.6	1	5.6	2	5.6
Total	18	100	18	100	36	100

Table 3:15

Having concluded that music as means of communication creates an impact on the audience, I wish to examine the meaning of this on the Eastlands adolescents. Kate Sullivan the music researcher earlier quoted talked of Madonna's audience as consisting of mostly the young girls who take the star as a role model and want to imitate her. Among the stars favoured by the adolescent girls of Eastlands area was this same star: Madonna. According to the statistics she was the most favourite female star by all

the female music-lovers. Looking at Madonnas' portraits, the star has distinct dressing fashion. Profoundly, she spots a peculiar hair-style of long, straight and unplaited hair. The likes of such hair can be spotted among the girls in Eastlands (and elsewhere within the city) . I was informed by my research assistants that the style of hair was copied from the music-star, Madonna.

Some male adolescents in Eastlands area were also spotted dressed like two famous American musicians, Lionel Richie and Michael Jackson. These included folded coat-sleeves and curly-kitted hair. The latter style is identified with Michael Jackson. It was no wonder to me therefore that the two music-stars were the most popular among the male adolescents. Although most respondents answers were not in the affirmative as to whether they liked their favourite stars because of their looks and costumes (see Table 3:12), it sounds positive to conclude that the stars are a source of the dress and fashion of the adolescents although this may be projected unconsciously.

Another fashion for the male adolescents which may be said to originate from the music stars is the wearing of one earring . Two of my respondents had ear-rings on each of their ears. Ear-rings are traditionally known to be female ornaments. However in the United States male

homosexuals are known to put on ear-rings. One male musician emerged out of this tradition and is known to put on ear-rings. An article in the daily talked of this musician and others on their fashions.

"-----a new perception of what looking good is all about is emerging. Suddenly it is alright to love a curly-kit and and look pretty. One celebrated male on the world stage, Michael Jackson, does it in style, sending his influence around an admiring and mystified world. Ray Parker Jr Perms his hair, while Boy George is a hero in female attire. George Michael of the "Careless whispers" fame spots an earring."⁵

Reggae music can also be alluded to as influencing the young adolescents of Eastlands. As said earlier, typically reggae music belongs to the Rastafarians whose homeland is in Latin American States. The heavy rhythms of reggae music originate in the cultural music of the Rastafarians. In essence reggae is cultural music. As an aspect of culture, music belongs to the expressive arts or performing arts. Music is therefore non-material culture. However both material and non-material culture are integrated and complimentary. Music goes with its material: the guitar, the drum, the attire and many more. Rastafari is a Religious movement. The immediate recognition mark of

a Rastafarian is the long braided hair. The religion permits the smoking of drugs which they call 'Kaya.' Maybe it is an aspect of the religion meant to raise the feelings of the worshippers nearer the cosmos.

In Eastlands area I came across inscription of the words "Rasta - we take Kaya." According to one informant,⁶ drug-taking is a social problem in Eastlands area. Could this be an influence of the Reggae Music? Is the long-braided hair worn by some of the youth, whether committed to the movement or not, an influence of the reggae music? Such are the questions we have to ponder around with.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 4

Carl Dallhaus: "Esthetics of Music,"
Cambridge University Press, London, 1982.

Ibid.

David Dorsey, in Pio Zirimu and Andrew Gurr (ed.)
Black Aesthetics, East African Literature
bureau, Nairobi, 1973.

Sunday Standard, August 23rd 1987, page 19.

Sunday Nation, 18th January 1987.

The Estates Officer, Kimathi Estate, Jerusalem
Estate and Uhuru Phase IV.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

In the Literature Review we saw Wattenberg's?

Contention that actions and ideas of the adolescents are shaped by the character of the neighbourhood in which they dwell. He further said that as a result of families of similar status tending to live near each other, values associated with social or economic status will often permeate a neighbourhood. On dwelling units, we saw his submission that the smaller they are and the larger the families in them, the more the friction in the home. This is because people tend to get in each other's way, resulting in constant frictions. It is for this reason, Wattenberg concluded, that children get away from home as much as they can and hence run unsupervised. We also saw Wattenberg's submissions supported by Remmers' and Shimberg's² research who concluded that generally there is more friction in the low-income families.

Eastlands area residents as earlier said in the Methodology belong to the same income-bracket. If income categorisation had to be divided into the High-income earners, Middle-income earners, Low-income earners and the Lowest-income earners, then residents of the area may fall in the low-income bracket. A few residents may belong to the Middle-income group but these are greatly out-numbered by the Low-income lot.

The Eastlands area dwelling units small as they are, can comfortably accommodate a family of only less than four members. As noted in ^{the methodology} / the dwelling units are of fair small rooms at most. A family of over four members is therefore definitely too large for the unit. Considering that African nuclear families usually exceed four, and not ignoring the tradition of the extended family, it will pose little surprise ⁱⁿ / concluding that as many as ten or over members may stay in such single units. Following Wattenbergs and Remmers and Shimberg's observations it is in such low-income and overcrowded homes that friction occurs. It is this overcrowding that drive children out of the home and hence end up unsupervised. In sociological terms, little socialisation takes place between the parents and children of Eastlands area. Parents do not share their culture with their children and culture thus ceases to be a social heredity.

Such are the constraints in Eastlands area which determines the adolescents conception of aesthetic. With minimal socialisation from their parents or parental surrogates, the adolescents end up generating their own culture through their peer-groups in the schools and estates and share the generated culture among themselves. One can see such a situation in the area on weekends and in the evenings after the adolescents have come from their various

daily activities. At the mentioned times the young boys, and in less numbers - young girls; can be spotted together in groups away from their dwelling units generating culture through various ways: Playing some game, listening to music from a friend's house, talking about the new happening in fashion, movies, soccer and other many more areas. These are the people whom they interact with, sharing the generated culture.

Therefore culture is shared substantially horizontally among themselves. The adolescent of Eastlands area seem to have consequently established their own culture, a Sub-culture of the mainstream culture. And within this Sub-culture, the adolescents have their own norms, beliefs and values. These includes what to them is an object of aesthetic value.

As already said, schoolmates form major socialisation agents for the youth. Schools have their own cultures usually dictated by whether they are high or low cost schools hence determining the social-classes from which the school-goers come from. In Nairobi, High-cost schools like Nairobi School, Lenana School, St. Mary's School, Kenya High School, Loreto Convent Msongari, Kianda College, and Strathmore College, are known to have their own culture which differ from that found in the low-cost schools. For example the High Cost School-goers tend to live particular Sports: Swimming, tennis, rugby and hockey. They go with

Video-Cassettes in Schools and engage in exchange activities of the Cassettes. They talk of going to Posh and costly discotheques - with "wheels"(cars). They are picked and taken to schools in the "wheels," or the lucky among them drive themselves. And at times on weekends they fill the "wheels" with "juice" (Petrol) and go for "pint" (alcoholic drinks) before they "get down" (go dancing).

The same is not the case with the Low-cost Schools. The School-goers love popular sports like. Thus the Peer groups form their security, their reference groups and the major sources of their culture. The way the adolescents determine an object of aesthetic value is constrained by these Peer-groups.

When the respondents were asked the influences that they could attribute for the tastes of their music, books and movies, most of them talked of the Estate mates influence, schoolmates influence and Estatemates and school-mates influence, as shown on Table 4:1. The table shows that the family members played a minimal role in influencing the adolescents aesthetic appreciation. The Estatemates and Schoolmates thus seemed to be the adolescents major socialisation agents soccer. Facilities for Sports like swimming, tennis, ruby and hockey are rarely to be found. This is true especially in the case of swimming as the

INFLUENCES DETERMINING ADOLESCENTS' TASTES

	No	%
School-mates influence	8	20
Estate-mates influence	8	20
Family Members influence	3	7.5
Self-development	5	12.5
School-mates and Estatemates influence	8	20
Schoolmates and Family influence	3	12.5
Estatemates and Family influence	3	12.5
Schoolmates, Estatemates and Family influence	2	5
TOTAL	40	100%

Table 4:1

swimming facilities are expensive to build and run. The talk and exchange of Video-Cassettes is virtually absent as most of their parents can little afford good coloured televisions let alone the videos. Rather the youth may talk of the hit-music and exchange music cassettes. The "Wheels" is even less referred in their talk. They speak of going to school in a "mathree" (matatu) and a "bu" (bus). They may take "tindi" (beer) once in a while after a length of period, but "mozo" (cigarette) smoking may be more frequent.

A major distinguishing feature of the school cultures is the language. Having been brought up in Western educated families mostly, the language medium of the youth in High-cost schools is English-usually just colloquial English. Even those young boys and girls who do not come from affluent English speaking or Western-educated families find themselves overwhelmed by those from such families resulting in their adoption of English as their communication medium. The youth in low-cost schools usually come from families with shreds of their cultural roots still in the rural-setting. Such families maintain the use of their indigenous languages in addition to the Kiswahili national language. The children from such families however speak a blend of Kiswahili, corrupted indigenous words, and some English. The language is now commonly referred to as "Sheng."

The different school-cultures are therefore major determinants of the youth aesthetic appreciation. When my respondents were asked to indicate the schools in which they went through or had gone through, all but a single female respondent had gone through the low-cost schools. The primary schools were all local primary schools in around the Eastlands area. The Schools are all Low-cost City Commission Schools. The Secondary Schools mentioned were (but for the one) low-cost schools in Nairobi. Four of the

are located out of Nairobi. The primary schools mentioned included Uhuru Primary School, Jericho Primary, Martin Luther Primary, Kimathi Primary, Heshima Road primary, Kilimani Primary, Dr. Livingstone Primary, St. Michael's primary, Dr. Krapf primary, St. Johns Primary, Kariobangi South Primary, Rabai Road Primary and St. Patrick's primary. The Secondary Schools mentioned were Aquinas High, St. Mary's School (Private School), Upper Hill School, Jericho Secondary, Parklands High, Langata High School, Pumwani Secondary, Jamhuri High School, Ravals Secondary, Eastleigh High, Kennedy High School, R.G.S. Secondary, Pangani Girls, Muslim Girls, Huruma Girls, State House Road Girls, Our Lady of Mercy Girls and Kianda College (High-Cost) all in Nairobi. Those out of Nairobi were Coast Girls, Katanga Girls, Lwak Girls and Sirikwa Secondary.

The definition of "aesthetics" found in the 'Encyclopedia of Social Sciences' and quoted in the Literature Review says that aesthetics is the study of mans behaviour, and experience in not only creating, perceiving and understanding art, but also in being influenced by the art. Our study - of the three aspects of aesthetics analysed i.e. the Cinema Literary works and music revealed that the audience in these aspects are active participants. The conclusion drawn was that the aesthetics may influence the audience to conduct themselves in manners which otherwise

would not have occurred. Aesthetic appreciation can therefore have a negative impact on an individual even society as a whole. It may be a source of culture which may run parallel to the mainstream culture that is mostly acquired and transmitted from generation to generation. And the group which seeks and projects most of what happens in the books, the movies and the music are the adolescents.

At the time of writing residents of Hungerford in Britain were mourning sixteen of their lot who were gunned down on August 19th 1987 by a young man of 27, Michael Ryan. Ryan's act has been associated with the effect of the screen. One daily had this to say from their London correspondent:

"Newspapers have drawn striking comparisons between Ryan's rampage on August 19 and that of American movie hero "Rambo"----- Ryan chatted to his neighbours, children about video and television films,.....
.....Ryan actually reenacted a scene from the Rambo film 'First Blood' shown on BBC television when he mercilessly and smilingly gunned down his victims in Hungerford. He even wore a Rambo style head band."³

And because of the massacres, the BBC television is said to have temporarily withdrawn several violent films like the "First Blood" itself "The Marksmen", "Battlestruck", "The A team" and "The Professionals."

In our study, we found that the Eastlands, area adolescents appreciate what is essentially western: the violent western movies, the violent Western movies, the likewise thematically violent western literary works and the Western literary works and the Western music and their music stars/some who are thought outrageous in their stage-shows and their private life). One daily² made comments on this influence:

"In Nairobi, smelling nice is particularly popular among men between the ages 18 and 30, with the younger end of the scale going all the way of curly-kits and earnings - a group more susceptible to Western influence.

And if smelling nice is the "In Thing" the principal bearer of the message is the American media. In Nairobi, the Cinema and television is the Principal medium but their influence is carried out further by Chic black American press like "Ebony," "Blues and Soul" and "Jet."

In the movie theatres, the censorship Board of Kenya has attempted to classify the movies relative to the ages of the audience. So some films are "unsuitable for children under 10," others are "Unsuitable for children under 16" while some are reserved for "Adults only."

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 5

1. See the Literature Review
2. See the Literature Review
3. Sunday Nation, January 18th 1987.
4. Sunday Standard, August 30, 1987.
5. Amboka Andere in Sunday Standard, August 30, 1987.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Chambers, Aiden; THE RELUCTANT READER, Pegamon Press, London, 1969.
- Charlton, AESTHETICS; AN INTRDUCTION, Hutchinson University Press.
- Copleston, Fredrick; A HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY Vol.6, Image Books Edition, New York, 1964.
- Dahlhaus, Carl; EASTHETICS OF MUSIC, Cambridge University Press, London, 1982.
- Douvan, Elizabeth and Adelson, Joseph; THE ADOLESCENT EXPERIENCE; John Wiley and Sons Inc., New York, 1966.
- ENCYCLOPEDIA OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
- Forster, George, TRADITIONAL CULTURES AND THE IMPACT OF TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGE, Harper and Row, New York, 1965.
- Gurr, A and Zirimu Pio(Ed.); BLACK AESTHETICS, East African Literature Bureau, Nairobi, 1973.
- Hammond, Peter,; CULTURE AND SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY McMillan Company, New York 1969.
- Handel, Leo; HOLLYWOOD LOOKS AT ITS AUDIENCE, University of Illinois Press, Urbana, 1950.
- Johnson, R.V.; AESTHETICISM, Methuen and Company, London, 1969..

- Kroeber, A.L. and Kluckhohn, C., CULTURE: A CRITICAL REVIEW OF CONCEPTS AND DEFINITIONS, Cambridge University Press.
- Kluckhohn, R. (Ed.); CULTURE AND BEHAVIOUR, Free Press, New York, 1962.
- Linton, Ralph; THE STUDY OF MAN, D. Appleton Century Company Inc., 1936.
- New Columbia ENCYCLOPEDIA, Columbia University Press, New York, 1975.
- Perkins, V.F., FILM AS FILM, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1972.
- Reid, Louis; WAYS OF KNOWLEDGE AND EXPERIENCE, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, 1961.
- Shapiro, Harry (Ed.); MAN, CULTURE AND SOCIETY, Oxford University Press, London, 1971.
- Sherif, Muzafer and Sherif, Carolyn, REFERENCE GROUPS, Harper and Row Publishers, New York, 1964.
- Sprague and Taylor, KNOWLEDGE AND VALUE, Harcourt Brace and World Inc., New York, 1959.
- SUNDAY NATION, 18th January, 1987.
- SUNDAY STANDARD, 23rd August, 1987..
- SUNDAY STANDARD 30TH AUGUST, 1987.

Swartz, Marc and Jordan, David; ANTHROPOLOGY:
PERSPECTIVE ON HUMANITY, John Wiley and Sons
Inc., Toronto, 1976.

Tudor, Andrew; IMAGE AND INFLUENCE, George Allen and
Unwin Ltd., London, 1974.

Wattenberg, William; THE ADOLESCENTS YEARS, Harcourt
Brace and World Inc., New York, 1955.

Wollen, Peter; SIGNS AND MEANINGS IN CINEMA, Thames and
Hudson, London, 1969.

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
INST. OF AFRICAN
LIBRARY. STUDIES