

Making the ‘Next Billion’ Demand Access

The Local-Content Effect of `google.co.za` in Setswana

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Abstract

This paper shows that an exogenous increase in accessibility of local language content leads to an increase in demand for internet connectivity among native speakers. Internet connectivity provides enormous improvements in quality of life as well as opportunities for the newly connected, yet recent attempts to connect the current ‘next billion’ in places such as sub-Saharan Africa have not met expectations. In places where infrastructure has come online and prices have gone down, the expected consequent increase in usage was not observed. The introduction of the Setswana language in the South-African Google Search website was a spillover of the Botswana Google search website being translated from English to Setswana. This exogenous improvement in the accessibility of Setswana-language content has resulted in a substantial increase in the number of native Setswana speakers coming online and owning personal computers. It has also led to increased usage of the Setswana language online, creating a positive-feedback loop. This suggests that connecting the fourth billion will require a greater focus on the demand-side of connectivity, specifically by means of local content.

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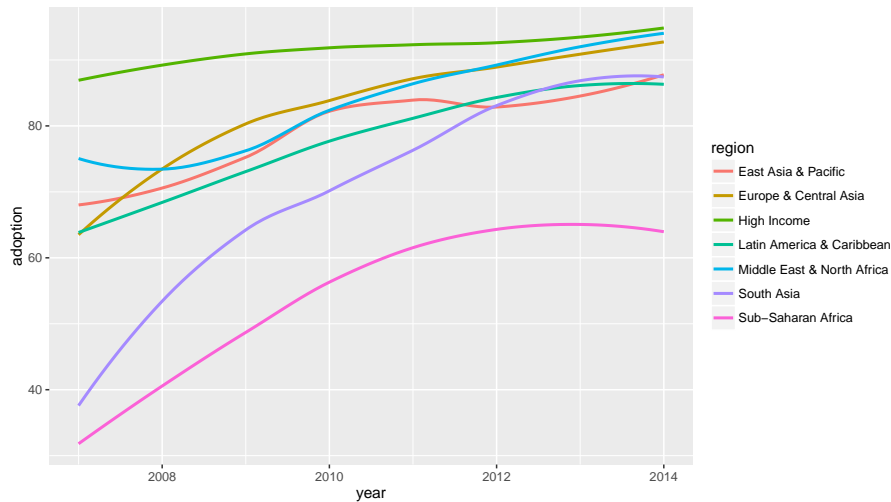
1 Introduction

The term ‘Connecting the Next Billion’ was introduced in The Economist’s 2006 ‘End of Year Report’ (Standage, 2006). Since then, close to 2 billion people are estimated to have been connected to the internet, up from the just over one billion at the time of writing (Sanou, 2015). However, it is unlikely that the current ‘Next Billion’ will be connected as easily as the previous ones.

In the period 2010-2014 the average annual growth of internet bandwidth in sub-Saharan was over 50%. This increased bandwidth also caused a corresponding drop in the price of internet access, bringing the sub-Saharan average of a 500MB prepaid internet bundle down to around \$10, thereby putting it within range of the emerging middle classes. Yet, despite increased range and improved affordability, sub-Saharan Africa is showing stagnation in the growth of internet connections.

As is shown in Figure 1, mobile internet growth, the oft mentioned key driver of internet accessibility in sub-Saharan Africa, is showing stagnation to the point of being near level or even slightly negative. Unlike in other regions in the figure, this observed stagnation is not a consequence of market saturation, as adoption levels in 2015 are only just over 60 percent.

Figure 1: Mobile Internet Growth

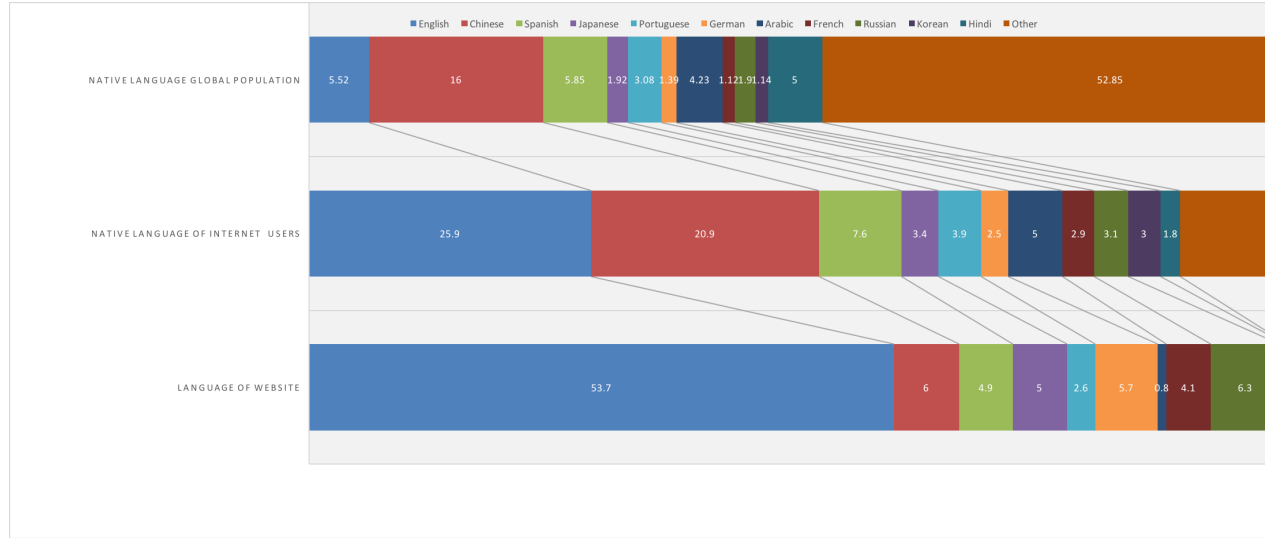


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The increased range and affordability, taken together with stagnant growth, suggest that connectivity is lagging because of lower-than-expected demand, as a result of insufficient perceived value. Part of this inadequate value proposition is that as internet usage becomes more widespread, potential internet users have lower than before affinity to the ‘global languages’ that are currently dominant on the internet. The amount of internet content in certain languages is very disproportionate to the number of native speakers that are online. The current offering of online content, primarily in a small number of languages, therefore provides insufficient incentive for many to seek access to the internet. In Figure 2 we can see that while on the one hand, English represents a relatively small

percentage of the global population’s native speakers (around 5%), it is already a much larger number of internet-connected global population (around 25%), but at the same time represents more than 50% of all the online content. On the other hand, Hindi is also the native language for about 5% of the global population. However, of the online global population, it is the native language for about 2%, yet the number of websites in the Hindi language is under 0.1% of all web content. The ‘other’ languages in this figure represent over half the global population, as can be seen in the top bar and around 20% of the internet-connected population, yet all of these languages combined only account for around 10% of online content.

Figure 2: Native Speakers and Web Content



This paper exploits an exogenous increase in the accessibility of local content in the Setswana language in South Africa, in order to isolate the increase of internet usage among native speakers. In 2010 Google collaborated with a Botswanan team of linguists (Otlogetswe, 2010) to make its Botswanan website (google.co.bw) available in the local language: ‘Setswana’. In addition to being spoken in Botswana, there is also a sizable population of Setswana speakers directly across the border in South Africa, where it is also one of the official state languages. This led to the Setswana-language interface also being introduced on the South-African Google website (google.co.za), as a spillover of the translation work originally performed for Google’s Botswanan website. This introduction led to a large increase in the number of native Setswana speakers reporting to have spent some amount of money in the past 30 days on internet access.

The Google Search interface represents a very small number of words on the internet and it is not required to use a certain interface language in order to search for content in this language. Yet, the search page is in many cases the first website viewed by users and thereby has a substantial impact on the decision to further engage or not. Besides from being able to understand the interface of the website, having this interface be in a local language also encourages usage

of this local language, which in turn reveals more local language content.

In short, we can identify two main channels through which this promotes increased online engagement, which together constitute the theory of change. Firstly, the ability to read and understand the words of the interface increases the chance that a user continues using the website and the internet at large. Secondly, the visibility of local language content increases the likelihood of the user entering search queries in the local language and thereby finding more content in the local language.

The vast majority of internet access in developing countries is through hand-held devices such as smartphones. However, due to the limited ‘real estate’ (surface area of the screen) on a mobile website, the link to changing the interface language is replaced with a dropdown menu that reveals the additional language options (see screenshots in Figure 9). Generally, the website will default to the operating system (Android / iOS) language, however, since many local African languages are not available as a system language, this is not possible there, leaving the website to revert to its default (in South Africa: English). The fact that the introduction also led to increased desktop-computer ownership but not mobile-phone ownership further substantiates this hypothesis.

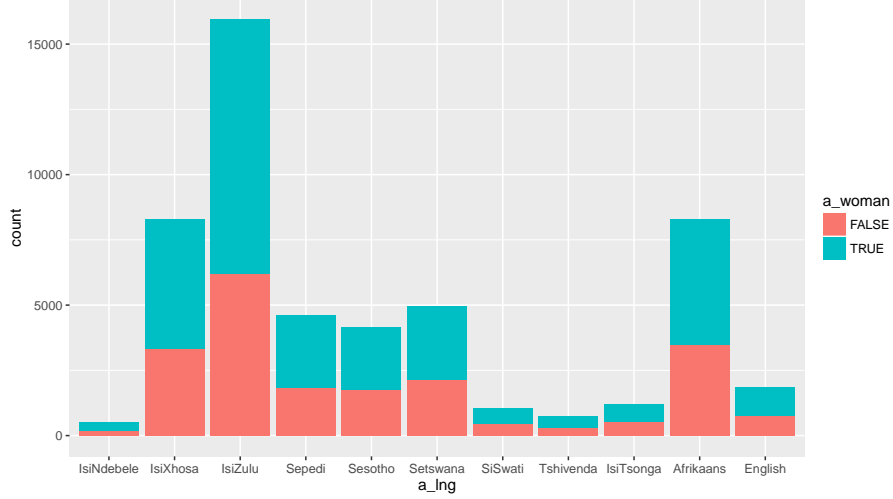
The data used for this study comes from the South African National Income Dynamics Survey, provided by Southern Africa Labour and Development Research Unit (2008, 2012, 2013), the data is further discussed in section 2. After which section 3 discusses the methods employed in this study, specifically, the discussion of the identification strategy can be found in subsection 3.1 and the use of the Difference-in-Differences estimator in subsection 3.2. Further, we present the results of the estimation in section 4. Finally, we conclude in section 5.

2 Data

South Africa’s National Income Dynamics Survey collects data on a representative set of around ten thousand households over time. The first survey took place in 2008, the second one in late 2010 and early 2011, and the third one took place in 2012 (Southern Africa Labour and Development Research Unit, 2008, 2012, 2013). It contains an extensive household questionnaire, which breaks household expenditure down into many forms of food and non-food expenditure. In addition to this, the household income is calculated and imputed with other income such as home ownership. The individual (adult) questionnaires also contain information on linguistic skill in English and in the native language, as well as a series of variables relating to communication technology ownership and utilisation. In Figure 3 we can see the number of native speakers of each in the dataset, coloured by the sex of the individual. The dataset contains 51,612 observations (adult individuals), of which 2,806 are female native Setswana speakers and 2,140 are male native Setswana speakers.

A detailed breakdown of the mean number of households that spend on internet access and cellphone usage, as well as cellphone and computer ownership by language and time period (wave) is presented in Table 5 of Appendix B.

Figure 3: Native Language and Sex



3 Methods

This section begins with a discussion of the identification strategy employed, followed by an explanation of the estimator used to operationalise this, and concludes with a description of the software used for this estimation.

3.1 Identification Strategy

This paper exploits the introduction of the Setswana interface language to Google Search in South Africa as a spillover of the development of that interface for the Botswanan Google Search website. By comparing the number of native Setswana speakers in South Africa being internet users, with the number of South Africans with a different native language around the same time, we isolate the effect of this introduction.

The Setswana language was first developed for the Botswanan Google Search website (google.co.bw). As such, the introduction of Setswana to the South African Google Search (google.co.za) was a spillover effect of that development. This allows us to rule out any possible endogeneity issues that might otherwise arise in contexts such as these. For instance, the Afrikaans language is almost solely spoken in South Africa. When we observe that the introduction of the Afrikaans Google Search interface occurs around the same time as a growth in the number of native Afrikaans internet users, it will be hard to isolate the effect from the introduction from its cause (since an increase in native Afrikaans internet users would be a good reason to introduce it as an interface language).

Substantial numbers of Setswana speakers exist in Botswana, South Africa, Zimbabwe, and to some extent Namibia. However, the language is most important in Botswana, where it is spoken by approximately 80% of all people, and where it is the only official language other than English. As such, it is also the place where most linguistic work on the Setswana language takes place.

The Setswana Google Search interface was also developed at the University of Botswana by prof. Otlogetswe.

It is worth noting that it is very common not to personally own a computer and ‘paying for internet access’ therefore also includes a lot of people who use the internet in other locations such as internet cafe’s.

In addition to using the propensity to spend on internet (in the last thirty days), we also use the propensity to own a computer as a dependent variable.

3.2 Estimation

As mentioned in the above section, we compare the change in the level of internet users among native Setswana speakers in South Africa, with that of native speakers of other language in South Africa around the introduction of the Setswana interface to the South-African Google Search. For this we use a Difference-in-Differences estimator using a native-Setswana speaker dummy variable (`setswana_logical`), interacted with an event dummy variable (`interface_intro`). The former is `TRUE` when the native language of the individual (`a_lng`) is `Setswana` and `FALSE` otherwise. The latter is `FALSE` for data collected prior to the introduction of the Setswana interface language (late 2010, here wave 1 and 2) and `TRUE` after this introduction (here wave 3).

$$y_{irt} = \gamma_{ir} + \lambda_{it} + \delta D_{rt} + \zeta X_{irt} + \epsilon_{irt} \quad (1)$$

In addition to this estimation, we use an alternative specification whereby a factor variable of native language is interacted with the event dummy variable. In a linear regression context, factor variables are estimated as dummy variables for all levels (here: all languages) except for one ‘base’ level, which is where all language dummies are `FALSE` (i.e. 0) and the level (native language) thus has to be the first one (here `IsiNdebele`).

3.3 Software

In order to make the result as easily reproducible as possible, this research and writing in the article has been done exclusively using open-source software such as R (R Core Team, 2016). This document is written and \LaTeX (LyX Team, 2016) in the \LaTeX (Lamport, 1985) language and compiled using the \LaTeX implementation (Hoekwater et al., 2016). The integration of R code in the document is performed using the knitr implementation (Xie, 2015) of the Sweave framework (Leisch, 2002).

All changes are logged using the version control system Git (Git Team, 2016) and publicly available on GitHub at <https://github.com/bquast/Making-Next-Billion-Demand-Access/>¹

4 Results

In the base model, we use an interaction of the `interface_intro` dummy and `setswana_logical` dummy in order to isolate the effect on the explanandum, a

¹The repository can be cloned to a local computer by entering in following command in a terminal (with Git installed):

```
git clone https://github.com/bquast/Making-Next-Billion-Demand-Access.git
```

dummy variable describing household expenditure on internet in the last thirty days or not (**h_nfnet**, household non-food internet). The results of this estimation are presented in Table 1.

We find that the interaction term of the event dummy (**interface_intro**) and the native Setswana speaker dummy (**setswana_logical**) is positive and highly significant, with a p-value around 0.0018. Both the individual dummy variables (**interface_introTRUE** and **setswana_logicalTRUE**) yield significant but negative parameter estimates.

In addition to this, the covariates included in the estimation are also highly significant. The highest education level of the individual (**best_edu**) and the household income (**hhincome**) are both positive and significant. The parameter estimate of **a_womanTRUE** here is negative but not at all significant, this is unsurprising as we use internet expenditure at a household level. Most women live in a household which includes men and vice versa, suggesting that this effect cannot be isolated in this estimation. We further investigate this issue in a separate estimation discussed below. The variables describing linguistic skills in reading and writing in both English and the native language do yield many significant results, though lower levels of English writing skill seems to be correlated with a lower propensity to use the internet (**a_edlitwrten** for levels 2 and 3, but not the very lowest: 4).

In an alternative formulation, we include the native language variable as a categorical variable (**a_lng**), interacted with the **interface_intro** dummy. In this estimation we only find significantly positive results for **Setswana** and **Venda** (as small language from the region bordering Zimbabwe), and a significantly negative effect for the language **Afrikaans**.

Table 1: Living in Household that Spent on Internet (last 30 days)

```
lm(h_nfnet ~ interface_intro*setswana_logical +
      factor(a_edlitrden) +
      factor(a_edlitwrten) +
      factor(a_edlitrdhm) +
      factor(a_edlitwrthm) +
      a_woman +
      hhincome +
      best_edu)
```

	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(> t)
(Intercept)	-0.0008565	0.0018351	-0.4667340	0.6406924
interface_introTRUE	-0.0117376	0.0012170	-9.6449716	0.0000000
setswana_logicalTRUE	-0.0135286	0.0024255	-5.5777454	0.0000000
factor(a_edlitrden)2	0.0015879	0.0040272	0.3942904	0.6933684
factor(a_edlitrden)3	0.0002543	0.0052755	0.0481963	0.9615600
factor(a_edlitrden)4	-0.0036574	0.0068160	-0.5365861	0.5915561
factor(a_edlitwrten)2	-0.0101933	0.0040178	-2.5369998	0.0111839
factor(a_edlitwrten)3	-0.0107676	0.0052214	-2.0621916	0.0391951
factor(a_edlitwrten)4	-0.0071685	0.0066937	-1.0709421	0.2842010
factor(a_edlitrdhm)2	-0.0025418	0.0036848	-0.6898084	0.4903181
factor(a_edlitrdhm)3	-0.0028899	0.0051291	-0.5634293	0.5731453
factor(a_edlitrdhm)4	-0.0079926	0.0069070	-1.1571655	0.2472107
factor(a_edlitwrthm)2	0.0008117	0.0037229	0.2180373	0.8274010
factor(a_edlitwrthm)3	0.0013993	0.0051372	0.2723915	0.7853222
factor(a_edlitwrthm)4	-0.0069174	0.0069137	-1.0005354	0.3170567
a_womanTRUE	-0.0013881	0.0011452	-1.2121278	0.2254696
hhincome	0.0000027	0.0000001	46.2987087	0.0000000
best_edu	0.0013582	0.0001164	11.6710813	0.0000000
interface_introTRUE:setswana_logicalTRUE	0.0119717	0.0038666	3.0961443	0.0019617

Furthermore, we also use a variant of the base model, in which the propensity of adults (**a_owncom**) to own a computer is used as an explanandum. This is of particular relevance, as the explanandum here (**a_owncom**) differs from the base model's explanandum in two ways. Firstly, it does not include expenditure on internet in ways such as internet cafes, but focusses on actual ownership, signaling a more long-term investment and interest. Secondly, the **h_nfnet** variable is at a household level, whereas the **a_owncom** variable is at the level of an individual adult. The results from this estimation are included in Table 2. This form of the estimation yields similar results to those estimated in the base model. Firstly we find that the variable of interest, the interaction term between the event and the language dummy (**interface_introTRUE:setswana_logicalTRUE**) is positive and highly significant, with a p-value smaller than 0.001. The individual dummy variables (**interface_introTRUE** and **setswana_logicalTRUE**) again are significant and negative with the former's p-value smaller than 0.01 and the latter's smaller than 0.001. In terms of the linguistic skill, we find that the lower levels of English reading as well as English writing are correlated

with lower propensities of computer ownership. Similar to internet expenditure model, household income (**hhincome**) and highest level of education (**best_edu**) are both positive and highly significant (p-value: ~ 0). However, unlike in the household internet expenditure model, the sex of the individual here is highly significant, specifically, parameter estimate of **a_womanTRUE** is negative and highly significant (p-value: ~ 0). As mentioned above, this variable is difficult to interpret when using a household-level variable as an explanandum, however, here, the computer ownership variable is at an individual level, which makes the coefficient more interpretable.

Table 2: Computer Ownership

```
lm(a_owncom ~ interface_intro*setswana_logical +
      factor(a_edlitrden) +
      factor(a_edlitwrten) +
      factor(a_edlitrdhm) +
      factor(a_edlitwrthm) +
      a_woman +
      hhincome +
      best_edu)
```

	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(> t)
(Intercept)	0.0075393	0.0031352	2.4047103	0.0161891
interface_introTRUE	-0.0053820	0.0020917	-2.5729824	0.0100856
setswana_logicalTRUE	-0.0147502	0.0041653	-3.5411916	0.0003987
factor(a_edlitrden)2	-0.0306749	0.0069077	-4.4406931	0.0000090
factor(a_edlitrden)3	-0.0310090	0.0090330	-3.4328617	0.0005978
factor(a_edlitrden)4	-0.0389174	0.0116674	-3.3355679	0.0008519
factor(a_edlitwrten)2	-0.0173238	0.0068925	-2.5134122	0.0119602
factor(a_edlitwrten)3	-0.0210640	0.0089384	-2.3565895	0.0184476
factor(a_edlitwrten)4	-0.0187291	0.0114540	-1.6351572	0.1020227
factor(a_edlitrdhm)2	-0.0017925	0.0063219	-0.2835349	0.7767681
factor(a_edlitrdhm)3	-0.0041655	0.0088001	-0.4733526	0.6359638
factor(a_edlitrdhm)4	-0.0267964	0.0118797	-2.2556443	0.0240974
factor(a_edlitwrthm)2	0.0010896	0.0063817	0.1707311	0.8644360
factor(a_edlitwrthm)3	-0.0020020	0.0088176	-0.2270503	0.8203856
factor(a_edlitwrthm)4	-0.0357886	0.0118921	-3.0094517	0.0026186
a_womanTRUE	-0.0230335	0.0019598	-11.7530143	0.0000000
hhincome	0.0000058	0.0000001	56.8794124	0.0000000
best_edu	0.0058419	0.0002002	29.1761771	0.0000000
interface_introTRUE:setswana_logicalTRUE	0.0238052	0.0066799	3.5637169	0.0003660

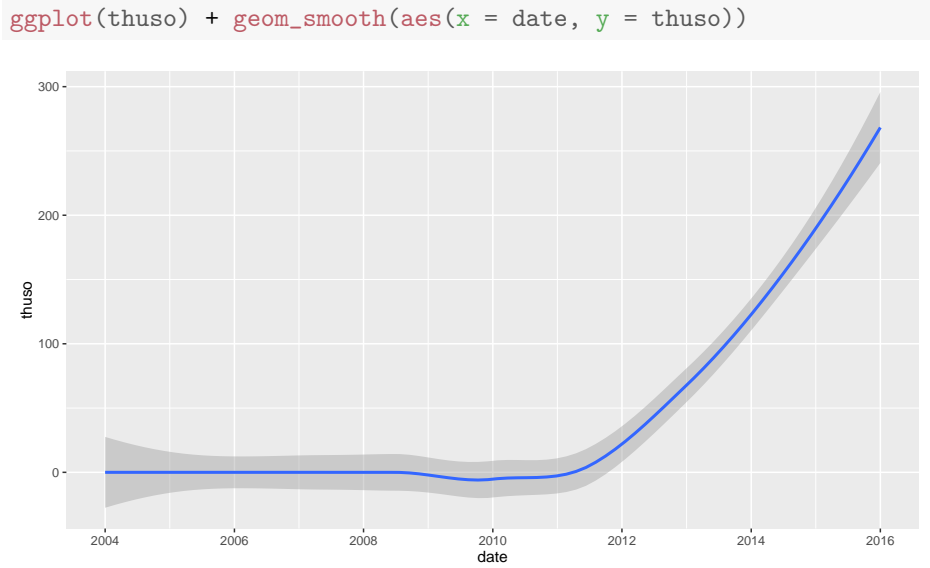
Asides from the effect on the proportion of households with internet expenditure, and the proportion of adults who own a computer, we also estimate any possible effects on the probability of the household to spend on a cellphone, and on adults likelihood to own a cellphone.

We find no significant effects on the propensity of expenditure on cell phones or the propensity to own one. As discussed in the introduction, we suspect this

to be a consequence of the fact that language switching on mobile cannot be automatic, since the Android operating system does not support the Setswana language, combined with the fact that the Setswana interface button is not visible directly on the `google.co.za` homepage, but rather in a dropdown menu (Figure 9).

This last effect is also visible in Figure 4, which illustrates how usage of the Setswana word ‘thuso’, meaning ‘help’ in search queries, was zero prior to the introduction of the Setswana search interface and became widespread thereafter.

Figure 4: Usage of Setswana Words on Google.co.za



5 Conclusions and Limitations

In conclusion, despite recent advances in the reach, speed, and affordability of internet connectivity in sub-Saharan Africa, actual connectivity has been stagnant.

This paper exploits the introduction of the Setswana-language interface on `google.co.za`, as a spillover of the development of this interface for `google.co.bw` and finds that it leads to a substantial increase in internet usage and computer ownership among native Setswana speakers.

This increase of internet usage among the Setswana speaking population as a result of the newly introduced interface language on `google.co.za`, suggests that there is a serious lack in the availability of local content in many African languages, which serves as an impediment to further internet adoption here. Additionally, there was also an observably positive effect on computer ownership amongst adults. This suggests that the effect is unlikely to be ephemeral in nature, since computer ownership constitutes a more long-term investment in internet access.

Finally, the fact that this effect is not observed in cellphone ownership and

expenditure, which is possibly a consequence of the fact that the interface cannot automatically switch and that the link ‘Setswana’ is not directly visible from the landing page, suggests that it is important to make the link directly visible on the landing page in order to fully reach users.

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A Factor vs. Dummy

In addition to estimating our model using a dummy variable for native Setswana speakers, we also estimate the model using a factor variable of the categorical variable describing language. In a linear model this is operationalised as a dummy variable for each level except for the base level (here **IsiNdebele**). The results of this estimation are similar to the base model, suggesting that the results are robust to specification idiosyncrasies.

Table 3: Factor of Language

```
lm(h_nfnet ~ interface_intro*a_lng)
```

	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(> t)
(Intercept)	0.0153374	0.0068968	2.2238509	0.0261630
interface_introTRUE	-0.0153374	0.0115842	-1.3239954	0.1855107
a_lngIsiXhosa	-0.0119771	0.0071155	-1.6832303	0.0923369
a_lngIsiZulu	-0.0101387	0.0070175	-1.4447738	0.1485278
a_lngSepedi	-0.0118839	0.0073155	-1.6244854	0.1042787
a_lngSesotho	-0.0017102	0.0073335	-0.2331986	0.8156081
a_lngSetswana	-0.0100812	0.0072567	-1.3892233	0.1647711
a_lngSiSwati	-0.0106935	0.0084599	-1.2640221	0.2062281
a_lngTshivenda	0.1182366	0.0101757	11.6194711	0.0000000
a_lngIsiTsonga	0.0258487	0.0085505	3.0230556	0.0025036
a_lngAfrikaans	0.0293054	0.0071163	4.1180475	0.0000383
a_lngEnglish	0.0884438	0.0077486	11.4141745	0.0000000
interface_introTRUE:a_lngIsiXhosa	0.0139527	0.0119317	1.1693853	0.2422541
interface_introTRUE:a_lngIsiZulu	0.0146315	0.0117708	1.2430305	0.2138625
interface_introTRUE:a_lngSepedi	0.0169315	0.0122000	1.3878269	0.1651960
interface_introTRUE:a_lngSesotho	0.0130134	0.0122768	1.0600000	0.2891498
interface_introTRUE:a_lngSetswana	0.0207076	0.0121639	1.7023816	0.0886902
interface_introTRUE:a_lngSiSwati	0.0241705	0.0141419	1.7091434	0.0874307
interface_introTRUE:a_lngTshivenda	-0.1182366	0.0154930	-7.6316105	0.0000000
interface_introTRUE:a_lngIsiTsonga	-0.0234958	0.0140080	-1.6773078	0.0934887
interface_introTRUE:a_lngAfrikaans	0.0106404	0.0119382	0.8912936	0.3727760
interface_introTRUE:a_lngEnglish	0.0139328	0.0132294	1.0531742	0.2922663

Lastly, we also estimate the factor model with the inclusion of the linguistic skill variables. These results are again similar to the ones from using simply a dummy variable for native Setswana speakers, suggesting robustness to specification idiosyncrasies.

Table 4: LM4_1: with read / write in eng / native and woman

```
lm(h_nfnnet ~ interface_intro*a_lng +
      a_edlitrden +
      a_edlitwrten +
      a_edlitrdhm +
      a_edlitwrthm +
      a_woman)
```

	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(> t)
(Intercept)	0.0317749	0.0071775	4.4270461	0.0000096
interface_introTRUE	-0.0160663	0.0115540	-1.3905423	0.1643709
a_lngIsiXhosa	-0.0099180	0.0072875	-1.3609631	0.1735320
a_lngIsiZulu	-0.0074551	0.0071962	-1.0359807	0.3002165
a_lngSepedi	-0.0117930	0.0074983	-1.5727489	0.1157838
a_lngSesotho	-0.0024452	0.0074934	-0.3263203	0.7441835
a_lngSetswana	-0.0090956	0.0074396	-1.2225899	0.2214908
a_lngSiSwati	-0.0109608	0.0086683	-1.2644745	0.2060661
a_lngTshivenda	0.1112485	0.0102479	10.8557149	0.0000000
a_lngIsiTsonga	0.0241788	0.0088017	2.7470744	0.0060153
a_lngAfrikaans	0.0327886	0.0072883	4.4988214	0.0000068
a_lngEnglish	0.0833091	0.0078893	10.5597493	0.0000000
a_edlitrden	-0.0034523	0.0022378	-1.5427211	0.1229053
a_edlitwrten	-0.0067086	0.0021968	-3.0537886	0.0022610
a_edlitrdhm	0.0005400	0.0021481	0.2513920	0.8015121
a_edlitwrthm	0.0021310	0.0021519	0.9903130	0.3220263
a_womanTRUE	-0.0012363	0.0011577	-1.0678587	0.2855898
interface_introTRUE:a_lngIsiXhosa	0.0132544	0.0118983	1.1139774	0.2652947
interface_introTRUE:a_lngIsiZulu	0.0145905	0.0117427	1.2425235	0.2140498
interface_introTRUE:a_lngSepedi	0.0177767	0.0121732	1.4603215	0.1442085
interface_introTRUE:a_lngSesotho	0.0129867	0.0122347	1.0614651	0.2884841
interface_introTRUE:a_lngSetswana	0.0200827	0.0121370	1.6546587	0.0980005
interface_introTRUE:a_lngSiSwati	0.0253579	0.0141092	1.7972623	0.0723005
interface_introTRUE:a_lngTshivenda	-0.1117493	0.0153827	-7.2646212	0.0000000
interface_introTRUE:a_lngIsiTsonga	-0.0181667	0.0140090	-1.2967938	0.1947086
interface_introTRUE:a_lngAfrikaans	0.0095960	0.0119027	0.8062092	0.4201264

B Dependent Variables Descriptive Statistics

The below table breaks down computer and cellphone ownership as well as internet and cellphone expenditure by linguistic group.

Table 5: Descriptive statistics on Ownership and Expenditure

```

adulthh %>%
  group_by(a_lng, wave) %>%
  summarise(a_owncel = mean(a_owncel, na.rm = TRUE),
            a_owncom = mean(a_owncom, na.rm = TRUE),
            h_nfcel = mean(h_nfcel, na.rm = TRUE),
            h_nfnet = mean(h_nfnet, na.rm = TRUE),
            h_nfcelspn = mean(h_nfcelspn, na.rm = TRUE),
            h_nfnetspn = mean(h_nfnetspn, na.rm = TRUE))

```

a_lng	wave	a_owncel	a_owncom	h_nfcel	h_nfnet	h_nfcelspn	h_nfnetspn
IsiNdebele	1	0.6026490	0.0331126	0.6533333	0.0000000	59.78519	0.0000000
IsiNdebele	2	0.6864865	0.0270270	0.6800000	0.0284091	84.12571	1.4204545
IsiNdebele	3	0.7611111	0.0333333	0.8722222	0.0000000	105.46067	0.0000000
IsiXhosa	1	0.4631115	0.0112269	0.4352518	0.0012043	39.76659	0.0574297
IsiXhosa	2	0.6065066	0.0186335	0.5996664	0.0054517	54.47248	0.2978972
IsiXhosa	3	0.7564988	0.0345508	0.7041694	0.0019756	86.33322	0.0869279
IsiZulu	1	0.5610984	0.0132693	0.5756053	0.0013730	48.21557	0.0363844
IsiZulu	2	0.5169004	0.0127744	0.4721318	0.0086366	49.00402	1.3053671
IsiZulu	3	0.7662405	0.0252420	0.7247881	0.0044928	96.59072	0.6889696
Sepedi	1	0.6127214	0.0265273	0.5772947	0.0048309	40.47351	0.3462158
Sepedi	2	0.7029372	0.0226818	0.5933485	0.0021994	51.69161	0.1583578
Sepedi	3	0.7936063	0.0718697	0.7863152	0.0050477	110.64450	1.1385306
Sesotho	1	0.6562986	0.0366044	0.5507812	0.0062598	49.45647	0.4772727
Sesotho	2	0.6973684	0.0457010	0.5411671	0.0213640	60.29976	3.0657354
Sesotho	3	0.8114210	0.0949535	0.8147901	0.0113032	115.52993	1.8284574
Setswana	1	0.5796003	0.0351724	0.5281593	0.0068681	59.33404	0.2886598
Setswana	2	0.6004872	0.0359537	0.6494778	0.0037783	86.17885	1.0214106
Setswana	3	0.7728036	0.0711086	0.7684564	0.0106264	112.96165	0.8509804
SiSwati	1	0.6593060	0.0441640	0.7823344	0.0000000	59.17647	0.0000000
SiSwati	2	0.7598870	0.0612813	0.6693227	0.0091185	63.28685	0.4589666
SiSwati	3	0.8247978	0.0458221	0.7816712	0.0134771	120.19944	1.4555256
Tshivenda	1	0.5980861	0.0334928	0.5645933	0.0000000	108.45631	0.0000000
Tshivenda	2	0.7804878	0.0000000	0.9621212	0.5441176	50.85606	1.2058824
Tshivenda	3	0.8617363	0.0225080	0.8456592	0.0000000	142.95035	0.0000000
IsiTsonga	1	0.6411765	0.0235294	0.4408284	0.0000000	27.80896	0.0000000
IsiTsonga	2	0.7375887	0.0118203	0.7163636	0.0929368	55.88364	0.9368030
IsiTsonga	3	0.8621495	0.0397196	0.8691589	0.0023529	103.93128	0.3529412
Afrikaans	1	0.5392884	0.1345441	0.6227876	0.0465116	133.43521	9.4163569
Afrikaans	2	0.5422477	0.0904605	0.6258591	0.0424710	103.81572	10.9746890
Afrikaans	3	0.6686971	0.1106225	0.7645862	0.0399458	146.19560	10.5008501
English	1	0.7266667	0.2969374	0.7449933	0.1016043	371.01291	31.0356653
English	2	0.7976190	0.3234127	0.8728814	0.1070707	375.17797	35.3555556
English	3	0.8608059	0.3156934	0.8811700	0.1023766	377.87127	23.3816514

C General Descriptive Statistics

Figure 5: Household Income

```
ggplot(adulthh, aes(x=hhincome, fill=a_lng )) + stat_bin(bins=50)
```

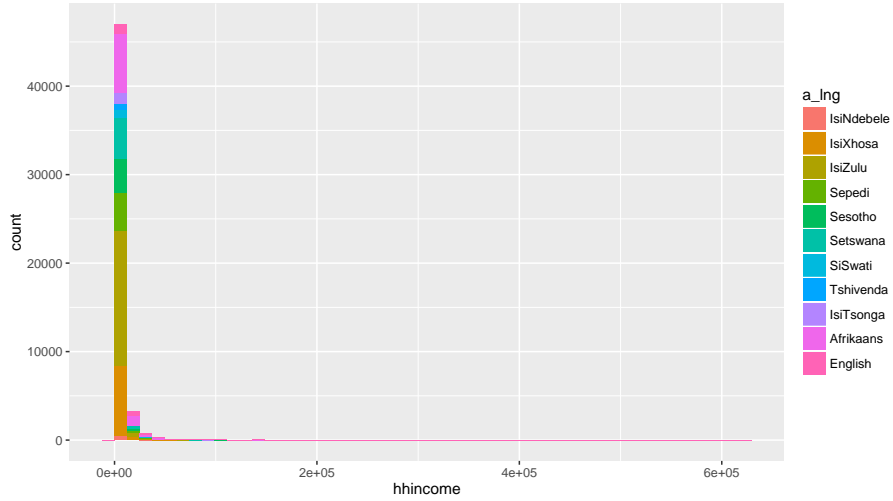
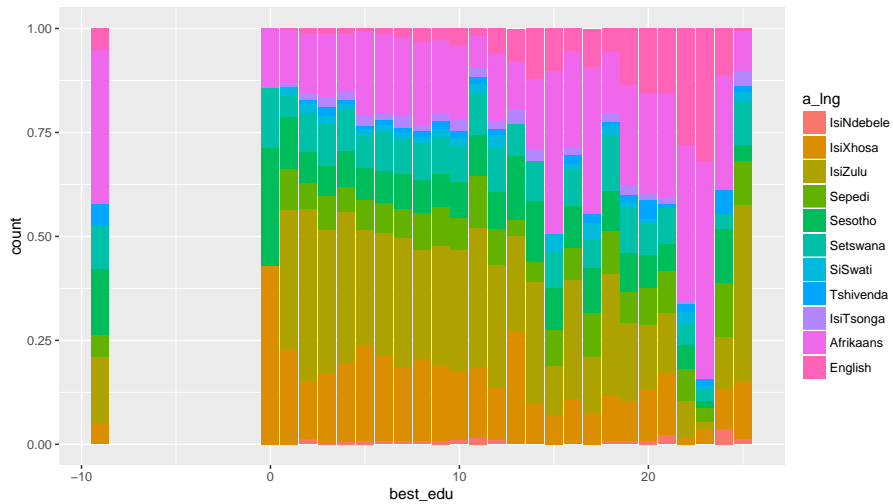


Figure 6: Years of Education

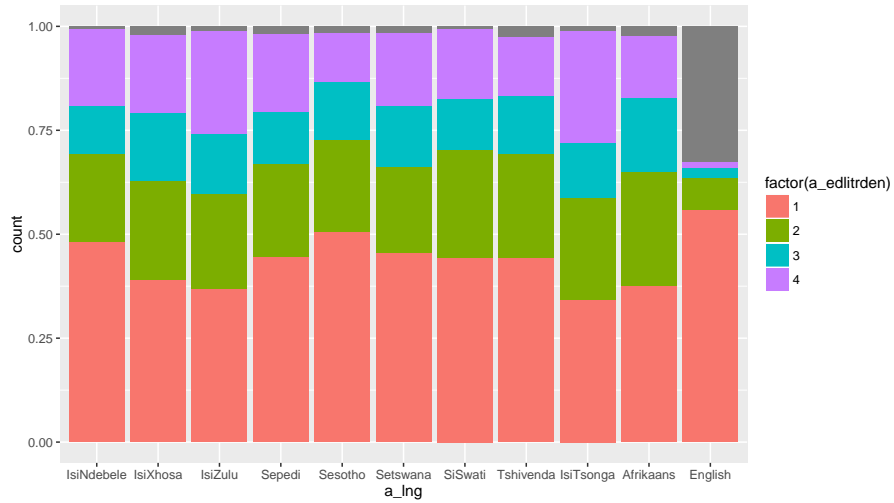
```
ggplot(adulthh, aes(x=best_edu, fill=a_lng )) + geom_bar(position = 'fill')
```



The Figure 7 describes the skill of individuals in reading the English language, where 1 the best and 4 is the worst, grey values are NA.

Figure 7: English Language Reading Skills

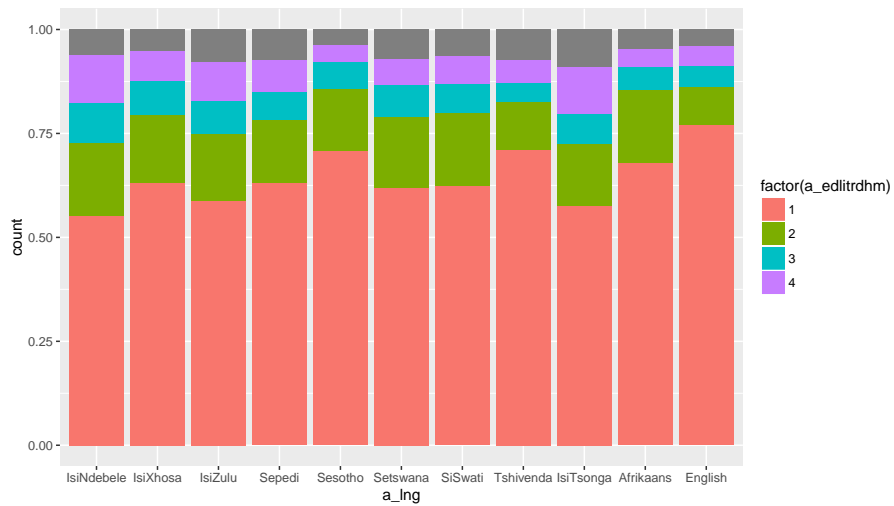
```
ggplot(adulthh, aes(x = a_lng, fill = factor(a_edlitrdn))) +  
  geom_bar(position = 'fill')
```



The Figure 8 does the same but with regards to the native language.

Figure 8: Native Language Reading Skills

```
ggplot(adulthh, aes(x = a_lng, fill = factor(a_edlitrdhm))) +  
  geom_bar(position = 'fill')
```



D Language Switching on Mobile

The graphics in Figure 9 illustrate the process of switching the mobile `google.co.za` interface language to Setswana, from the default English. The mobile interface language can automatically be changed based on the system language of the operation system (in most cases Android), however, as Setswana and many African languages are not available as system languages in Android, the website interface on `google.co.za` will default to English.

Figure 9: Changing Interface Language on Mobile

