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Language change and social networks among Somali refugee teenagers

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CHAPTER ONE

Language Change and Social Networks among Somali Refugee Teenagers

The effect of mass migration has been creation of radically new types of human being: people who root themselves in ideas rather than places, in memories as much as material things, people who have been obliged to define themselves – because they are so defined by others – by their otherness; people in whose deepest selves strange fusion occur, unprecented unions between what they are and where they find themselves.

Rushdie, S. (1992) *Imaginary Homelands.*

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1.1 Introduction

This study investigates language change and social networks among Somali refugee teenagers in Eastleigh, a suburb of the capital city of Kenya, Nairobi. Language change in this study implies that the teenagers shift to the use of other languages and discard their own language (Milroy and Milroy, 1997). Language variation studies have gained prominence in sociolinguistic research because language change reflects other underlying social changes, for example, social identity, linguistic power, gender issues and social integration. Social networks are relations individuals make in a social environment (Milroy, 1980). The majority of urban Somali refugees in Kenya live in Eastleigh, a densely populated low-income area. The study focuses on their social networks and the effect these networks have on language use by the teenagers in different domains. It seeks to find out whether the social networks that these teenagers build orient them to either the languages spoken in Kenya (that is, English, Kiswahili, and other languages) on the one hand, or to their own language, for example, Somali on the other hand. Teenagers were chosen for the present study because they are considered to be competent speakers of languages and are not restricted in their language choices by incomplete acquisition (Coulmas, 2006). Adults were not considered in the study because the Kenyan constitution does not recognise legality of refugees in urban areas unless they are school going or seeking medical aid. The theoretical framework for this study is an adaptation of the Social Network theory developed by Milroy (1980). In addition, Fishman, 1968 Domain analysis and ideas from the poststructuralist framework such as the notions of domination and power are utilised. Earlier researchers such as Milroy (1980), Salami (1991), Fitzmaurice (2000), Stoessel (2002) and Wiklund (2002) have particularly drawn on the insights and methods of social network theory. By using the concept of social networks, they have demonstrated that people are, in their everyday encounters, largely dependent on the ways they use language with others with whom they interact. Furthermore, they have shown that social networks enable language users to manipulate each other (Romaine, 1982) and as a result, linguistic change can occur. In addition, poststructuralist researchers such as Woolard (1985), Heller (1992) and Norton (2000) point out that society is asymmetrical in nature and languages and the speakers of

languages wield different powers in varied contexts. Thus, in accordance with the foregoing, a fundamental question in contemporary sociolinguistics becomes one of how displaced people use language in a context which is radically different from their previous own.

The current study occurs within a context in which one of the consequences of the deepening political, economic, and ecological crisis in Africa is the refugee problem. The flow of people in the uncertain and often temporary lives of refugee groups throughout the world calls into question concerns of language entitlement, culture, assets and capabilities (knowledge and skills) and, at the same time, the complex ways in which the refugees engage with the issue of language within their redefined lives (Rassool, 2007). Indeed, over the last two decades, Kenya has hosted thousands of refugees, mainly from Somalia, Sudan, Ethiopia, and at one time Uganda. Other groups of refugees include South Africans, Mozambicans, Burundians, Rwandans and Congolese. The refugee population is dominated by Somalis and Sudanese (Campbell, 2005). For more than a decade, Somalia, a predominantly Muslim country, has experienced a long-standing and violent civil war. Lack of an effective central government, famine and drought are the common causes of displacement for hundreds of Somalis (Chesang, 2006).

One of the many tasks refugees face is finding a place within the host community to speak their languages. It is impossible for the host neighbourhood to recreate conditions of the home country for the refugees. Cultural patterns remain unchanged, and the migrants might have to join the speech community of the host (Horvard, 1998). Horvard points out that the immigrants must find a sociolinguistic niche to occupy. This social relocation has the same potential to bring about language change as does geographic relocation. Polyzoi (1985:67) points out:

> an immigrant, upon entering a new country, typically experiences a major shift in cultural grounds. He soon realizes that his native interpretive practices are inappropriate for understanding the new cultural schema. When the immigrant encounters features in his new environment which lie outside the ordinary domain of his knowledge, he first attempts to identify the elements. He endeavours to capture the meaning. He first attempts to learn the features of the novel interpretive schema through metaphorical allusion of the old... It is assumed that

> only after having accumulated a certain amount of knowledge of interpretive functions of the new cultural pattern in this manner, can the immigrant similarly begin to assume it has his own schema of interpretation.

The refugees come with their own languages and cultures to Kenya. Wiklund (2002) notes that people in regular contact with one another share linguistic features, and tend to borrow features of each other's language varieties, even in situations where those varieties are different languages. In contrast, people who have less contact with one another share few linguistic features with one another.

Sociolinguistic research often examines the networks of small communities, focusing on the relation between properties of individuals' social network and their linguistic performance. Social network relations are defined as "the variety and frequency of the interactions among people in a society that are recognized as a principal vehicle of change" (Milroy, 1980:42). Further, Mesthrie et al. (2000) see social networks as informal and formal social relations that individuals maintain among themselves. Two criteria are particularly important for the description of networks: density and multiplexity. The density of a network is the number of connections or links in it (Milroy, 1980). In a low density network, individuals usually know the central member but not each other. In a high density network, members of the network are known to each other and interact with each other. Multiplexity measures the capacity at which members in a network are known to each other. For example an individual can be known to another as a cousin, friend and schoolmate. These two criteria for networks are seen as norm enforcers, and in this particular study, social networks are seen to be enforcing language norms which result in language change. Stoessel (2002) agrees that immigrants may choose to adapt their linguistic behaviour or find some solution in order to balance the needs of their new community with their own needs of presenting the self. Thus, to answer questions about the extent to which the refugee teenagers have retained their Somali language or have changed to use other languages, the study looks at social networks among the teenagers, and correlates them to the actual language use in different domains.

Drawing on social networks theory, this study seeks to understand how the refugee teenagers have adjusted linguistically in their new environment (Eastleigh). This is done by analysing the social networks of the teenagers and situating these relations with respect to language use and change among the refugee teenagers. Drawing on the poststructuralists' framework, the study also attempts to uncover the power relations at play when many languages come in contact in domains and how teenagers negotiate their identity in Kenya. In line with these two theoretical frameworks, the study further seeks to determine the language use by different genders and establish their proficiency. Language proficiency is an indication that language acquisition has actually taken place (Wiklund, 2002).

To understand the language complexity which is encountered by the refugees in Kenya, the description must be informed by historical developments which explain the origin of the refugees and the choice of the Somalis for the study. Language rights in Kenya will also be discussed to further clarify the choices that the refugees have. Hence, the next section presents a sociolinguistic account of Kenya and Somalia.

1.2. The Sociolinguistic Profile of Kenya and Somalia

It is important to sketch a sociolinguistic profile of Kenya and Somalia in order to illuminate the issues at play in the pursuit of social networks and language change. The linguistic profile of Kenya is first highlighted. This is followed by a description of the Somalia linguistic set-up in order to have an overview of the situation which is faced by the Somali refugees once they cross the borders to Kenya. The discussion reveals that the refugees face a 'linguistic conflict' but that the teenagers have adopted various strategies to survive.

1.2.1 Kenya

Kenya is a typical multilingual state where over forty languages are spoken. The exact distribution of the languages spoken in Kenya differs according to the source. For example, CKRC (2000) gives a figure of 70 languages; Webb and Kembo-Sure (2000)

put it at 42; Ogechi (2003) adds Sheng as a language.[1] The disparity could be a result of various factors including what is considered as a language and a dialect by various scholars. In Kenya English is an exo-glossic official language used in government, international business, and diplomacy. Kiswahili is an endo-glossic national language that is used for government administration and casual inter-ethnic communication. The rest of the languages in Kenya are used for intra-ethnic communication in the homes and the rural areas. Thus, Kenya is a trilingual country, with individual Kenyans tending towards degrees of proficiency in their vernacular language, Swahili and English. The vernacular is acquired at home and in the neighbourhood with co-ethnic communities in both rural and urban contexts. English and Swahili are also learned within the school system, with official policy proposing English as a medium of instruction. The linguistic position of Kenya can be summarised as below:

1.2.1.1 English.

English is considered a high status language, having been a language of the former colonisers. It is Kenya's official language, used in transactions in the civil service, courts, and in parliament. English is also the preferred language of education from pre-school.[2] Thus, English is associated with power, prestige, progress, success and achievement. This preference of English has generated debates in Kenya and other parts of Africa on its demerits and merits. Linguistic human rights activists Ogechi (2000) and Webb and Kembo-Sure (2000) opine that English has displaced other languages because of the prominence it is given in African language policies.

1.2.1.2 Kiswahili

Kiswahili, also referred to as the national language, is an African language of Bantu origin. Initially Kiswahili was a first language spoken by a minority group of people in Kenya in the coastal region but this scenario has now changed (Mazrui, 2001). At present Kiswahili is a national language and also an official language along with English. It is increasingly becoming the first language for many of those living in the urban areas

[1] Sheng is a mixture of different languages. It combines different words from varied languages in one sentence.
[2] See Githiora 2006

(Githiora, 2002). Moreover, inter-ethnic marriages have played a role in promoting the increased use of Kiswahili. Kiswahili is also beginning to replace English as the language of choice of the educated, occasioned by the increased awareness of national identity, cultural affinity, and self-image among the educated elite, and the fact that this identity needs to be expressed through a common African language and not a foreign language. Kiswahili has been made compulsory at all levels of education. It is now necessary to pass English and Kiswahili as subjects at secondary level and, as there is a large Kiswahili literature, students can major in Kiswahili at the university (Campbell, 2005). In addition, Kiswahili is used in government documents such as passport application documents, identity cards, registration of personal documents, post office documents, and labels on commercial products.

1.2.1.3 Sheng

Sheng is an urban language that has emerged from the complex multilingual and multicultural situation of Nairobi and other urban areas in Kenya. It is a mixture of English and Kiswahili and other indigenous languages. It dominates the discourse of primary and secondary school children, particularly in the urban centres, and is considered a fashionable sign of modernity and cosmopolitanism for many Kenyan youths. Indeed it is becoming a first language in many slum areas of Nairobi. It should, however, be noted that there seems to be a class dimension to speaking Sheng. It is predominantly spoken by youths in those areas which are considered to be of low socio-economic status and particularly in the areas where this study was carried out. The youth from affluent families speak English or standard Kiswahili (Githiora, 2002; Ogechi, 2003). The study shows that Somali teenagers are not keen on using Sheng, as will be seen in Chapter 5.

1.2.1.4 Indigenous Languages

The indigenous languages carry the diverse cultural heritage and identity of the Kenyan people. However, the languages enjoy a low status compared to English and Kiswahili. Several explanations have been advanced for the apparent official neglect of these indigenous languages. An important reason is that they have a limited capacity to express

technical terms, particularly in science; therefore, they are not useful in the education system. Secondly, it is claimed that indigenous languages do not confer on the speakers the enormous societal advantages and benefits there is, therefore, no desire to learn them. Thirdly, indigenous languages have been denied high functions in official communication and education. This means that people see no point to become proficient in them (Muthwii and Kioko, 2004).

Additionally, it has been argued that the high costs of developing all indigenous languages would be prohibitive for weak economies such as those in Africa that have more pressing challenges to grapple with. Indeed, the fact that some of the more dominant indigenous languages like Gikuyu, Dholuo, Kamba have developed written tradition have somehow caused disenchantment from the speakers of less dominant groups like Samburus, Rendilles, and Borana who feel that their languages are being marginalized because they are minority tribes. Further, the absence of political will to implement policies to promote indigenous languages has resulted in incomplete marginalization of mother-tongue education in Kenya and most African countries (Mazrui, 2001).

Clearly, the language situation in Kenya is a complex one. English enjoys a prestigious position as an official language, language of education and is associated with success and achievement while Kiswahili is used for inter-ethnic communication and for fostering national unity. The indigenous languages appear to be officially neglected and they continue being used extensively in intra-ethnic communication and home use in the rural areas. There are strong ethno-linguistic identities in Kenya, making it difficult for the selection of any of the indigenous languages as a unifying language.

1.2.2 Somalia

An understanding of Somalia's background is critical in order to be able to interpret the findings in the later chapters appropriately. A necessary part of this discussion includes the linguistic set-up, the war in Somalia and the causes of the war. Somalia has a common language. Somali is a mother tongue of over 95% of the population in Somalia. For the citizens of Somalia, the Somali language is the most powerful sign of their nationality; the Somalis consider speaking their language as a sufficient condition for

nationality (Laitin, 1977). In fact, the first law which defines one as a Somali citizen states that a Somali should be seen as a person whose mother tongue is Somali and follows Somali customs and must be a person who by origin, language or tradition belongs to the Somali nation (Warsame, 2001).

In the process of extending literacy in Somalia, the government introduced the Somali language as the medium of instruction at all levels of education. This implied that Somalis were to use no other language, at least in official domains, except Somali. New textbooks were written in Somali to replace those written in foreign languages. Books were also produced in English and Arabic, which were recognised as foreign languages. However, the purpose (and content) was basically to teach Somali culture. Thus, the government instructed that everyone had no option but to be literate in Somali.

In urban areas children were introduced to the Somali language. This was to ensure that the pupils who were living in the cities had an opportunity to practice the rural life and were in touch with the Somali heritage and the cultural resources. The media also played a key role. The use of the mother tongue produced a new flood of literature and released energies and talents that had been denied an outlet for expression in the past (Laitin, 1977).

Education in Somalia was based on the environment where the learners were taught how to cope as pastoralists and were also taught about the seasons of the year. This explains why the majority of Somalis did not proceed further with their education in their schools. Students were able to acquire education relevant for them to cope in their everyday life without giving up their lifestyles. The teachers had to move along with those who were hunters and nomads and teach them whenever they had the time and opportunity. Teaching sites were mobile. Classrooms could convene anywhere, ranging from under trees in the open air or near wells or pools to where people brought animals to drink water (Laitin, 1977).

1.2.2.1 The Somali Language

The Somali language was instituted as the national language of Somalia in 1972 to replace English and Italian in all aspects of administration and education. Within thirty years the Somali language was transformed from a vernacular language to one of the few Sub-Saharan African languages enjoying the unusual position of being the national and the official language of a virtually monolingual state (Chesang, 2006).

Somalia is a very exceptional country, as compared to other major countries in Africa. Like Tanzania and Ethiopia, Somalia is a country which has mandated an African language as a medium of instruction. The Somali government mandated its linguistic commission to produce grammars, dictionaries and text books. The Ministry of Education in Somalia appointed Somali teachers to research-writing committees to prepare textbooks, and within eight years, more than 100 books had been produced in Somali (Campbell, 2005). The reliance on written Somali in public administration resulted in the development of a suitable vocabulary and style to cover all aspects of life – politics, law, education, economics, sociology, culture, and technology. The Somali language is an Afro-Asiatic language which is spoken mostly in Somalia and the adjacent parts of Djibouti (majority), Ethiopia and Kenya. The Somali language has borrowed extensively from Arabic, especially in the religious domain. It has also borrowed words from English and Italian since colonial times. The various Somali dialects seem to cluster into two main groups on a roughly regional basis: the Dir dialect in the Northwest (Dir, Isaq, Dawood and Gardabusr-Esa) and Hawiye in the southwest inland regions. Saeed (1999) opines that Somali has three main dialects: Northern Somali, Benaadir, and Maay. The Somali language is also broadcast on several radio stations; local, regional and international.

1.2.2.2 Other languages in Somalia:

a) Arabic: It is the second most common language in Somalia. Arabic is widely understood in Somalia for religious reasons. As early as the 13th century, Arabic was introduced to help in the teaching of the Quran. Since then many attempts

have been made to develop Arabic concurrently with Somali. This has led to the dominance of Arabic literacy in Islamic schools. In fact, it is Arabic which enhanced written Somali and it is regarded as the most prized language in Somalia (Warsame, 2001).

b) English: Many Somalis, especially those whose region was colonised by the British, know some English. English was the language of the rulers.
c) Italian: Older generations in regions which were colonised earlier by Italians can still speak Italian.

Therefore, Somalia is a rare African country with an almost linguistically homogeneous citizenry. Comparison of the language situations of Somalia and Kenya gives a picture of countries at extreme positions on the opposite side of a continuum. This makes it a daunting task for the refugees who have relocated from one country that is virtually linguistically homogenous to another which is linguistically heterogeneous. It gets even more complicated when the refugees are in a dilemma: choosing between settling and hoping to go back when things get better in their country of origin (Campbell, 2005). The next section describes the socio-historic contexts for the influx of the Somali refugees in Kenya.

1.3 The Refugee Question

Historical changes in global geo-political and economic relations have taken place and one of the consequences is mass displacement of people. In Africa, there has been a meltdown of various states and Kenya has become a preferred destination for the refugees from these states because of the better economic performance of the country. One of the major causes of refugee flow is human rights violations against individuals.[3] Historical developments saw the production of forced migration where people had to leave their native land. The common historical event was the end of the Second World War. In East Africa, the horn of Africa, and the Great Lakes region, the failure by superpowers to support regimes in countries like Somalia and Ethiopia led to the collapse of their governments. The collapse of these regimes led to massive outflows of refugees

[3] It is difficult to distinguish between refugees and other migrants, as economic factors often seamlessly interweave with political factors driving migration. Restrictions by states on this migration affect other migrants as well. (UNCHR, 2000:280)

into countries in the region, notably Kenya and Tanzania (Chesang, 2006). Kenya has been a host to refugees since as far back as 1961. In the 1980s, the bulk of the refugees in Kenya was made up of people fleeing the political turmoil in Uganda. The collapse of the Idi Amin government in 1971 was followed by a seven-year period of civil war in that country. There were also Sudanese refugees fleeing from the on-going conflict in the Southern Sudan. The conflict between Eritrea and Ethiopia also resulted in new outflows of refugees from the two countries (UNHCR, 1998). In addition, the long standing wars between Rwanda and Burundi ensured a continuous flow of refugees to Kenya.

In the 1990s the refugee population in Kenya soared. The majority of the refugees in Kenya are from Sudan, Ethiopia, and Somalia. The Siad Barre regime in Somalia had for decades relied on diplomatic, economic, and strategic support from the Soviet Union to sustain its authoritarian apparatus of power. When the Soviet Union withdrew the support, it weakened the government, resulting in wars and economic collapse. The collapse of the regime led to wars and pitted Somali clans against each other in competition for the scarce resources. Thus, by 1992 Kenya had received 500 000 refugees from Somalia (UNHCR, 2002a).

In Ethiopia the ousting of Mengistu Haille Mariam by the Tigrinya Peoples' Liberation Front (TPLF) led by Meles Zenawi was followed by the massive exodus of the members of Mengistu's regime to the neighbouring countries. Several refugees crossed the border into Kenya. Other than Somalia and Ethiopia, another refugee feeder to Kenya is Sudan.

In Kenya the general welfare of refugees was not initially a problem to the government as the refugees were not considered to be a threat. As a result, civil society and human rights groups started to proliferate to fight for the concerns of the refugees. The government takes no responsibility for the refugees; the United Nation High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) takes care of the refugees. Thus, the refugee issue in Kenya has not gained prominence even in national political debates. Instead the refugee issue became a problem when state security was threatened (Mogire, 2003; Muchai and Jefferson, 2000), and it also became a concern for the human rights activists (Human Rights Watch,

2002a). At present, when Kenya is experiencing political turmoil, it is the UNHCR which is dealing with the internally displaced persons or refugees from other countries. The government has no structures in place to cater for refugees and its own internally displaced persons, as observed during the post-election violence in Kenya in 2008 (Human Rights, 2008).

Most of Kenya's refugees live in camps. Though these camps were created by the government, they were to be administered by the UNHCR, the organization which is responsible for providing for the socio-economic, welfare and livelihood needs of the refugees (Chesang, 2006). The only role the government plays is that of policing and maintaining security, which in any case is sponsored between the government and UNHCR (Chesang, 2006). The encampment policy did not affect all the refugees. This policy requires that all refuges should reside in camps designated by the Kenyan government. There is a significant and growing refugee population in the country's urban areas. This study focuses on the Somali refugees since they have been in Kenya for a longer period than refugees from other countries, and apparently do not have any immediate hopes of relocating home because of the continued civil strife in Somalia. Somalia has a relatively high population of refugees and asylum seekers in its Diaspora. The majority of the refugees are in East Africa and the Middle East. This poses a problem for the government to separate the Kenyan Somalis from their counterparts from Somalia. The majority of the Somali refugees who came to Kenya had enormous resources and bought property in Kenya's suburbs and settled there. The most conspicuous location where the Somalis bought property was in Eastleigh, a suburb two kilometres to the north east of Nairobi's Central Business District (CBD) (Chesang, 2006). Besides, due to the unfavourable living conditions there, the refugees have left the camps and as a result they have contributed to the urban refugee population. Current estimates place this population at 15 000 to 100 000 in Nairobi alone (UNHCR).

1.4 The Kenyan Constitution in Relation to Linguistic Rights

Having looked at the linguistic position of Kenya and Somalia and reasons for the existence of the Somali refugees in Kenya, focus will now be placed on the position of

the current constitution on language usage in Kenya in order to illuminate the linguistic options refugees have when they arrive in Kenya. According to Chesang (2006), Kenya is economically endowed and has more functional systems of refugee protection than their neighbours, except on linguistic matters. Kenya subscribes to the United Nation (UN) Declaration of 1948 on linguistic human rights, as indicated below:

> Every one is entitled to all rights and freedoms set forth in this declaration of human rights) without distinction of every kind such as race colour sex language religion or political or other opinion, national or social origin, birth, property or status (Human Rights Watch, 2002a: 23).

The language rights are enshrined in the UN Declaration of 1948. In this study the broader UN declaration is used to discuss the Kenya constitution in the light of linguistic human rights. As much as it is a signatory to the UN, Kenya does not have a clearly stated democratic policy that recognises and promotes all languages. Furthermore, language policy in many sectors, including education and the mass media, is not clear so 'linguistic justice' seems to be compromised. Thus linguistic human rights activists have emerged to fight for linguistic justice (Ogechi, 2003). The constitution serves as a pillar of a country's laws. The Kenyan constitution (Revised Edition, 1992) addresses no language issues, except qualification for the election of members of parliament (Ch 3, Part 2, Section 34 c). The clause stipulates that at the date of nomination for election, one must be able to speak and write in Kiswahili or English well enough to take active part in the proceedings of the national assembly unless one is incapacitated by blindness or other physical cause. Such a clause discriminates against anybody who resides in Kenya and who may not be able to use any other language apart from English and Kiswahili.

The current constitution is silent (CKRC, 2000a:97) on the role of other Kenyan languages apart from English or Kiswahili and there is no mechanism for their protection, promotion and development. It does not address linguistic rights like other countries, for example, South Africa. The constitution is, therefore, merely academic, purporting to respect all languages though no provision is made for how these languages are to be respected and developed (Chesang, 2006). The rather passive attitude of the Kenyan government towards the refugees and the maintenance of their languages is reflected in the fact that Kenya does not have an explicit language policy.

In Kenya's judicial system English is the language of the court. The use of translators who are not themselves lawyers may lead to a miscarriage of justice. Even the proposed constitution is silent on the languages to be used in law. The other languages in Kenya have not been accorded their rightful position. Thus, in Kenya linguistic rights are infringed. Ogechi (2003) acknowledges that the proposed constitution gives many prospects to the linguistic rights but further points out that much needs to be spelt out on how the proposed changes are to be implemented. Otherwise, it will be just like the previous documents. How do the refugees survive in such circumstances where even the country's citizens are in a linguistic limbo? The refugees have to either follow the dictates of the Kenyan government and undergo a language change or, based on the social networks they keep, they retain their language or they devise a strategy where they strike a balance between these two options.

When the linguistic practices of migrants are concerned, for example, when their varieties are discussed at all in the media discourse or by human rights activists, they are often not considered to be languages but emphasis is often placed on the propensity of the speakers to 'mix' them with other languages. The implication is that the language of immigrants is not considered, making it non-normative, dysfunctional, or exceptional in other ways which raises questions about just what is imagined to be the normal sociolinguistic state of affairs of refugees (Moore, 2007). Therefore this study endeavours to examine the linguistic state of affairs of the refugees.

In general, the policies in Kenya seem unable to give people from an immigrant background the means to become completely autonomous, independent citizens and allow them to develop their lives in favourable social and economic conditions. To teenagers, this is like denying them the intrinsic value of their own practices as seen in the Constitution earlier alluded to and this makes it an important research problem.

1.5 Statement of the Problem

Forced migration has resulted from such factors as war, famine, and political instability. Such factors have led to an influx of immigrants and refugees in Kenya. These people

come with cultures (including language) which are radically different from the host country.

Somali refugees in Kenya are confronted with a situation where two language set-ups, namely the Kenyan and the Somali ones, come into conflict. Kenya is a multilingual state whereas Somalia is a relatively monolingual state (although there are other demographically insignificant languages, different from the languages found in Kenya). Human beings are social beings. Sociolinguists have argued that the social relations people make influence their social behaviour, including language (Milroy, 1980). This is because people have to use appropriate language(s) in any social encounter, hence necessitating language change. Studies have also shown that linguistic behaviour changes, depending on the circumstances prevailing at a particular time; hence, certain languages dominate others in certain contexts (Bourdieu, 1990; Heller; 1992; Norton, 2000). Therefore, an individual can choose to use one language as opposed to another depending on the circumstance. The refugees in Kenya find themselves dealing with the new reality and the precarious notion that they too must acknowledge the presence of a new cultural and linguistic environment. How do the Somali refugees negotiate this social set-up and what is the linguistic outcome?

In multilingual settings, as in Kenya, different ideologies of language and identity come into conflict with each other with regard to what languages or varieties of languages should be spoken by different kinds of people in a particular context (Pavlenko and Backledge, 2004). Further, they indicate that in multilingual settings, language choice and attitudes are inseparable from political arrangements, relations of power, language ideologies and the speakers' view of their own and the identity of others. These factors such as social, economic and political changes that affect societies modify identity options to individuals and as a result particular linguistic options are legitimised and valued more than others. Besides, refugees are creations of the societies due to the political, social and economic factors. The study explores the options the refugees in Kenya have once they cross the borders and how their identity is affected in the Kenyan society given that language is a marker of identity.

The social situation within or outside any domain like the home, school, place of worship and workplace or, at an individual level, groups of friends, workmates, neighbours and relatives, affects language use. An increase in the number of individuals' social relations can foster or inhibit the assimilation of a second language, which in the case of Kenya's refugees is either English or Kiswahili or any other language which represents the language of the majority. A fundamental postulate of social network analysis is that individuals create personal communities in order to provide themselves with a meaningful framework for solving problems of daily life (Mitchell, 1986). These personal communities are constituted by interpersonal ties of different strengths, and structural relationships that vary between links. These ties have an impact on language as they act as norm enforcements and may result in linguistic change. In the process of trying to create their 'communities', teenagers construct social networks. Language acts as a link in the social networks. In addition, the languages at the disposal of an individual have different strengths in relation to time and use.

Most researchers in human rights forums in Kenya, such as Mwachofi (2003) and Vareness (2001) have been campaigning for the recognition of the linguistic rights of all groups, including minorities. However, more information is needed in order to establish exactly how the refugees cope linguistically. This is the concern of this study. This is because no language policy which goes contrary to the existing socio-cultural forces will be successful (Paulston 1994), as it is important to identify the social determinants of the policy which is to be put in place. Paulston argues that realistic language policies need to be developed properly and be informed by factual information on the ground to enable people cope with the demands of modern world. For example the inability of the formulators of government language policies to acknowledge and build upon the knowledge of the pupils who speak languages other than the classroom language impacts negatively at a national level where development is thwarted in an education system unable to harness the human resources of its people effectively (Heugh, 1999). Furthermore, researchers like Rassool (2007) have noted that the language needs of immigrants in many countries rarely feature in contemporary discourse on language and education within the global market.

Researchers like Whiteley (1974), Muthwii and Kioko (2004), and Myers-Scotton (1993) have given a general description of the languages spoken in Kenya but none of these touches on the languages of refugees. Besides this, most studies which are based on social networks, like Milroy (1980), Wiklund (2002), and Stoessel (2002), have been carried out in Western societies. Such studies cannot necessarily be used to generalize and predict the findings in an African context because the social and cultural conditions might be different. Thus, it could be of great interest to have an in-depth study of the social networks in African countries, to study the similarities to and differences from cases in Western nations.

To focus the statement of the research problem further, the aims and objectives of the study are presented in the following sub-section.

1.5.1 Aims and Objectives

The study aims to interrogate the extent to which language change and social networks exist in a dialectic relationship, especially for displaced people in their formative years who find themselves in different and diverse linguistic environments.

The specific objectives of the study are:

1) To describe the linguistic social networks of the refugee teenagers.
2) To determine the extent to which the social networks are oriented towards the subjects' own linguistic group, and the extent to which they are oriented towards other language groups.
3) To determine whether the teenagers have lost or retained their mother tongue.
4) To determine the correlation between linguistic variation and gender.
5) To establish the linguistic decisions the refugee teenagers have made in Kenya.

1.5.2 Research Questions

The study will seek to address the following questions generated from the research objectives:

1. What are the linguistic characteristics and complexities of the social networks of the refugee teenagers?
2. To what extent are speaker's social networks oriented towards the speaker's linguistic and/or ethnic group?
3. To what extent have the teenagers retained or lost their mother tongue?
4. Is there a linguistic gender difference among the refugee teenagers?
5. What linguistic decisions have the refugee teenagers made in Kenya?

1.6 Rationale of the Study.

The Kenyan government has no legal provision for supporting refugees' linguistic rights. However, Kenya is a party to the 1951 Refugee Convention and has ratified the OAU Convention pertaining to refugees, yet it has failed to develop its own refugee legislation. Instead it has relied on unwritten *ad hoc* policies and unwritten immigration laws to address the issues (Campbell, 2005). The apparent passive attitude of the Kenyan government toward refugees and their linguistic rights is reflected in the fact that Kenya does not have an explicit language policy that ensures that minorities maintain their languages: the Kenyan constitution addresses language policy in general terms without paying attention to the issue of linguistic diversity in the country. Besides, Kenya is currently undergoing a political crisis and many of its people have been displaced. The Kenyan government does not know how to handle even its own internally displaced people because it has never encountered such a situation before.

International and regional treaties, declarations and other instruments which address language rights and even advocate the recognition of a degree of autonomy for territorially-based linguistic communities have proliferated in the last few decades. Linguistic human rights are the recognition of rights to privileges, status and power of the common society including linguistic identity. Linguistic rights enable speakers to perform their cultural practices in the language of their choice and to study their languages and have them researched (Webb, 2002). In Kenya, linguistic human rights have not been addressed clearly. This study is interested in the refugees because of the fact that they have attracted the eyes of international human rights bodies who have been

fighting hard for the restoration of the refugee rights. Activists in linguistic human rights, as this study argues, need to be armed with tangible facts about how the refugees are coping linguistically so that the issues affecting the language plight of the refugees can be addressed rather than just giving a general account of linguistic human right violations.

Whiteley (1974) categorizes Kenyan languages as traditionally belonging to four groups: Para-Nilotic, Nilotic, Bantu and the Cushitic. Each linguistic group has its own homeland. However, there are a number of forces which serve to attract people away from their own areas to other groups and this can result in linguistic change. Such people move along with their different varieties of languages and the resulting language contact has many implications. However, considerably more information is needed about language maintenance, language attitudes, and language usage in Kenya that goes beyond Whiteley's (1974) description. In order to develop a coherent language policy to cater for all people including the minorities, studies have to be done on various aspects of the linguistic situation of the refugees in Kenya. The present study looks at how their language usage may be changing.

Social networks may diverge to a great extent in different socio-cultural contexts of the world (Wiklund 2002). The perspective of most research reflects the western world view as most studies have been done in the west. It is of great interest to carry out studies in African contexts before making generalizations. De Bot and Stoessel (2002) note that there has not been much empirical research on the role of networks in language change, negative language loss and shift and positive language acquisition and maintenance. Thus, this study has the potential to make an original contribution to sociolinguistic theory in general by testing established theories against new evidence. In addition, the study is also an attempt to appendage the social network theory to current ideas in the poststructural framework, borrowing ideas from scholars such as Woolard (1985), Bourdieu (1990) and Heller (1992). It attempts to extend ideas from interactional linguists who look at the structure of language to the poststructural to be able to address the identities and power relations and the effect on minority groups within the socio-economic, socio-historic and socio-political processes in Kenya. This is because the

current state of sociolinguistics does not only focus on languages spoken or on representations and identities of people in societies, but also on how language is integrated into economic, cultural and political processes in the society. It is by language that forms of social organization and their likely social and political consequences are defined and contested, and our sense of ourselves, our subjectivity, is constructed (Weedon, 1997). The subject positions we take in society are generally produced through the use of language in the various domains. Furthermore, the study will contribute to the literature on refugees in general and in Kenya in particular. The network approach gives the study a grip on the relation between the social structure of the refugees and their linguistic make-up in the greater Eastleigh area, thereby adding to the burgeoning literature on social networks and refugees.

In the next section the social context of the study is described in order to account for the presence of the Somali refugees in Kenya, in general, and their settlement in Eastleigh in relation to the wider Kenyan community, in particular.

1.7 The Context of the Study: Eastleigh

Eastleigh is our town just like Mogadishu in Somalia. One day we will name it Somalia and we will have our own schools and our own teachers and Universities…police where nobody discriminates us. (Nasrah Gulet (2008) Personal interviews with an interviewee).

Milroy (1980) contends that it is necessary to obtain background information to bring in the relationship of the community of study to the wider society, based on the norms and values of the community. Eastleigh, the place of study, is a large growing commercial centre in the capital city of Kenya, densely populated, with a flourishing informal economy. Eastleigh emerged around the early 19th century as a British centre and was later taken over by Asians (Campbell, 2005). It is now dominated by Somalis and other refugees from other parts of Africa. In fact, as early as the 1970s, Somalis had taken root in Eastleigh and transformed the place economically due to their entrepreneurial experience back in their country and the capital with which they fled. In the popular discourse in the region, Eastleigh is known as 'Little Mogadishu', a term which seems to be acceptable among the Kenyans residing there. This observation was made during the data collection.

Other researchers have made the same observation: see Campbell (2005), Chesang (2006). This also explains why there was no violence in Eastleigh during the 2008 political skirmishes in Kenya. It seems that the place is owned by the outsiders, and the violence seems to have been related to ethnicity and leadership among Kenyan communities. Eastleigh is dominated by refugees from the Horn, East Africa and Central Africa, who possibly could not take part in the violence because of their vulnerability. The presence of multiple linguistic registers in Eastleigh gives the study a rich ground to thrive.

Somalis are, however, the largest national group living in Nairobi. All the Somalis in Kenya are considered to be refugees, no matter what brought them to Eastleigh.[4] Some Somalis live in camps while others are permanent residents of Eastleigh. It is the former that constitute the target of the study. There are established Somali communities in Eastleigh; as Campbell (2005: 7) succinctly puts it, "the refugees are integrated into the social, political, and economic fabric of Nairobi so that it is not in the best interest of the government to remove them". Eastleigh has grown to be a big commercial centre where the Somalis are doing multi-million businesses. This is evidenced by the construction of a multi-million shilling building referred to as 'Garrisa Lodge', which accommodates many Somalis who carry out various kinds of businesses. Other shopping complexes include Amal Shopping Plaza, Liban Shopping Complex, Baraka Bazaar, Sharriff Shopping Complex and Sun Rise Shopping Complex. All these are owned by Somalis and attract Kenyans from across the country. Somalis also own guest houses where most of the refugees leaving the camps to come to Nairobi are accommodated. They also own transport businesses such as the *matatu*.[5] This implies that the Somalis are well catered for. It also explains why they have survived for a long time in Kenya.

Women play a key role in the businesses of Somalis in Kenya. Most small-scale businesses like retail shops and the sale of foodstuff and clothes are owned by women. The majority of the women operate open-air market roadside stands, selling fabrics, scarves, shoes, and undergarments. Men run the large commercial businesses. The teenagers help their parents

[4] There are those who are asylum seekers, political and economic migrants.
[5] Vehicles used for commercial transport of people.

in the shops. Girls in the small businesses help their mothers whereas the boys are found in the electronic shops, dealing with electronic wares. Others are in the lucrative businesses of selling *miraa (khat)*, a mild narcotic drug which is acceptable in Kenya and popularly used by Somalis. In fact, there is a cross-border trade between Kenya and Somalia, which mainly deals with the export of *miraa* to Somalia. The Somali traders also have money changing businesses, telephone calling centres and cyber cafés. The money changing businesses are referred to as 'Hawilaad', which in Arabic means 'to transfer'. As a result they are able to transfer money in all currencies and denominations to other Somalis in other parts of the world. This helps them to maintain their networks and their growth in Eastleigh. This is aided by the fact that they also have telephone calling centres and cyber cafés. This ensures that information flow is always uninterrupted. The telephone services are well established in Somalia so the refugees are able to contact their counterparts at home easily.

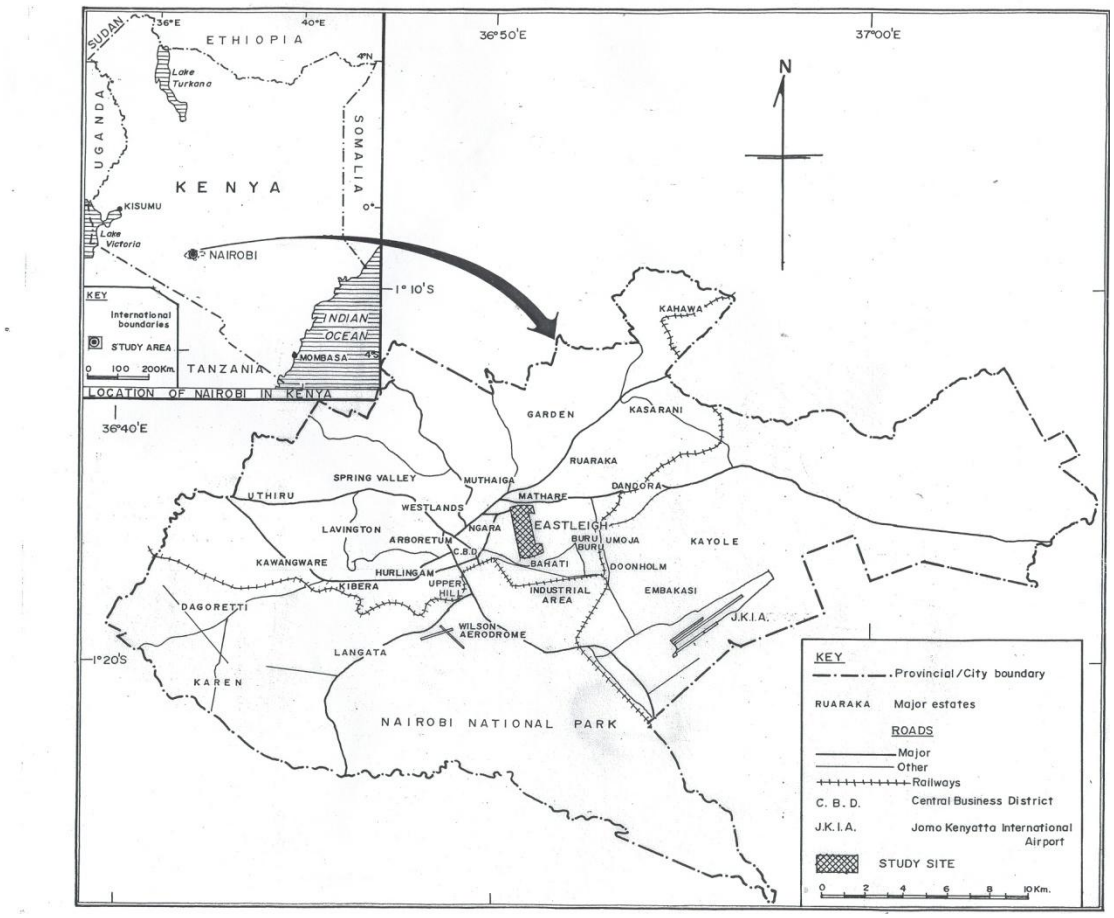
Further, there are other Somalis who run colleges and schools. The colleges train secretaries or teach languages. This is aimed at securing jobs from the big merchants who run the businesses. The language colleges basically train the students to acquire English and Kiswahili. A further inquiry revealed that the students hoped to use the skills to secure jobs in business. Besides, those who are still relatively young hope to use the skills acquired to migrate to other countries where, they believe, there are better refugee policies to cater for them, compared to those in Kenya. They prefer English to Kiswahili because it is an international language. Otherwise, Somali is exclusively spoken among the Somalis, except when they are interacting with other Kenyans in the process of selling their goods.[6]

Also noteworthy is that Eastleigh is a destination for many people in Kenya because of the relative affordable cost of the wares sold there. Because of the collapsed government back in Somalia, the Somalis are able to import goods duty-free from Dubai and bring them to Kenya. As a result, Eastleigh attracts people from all parts of the country. Because of their shrewd business skills, Somalis have employed other Kenyans, low-wage unskilled labourers, such as those working in the *matatus* and mechanics. Thus, all destinations lead

[6] This observation was made during data collection. See also chapter 5

to Eastleigh every day as some people go there to search for jobs, while others go there to buy and sell wares. Still others go there to conduct research. Below is a map of Kenya showing the location of Eastleigh in Kenya.

Figure 1: Map of Eastleigh



Source: Ojodhe, R (2008: 2)

Eastleigh is located on the North Eastern part of Nairobi Central Business District, as shown above. It is around 10 km from the Central Business District. It borders the Mathare, Ngara, and Bahati residential areas, considered to be occupied by low income earners.

To understand the subsequent discussion fully, it is necessary to define the key terms as well as acronyms used in the context of the study.

1.8 Definition of Terms

1. *A refugee*: According to the 1951 UN Convention and 1967 Protocol, a refugee is a person who flees to a foreign country or power to escape danger or persecution. Such persecution could be due to race, religion, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion. Such a person may not be willing to go back to or receive protection from his/her own country

2. *Immigrant:* An immigrant is a person who left their country of origin for another one in search of a better economic situation or life opportunity for themselves and their children. In the present study it was difficult to differentiate between refugees and immigrants, as most of them do not declare their status. As a result the two terms will be used interchangeably in the study.

3. *Asylum seeker:* Those refugees who are not willing to return to their country of origin or nationality and are out to settle in the country of refuge.

4. *Social networks*. Relations people make or the interconnectedness of individuals.

5. *Social network analysis*: The description of patterns of relationships among people (refugee teenagers), analysing the structure of the patterns and exploring the effect such relations have on the people who are interacting.

6. *Linguistic capital*: It is the ability to apply appropriate norms for language use and the right expressions at the right time for a particular linguistic market (Bourdieu, 1990).

7. *Interactants*: People who relate together in social networks.

8. *Actors*: Individuals who are linked together are referred to as actors.

9. *Ego*: A person in a social network who acts as a link/ anchor to the other persons.

10. *Relational ties*: The social ties by which actors are linked to one another.

11. *Group*: People who are together for a common reason or are brought together by a calamity like war.

12. *Domain:* institutionally relevant spheres of social interaction in which certain values clusters are behaviourally implemented (Fishman 1971).

13. *Proficiency*: Ability, aptitude to write or speak a given language.

1.9 Chapter Organization of the Study

Generally the study has been divided into two sections. The first three chapters broadly examine the background of the study as well as its conceptual and methodological fundamentals. Chapter One provides the background to the study while Chapter Two reviews the relevant literature. The chapter also discusses the theoretical frameworks which guided the study. Chapter Three presents the research design and methodology. Chapters Four, Five, Six and Seven are devoted to the data analysis. Chapter Four presents the social relations refugee teenagers make while they are in Kenya. The chapter further describes the linguistic make-up of the relations. Chapter Five examines the social relations and how they affect the language use among the Somali teenagers in specific domains. Chapter Six compares the social networks among the different genders in order to find out whether there is any disparity amongst the female and male refugees in regard to the use of language. Chapter Seven discusses the linguistic strategies adopted by the Somali teenagers in a multilingual set-up. In this chapter, the linguistic market, code switching and identity are focussed on. Chapter Eight presents a summary of the overall findings, recommendations and conclusion of the study. This takes account of the research questions, focusing on the patterns of the themes that emerge. The chapter also suggests directions for further research**.**

CHAPTER TWO

Theoretical Framework and Literature Review

2.1 Introduction
2.2 Theoretical Frameworks
2.2.1 Social Network Theory
2.2.2 Domain Analysis
2.2.3 Poststructural Framework
2.3 Literature Review
2.4 Social Network Studies
2.5 Major Themes in the Studies
2.5.1 Language Change
2.5.2 Social Identity
2.5.3 Ethnicity
2.5.4 Language and Gender
2.5.5 Language and Power
2.5.6 Language and Identity
2.6 Conclusion

2.1 Introduction

First, the chapter examines the body of ideas related to social networks and extends the social network theory to poststructuralism which underpins the present research. In addition, it presents studies which have been based on social networks. The studies are discussed in two ways. First are monolingual studies, which are studies carried out in communities where speakers only speak one language, as in Somalia. Secondly, similar to the current study are bilingual studies. This discusses the studies which have been conducted in multilingual societies. The evolution of research on social networks helps to situate the current state of thinking in the literature on Somali refugees in Kenya. So far fewer studies have been done on social networks specifically in African societies as compared to the studies which have been done in Western societies. In addition, the chapter explores the options individuals have for negotiating their identities. This is

related to other literature pertinent to the socio-cultural, socio-political and socio-economic implications to the refugees.

2.2 Theoretical Frameworks

A combined theoretical framework consisting of Social Network Theory, Domain analysis and the Poststructuralist framework is discussed in order to provide adequate conceptual support for the present study.

2.2.1 Social Network Theory

Scholars such as Brown (1940), Jacobson and Halle, (1956) and Bott (1957) have focused on social networks in general, while others such as Milroy (1980), Salami (1991), and Wiklund (2002) have tried to show the relationship between social networks and language use, language maintenance and shift, and language proficiency. These studies appear to agree that social networks play an important role in the life of an individual and society in general, especially when the subjects are from an immigrant background and can illuminate language change.

The concept of the social network was first introduced by Brown (1940), who defined social networks as sets of actually existing relations, at a given time, which link certain people. He also noted that social relations are observable and can be described by reference to the reciprocal behaviour of the people studied. Bott (1957:58) discussed the social networks, using the terms 'close-knit' and 'loose-knit'. This was used in relation to differing structures and properties of the relationships in social networks. Social networks focus on the study of social life in relation to the life of an individual. For Bott, the fundamental characteristic of social networks is that they overlap, as shown below:

> B might know A and C but none others: D might know F without knowing A, B, or E. Furthermore, all these persons will have friends, neighbours and relatives of their own who are not known by family X (Wiklund, 2002:13).

Jacobson and Halle (1956) and Levi-Strauss (1969) systematically worked on finding models for social phenomena that could bridge disciplines, and found the idea of structure to be an organizing idea. They found that the social networks in which a person operates

have an influence on the person, and that a person will have one or more links in a network. Different categorizations may be employed to describe the different networks an individual has, for example, groups may be categorized at the individual level (circle of friends, workmates, neighbours, and relatives) or at the level of domains such as school or church (Wiklund, 2002). The current study utilises the social networks and describes the language use of the teenagers in terms of the domains mentioned by Wiklund (2002).

Milroy (1980) was the first linguist to introduce the network theory in the study of sociolinguistic variation. The idea of social network was adopted from social science research to account for the maintenance of vernacular over time. Similar to the study at hand, researchers like Salami (1991), Sun et al. (2000), Smith (2002) and Wiklund (2002) have used Milroy's theory extensively as it gives a detailed description of individuals in relation to language. The researchers emphasize that the degree of multiplexity is probably most salient in networks of people belonging to low status groups, because they live in clusters. Multiplexity is the strength of ties that exist between individuals within a network. It measures the number of capacities in which an individual knows another. For example the capacity at which A knows B, C and D as a friend, neighbour, cousin, school mate and so on. A friend might also be a schoolmate and a neighbour to an individual, thus it is the quality of connections. Density is a measure of the number of ties (quantity) among members in a social network. It is based on whether A knows B, C D, or E. If none of them know each other, density is low, whereas when they know each other density is considered high. Both density and multiplexity determine the behaviour of individuals belonging to a network. The extent to which the networks to be examined are dense or multiplex was related to the extent to which the individuals use their mother tongue or have shifted to other languages used in Kenya.

Boissevain (1987) lists four important interactional criteria: multiplexity (multiple role relationships), transactional content (e.g. the information and confidences that are exchanged between people who are linked together in networks), direction of what is transferred (e.g. reciprocity in the exchange between interactants, which is usually unequal), and the frequency and permanency of interactions. He points out that there are at

least four key structural criteria: the size of the network, its density, its centrality to the individual, and the presence of clusters. The clusters are individuals who are closely linked to each other. These characteristics are presumed to influence the individual, not least linguistically, and will result in language change.

To explain further the notions of multiplexity and density, Milardo (1988) distinguishes 'exchange' and 'interactive' networks. Exchange networks consist of persons such as kin and close friends with whom an individual not only interacts regularly, but also exchanges direct aid, advice, criticism and support. Interactive networks, on the other hand, consist of persons on whom an individual does not rely for material or symbolic resources. Such persons relate with ego frequently and perhaps over a period of time but ego does not rely on them for personal favours, for example the relationship between a shop owner and a customer (Milardo 1988:36). Such ties may also be described as weak. In addition to these, Li (1994) distinguishes a 'passive' tie, which seems to be important to immigrant or mobile individuals. Passive ties, according to Li, are characterized by an absence of regular contact, but are valued by the individual as a source of influence and moral support. Examples of passive ties are those with physically distant relatives or friends. The current study utilizes these concepts to describe the language behaviour of the refugee teenagers in order to map out the fine-grained networks of the teenagers which are expected to act as norm enforcements.

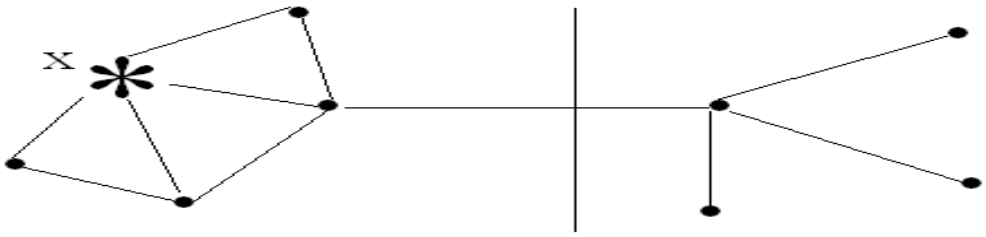
Several studies in sociolinguistics (Milroy, 1980; Salami, 1991; Wiklund, 2002; Stoessel, 2002) have used the social network theory to explain various linguistic behaviours. Social network theory views social relationships and an individual's social network as the aggregate of relationships contracted with others (Chambers et al., 2004). Social network theory studies show how the structure of relationships around a person, group, or organization affects the beliefs or behaviours of an individual. According to the theory, people categorize others, whether they are group members or not, depending on their social relations and these categories determine their behaviour and language use (Kaharan, 2004). This would include changing language use, which is important to the present study. In the present study, the structures the teenagers create are examined to

establish how their linguistic make-up has been affected. The relations studied are those of neighbours, friends, families, schools and organizations and their effect on refugee teenagers. The study explicates how the relations result in linguistic change among the teenagers.

The network analysis asks questions about who is linked to whom, the nature of the linkage and how the linkage affects linguistic behaviour. In the present study, the teenagers were told to list people they relate to closely and also those who have multiple relations such as schoolmates, neighbours, friends and family members. Li (1994) has devised a method of grouping people in the network. The exchange network comprises mostly family, close relatives and friends with whom the individual interacts regularly and exchanges advice, support, and help; the interactive network includes the people with whom the individual interacts rarely and materially or with whom ideas which do not affect the individual's choices are exchanged; and the passive network covers the people with whom the individual does not interact regularly but has emotional ties.

This study draws heavily on the social network theory as conceptualized by Milroy (1980). Milroy asserts that people interact meaningfully as individuals, in addition to forming parts of structured, functional institutions such as classes, castes or operational groups. With the view of explaining social behaviour, Milroy does not look at social or personal attributes of the individual in social networks, but the characteristics of linkages which bind them to each other. In network analysis, each person ('ego') may be viewed as a focus from which lines radiate to points, that is the persons with whom the ego is in contact. These persons who are linked directly to the ego may be characterized as belonging to the first-order network zone. Each of these people may be in contact with others, whom the ego does not know, but could come into contact with via the first-order zone. These are distantly connected to the ego, and form the ego's second order. Third, fourth, and n^{th} order zones could be distinguished. Milroy's first- and second- order zones appear in practice to be the most important. An idea of the zones can be obtained from the diagram below:

Figure 2: A social network structure



1st order Zone 2nd order Zone

The main component in a network is the anchor, or the person at the centre (ego) labelled **X** in the diagram. From this individual, lines radiate outwards to points with whom the ego is directly linked, as shown in Figure 2 above. Milroy believes that in order to apply any sort of quantitative data analysis, a network strength scale must be allocated to each speaker. She used a five-point scale in her Belfast study.

In this study, network strength was similarly calculated, but modified to suit the current conditions. The conditions that were met by the subjects of this particular study were:

1) Membership of high density, territorially based cluster (i.e. an identifiable bound group, for example a dance group or a card-playing group)
2) Same school as at least two others in the neighbourhood
3) Same school as at least two others of the same gender
4) Kinship ties with two others in the same neighbourhood
5) Voluntary association with schoolmates after school hours.

This proposed allocation is supported by Salami (1991), who points out that there are different criteria for measuring network structure from one community to another. Furthermore, there could be certain problems peculiar to the area under study that would also call for a different approach to determining people's informal personal networks. Condition one was an indicator of density, whereas the rest, two three, four and five, indicate multiplexity, if they are all satisfied. Marshall (2004) states that allocating network index scores allows the network pattern of individuals to be measured and possible links with linguistic patterns to be tested, which the study considered. She sees a social network as a mechanism both for exchanging goods and services and for imposing obligations and conferring corresponding rights on its members.

Messages which pass along network links can be seen as transactions governed by the principle that the value gained by an individual in a transaction is equal to, or greater than, the cost. These transactions may consist of goods and services of many kinds including jokes, information, and ideas. When goods and services flow in both directions between similar links, it is useful to speak of exchange. In this sense, Milroy believes that speech events are tokens of exchange and language change occurs when tokens of exchange are directed to one direction. Thus, a network becomes a mechanism whereby pressures resulting from obligations contracted within the network influence an individual's behaviour. If the individual wishes to protect a relationship, then constant obligations must be involved.

Milroy and Gordon (2003) believe that a network approach is attractive for various reasons. First, it provides a set of procedures for studying small groups, for example, minority ethnic groups, migrants, rural population, or populations in non-industrialized societies. A second advantage is that the social network has the potential to explicate the social dynamics that result in language variation and change. Finally, network analysis offers a procedure for dealing with variation between individual speakers, for example outlining the conditions to be met in measuring individual network ties. All the above reasons were valid for the purposes of this study.

Some researchers, however, have pointed out some weakness of the theory. Boissevain (1987) points out that the theory has the potential to over-analyze an individual, that network analysis can be too mathematical and remote for human interaction and can become an object on its own, sterile and remote. The current study argues that when quantitative and qualitative methods of research are employed at different stages, this weakness is overcome.

Marshall (2004) also disputes Boissevain's (1987) view and argues that social networks lead to analysis of patterns of social relations within social structures, and so account for social behaviour at both the macro and the micro levels. Milroy (1987) contends that people are precipitated into modes of production by macro-level social, economic and political factors, and these modes of production then establish different strengths of community-based ties which, in turn, cause differences in language use. In this view, then, the network becomes the 'all- seeing eye', exerting a controlling and supervisory influence on its members' behaviour (Marshall, 2004). The immigrant teenagers in the present study engage in a variety of tasks on a daily basis in their individual personal communities. The tasks become complicated and cannot be solved within the community. Therefore, the refugees have to move out of the community to seek various ways of solving everyday problems. What social networks they land in, and how these model their linguistic repertoire, is of major interest to this particular study.

Milroy's theory has been criticised for not being able to account for linguistic change and for not incorporating social class (Mewett, 1982). It has also been criticised for the assumption that a social group is an amalgam of individuals, a rejection of the fundamental basis of sociological analysis (Le Page, 1997). In an attempt to respond to the criticisms, Milroy and Milroy (1998) introduced the idea of strong ties which resist change and the weak ties which bring about change in the society. The people who have strong ties in the community are likely to be constant whereas those people who have weak ties are the ones to bring linguistic change because they have interactions outside the community. Milroy and Milroy (1997) further incorporated Hojrup`s (1983) idea of 'Life mode'. In Hojrup's view, people are precipitated to different modes of production

by social, economic and political factors which cause community based ties of different strengths which in turn cause linguistic differences (Marshall, 2004).

Milroy (1992) introduced Hojrup's paradigm in order to explain and integrate social class. This theory proposes that human beings are precipitated in society into various modes of life. For the current study the refugee status is not a choice: it isthe circumstantial conditions in the society (political, economic, and social) which give rise to refugees. As much as Milroy tried to incorporate the idea of social class, she feels that analyses based on class are limited when the subgroups are economically marginal, not distributed evenly with respect to class or living in territorially well defined neighbourhoods (Marshall, 2004). The theory has further been criticised on the grounds that close-knit networks are a characteristic of rural areas and thus it cannot be applicable in the urban areas. Milroy, however, sees that as a possibility but also points out that the networks of socially and geographically mobile are dispersed and less kin-based; they can also be paradoxically larger and more supportive (Milroy and Milroy, 1992). The authors suggest the development of a sociolinguistic model with two levels of analysis: one where small networks have individuals embedded and acting with intent in their daily lives and the other where large-scale social class structures determine relations of power at the institutional level. Milroy (1992) strongly believes that the model is suitable for urban areas. In the present study the respondents are marginal and therefore are unevenly distributed in the society, thus they cannot fit into the class paradigm. Rather than a macro level analysis that takes a synoptic assessment of all the refugees in Kenya the study is micro study which centres on the Somali refugees in the Kenyan urban area Eastleigh.

Milroy (1992) does admit that there must be additional conditions and at least one is psycho-social: this is that the speakers from the receptor community want to identify for some reason with the speakers from the donor community. This would call for theories from the socio-psychological approach e.g. Tajfel's (1984) theory of ethnolinguistic identity. However, in this study, we choose a different path by opting for the second theory different from the ones proposed, and as a result, the shortcoming is addressed.

The social network also does dwell on issues related to social identity. Milroy says that a speaker's language may mark one as (for example) male, working class and from a particular region. Labov (1972) notes in his Harlem study that people use language to show desire to identify with a particular culture. His study indicated that copula deletion, a feature which is associated with black Americans, is used invariably depending on how a speaker is integrated to the vernacular culture. Le Page (1992) adds that speakers use the resources of variability in their language to express a great complex of different identities. Milroy (1980:87) states:

> …. no method of analysis in the present state of knowledge is likely to capture completely the complexity of the way speakers use variability…. this lies outside social network analysis.

There are other proponents of social network theory: for example Salami (1991) has looked at proficiency; Wiklund, (2002) focuses on language acquisition, whereas Madeline et al. (2002) consider communicative competence. It has also been observed that people use language to identify with particular groups of people on the basis of, for example, ethnic region and even class. This they say cannot be adequately handled by quantitative studies. Thus the theorists in the social network paradigm have not developed an all-inclusive theory that integrates an individual and multiple social contexts. Furthermore they have not looked at how the relations of power in the world affect social interaction between the second language learners and the target language speakers (Norton, 1995). Norton further points out that a language learner is seen as having a complex social identity that must be understood with reference to larger and frequently inequitable social structures which are reproduced in day-to-day social interaction. The immigrants are the learners and they are in a complex linguistic world where there is multiplicity of languages and societal structures which are in place in a host society. Therefore, it is through language that a person gains or is denied access to the powerful social networks that give learners the opportunity to speak a language (Heller, 1987). In her analysis of the relationship between the individual and the social, Weedon (1997) contends that language is the place where actual and possible forms of social organization and their likely social and political consequences are defined and contested.

2.2.2 Domain Analysis

Domain analyses describe the use of languages in various institutions in a multilingual society whereby one language is more likely to be appropriate in some specific contexts than others (Fishman, 1968). He proposes that one language may be more appropriate in one context than another in certain domains where the standard language is used in higher domains while vernacular is used in low domains. According to Fishman, proper usage indicates that only one of the co-available languages or varieties will be chosen by particular kinds of occasions to discuss particular kinds of topics.

Domains are defined in terms of institutional contexts or sociological co-occurrences. They attempt to designate the major cluster of interaction situations that occur in particular multilingual settings. Social networks occur within domains. These domains reveal how language choice and topic are related to widespread socio-cultural norms and expectations (Fishman, 1972). The domains can differ in terms of socio-psychological and societal institutional level. Socio-psychological analysis distinguishes intimate, informal, formal and intergroup domains which can be identified with domains at the institutional level such as home, school, and friendship as shown in chapter 5.

Domain analysis determines the place a language holds in a particular group of people. Thus including domain analyses in the study it is possible to get a better and probably a more realistic idea of language usage by the teenagers in Eastleigh. Therefore domain analysis in the study is concerned with what Fishman regards as who speaks what language to whom and when (Fishman, 1968: 437).

2.2.3 Poststructuralist Approaches

From the poststructuralist point of view, the analysis of the social organization, social meanings, and individual consciousness is by means of power (Bourdieu, 1990). This implies that any society is structured hierarchically. The subject positions we take in

society are socially produced through the use of language in various domains. This way of viewing society will help explain the nature of language choices made by the Somali teenagers in the Kenyan context. Poststructuralists see an individual as diverse, contradictory, multiple, and decentred. The Somalis speak a minority language as compared to the majority languages in the Kenyan context. As a result the present study introduced the poststructuralist theory to cater for the identity and relations of power. Milroy's study was conducted in a monolingual context whereas the context for the present study is multilingual. Social network theory may not sufficiently handle other emerging trends of identity and the question of some languages dominating others. In fact, Fasold (1990) had earlier hinted that linguistic market should replace class-based studies or network analysis, which is incorporated in the present study.

The present study seeks to find out how the teenagers' linguistic repertoires are affected by the legitimized languages, that is, the languages which are valued in society. In the poststructuralist framework, particular ideas from Woolard (1985), Bourdieu (1991) and Heller (1992) are utilised in the study. Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) believe that the complex relationship between language and identity has been under-theorized, as earlier theories have operated in the interactional linguistics and socio-psychological approaches. The poststructuralist framework is also relevant to the current study, which explores language use among different genders. This is because of the inadequacy of the social network theory to address the identities of the refugees within the socio-economic, socio-historical and socio-political process which they find themselves in by virtue of fleeing from the crisis in their country. Hence, we opt to incorporate a framework which addresses the particular issues of identity and power.

The incorporation of poststructuralism also stems from the fact that this study looks at how people influence others in a social set-up; hence, situations arise where the subjects can resist, change, negotiate and transform themselves and others. In this study, the poststructuralist framework will enable us to examine and explain the negotiation of identities in socio-economic, socio-historical and socio-political processes which are the making of the larger society and an individual has no control but to negotiate and survive.

Poststructuralism portrays language choices in multilingual contexts as embedded in larger social, political, economic and socio-cultural contexts (Pavlenko and Backledge, 2004). This viewpoint emanated from the French sociologist, Bourdieu (1977, 1982 and 1990) who views language as a mechanism of power. The language one uses is chosen in a field or social space. Thus ideas about language are socially situated and tied to questions of identity and power in societies. A community's population can enable it to dominate others and their language becomes the language of the hegemonic institution. The study takes Gal (1989) and Heller's (1992) point of view that a language is judged depending on its prestige and value.

Thus, in a linguistic market, there are several alternative market places which assume different language norms and assign different values to particular language behaviours and linguistic varieties (Woolard, 1985). Gal (1989) concurs with the same view, adding that speakers transform linguistic norms and their own stigmatized social identities. Heller (1992) points out that the use of language in everyday conversations creates an awareness of language, which involves the negotiation of language choice in everyday interaction. In her study in Quebec, Heller investigated the language choices that people make in private and public settings. The study revealed that people struggle to acquire a variety of languages because of the privileges that come with it. The subjects chose to acquire English or French in order to gain or retain privileged access to the same kinds of education, work place opportunities and socio-economic positions. In the present study, the Somalis are victims of these processes. How do they go about them in their daily lives in a foreign land?

The study centres on a minority group who are the Somali teenagers, residing in Kenya considered a majority group amongst other refugees. In this study the majority and minority refer to situational differences in power, rights, and privileges (Pavlenko and Backledge, 2004) the teenagers are subjected to in Kenya. The social network theory takes for granted the power relations and complex socio-political, socio-economic, and socio-cultural factors that shape various people in the various social networks and the domains. The ideas about language are always situated in and tied to questions of power

and identities in societies. The poststructural approach is based on the following guiding principles for discussing identities.

1) Location within particular discourses and ideologies of language — identity options are constructed, validated, and offered through discourses available to the individual at a particular time and place. Identity is located within particular discourses.
2) Identities are embedded in power relations. Languages and identities are embedded within the relations of power. According to Bourdieu (1991), those who are speakers of the official language or the standard variety are subject to symbolic domination, if they believe in the legitimacy of that language or variety. This contribute to the indexical linking of linguistic varieties with character types and cultural traits, whereby linguistic behaviours of others are seen as deriving from the speaker's social, political, intellectual or moral character as opposed to accident (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004)
3) Multiplicity, fragmentation and hybridity. Poststructuralists highlight the fact that identities are constructed through multiple variables (e.g. age, gender, social status, and geographical affiliation). Identities should be looked at in their entirety. This is because identities are always shifting. Thus a person can have multiple identities.
4) Identities and imagination: Imagination can lead to creation of imagined communities. This is often aided by the use of new linguistic terms, visual art, and literary art, which create new practices of self-representation and thus a new imagined community.
5) Identity narratives. Migration, displacement and the creation of new diasporas lead to tension, fragmentation and shifting identities experienced by the individuals. Identity narratives help in the reconstruction of the present, past and the future. Identities also include the names given to the different ways we position ourselves within the narratives of the present and the past.

It is hoped that the incorporation of poststructuralism in the study will contribute to a more coherent multi-level sociolinguistic theory.

2.3 Literature Review

The study of social variation in language encompasses a multitude of possible inquiries. The study sets out to bridge the body of ideas from the interactional sociolinguistics and the poststructuralists. This is because language is a principal means by which human beings conduct their social lives. This cuts across many issues in society, including social, political and economic ideals. Like other studies, this research differs from the Labovian tradition, which was based on class. The social class to which we belong imposes some norms of behaviour on us and reinforces them by the strength of the people with whom we associate closely (Chambers, 1995). A range of research results have concluded that the lower and middle classes are almost always the location for linguistic change (Eckert, 1989, Milroy, 1980).

The sub-elements of the social class include education, type of housing, employment, all of which play a role in determining the kind of people we associate with and those we form permanent relationships. Networks, age and gender also affect language use. This study breaks away from the Labovian tradition which focussed on how class affects people's languages. Milroy (1987) is of the view that class is a broad-based category and difficult to pin down unless consistently used at a high level of abstraction and that it is difficult to identify the characteristics which are relevant to class, e.g. level of income, education, occupation, and place of residence. As individuals try to change their class (upward mobility), so their language changes. Social networks explain language change, even in situations where people have changed class. This is because studying social networks and language patterns associated with them can explain even situations where people have changed class (Milroy and Milroy, 1992) as people interact in many places. Moreover, social networks relate to community and interpersonal level of social organization which includes social class.

The driving force behind social networks is that people interact meaningfully as individuals, in addition to forming parts of structured, functional institutions such as classes, castes or occupational groups (Milroy, 1992). Thus, Milroy's social networks

explain that an individual's change or maintenance of language depends on their integration into the local community. Social networks are anchored to individuals who have a choice to activate whatever network for practical reasons. The social network approach has been found to be useful in explaining the social interaction mechanisms that allow speakers to maintain or change their language. Thus, class became a precursor of network analysis. The point of departure between class and network is the immediacy to the individual. A person's circle of friends (network) can impose standards of behaviour rigorously whereas guardians of class norms are less ineffable (Chambers, 1995). Class concerns itself with phenomena from the macro-level perspective (Wiklund, 2002), which is beyond the micro-level scope of the current study. The breakthrough in social network study was when scholars such as Jacobson and Halle (1956) worked on social structure and realised that it can be used as an organizing idea. Thus social networks can be looked at from within the structures the teenagers make. Thus a class structure, for example, an estate can be broken into many unbound networks. The present study undertook to study social networks of Somali teenagers in Eastleigh, a suburban and low-status estate, and the language change that takes place among them. Social networks can be studied and the findings can be extrapolated to explain the mechanisms which bring about class and other mechanisms that are at play in the larger society. Class was seen as a macro-concept which explained language variation among bound groups of people. Network analysis is a micro-level structure (Chambers, 1995).

A network is seen as norm enforcing and it influences social behaviour; it is also language inclusive. Speakers everywhere contract informal relations; thus, the concept of social network is not ethnocentric like class or caste (Milroy, 1980). More so social network analysis can be done to all societies of varying economic status, rural or urban, and is not limited by intercultural differences in communities. This of course is relevant to this kind of study, which is done in an urban migrant community. A person becomes loyal to network membership and subscribes to the collective values. Thus, an individual's linguistic make-up approximates to that of the group. Linguistic conformity to the group correlates to the individual integration into the network.

Chambers (1995) gives conditions where social network studies apply. These include: homogeneity in social class, age, and ethnicity as applied in other studies. The most remarkable studies in social network studies include: Labov, 1972; Eckert, 1989; Lippi-Green, 1989; Milroy and Milroy, 1998; Cheshire, 1982; Salami, 1991; Wiklund, 2002 and Stoessel, 2002 amongst others. In networks an individual is free to choose where to belong, he or she has 'free agency' unlike with social class, which can be determined at birth. Social class is also a construction of the larger society which is beyond the scope of the social networks. The present study attempts to build on social network theory while adding a new dimension from the poststructuralist framework. This includes identity and power, as will be discussed in section 2.5 and later in chapter 7.

2.4 Social Networks Studies

In the last five decades, considerable interest has been shown in social network studies. Researchers agree that social networks play an important role in relation to language change. Various studies reviewed here support this view.

Milroy (1980) carried out a detailed quantitative study in Belfast. This was to establish the relationship between language variation and social network structure. Milroy examined the language patterns of 46 speakers from three low-status working class Belfast communities. She analyzed eight phonological variables, all of which were clearly characteristic of the network structures of individual speakers in the Belfast urban speech community. In all three communities, networks were relatively dense, multiplex, and often kin-based, corresponding to those described by many investigators as characteristic of traditional, long-established communities minimally impacted by social or geographical mobility (Milroy and Gordon, 2003). The extent of an individual's use of variants was found to be strongly influenced by the level of integration into the neighbourhood networks. The network ties that were observed were those of kin, work, friendship, and the neighbourhood. In the study, some participants worked outside the neighbourhood and had no local kin ties and few local ties of friendship, while others were locally connected in all four capacities.

To characterize the differences in the network structure, Milroy developed a network strength scale (maximum score 5). This was used to rate the various kin, work and friendship relationships within the neighbourhood which were relevant to her study. Speakers scored one point for each of the following conditions they satisfied:

1) Were members of high density, territorially based group, e.g. a football club.
2) Worked in the same place with two others from the same neighbourhood.
3) Worked in the same place with others of the same sex from the neighbourhood.
4) Had kinship ties with more than one household in the neighbourhood.
5) Associated voluntarily with workmates in leisure activities. (Milroy and Gordon, 2003:121)

The current study borrows elements of Milroy's (1980) study, for example, its methodology and its theoretical approach. However, Milroy was particularly interested in the effect of the strength of the network ties in monolingual communities on variations in the vernacular. Such an approach is not applicable to the Somali refugees living in Kenya. There are various reasons for this. First, the Somali teenagers are not employed, unlike Milroy's subjects. Second, there are several languages in contact, not just one. These languages are English, Kiswahili, Somali and other local languages. Third, the subjects are teenagers and fall into a specific age bracket. This will systematically affect the languages used by the subjects. To suit the Somali teenagers in the Kenyan context the conditions to be measured were varied (See Chapter Three).

Social networks in a bilingual environment may operate differently. Milroy studied a monolingual community. The current study targets school-going teenagers who are bilingual or multilingual. Raschka et al. (2002) look at social networks and their impact on the bilingual development of Chinese children born in Great Britain, but living in a Chinese community. They focus their study on family and friends, and their generational differences in language. A combination of standard assessment, interviews, and questionnaires was used in collecting the data. The findings showed that the number of L2 contacts stand in a positive relation to proficiency for those children whose peer influences are mostly from English speakers. The role of parents in their children's L1 maintenance, in terms of the impact on their language choice and bilingual abilities, is important, as is

the role of the social network, particularly the primary network, in providing moral and material support. The study concludes that for children to maintain their first language, parents or speakers of older generations need to communicate consistently and frequently with them. The subjects of the currently proposed study were school-going teenagers as in Raschka et al's (2002) work. It also considered social networks in relation to teenagers' language proficiency.

Another study is by Smith (2002), who investigated the role of social networks in connection with second language communicative competence. He presents and discusses carefully planned research instruments for investigating social networks and then applies these instruments in a multiple-case study, investigating US expatriates in the South-East Asian cultures. He combines a careful quantitative analysis with qualitative research. Smith arrives at a definition of what he calls the 'relational space of communicative competence'. He implies that there is a strong positive association between frequency of interaction with hosts and communicative competence. His findings suggest that a less dense informal network may work in favour of better communicative competence. This is because the level of exposure to the second language could be higher if the subjects have less contact with people of their own ethnic community.

Other researchers have moved beyond social networks but have also incorporated the idea of the psycholinguistic aspect of language processing while discussing language shift and maintenance. Madeline et al. (2002) studied Dutch migrants in New Zealand, whose social networks are to some extent different from those in other studies as both the generations studied have numerous L1 contacts. The data showed that the first-language skills decrease with each generation and that limited contact with the first language leads to changes in the way lexical items are retrieved from the mental lexicon. The informants' social networks reflected language shift. Further, the number of L1 contacts was positively related to the informants' attitudes towards language maintenance, irrespective of generation. Contact with L1 speakers in the country of origin was found to be the key factor in language maintenance. The present study is not intergenerational and does not extend to psycholinguistic aspects of language and retrieval of linguistic structures in the mind, but

rather, it focuses on the social networks and the languages with which the subjects come into contact. Their L2 networks may involve more than two languages such as Kiswahili, English or any other language within the context of their networks.

One study of an African community is by Salami (1991). The study concerns the informal personal social networks of individual Yoruba-speaking city dwellers in Ile-Ife in South West Nigeria and focuses on phonetic variation in Yoruba. Salami collected data from 70 Yoruba speakers. His study used face-to-face interviews, questionnaires and participant observation over a period of five years. The aim of the study was to observe the nature, types, and structure of the subjects' networks. Salami identifies a correlation between the choice of phonological varieties made by each speaker, and the pressure from the speakers' informal contacts from Ile-Ife. He uses the concept of the social network to describe how Yoruba speakers in Ile-Ife create and maintain linguistic norms for themselves and others. He finds that the variable social network has a powerful influence on variation in Yoruba usage and potential change within Ile-Ife. Although his study is based in Africa and employs a methodology similar to that of the current study, it differs in a number of ways: it centres on variation within a single language, i.e. Yoruba, and the respondents were not from a refugee background. Moreover, the research is based on a monolingual context, whereas the present study utilises respondents who are in a multilingual context.

Another notable study on language maintenance and shift was carried out by Stoessel (2002). The researcher uses a combination of both quantitative and qualitative research components to investigate the relationship between social networks and first-language maintenance and shift among ten immigrants in US. The study focused on questions of social identity and how the social network might possibly stand in relation to the subjects' observed language use. The subjects were ranked as maintainers or shifters according to frequency of L1 usage across domains. A questionnaire was designed to establish the features of their social networks which patterned with maintenance ratings. Maintainers showed a stronger emotional attachment to their L1 than the shifters did. This study is similar to the current study in that it utilized similar conditions in the social networks to elicit qualitative and quantitative data from the immigrant teenagers. In addition, it focuses

on immigrant subjects who are in a new environment and are bilingual. However, it differs from the present study in that it sampled subjects who were highly educated and of the same sex. The current study is designed on a larger scale as it uses more subjects (30). Furthermore, it is representative in terms of gender and concentrates only on the social networks within the Kenyan context.

Other studies have used slightly different concepts of social network. For example, in a study of rural migrants in Brazlandia, a satellite of Brasilia, Bortoni-Ricardo (1985) examined the extent to which speakers had diverted from their Calpara dialect rather than identifying a linguistic standard dialect. Unlike other studies, she uses two network indices. The main object of his investigation was the change in social structure associated with rural-urban migration, which involved a move from an 'insulated' network consisting largely of kin and neighbours to an 'integrated' urban network where links were less multiplex. The two separate network indices, namely the integration and urbanization indices, were constructed to measure the changing pattern of the migrants' social relationships. The integration index assesses relevant characteristics of three persons with whom each migrant most frequently interacts, such as whether they are kin or non-kin and whether the ties were contracted prior to migration. The final score measures progress in the transition from an isolated to an integrated type of network, that is, the gradual loosening of close-knit ties. These changes are correlated with linguistic movement away from the Calpara dialect. The urbanization index focuses not on the migrant, but on the characteristics of members of his or her personal network, such as educational level and mobility. The study identifies a positive correlation between the factors studied and a change in dialect. The present study considers the extent to which the teenagers have detached themselves from their groups and the linguistic consequences of this detachment.

The foregoing discussion indicates that social networks play an important role in the life of an individual. The teenagers in the current study are exposed to varied languages in their social networks. The social relations they have built are assumed to enforce linguistic norms. Thus, it was necessary to find out how the teenagers employ their different linguistic codes in the different domains. Of importance is whether the social networks

they contract orient them to their own linguistic group or to other linguistic codes in use in Kenya, which is examined in Chapter Four.

2.5 Major Themes in the Studies.

In order to grasp the content of the study, this section will uncover the literature pertinent to sociolinguistic, socioeconomic and socio-political issues which are relevant to the study. This includes language change, language and power, language and gender, identity and ethnicity.

2.5.1 Language Change

Much of the research on social networks has focused on language change. Boyd (1994) discusses the possibilities of minority groups' maintaining and developing their languages of origin. Maintaining a minority language includes maintaining the world view and lifestyle of a culture left behind. Acquiring the majority language of the host country should represent a gateway to participating in the culture of that country. The refugee teenagers in Kenya have their own language, and are in contact with the various Kenyan languages. The extent to which the teenagers will change and use the Kenyan languages is what the study sought to investigate.

Paulillo (1999) carried out a study in India to establish the relationship between participant social positions in writing, listening and reading, and the linguistic variants they use. The study was an investigation of the social networks and the language variation of participants, who were Indian nationals living in other countries. To determine the relationship between network strength and the frequency of use of the different linguistic features, the study undertook positional analysis of participants' interaction patterns. In positional analysis, participants are grouped in equivalent classes, according to their patterns of interaction with other participants, recognized as the principal vehicle of change. Change was seen to occur in relation to interaction patterns. Like the current study, Paulillo's relates the subjects' social networks to the change in their language usage in a

foreign country. Positional analysis implies that the subjects are grouped and placed in different positions in relation to their levels of language proficiency. This is similar to delineating social networks in terms of school, friendship, kin, etc. In the current study, the level of proficiency is a subject of investigation and therefore positional analysis is not applicable. Thus, the differences between Paulillo's study and the present one is in the focus and method.

Milroy (1992) and Croft (2000) have argued that change lies within the individual. In addition, Milroy (2004) asserts that, given that ties contracted by an individual within and between speech communities may change for many reasons, analysis of change in the operation of the network mechanism that supports localized linguistic codes can illuminate the phenomenon of linguistic change. Chambers et al. (2004:670) note that 'the only circumstance under which language change may result is when the collective use of a new linguistic feature by individual speakers is sufficiently frequent to be taken as a new norm'. Therefore the question is: when refugee teenagers build new networks in a new environment, what impact does this have on their linguistic orientation?

2.5.2 Social Identity.

Language plays a very important role in the process of developing identity (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004; Canagarajah, 2004; Kinginger, 2004). West (1992) sees social identity as the desire for recognition, the desire for affiliation, and the desire for security and safety. These desires, West argues, cannot be separated from the distribution of material resources in a particular society. Furthermore, social identity will shift in accordance with changing social and economic relations across time and space and will be renegotiated within everyday social interactions (Norton 1993, 2000). Norton further notes that in heterogeneous societies, there are socially constructed institutions where symbolic and material resources are produced, distributed and validated. Such institutions are like schools and the legal system. Symbolic and material resources refer to language, education, capital, friendship, etc. Norton (2000) further asserts that language is taken to be a means of carrying out the negotiations and also to be a symbolic and material resource.

The teenagers are in need of resources, which include language. How then do the teenagers negotiate for the resources?

Social identity must also be understood in terms of larger and frequently unbalanced social structures which are reproduced in day-to-day social interaction by individuals. It is through language that a person negotiates a sense of self within and across different sites and at different points in time. It is also through language that a person gains access to powerful social networks (Norton, 1993). Thus, language should be understood in reference to negotiating for one's social identity. Thomas and Wareing (2000) point out that people use language to construct social identities and also as a means of exercising control over others. This translates into adopting the linguistic conventions of a particular group. Therefore, the current study assumes that the teenagers will adopt the languages of Kenya in the process of constructing their identities. Norton (1993) further asserts that language is a complex social practice that is implicated in the production of a language learner's social identity

2.5.3 Ethnicity

The teenagers in the current study were living in a homogeneous society before moving to Kenya, a heterogeneous society. Heller (1987) argues that people growing up in a homogeneous society would define themselves as an ethnic group. The first principle of ethnic identity formation is participation in ethnic social networks, and therefore in activities controlled by group members. Language is important here as a means by which access to networks is regulated. If you do not speak the right language, you are not able to form relations with others or to participate in certain activities. Kamuangu (2008) is of the view that in the early stages of settlement, immigrants may be discriminated against or marginalised and thus allocate others and themselves category membership. The refugee teenagers have to participate in the activities of the host country and this will have an impact on their language in one way or another, which leads to linguistic change. Moreover, to a new language must be the need to come to grips with the ethnicity values, sentiments and overt behaviours of the indigenous population.

Relationships between communities are very important. The link between language and ethnicity is vital as a basis of socialization and mobilization. Ethnic consciousness is usually very pertinent to collectivities that are small enough and weak enough to require constant touch with others of the same ethnic group such as minority groups (Fishman, 1989) In urban areas, for example in Eastleigh, ethnic identity is expressed through loyalty to particular traditions or institutions, such as initiation rites, wedding ceremonies and funeral customs. The vernacular constitutes the fundamental barrier to social integration in town (Shorter, 1991). Urban living transforms ethnic identities and gives them power and scope and new areas of application, especially in networks. Minority tribes tend to coalesce into alternative groups in the city. These, according to Shorter (1991), follow the patterns of cultural regions where adjacent ethnic groups have interacted historically and possess common cultural features. Ethnic villages spring up where ethnicity is linked to particular specialization. For example, in Eastleigh, we have villages named with similar names as those found in Somalia such as 'Mogadishu', a city in Somalia. The refugees have even given their businesses names like those back in their country; hence, they seem to be recreating a sense of being in their country.

Ng (1981) argues that people relate socially in terms of ethnic groups. Ethnicity must then be understood as a product of social relations that organizes people in relation to larger processes in the society. He asserts that: "Ethnicity is a social construction: it exists only in, and has no basis other than in, social relations enacted by members of society, in everyday activities" (Ng, 1981:97). Having escaped the civil war in Somalia and fled to Kenya, the Somalis moved to Kenya with the intent of finding peace and improving their lives. However, they face discrimination and have to embrace their status as a marginalised group and, therefore, develop what Kamuangu (2008) calls group consciousness *vis-à-vis* other groups.

This study was interested in the public world that gives the teenager the opportunity to interact with members of the target community. However, this world is not accessible to the refugee child. The respondents in the proposed study come from a different ethnic background, which is a minority in a majority ethnic environment. According to Thomas

and Wareing (2000), an ethnic majority is made up of a cultural group that has been dominant in shaping a nation's infrastructure. They further point out that the cultural affiliations of the ethnic majority (its beliefs and its language use) become primary because the group has the power to enforce them. The study focussed on respondents as from a Somali ethnic group in a context which consists of varied majority ethnic groups.

Ethnicity is also a component of social identity and language plays an important role as it acts as a marker of both. Ethnic identity is allegiance to a group – large or small, socially dominant or subordinate – with which one has ancestral links. There is no necessity for a continuation, over generations of the same socialization or cultural patterns, but some sense of group boundary must persist. This can be sustained by shared objective characteristics: language, religion etc. (Kaharan, 2002). Language use influences the formation of ethnic identity. Kaharan contends that research has established that ethnic group members identify more closely with those who share the same language. In the present study, the subjects would point at the Kenyan Somalis as not of their ethnic group because of the fact that they speak a different dialect. Thus the speakers of a language or dialect provide clues that allow others to determine if speakers are members of an in-group or out-group (Giles and Johnson, 1987).

Language and ethnicity can be taken as the building blocks for any society. Ethnic identity is only meaningful in situations in which two or more ethnic groups are in contact over a period of time (Phinney, 1990), as in the Kenyan context where there are more than forty ethnic groups. According to Ogechi (2008), many Kenyans define themselves by their tribe or religion and their definition as a nation comes last and is often inferred, not spoken. Ethnicity is a focus if identity. Ethnicity can also be a product of social networks and also the shared experience of members of the social networks. To be a member of an ethnic group is to participate in the social networks and as a result, have access to certain social ties that differentiate one ethnic group from another. Ethnic identities, especially those that are linguistically anchored, seem to be remarkably flexible. One is born into an ethnic group and a mother tongue but what one becomes later depends on the circumstances. Besides, it has been argued that ethnic membership

is associated with minority groups as opposed to a majority group. In this study, we argue that ethnicity is double-edged: on one hand, people acknowledge ethnicity when they consider it as a useful tool, but when it hinders an individual's personal security and well being it will be more easily given up. You are your ethnic group before you belong to a wider society.

According to Fishman (1997), ethnicity is a self- and-other aggregative definitional of culture. It is not necessarily a conscious dimension of social life but contrastive experiences easily call it into consciousness. In Eastleigh, the Somali refugees are there because of the war in their country. They are very conscious about their ethnicity. In fact, in many cases you find them in groups listening to the news updates about their country and as mentioned before, they have even given the estates names like those used back in their countries. Ethnicity may not be defined in terms of size or scale but may be a property of an aggregative unit as small as bands, clans or settlements, or it may occupy specific regions in particular countries, entire countries or even several neighbouring countries as they have done in Kenya.

Ethnicity should be taken as subject to fluctuations depending on the social conditions which affect relative importance of identity and categorization of others and by others. Haarman (1986) is of the view that the components of self-identification and categorization of others which comprise evaluations and stereotypes about one's own identity should not be seen as a stable and unchangeable cluster of features but rather a variable depending on changing conditions which affect relative importance and categorization. Attitudes towards other ethnic groups as well as features of self-categorization shape the ethnic identity of an ethnic group. Ethnic boundaries between a given group of reference and other ethnic groups grow stronger in those settings where the ethnic group profile of reference group is characterised by a negative attitude toward other ethnic groups in contact. The ethnic boundaries are not fixed but change, depending on the activities of the ethnic group which may serve or weaken them. Therefore, Haarman (1986) posits that boundaries may be perceived as positive (pride in one's culture) or as negative and passively suffered (e.g. fading of self- awareness among

minorities under extreme pressure of assimilation). Thus, ethnicity is multifaceted and can be subject to change. Ethnic and linguistic diversity is part and parcel of the lives of human beings in all spheres of life like class and race. The absence of diversity would, therefore, make life for the Somalis dehumanising, mechanical and utterly impoverished.

The Somali teenagers have to wear multiple faces, depending on the circumstances. Due to the presence of a Somali ethnic group in Kenya which has a similar culture and even similar physical features, they alternate between being Somali-Somalis and Kenyan-Somalis[7] depending on what they want to achieve. For them to get meal rations and head counts, they become refugees. When they want to get privileges in the Kenyan nation, they become Kenyan citizens. For students, it is not difficult because when one is still under the age of 18, the enrolment conditions are not very strict. When life becomes harsh, for example if one fails to secure a job in Kenya, Somalis consider themselves as Somalis; they even wish to relocate to other countries like America. In the course of this research, one of the respondents observed:

[Respondent X]**:** I am in Kenya for a short while. I don't even want to learn Kiswahili because I am going away. I have relatives there who went there earlier and they say that it is good country. I can't be Kenyan, I want to be American.

They even go to extent of saying that Somalia is not part of Africa. In most cases when we were carrying out the research, they would ask the research assistants, 'What do the Africans want around here?'[8] Thus the study supports Fishman's (1989:14) assertion that:

> …democracy should guarantee the right to retain ones own ethnicity, to safeguard collective ethnic continuity to enable one's own children to join the ranks of one's own kind, to develop creatively and to reach to their full potential without becoming ethnically inauthentic, lifeless, worse than lifeless: nothingness (Fishman 1989:14).

[7] Somali-Somalis are Somalis from Somalia, whereas Kenyan-Somalis are those Somalis who come the North-Eastern part of Kenya and are Kenyans by nationality.
[8] 'Africans' refers to Kenyans and anybody who is black, so long as they are not Somali.

However, ethnicity risks developing ethnocentrism. This is where a group of people feel that they are superior to other people. For example, in the present study the teenagers interviewed felt that the Somali culture is superior to that of the Somalis in Kenya. Islam is also part of the culture. Their mode of dressing is also very different from the Kenyan Somali citizens. Thus, this particular group have a notion of 'them' (Somali refugees) being better than the 'others' (Kenyan communities). Language and ethnicity then are naturally linked. Thus, it is multiple identities that enable one to practice ethnicity.

Ethnicity is also constructed or conditioned by the social and historical circumstances. Refugees have various needs which make them change strategy all the time to meet their desired needs. Thus the degree of variation in languages can be seen as variation of the various multi-facets of identity. The conditions prevailing can result in one language being used more than another. This is why the Somali language is very dominant in certain domains. The refugees are a dislocated ethnic group but they have been able to endure such dislocations and retain their language in various domains; as Fishman (2001) succinctly says, human beings are shrewd calculators of membership benefits. The identity label that the individual chooses to wear may differ according to the social context. Sometimes ethnicity comprises irrational, deep-seated allegiances, as well as attachment to kin, territory or religion. In this case people become violent, leading to tribal wars. This explains why Kenyan citizens went to war immediately after the 2007 general elections. The competing leaders based their campaigns on their ethnic alliances, thereby leading to tribal wars.

The study also established that ethnic identity is dynamic and changes over time and context. The respondents would want to wear a different image at different periods. For example, a respondent would like to be identified as Kenyan in the school context so as to make friends but when at home does not mind falling back to being a Somali. Thus, ethnicity is a complex process in which the teenagers keep on shifting to be able to survive in the context. Erickson's (1988) paradigm proposes that identity is a result of a period of exploration and experimentation that typically takes place during adolescence and that leads to a decision or commitment in various areas such as occupation, religion,

and political orientation. One can presumably be clear about and confident of one's ethnicity without wanting to maintain one's language and customs.

Drawing on Phinney (1990), ethnic identity can be seen by the following indicators:

1) Language. Language is a cultural practice associated with ethnic identification.
2) Friendship
3) Religious affiliation
4) Structure of ethnic social groups
5) Area of residence.

In this study we focus on ethnicity from point Phinney's of view of language. The study also found that the rest of the factors given by Phinney (1990) play a role in all matters pertaining to ethnicity. Moreover, in order to have a multifaceted picture of an ethnic group, it is necessary to understand the interlaced relations of ethnic identity, social network and language use. Furthermore, Fishman (1989) spells out that the more a 'modern' society is open to strangers (resident foreigners, immigrants, seasonal labourers) the more ethnicity must become one of the operational bases for the negotiation of these strangers with the larger society, especially if social and economic assimilation is blocked and other forms of social action are controlled.

2.5.4 Language and Gender

Gender is embedded so thoroughly in our institutions, our actions, our beliefs, our desires that it appears to be completely natural. (Eckert and McConnell-Ginnet 2001:173).

Another notable theme in sociolinguistic studies is gender. Within sociolinguistic research, there is an increasing emphasis on the centrality of gender in understanding the sociolinguistic dynamic. This is evidenced by the number of sociolinguistic works that have addressed this issue within the last two and half decades. An analysis of the dialectic between language change and social networks will not be complete, therefore, without a critical look at gender as a social construct and consequently a defining aspect in social networks.

A number of studies (Lakoff, 1975; Labov, 1990; Tannen, 1991; Milroy, 1997; Thompson et al. 2001 and Coulmas 1997; 2006) have noted that language is gender-sensitive. This implies that it is sometimes used differently by males and females. Others point out that men's language dominates that of women because of the power asymmetries in societies. Furthermore, the differences in the languages of the two genders are a result of the socio-cultural practices and issues which are deep in the practice of societies. Giddens (1989) defines gender as concerning the psychological, social, and cultural differences between males and females. Cheshire (2000) observes that sex, social class, age and ethnicity are the widely used social demographic categories, and so categorizing individuals as 'females' and 'males' has been a long-standing practice in social sciences. According to Milroy (1992), gender is a methodological and explanatory variable that can easily be taken into account at the data collection stage; hence, the subject sample of the present study was representative in terms of gender. In her study, Milroy found the networks of women to be less dense because they had less access to the employment, which made them speak fewer vernaculars. Cheshire (2000) is of the view that in order to explain the relationship between gender and language variation, we need to investigate the everyday language use of individual men and women in the local communities where the local construction of gender and other identities take place.

Other studies have suggested that gender is a driving force behind linguistic variation and change. Rigg (1987) studied glottalization of /p/, /t/, and /k/ in medial and word final positions in English. The results showed that glottalization is gender-sensitive in some English varieties. Labov (2001) pointed out that women are usually slow to acquire new forms, and thus they are seen as conformists, particularly women in the lower class, and concludes that the interaction of sex and social class leave us no choice but to focus on gender and assess its effect on linguistic change. Trudgill (1986, 2000) supports Labov's view on gender disparity in language use. Bortoni-Ricardo (1985), in her study of migrants of Brazlandia, a satellite city near Brazilia, found that men maintain their rural dialect more than women. This, she found, was as a result of the job opportunities which were available

to men and connected them to the city. Women were not mobile and they were restricted to the local dialect.

The present study regarded gender as a possible variable affecting the subjects' languages choices. In the Somali culture girls are conditioned to participate in social, cultural and linguistic activities solely to maintain relationships of solidarity among women (Khadar, 2003). The study also established that from childhood the Somali girls are encouraged to participate strictly in women's language and culture learning sessions. This prepares them to behave like responsible women of the community. The Muslim religion also plays a role in relegating the girls to a different position. Somalis are predominantly Muslims. The Muslim religion has a strict mode of behaviour for women and men. In the mosque, women do not talk and they have a position reserved for them during prayers. This casts the men as powerful hence the notion of what Pennycook (2001) refers to as the 'dominant- subordinate relationship'. The women in this case are seen to be relegated to a private domain of language and thus women's ways of talking are not accorded respect. In fact, Corson (2001) opines that girls who are from immigrant and refugee culture are marginalised first as members of a different culture and second as females within their cultures.

In another study, Dubois and Horvath (1999) showed the significance of gender variations across three generations of Cajun individuals of Louisiana. Sociolinguistic changes in the community were affected by the social and economic roles of Cajun men and women at specific historical moments. The mandatory use of English as a language of education, local industrialization and the Cajun renaissance influenced the linguistic behaviour of the older, middle and the younger generations respectively. Their study revealed that the interaction of gender and social network varied at different points in history, with effects on linguistic variation for different generations. Milroy's (1980) Belfast study showed that women were conforming less closely to vernacular forms than men. The women also played a role in preserving their culture. Women are more disposed to adopt the legitimate language since they are inclined towards docility towards dominant usages by both the division of labour which makes them specialise in consumption, and by logic of marriage,

which is their main avenue of social advancement and through which they circulate upwards (Khadar, 2003).

Gender studies are as old as Lakoff (1975), whose view on one the hand is that men's language is powerful and a symbol of people who rule the world. On the other hand, women's language developed as a way of surviving and even flourishing without control over economic, physical and social reality. In this study, gender difference is seen as subject to the difference between men and women as practiced in different subcultures (Pennycook, 2001; Coates, 1988; Tannen, 1990). It also looks at inequality of power in the society (Cameron, 1995), hence culture relations and power are intertwined.

In this study, gender is taken to be a social construct which stems from the cultural organization of the society. There have been long-standing stereotypes of men and women in different societies. Pennycook (2001), for instance, gives derogatory terms for women in language; women are relegated to private language domains; women's frequent use of language allows them to be regarded as of lower social status; women's ways of talking are not accorded respect. Therefore, language breeds gender inequality in itself. In this study we look at language in terms of:

1) Difference

2) Dominance.

The difference and the dominance approaches are produced because of the different ideas of the world which view women and men as behaving differently in society. Do the female and male refugees use language differently in Eastleigh? The studies discussed in this subsection support the view that gender differentiation is an important driving force in linguistic change.

Gender difference in men and women could be a result of the differences in discourse between men and women in particular settings. Power relations also affect men and women in societies and also have some effect on language use. The activities of the two groups do

lead to language differences (Pennycook, 2001). If the activities women engage in in society are undervalued, then the language they speak will be undervalued as well. Thus, language differences in both genders could be a result of the socio-cultural issues that underlie. This implies that language use between men and women should not be over-generalised but analysis of the different groups of people should be taken into consideration because of the different discourses which call for different conditions. In the study we set out to find whether relationships in networks affect gender use of language. In conclusion, there are likely to be differences between the linguistic behaviour of men in a community on the one hand, and women on the other. The aim of this research, which draws heavily on Milroy's framework, was not so much to relate language and gender, but rather, to gain the greatest possible understanding of the language of the refugee teenagers, including the possible correlation between gender and language use.

2.5.5 Language and Power

The dynamics of ever-changing language in ever changing human polygons takes place in a non-homogeneous, unlimited ocean containing mainlands, isles, and islets of relatively permanent usages based on a given linguistic stock, also relatively permanent usages based on a given linguistic stock, also relatively permanent; these language pockets are located within larger sociolinguistic streamlets and streams

Tabouret-Keller, A (1997:361).

To be able to use varied codes and style is commonplace in many parts of the world. People speak a language, depending on the social conditions that prevail. Bourdieu (1991) refers to this as political economy, where a speaker assesses the market conditions and the anticipation of the likely reception of his/her linguistic products; serve as a constraint of the language choice one has to make. Thus, language can be legitimate in one context, but not in another. Bourdieu (1991: 71) asserts:

> …the unification of the market is never complete as to prevent dominated individuals from finding in the space provided a private life, among friends, family members, neighbours where the law of the price formation which apply to formal markets are suspended….despite this, the formal law, which is thus provisionally suspended rather than truly transgressed, remains valid, and it re-imposes itself on dominated once they leave the unregulated areas where they can be outspoken

The teenagers in the study have many codes at their disposal: Somali, English, Kiswahili, and Arabic. In relation to Bourdieu's assertions, how do these teenagers utilise these linguistic resources? The languages in Kenyan have different strengths or rather 'values' in the linguistic market. Bourdieu also argues that a human being is a shrewd calculator of benefits accrued from using any language at a particular time. As will be seen in the next chapter, the Somali teenagers use the languages depending on the domains. In Bourdieu's (1991) view, every speech act and action is a two-way process. On the one hand, there are socially constructed dispositions of the linguistic habitus (expressive act) and the capacity to speak — generate grammatically correct discourse — and the social capacity to do so in a determined situation. On the other hand, there are the structures of the market, which impose themselves as a system of specific sanctions and censorships. Language is the exemplary formal mechanism whose generative capacities are without limit. Consequently, people generate so many languages. The study revealed that some teenagers also use Sheng, which is a mixture of several languages, though very few do so.

Sociolinguistic competence includes the right to speak, to make oneself heard, believed, obeyed, etc. Institutions of language use are not always physical, but can be social relations between a speaker and another. Bourdieu argues that communication is part of the economics of everyday life. For him, the practices people think of as economic (e.g. buying and selling of goods) are part of the social practices which are part and parcel of daily life. He talks about the economics of linguistic exchanges: the elements of exchange, what markets they are exchanged in, their value, the linguistic elements they are made of, what profit they can yield, and what capital it accumulates. Bourdieu outlines four types of 'capital' available to human beings:

1) economic capital— wealth in form of cash
2) cultural capital — forms of knowledge and skill
3) social capital — resources based on connections and group membership
4) symbolic capital — accumulated prestige , honour

Individuals are distributed hierarchically in each society according to:

1) Total amount of capital they possess
2) The composition of their capital
3) Their trajectory in the social space.

Thus, the linguistic interaction between speakers will depend on their social relations. The interaction takes place in a linguistic market (e.g. school, and government offices) where favoured patterns of language (style, accent) are brought to play depending on the linguistic market. Power is essentially the capacity to mobilize the authority accumulated within the market and it is conveyed in a symbolic form. To control the market is to be powerful, referred to a symbolic domination. This is where the ruling class is able to impose its norms on the formal linguistic markets, e.g. the school, etc. The dominance is also described as symbolic, since forms, e.g. dress code and leisure activities are part of the ideologies. Part of the socialization process involves learning how to produce expressions which are highly valued in the markets concerned. However, the opportunities are unequal; hence, some people speak the equivalent of the Received Pronunciation (RP) of England while others do not. Others command high diglossia. A speaker has to assess the market conditions and use the right words which are euphemised.

For example, politeness in language is a result of acceptance of social hierarchy. Bourdieu (1991) talks of habitus, systems of habits, which are acquired via the process of socialization and denote a style of living. A speaker's assessment of the market conditions and the anticipation of the likely reception of his or her linguistic products serve as an internalized constraint on his or her code choices. Bourdieu further adds that the unification of the market is never complete for the dominated individuals to find space provided by private life, among friends, markets where the laws of price formation which apply to formal market are suspended.

> "...Despite this, the formal law which is thus provisionally suspended rather than truly transgressed, remains valid, and re-imposes itself on dominated individuals once they leave the unregulated areas where they can be outspoken…(Bourdieu1991: 11)

Thus it can be asserted that power changes, and one can be powerful in one context but dominated in another context.

Linguistic interaction, however personal or whatever its size, has a social structure. Power has been defined as the relationship between at least two persons and it is non-reciprocal in the sense that both cannot have power in the same area of behaviour: one will be dominant in a certain context and the other will be dominated (Mesthrie et al., 2000). Power is realised if the actor can manipulate situations so as to prevent the other from coming to any decision at all. In the Kenyan context, there is no provision in the constitution to cater for refugees' language rights. The refugees have to look for ways of surviving as they await the linguistic human rights activists to address their plight, which they have done unsuccessfully for many years.

According to Foucault (1995), power is everywhere; it is not a commodity that can be acquired but exists in all kinds of relations including the political, economic and educational arenas. Power does not operate on a top-down approach, but extends to every aspect of our social, cultural and political lives involving different and contradictory subject positions. In this study it is assumed that different social networks the teenagers make in different contexts have different powers and influence language in school, groups of friends, and the neighbourhood because of the different subject positions they take as students, friends, and members of a family. In the present study the majority of the teenagers use Somali at home and other languages when they are in touch with other relations. But people also develop resistance to power and the teenagers might resist.

In the poststructuralist framework, language is a vehicle for identifying, manipulating, and changing power relations between people, which allows them to be repressed, dominated and disempowered in between discourses. Power is a network of relations and is constantly changing because people are always in a struggle to be placed in a privileged position whereas those people who lose struggle to redeem the power. As a result, ethnic groups, language varieties, and cultures are constructed through the use of

discourse in social situations (Corson, 2001). To Corson, these are lived realities and identities of people; in other words, people struggle through these realities, they resist their use, embrace or modify their use. Thus, people prefer to choose their identity but still make assumptions about other people's identities. That is why the Somali refugees constantly complained that they are being labelled and given names by Kenyans. For example, in popular discourse in Kenya, Somali refugees are referred to as '*walalo*' or '*mizumari*', which are demeaning labels. The words translate respectively as 'sleepy', which means backward, and 'nails', meaning wild. Bourdieu (1991) spells out that linguistic exchanges are relations of symbolic power in which relations between speakers or their respective groups are actualised.

Language reflects society and society is produced through language. We mark ourselves as belonging to a particular territory. One of the ways of identifying ourselves is by speaking like the people who live in this territory. According to Mesthrie et al. (2000), critical sociolinguistics analyses language to reveal the way language creates, sustains, and replicates fundamental inequalities in societies. This relates to the structures in society concerning inequality. Mesthrie et al. (2000) see power as a result of the relationship between people and the society. Solidarity is defined as personal relationship and degree of friendliness. This is where power differences and statuses do not arise. Meshtrie et al. (2000) posit that power denotes the probability of persons or groups carrying out their will even when opposed by others. Power is based on access to resources which might be economic and linguistic (Norton, 1998) and it is successful when it is legitimised and accepted.

In the present study, the refugees are in a multilingual country where linguistic structures have been already put in place. English is a national language whereas Kiswahili is the national language. Previously the Somalis had their own linguistic structures back in their country. This mix-up leaves them with no choice but to relegate their Somali language to the private domain of the home, the neighbourhood and conversations with friends who are of the Somali tribe or who speak the same language. This is their private sphere where domination gives rise to symbolic resistance. The set-back is that ethnicity imposes irrational, deep-seated allegiances, attachment to kin, territory or religion.

2.5.6 Language and Identity

Identity is maintained through language and therefore the two are intertwined (Khadar, 2003). We create networks in relation to making identities based on our experiences, our desires and our inevitable right to choose (Fishman, 1991). People also identify themselves by using a language suitable to a specific context/domain. Thus, identity is culture-specific or language-specific: it is culture-specific in the sense that people portray their cultures in many ways: dress code, buildings, religion etc. Identity is language-specific where people use language to convey their feelings. The refugees in Kenya are in a foreign land and it was necessary to find out how they identify themselves.

Consistent with the poststructuralist framework, Pavlenko and Backledge (2004:21) propose three types of identities: imposed identities (which are accepted and negotiated in a particular time and place), assumed identities (which are accepted and not negotiated), and negotiable identities (which are contested by groups and individuals). Such identities occur because of the circumstances in societies. The Somalis in Kenya are refugees and that is not negotiable because of the socio-historical circumstances which they find themselves in. It is the civil war in Somalia which led to their current status. Because they are second-generation refugees, they are easily in a position to contest their status. This is why most of the refugees are now able to speak the languages which are spoken in Kenya in order to contest their identities. Identities can be negotiated in a number of ways. This can be done, starting with public debates over political alliances, or educational and economic policies, and ending with private decisions about religious affiliations, celebration of particular holidays and even food choices and clothing (Pavlenko and Backledge, 2004). Thus, in the study we delved into how the Somali refugees negotiate their linguistic identities.

Identity is socially constructed and it changes as people move from one place to place. Sometimes identity places people in contradictory ways that position them differently with respect to powerful discourses. People have descriptions and roles of themselves, thereby making them conform to the dictates and influences of their social environment.

Consequently, people choose which language to use, depending on the situation; they are always under pressure to trim and shape their identities to suit a particular context. This can be achieved by using different codes to speak in different contexts. Thus, in any context the less powerful adhere to the norms that are created by the more powerful without noticing that they are voluntarily allowing themselves to be coerced. For example, the Somali teenagers exclusively use the Somali language at home but in school they use the languages which are dominant there. Cummins (1996) observes that schools are places where children who are from different backgrounds are unable to negotiate their identities. Erickson (1996) also concurs with the same view that hegemonic practices are routine actions and unexamined beliefs that are constant with cultural systems of meaning and ontology within which it makes sense to take certain actions entirely without malevolent intent that nonetheless systematically limit the life chances of members of a stigmatised group. Corson (2001), on the other hand, sees formal education as intolerant of diversity that it has never recognised and as hiding the relations of power that underlie.

Therefore, the fact that Somali teenagers attend schools in Kenya implies that they have to accept the linguistic set-up which is in use. Corson (2001) gives the major functions of schools as follows: they select and certify workforce; they maintain group privileges by taking the form and the norm of the dominant culture and defining its legitimate new knowledge, new classes and new strata of the social personnel. In short, schools determine legitimate and illegitimate knowledge. Thus, formal education looks after the interests of some more privileged social groups better than it looks after the interests of some other social groups. Bourdieu (1991) spells out that people acquire modes of apprehension through their upbringing that expose them from within their own class and cultural position. This implies that individuals are dictated to by their environment. Linguistic capital, to Bourdieu (1991), is not the production of grammatically well-formed expressions and language. It includes the ability to use the appropriate norms for language use and the right expressions at the right time for particular linguistic markets. In any stratified society, Kenya inclusive, variation in vocabulary, syntax and accent are socially marked. Thus, basic interaction gives evidence of the social structure to which

individuals belong (Corson, 2001). To Bourdieu (1991), those who have linguistic capital in any social context are better placed to take advantage of the situation. This principle works in two ways:

1. Most profit or advantage comes from the use of modes of expression that are the least equally distributed.
2. The readiness of minority language or non-standard speakers to stigmatise their own variety means that they often condemn themselves to silence in public settings for fear of offending norms that they themselves sanction.

In Eastleigh, where the Somalis are the majority, Somali is spoken freely. Thus, the non-standard varieties of the languages in schools have no place unless the teenagers are operating in their private domains. This confirms the view that most of the respondents in the study prefer English because it is an international language and there are benefits that accrue from acquiring such a language.

Identity is always constructed in situations of social interaction. Le Page (1997) comments that we are all linguistic chameleons, depending on the identity we want to project at a particular context. In the case of the Somali teenagers, it depends on the kind of identity they want to portray at a particular time. For them, the language situation is never uniform; linguistic diversity begins at home where they speak Somali to their parents and other languages. What seems evident in most African countries is that one's ethnicity comes first before one takes up another identity and thus we first learn our ethnic languages. Language is a means of identifying another person as belonging to a particular group and also a means of identifying oneself. The Somali teenagers identify themselves as Somalis which means, first as born in Somalia, and, second as belonging to a group identified as Somali by its language. Identifying others and oneself is a means of differentiation and opposition.

Language acts are acts of identity. At any given time a person's identity is a heterogeneous set made up of all names and identities, given to and taken up by him or her. But in a life-long process, identity is endlessly created anew, according to various

social constraints (historical, institutional, economic), social interactions, encounters and wishes that may happen to be unique and subjective (Tabouret-Keller, 1997). Therefore, every person exploits different layers of identities; some identities are not firmly rooted and, therefore, can easily change and are replaced. Other identities, according to Tabouret- Keller, are permanent throughout the lifespan and across social and cultural space. Thus, we are identified and identify ourselves, within the space of the society of our time, within the different groups, institutions, circles of friends, and family members. We belong to our home, our neighbourhood, our schools, etc. Language acts as a bridge that links people with their identities; that is, we use language to identify.

When a language is given power to serve in an institution, it makes it ready for reification and totemization (Le Page, 1997). That is, it can be made into an object and given iconic status. Reification usually involves some body of doctrine (grammars, lexicon, and literature). Totemization is the adoption of a language as one of the defining social properties of the group. For example, in the present study, Arabic is used by the Somalis as the language for religion. Thus, identity is served by the name of a language that fulfils the symbolic function of representation, at both the social and individual level where it represents not only the affiliation to the group, but also all kinds of allegiance: religion, political leadership, ideology. Modern nation-states have a way of legitimizing language and identity. They have many means of ensuring that their citizens use a particular language, such as constitutional means that enable a language to be defined as national official or state language, or many other ways like the control of language(s). English and Kiswahili in Kenya constitutionally are the official languages of Kenya. This is why Kenya, unlike Somalia, is a multilingual nation. Thus, in Kenya all forms of identities are found, those portraying one as belonging to an ethnic group, and those of nationality.

Le Page (1997) further points out that individuals create for themselves the patterns of their linguistic behaviour so as to resemble those of the group or groups with which from time to time they wish to be identified or to be distinguished from. Groups or communities inhere only in the way individuals behave towards each other. Speech is seen as an act of projection where speakers are seen to project their inner universe,

implicitly with the invitation to others to share it, at least insofar as they recognise their language as an accurate symbolization of the world and to share their attitudes toward it (Le Page, 1997). Further, Tabouret-Keller (1997) points out that an individual's ability to define him or herself is constrained according to the patterns he or she encounters. One can only behave according to the behavioural patterns of the groups one finds it desirable to identify with, to the extent that:

1. One can identify the groups
2. one has both adequate access to the groups and the ability to analyze their behavioural patterns
3. the motivation for joining the group is sufficiently powerful, and is either reinforced or lessened by feedback from the group; and
4. one has the ability to modify one's behaviour (Tabouret- Keller, 1997:312)

Somali teenagers seemed to have maintained their identity because of the need to preserve their culture. Khadar (2003) asserts that the Somali culture is rooted in the moral and social responsibility of the entire community; this explains why Somalis keep close-knit social networks with relatives, even those who are far away. They are very particular about their identity. In fact, one respondent says, "I am a Somali from Somalia and not a Somali from Kenya".

Individuals come to understand a range of social identities by learning first during their childhood. Children learn to display certain behaviours and stances that are permitted or expected of particular members in particular community settings. Group categorisation is inherent in all human beings. Social identity encompasses social statuses, roles, positions, relationships and institutions and other relevant identities and one may assign to themselves in their social lives. There are acts and bearings that bind people together to form social identities. When an individual belongs to a particular group, he/she carries values attached to that group. Thus, a group member is expected to acquire certain traits and behave like the group members. Language is considered as a group marker and can be used to identify people. The language one speaks functions as a behavioural attribute

in terms of any of its elements; language also supplies the terms by which the identities are expressed. Every human being is embedded in identities encased in social networks which are loose and subject to change (Tabouret-Keller, 1997). Such identities can be historical, institutional, and economic. We identify ourselves in a large space within the society. If a group with strong networks find itself in a situation (perhaps due to some pressure) in which it feels the need to emphasize its own identity, the group might identify a variant of its local speech as a symbol of its identity. If other groups adopt this variant as their own, it might become an innovation in the language as a whole (Fasold, 1990).

Most people have multiple identities. One may identify at the same time as a farmer and a woman sociologist. This can be done without bringing the identities into conflict. Some identities will be more or less focused than others at different times and new identities will emerge as others take centre stage. Language is one of the key elements of identity; hence the vitality of the Somali language in Kenya. Thus, bi-culturation and bi-lingualism are strategies to retain identity. Somalis are able to practice their culture and at the same time accommodate the Kenyan culture. The poststructuralists conceptualize social identity as a multiple site of struggle, and subject to change (Norton, 1995). This is as a result of the multiple desires individuals have, leading them to portray different identities. For example, Respondent X says the following about his identity:

Respondent X:

When I am at home I speak Somali because am Somali. When I am in town I speak English and Kiswahili. When I am in the Mosque I speak Arabic so am an Arab.

In general identity can be viewed in relation to the following terms which the study found to be very relevant.

1) Social identity as a site of struggle: A respondent is viewed to have multiple identities. The multiple nature of the subject; subjectivity of the struggle; and subjectivity is changing over time (Norton, 1995). As a result, subjectivity is produced in a variety of social sites, all of which are structured by relations of power

which a person takes when in different subject positions — brother, student, child etc. The subject is not also passive but active and can initiate relations (networks) and can take up different subject positions depending on the power relations. Thus the positions are subject to change as the person might resist or even set up a counter-discourse which positions the person as a powerful rather than a marginalized subject person (Norton, 1995). For example, when a teenager is at home, he/she uses the Somali language freely but in other contexts which call for other languages, the Somali language takes backstage.

2) Investment: A person learns a language with the hope of gaining from it. For Norton (1995), the women in her study were learning an L2 as a form of investment hoping to gain from the knowledge. This relates it to the economist Bourdieu's (1977) notion of cultural capital. Cultural capital refers to knowledge and modes of thought that characterize different classes and groups in relation to specific sets of social norms. Norton argues that some forms of cultural capital have a higher exchange value than others in a given context. If the refugees invest in a particular language they do so with the understanding that they will acquire a wider range of symbolic and material resources.[9] These resources are available to Kenyans; for them to be beneficiaries they have to be like them. For example, Somali teenagers attend Kenyan schools and if they choose to stay on, they may have to secure employment in Kenya. An immigrant may invest in the languages found in Kenya because of the possible benefit to be obtained from Kenyan society. Thus an immigrant is seen as a diverse social being with immense amount of desires. Norton points out that when people speak they are not only exchanging information with the target language speakers but they are constantly organizing and reorganizing a sense of who they are and how they relate to the social world (Norton, 1995).

3) The power to impose reception. Identity should also be seen in relation to what Bourdieu sees as the power to impose reception and the right to speak (Bourdieu,

[9] Symbolic resources refer to language, education and friendship, whereas material resources include capital goods, real estate and money (Norton 1995).

1990). In the process of communication, speakers convince their listeners that they are worthy speakers and *vice versa*. In an immigrant situation, those who manage to use Kenyan languages do so to be able to identify themselves with Kenyans. In Eastleigh, the refugees who run businesses struggle to endear themselves to the commercial market to be able to sell their wares. They do this by attempting to speak local Kenyan languages.

4) Social identity changes over time. The refugees interviewed were of the second generation. They are deeply immersed in the Kenyan schools. In fact, many of them have already applied for citizenship status. One particular respondent is able to speak the main languages used in Kenya proficiently. Asked whether he will go back, the respondent replies that he looks forward to remaining in Kenya even if there is peace in Somalia. This respondent has transformed himself from an immigrant to a legitimate speaker. Thus, the migrant develops into what Norton calls a 'multicultural citizen'(Norton, 1995: 26).. In Norton's view, an individual learner is not ahistorical and unidimensional but has a complex and sometimes contradictory identity, changing across time and space.

The longer refugees stay in exile, the less inclined they are to maintain their national identity and strong links with their home country. Therefore, refugees assume a new identity by adapting to the host societies. This is generally viewed to be true, especially with the second generation refugees like those who are the subjects of the present study. However, in this study, the Somali teenagers, regardless of their length of stay in exile, still show a sense of national identity, social cohesion and attachment to their homeland.

2.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, the theoretical frameworks which guide the research are discussed. The social network theory is combined with domain analysis and ideas from the postructuralist framework giving the study a firm theoretical grounding. Literature related to the present study has been discussed and it is clear that no other similar study

on refugees has been carried out in Kenya. Furthermore, the themes emerging from the studies are also expounded on. These themes include language change, social identity, ethnicity, gender and power. The chapter highlights the relevance of social networks in bringing out language change as seen in the studies reviewed. In next chapter, focus will be on the research methods adopted by the study.

CHAPTER THREE

Research Design and Methodology

3.1 Introduction
3.2 Research site: Eastleigh
3.3 Population and Sampling
3.4 Methods of Data Collection
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3.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the methods used in the study. The research employs multiple methods aimed at providing answers to the research questions. In particular, the chapter presents the sample, methods of collecting and analyzing data. It also highlights the methodological and ethical challenges. In the next section, I discuss the research site.

3.2 Research site: Eastleigh

In Kenya, the majority of the refugees live in camps located in ecologically and economically marginal areas, whereas a minority, even though a significant and growing population, live in urban areas such as Nairobi, Mombasa, Eldoret and Garissa. The majority of the Somali refugees in the urban areas live in Eastleigh. The study set out to discuss the sociolinguistic make-up of the teenagers who are in the Kenya. Eastleigh was chosen from among other parts of the city because it has the highest number of refugees. The motivation for carrying out the study in an urban area is that studies which have focused on refugees in urban areas have found that refugee studies in Kenya are skewed

toward the refugees who live in camps (Chesang, 2006; Horst, 2006; De Monteclos and Kagwanja, 2000; Hyndman, 2000). It is only in recent years that urban refugees have gained currency on the refugee agenda globally (Campbell, 2005; Landau, 2005; Landau and Jacobsen, 2004). Therefore, this particular study seeks to investigate the linguistic situation of the refugees in an urban part of Kenya, specifically Eastleigh, Nairobi. The study opted to focus on the refugees in an urban area due to the likelihood that refugees in the camps could yield data which are homogenous and could, therefore, complicate the development of the sociolinguistic theory. The refugees in the camps live in organised environment where their welfare and livelihood needs are met largely by humanitarian agencies (Chesang, 2006). In contrast, refugees in urban areas intermingle with other Kenyans from all communities; hence there is the likelihood of their social networks being varied.

3.3 Population and Sampling

The population were refugees living within Eastleigh, as they are easier to contact than those living in the camps. The existence of refugees in the urban areas is viewed as illegal by the Kenyan government as they are in violation of the encampment policy, except for those who are registered in institutions of learning. The researcher focused on school-going Somalis, to avoid situations where the respondents would feel insecure. It took quite some time for respondents to agree to participate in the study because initially they thought government agents were out to extract information from them.

Prior analysis of the subjects was done to ascertain the group suitable for the network studies. Somalis were chosen for the study as their population is the largest among all the refugees (Campbell, 2005), as shown in table below:

Table 1. Refugee Population in Kenya

Country of Origin	**Population**
Somalia	156,316
Sudan	63610
Ethiopia	5,139
Congo	506
Uganda	417
Rwanda	278
Burundi	162
Eritrea	81
Central African Republic	1
Sierra Leone	1
Tanzania	1
Total Population	**226,512**

SOURCE: UNHCR (2006)

Not all Somalis in Eastleigh participated in the study; the focus was on teenagers, within the age bracket of fourteen (14) to nineteen years (19) years. Teenagers in this age group can provide important insights on the study of social networks. Cochran et al. (1990: 60) contend that:

> To learn more about the developing of network building skills, we need, then, to focus on children who are old enough to possess the necessary cognitive tools and to understand the pressure from parents and culture to develop new relationships, mindful of the fact that the breadth and the intensity of the process may vary according to the factors like sex of the child and cultural ethnic background.

In sociolinguistics age is central to human experience and it is the achievement of physical and social capacities and skills, a continual unfolding of individuals' participation in the world, construction of personal history, and movement through the history of the community and the society (Coulmas, 1997). Further, age is experienced by

one as an individual and as part of a cohort of people who share a life stage. Therefore, in the current study adolescents represent the generation of those within the age bracket. Eckert (2000) notes that during adolescence, there is greater freedom and new opportunities and also new social demands. Popular groups provide their members with a vaster network and hence information, protection and support in the new environment, and fast change and the construction of style – including linguistic resources – become a crucial part of activity. At this stage, adolescents are trying to cut a niche and have their own identities, independent from the adults. Each stage in life needs to be examined in terms of its own practices, meanings and experiences. In this study I avoid using institutions of learning yet the study deals with school-going teenagers. This was to avoid the situation of being caught up in the institution of school and the power hierarchies associated with being an adult in the adolescent world (see also Eckert, 2000). Thus, in this study we also hope to tease out the various factors experienced by the adolescent in order to understand linguistic change.

Furthermore, education plays an important role; hence, the respondents were school-goers. Wiklund (2002) found education to be of great importance in the study of social networks. When educational level is high, the impact of social networks will be high in the sense that the subjects will interact more. Wiklund asserts that teenagers are more creative than adults as they always find new ways of doing things and participating in new activities. Therefore, it is likely that certain grouping factors, for example age or level of education, contribute to language change. Wiklund's study takes such factors into consideration.

The population was comprised of all Somali refugees in the urban areas. Sankoff (1980) suggests that if people within a speech community understand each other with great degree of efficiency this tends to place a limit on the extent of possible variation and imposes regularity (necessary communication) not found to the same extent in other kinds of social behaviour. This would suggest that even for quite complex communities, big samples tend to be redundant, bringing increasingly large data-handling problems with problems of diminishing analysis. There have also been debates in research about the most suitable sample to be used, yet no conclusion has been reached (Flick, 2006; Cresswell, 2003). As a

result, there is room for the researcher to determine the most suitable size. The sample of the study was determined by the objectives of the study.

Initially it was not possible to contact the Somalis because of the suspicion they had and their being a vulnerable group. By applying the concept of the social network my research assistants and I were able to break through the bonds and make ourselves part of the teenage social set-up. We decided to adopt the role of a 'friend to a friend' which situated us as a second-order person in the social network. If a friend of a friend is identified, he/she may easily be drawn to the network's mesh of exchange and obligation relationships (Milroy, 1987). When one has been enmeshed into the rights and obligations of the group, the study can be done systematically. For example, on one of the days during the data collection, some members of the Somali community approached us and wanted to know why we were interviewing their children. We showed them a research permit, which did not make sense to them. When we mentioned to them some of the respondents we had spoken to and indicated they were our friends and we even know their relatives studying in South Africa, they calmed down. As a result we managed to continue with the study by legitimately claiming ties with the students who were members of the same region. They inquired further about the nature of research we were carrying out and became even more helpful by introducing us to other friends of a friend. As result access to a variety of the speech styles which were available became possible.

Snowball sampling was used in order to draw a sample of thirty (30) respondents, fifteen females and fifteen males. Snowball sampling ensures that a small number of the targeted population are contacted; this group then assisted me in obtaining access to the others with the same characteristics (Walliman, 2001). This was done until it reached theoretical saturation, where new additional samples provide no new information, which Blanche et al. (2006) refer to as 'sampling to redundancy'. Snowball sampling enabled the researcher to collect information from the teenagers who were genuinely refugees. Participants were selected for the potential of providing a wide range of information about the research questions. The teenagers had been in Kenya for about 13–15 years and their ages ranged from 14–19 years. The study considered those teenagers who were already going to school

in Somalia prior to migration. The migrants are not documented in Eastleigh. Therefore, it was not possible to know the exact parameters of the refugee population. Although the results cannot be generalized, they can present a glimpse of how the refugees are coping in Eastleigh. By choosing refugee school-going teenagers who had started school back at home the effect of such factors as education, L1, and age are highly reduced (see also Stoessel, 2002). The respondents can summarily be presented in the following table:

Table 2: Socio-demographic Profile of the Refugees

Respondents	**Gender**	**Place of birth**	**Year of migration**
1	Female	Somalia	1998
2	Female	Somalia	1990
3	Female	Somalia	1993
4	Female	Somalia	1996
5	Female	Somalia	1994
6	Female	Somalia	1996
7	Female	Somalia	1999
8	Female	Somalia	1998
9	Female	Somalia	1998
10	Female	Somalia	1990
11	Female	Somalia	1999
12	Female	Somalia	1995
13	Female	Somalia	1992
14	Male	Somalia	1991
15	Female	Somalia	1999
16	Male	Somalia	1998
17	Male	Somalia	1992
18	Male	Somalia	1991
19	Male	Somalia	1991
20	Male	Somalia	1993
21	Male	Somalia	2000
22	Male	Somalia	1998
23	Male	Somalia	2001
24	Male	Somalia	2005
25	Male	Somalia	2000
26	Male	Somalia	1990
27	Male	Somalia	2001
28	Male	Somalia	1995
29	Male	Somalia	2000
30	Male	Somalia	1994
Total	**15**	**15**	

The respondents were thirty (30):15 female teenagers and 15 male teenagers. All of them are from Somalia, having migrated to Kenya from the 1990s to as late as 2000. This means that they have been in Kenya long enough to make meaningful linguistic strides since their arrival.

3.4 Methods of Data Collection

The study utilized both qualitative and quantitative methodology. Qualitative methodology involves the description of a phenomenon in its total complexity (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000). Payne and Payne (2004) contend that qualitative research ensures that the qualities, characteristics and properties of phenomena to be studied are better understood and thus adequate explanation can be achieved. Cresswell (2003) points out that this kind of research elevates a researcher to a point where he or she can probe beyond initial responses and rationales. Furthermore, the researcher will be in a position to understand the feelings, values, and perceptions that underlie and influence behaviour. Qualitative methodology is valid for this research as it remains one of the most common approaches in research in the social sciences and humanities (Silverman, 2004).

Quantitative research is exploratory and descriptive in nature, which means that even the elements that are studied can be measured and analysed quantitatively (Tripodi et al., 1997). According to De Vaus et al. (2002), quantitative study examines a new area of interest to gain insight into it. The insight can either inform or add to the body of knowledge in a particular field of the study. In the quantitative paradigm, regularity in linguistic variation is examined by analysing certain dimensions that are external to language itself and relating variation in these dimensions to variation in language. These dimensions are usually social. Thus quantification is necessary in studies that employ the social network paradigm as it enables researchers to make accurate statements about the fine-grained differences between individual speakers in a community which can be used to explain language variations in time, place and social space (Milroy and Milroy, 1997). This enables researchers to make a fine-grained analysis of speakers in a given society. Moreover, Lippi-Green (1989) asserts that quantification of network integration can provide valuable information on the study of language change among small communities.

Language is always embedded unevenly in the matrix of communities, regardless of their size and composition. This is necessary when group results fail to give the required results. Milroy (1992) also points out that quantification has enabled researchers in sociolinguistics to propose socially based explanations for aspects of language variation in time, space and social place. In this study, variation in language was tested in relation to variation of the refugee community (that is, the social networks the individuals make). The quality and the quantity of the individual's links are believed to be one indication of the individual's degree of integration into the language community.

Interaction groups are able to exert a great deal of pressure on the individuals within them, working within a system of norms which define and constrain social behaviour and as result linguistic behaviour. Integration of the two research methods, qualitative and quantitative, is legitimate and useful; as Sarankatos (2005:50) puts it, 'the one complements the other and both offer a stereoscopic picture of the world'. Flick (2006) points out that the combination of the two methodological designs constitutes a third methodology. The two designs complemented each other and were incorporated at different phases of the study. Qualitative methods were used to explain the relations in the quantitative structures that were found in the study. Mapping out the social networks is a complex thing. The researcher relied on the information given by the respondents themselves, which could be influenced by other factors like their attitude and personal opinions. Therefore, it was important to have a combination of several methods as a means of triangulation. The researcher is dependent on information given by respondents, which can be coloured by particular norms, attitudes, and private opinions (Wiklund, 2002); hence triangulation is a necessity. Researchers in social networks research argue that the quantitative aspect cannot suffice on its own without the qualitative component (Sarakantos, 2005 and Flick, 1998).

The specific instruments used in the study were questionnaires, interviews and observations. These are described in the next section.

3.4.1Questionnaires

A social network questionnaire was administered to thirty (30) respondents (Appendix 6). The research questions were adapted and modelled from Cochran et al. (1990) and Stoessel (2002). Stoessel points out that in social network research, so far, questionnaires have remained important components in obtaining data. This is also supported by Codo (2008), who says that questionnaires are helpful when a researcher hopes to get an idea of who, when and where different languages are spoken especially in migrant families similar to the present study. Milroy believes that a questionnaire has to identify indicators that can be used to measure the structure and nature of social relationships in a given community; which this particular study has paid attention to. These indicators include kin, neighbourhood, friendships, voluntary associations and school ties. Kothari (2004) argues that a questionnaire is free from bias if the interviewer and respondents have adequate time to give well-thought-out answers. Cavallaro (2006) recommends the questionnaire as the most popular method of collecting data in social sciences. Flick (1998), Mwanje and Gotu (2001) and Newman (2003) support this view.

In the present study questionnaires were administered one month before the interviews to get to know the subjects. The questionnaires were used to give the respondents written reflection. The subjects were given time to fill in the questionnaire and were allowed to ask for assistance where necessary. This was done to 30 respondents. As mentioned earlier, snowball sampling was used to obtain the sample. Drawing on Milroy (1980), Stoessel (2002), and Wiklund (2002), the study made use of a 'friend of a friend'. After one respondent had filled in the questionnaire, he or she helped direct the researcher to other respondents with similar characteristics. The questionnaires were based on language use in different and social networks in the various domains. In the first part of the questionnaire, the subjects were asked to name at least two people who are very important in their lives in each of the five domains utilised in the study. This was to measure the density and multiplexity of the networks. The people named were expected to be people who regularly meet the respondent. They were supposed to indicate whether they were Kenyans or of Somalia origin and the languages they speak with them. These offered quantitative information which was supplemented with the qualitative data from the interviews

(Appendix 7). Such questions related to the concerns of the study. The instruments used in the data collection fashioned a rich body used in analyzing the Somali teenagers in Eastleigh.

3.4.2 Interviews

Interviews are the most widely used methods of data generation in social sciences (Baker, 2004; Silverman, 2004; Miller and Glassner, 2004; Henning, 2002). Interviews can be divided into personal interviews and telephone interviews (Kothari, 2004). Furthermore, they can be categorized as structured and unstructured. Structured interviews involve the use of a set of predetermined questions, and follow a rigid sequence. Unstructured interviews are characterized by flexibility, and the interviewer has the freedom to ask supplementary questions where needed, or at times to omit some questions.

The present study utilized the unstructured interviews in order to allow greater flexibility and opportunity to restructure questions. Two respondents were interviewed at a time in order to reduce the element of formality, thereby making the interview a social event. The respondents were questioned at length about their relationships, views and feelings towards the language situation in Kenya. In designing the interviews, ideas were drawn from Stoessel (2002) on social networks and Kamuangu (2008) on the role of identity and power relations in language. The interview was conducted in English or Kiswahili, depending on the preference of the respondents in order to reflect the participants' voices, opinions and beliefs. The interviews were recorded and transcribed and analyzed qualitatively and quantitatively. Recording enables one to keep a full record of the interview without distraction. The method used was a one-to-one conversational tape-recorded interview. Time for each interview was negotiated between the researcher and the respondent to avoid any inconvenience. This was after the parents and the respondent had given consent. Tape recording has the advantage of permanency, so that it is possible to return to the interview again and again, either for clarification or for further research (Feagin, 2004). Tape recording also allows for accountability so that all instances are accounted for or used as forms of evidence. The interviews were conducted in such a way as to give the participants most control over the process. To get the sample size, friends of friends were used. The

open-ended kind of interview was used to reduce the distance between the subject and the interviewer. Ten (10) teenagers were interviewed at length. The interviews lasted between 35 and 40 minutes. Such a time was appropriate as the respondents would not lose their patience.

The interview questions centred on the following:

1) Language use in the different domains

2) Language and identity

3) Language proficiency

4) Perceived expectations regarding the acquisition of Kenyan languages. (Refer to Appendix 7.) All the questions asked were in relation to the objectives, questions and the hypotheses of the study.

3.4.3 Observation

This was carried out in the data collection as a way of data triangulation. Observation was used to corroborate the ideas and the language choices in the questionnaire and the interviews. Making observations while administering the questionnaires and interviewing allows for direct scrutiny in language use (Milroy and Gordon, 2003). Denzin and Lincoln (2000) point out that in observing, one is able to enter people's minds, recognizing that people engage in self-reflexive behaviour. Thus by observation, a researcher is able to see the unfolding social behaviour of the teenagers in the social domains. A non-participative approach was adopted in the research where the personal involvement plays no role.

It was also carried out in the data collection as a way of data triangulation. Observation was used to corroborate the ideas and the language choices in the questionnaire. The teenagers were observed at home, in the play fields when accompanying them to the school bus and among their neighbours and the places they frequent.

3.5 Data Collection Process

Before embarking on the data collection process, the support of two research assistants was sought. The researcher also stayed in the community for three months in order to ensure that the domains (home, school, family, neighbourhood and friendship) selected for the study were actually the scenarios where the teenagers interact informally. The teenagers were visited in their homes, schools, and places where they interact the most. This was to enable the researcher to get enmeshed in the rights and the obligations of the teenagers. Networks are located in domains; therefore, the researcher had to visit and participate in the above-mentioned domains as much as possible to get more information through interviewing and observations.

The selection of domains was with the understanding that the participants' use of language would likely be a representation of the language choices by the Somali in general. The domains should be those that are as close to the individual as possible in order to reflect cases where people interact very closely (Mullany, 2000). The following factors formed part of the discussions in the questionnaires, interviews and the observations:

1) Language use in intimate domains
2) Language use in formal domains
3) Intimate friends
4) Frequency of the contacts
5) Feelings about their being in Kenya or options they would prefer
6) Role of their mother tongue (Appendices 6 and 7)

Each subject was asked to fill a questionnaire with the assistance of the research assistant or the researcher. The research assistants were Somalis where one had a Master's degree. This placed them in a position to carry out the research effectively. The network index assigned to each respondent was obtained from the respondent's networks, which were important; thus, each respondent was studied very closely. The density and multiplexity measured constitute a means of assessing the individual in varied ways. A month later, the teenagers were interviewed to collect qualitative data to support the quantitative data and

to explain the relationships which had been established. Given that language use is not unitary, it was necessary to have a more in-depth analysis to extract various relationships that could explain the teenage linguistic choices in Eastleigh.

All in all, data collection was carried out in six months. Each respondent was studied very closely in different domains, the home, family, school, neighbourhood and mosque in order to establish the language use.

3.6 Methods of Data Analysis

The key objective in the study was to establish whether the social relations of the teenagers have any relationship with the languages used in the Kenyan context. This is whether language shift has occurred. The data obtained from questionnaires were analysed quantitatively. This was followed by qualitative analysis which explained the relationships which were found in the qualitative analysis.

In terms of quantitative analysis, first, the degree of network integration for each subject was calculated. This was based on the fulfilment of the conditions set attached in the questionnaire (see Appendix 6). The conditions were in relation to neighbourhood, kinship, occupation (school), friends, and organizations. Chambers (1995) asserts that these conditions in relation to social networks are the same everywhere and thus are relevant to all network studies, and this seems reasonable. The subjects were assigned one point for each criterion they fulfil from the conditions borrowed and modified from Milroy (1980). As in Milroy's study, two criteria were used to select the indicators to be used in the construction of the network strength scale:

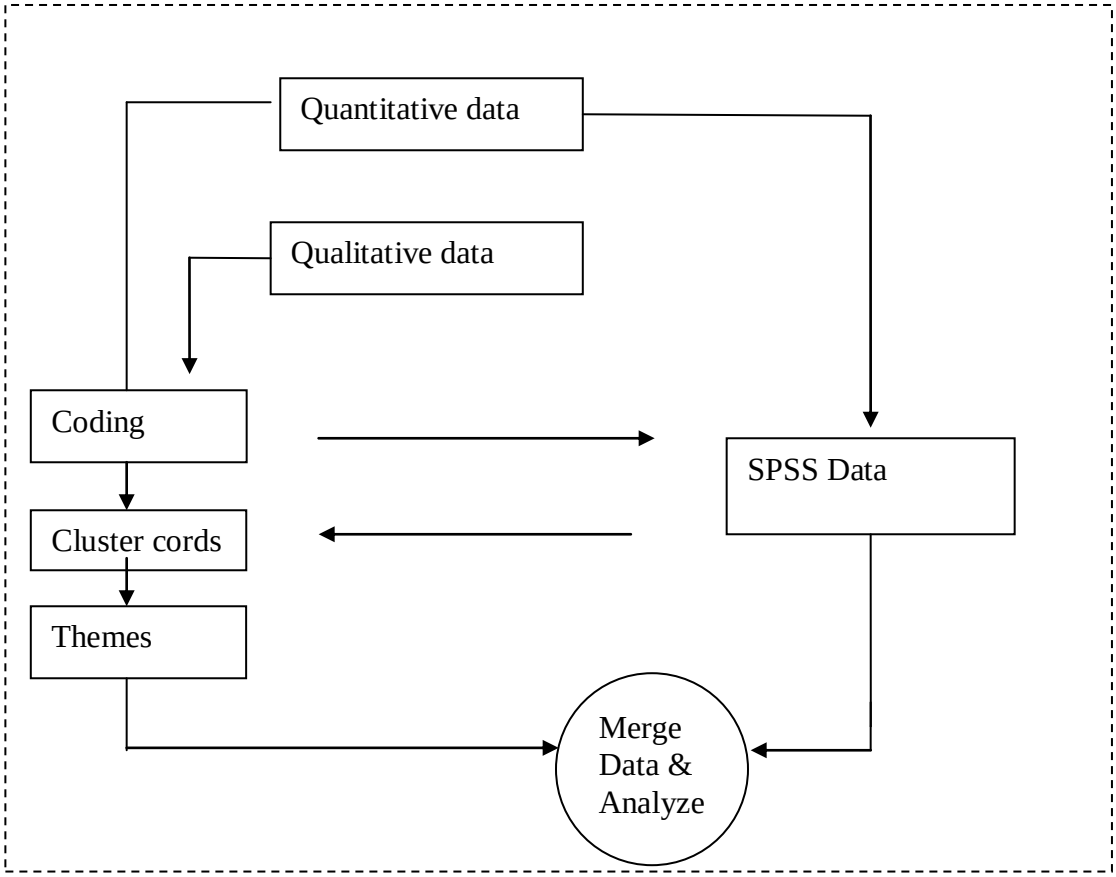
1) They were a reflection of the conditions which have been repeatedly found important in a wide range of network studies, in predicting the extent to which normative pressures are applied by the local team and accepted by the individual.
2) They must be recoverable from data collected in the field which the current study particularly paid attention to. Each informant was to fill a questionnaire and be interviewed and tape recorded.

The result was a network index scale for each subject which ranged from zero, where the subjects are not integrated, to five where they are highly integrated. Second, the data were analyzed, using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS 13). The data were presented in percentages and frequencies; these were further presented in tables and bar charts. The third issue that was addressed was the correlation of gender to use of language in various domains. Also, the research employed a qualitative analysis which involved thematic content analysis. This approach was used in order to remain close as possible to the quantitative data. A list of themes for each topic was generated and thus guided the nature of integration of the qualitative data. This was in relation to themes such as social identity, ethnicity, power, and gender. Donovan-Hall (2004) commends the thematic content analysis approach for its explanatory nature, that is, it aims at understanding data rather than knowing data.

Codes were clustered into categories which captured the emergent themes which were then merged with the findings in the qualitative data. Each interview was transcribed verbatim and the information constantly cross-checked for purposes of accuracy. Comparisons within and between interviews were made during the analysis to explore similarities and differences, overlap or duplication of codes so that the important codes are not overlooked. This involves the analysis of units such as words, phrases and sentences in order to derive meaning in relation to the themes that emerge. To measure their linguistic proficiency, the teenagers were asked to answer ‘yes’ or ‘no’ to a number of tasks they could/not do in the languages identified to be in use in Eastleigh. As a result, they were ranked in a five-figure scale and further analyzed qualitatively.

The data analysis is captured in the following diagram:

Figure 3: Data analysis model



The arrows at the centre point to either direction of the stages of the data analysis. This shows that there is collaboration and exchange of the data at all stages during the process of the data analysis in the two paradigms and merged at the bottom to give a unified result. The study begins with quantitative data where the social network questionnaire is administered. This generates more information for further probing qualitatively. Data was obtained from the two approaches using the SPSS and thematic analysis, which involves coding, clustering codes and generations of themes as indicated above.

3.7 Ethical Considerations

The study gives rise to numerous ethical issues, not only because it deals with children but also because it deals with gender. It also deals with a group of population with which

the researcher was not well acquainted before the research. Being a refugee group, the group is vulnerable. Somali culture is predominantly Muslim; hence, as I was on one side of the continuum in relation to the Somali culture, I had to be very careful. It was also difficult because I was working with a group of teenagers. Thus it was important to get the consent of their parents before using them as my research subjects. The researcher went through the questionnaire and interview schedule with each respondent to clarify what the respondent was required to fill in. Approval was also sought from the parents of the teenagers before being able to interview them (Appendix 5).

The vulnerable position of the Somalis in Kenya made the data collection tricky. The Somalis would always ask of what value are we going to benefit? "You have interrogated us this much; *'wapi lunch'* which translates to 'where is lunch' meaning a token. Milroy (1987) states that interviewing is not likely to succeed if the interviewer is not able to provide tokens of exchange equal in value to those he/she wishes the informants to give. Such goods include: sympathy and flattering expressions, spicy gossip, cigarettes and assistance with transport. She utilised her car to transport her respondents on several occasions. Thus tokens of exchange should be available. In this study, the researcher carried money to buy a drink or lunch should the need arise.

The present study deals with human subjects, hence the researcher conformed to the code of ethics set by the Ethics Committee, University of the Witwatersrand. As a result, before conducting the research (administering questionnaires and carrying out interviews) the researcher applied for and obtained a clearance from the Ethics Committee University of the Witwatersrand. At the beginning of each session the researcher explained the purpose of the study. The respondents and the parents were also informed that their responses were entirely for research purposes and that their participation was voluntary. The subjects were given an opportunity for written and verbal consent. They were also assured that they could get the report of the study/interview on request when completed (Appendices 1, 2 and 3).

3.8 Methodological Limitations

Like any other research, the challenges which were encountered were not exceptional. They were the problems generally which are a characteristic of situations in which research is conducted without a sampling frame, reliable official data as well as the fact that the subjects of the study are not free to outsiders (Chesang, 2006).The problems can be thematically presented as follows:

i) Who is a Somali refugee?

The study used the Somali refugees for the various reasons mentioned earlier. The study was faced by the dilemma of who is a Somali-Somali (refugee) and who is a Kenyan-Somali (non-refugee). It was difficult to discern the difference between the two since even their physical appearance is the same. Such refugees are hardly distinguishable from the Kenyans hence the researcher had to struggle to establish the right respondents. Chesang (2006) had a similar problem when carrying out research in the area recently. The Somalis also have strong socio-cultural and family ties with trans-state communities of Kenya and its neighbours specifically among the Somalis.

ii) Refugee tag: The name 'refugee' is associated with stigma of poverty and misery, which is in part the product of images used by actors in the humanitarian industry to evoke sympathetic appeal in the human emancipation industry in order to solicit support from the humanitarian agencies (Malkil, 1992). In most cases the refugees would want to be shown the letter of clearance for the research. Unfortunately, on seeing 'refugee', it was difficult to convince them. They would in most cases take it negatively and disqualify themselves, purporting to be Kenyan Somalis. One would always be met by a rejoinder, 'I am not a refugee'. They took 'refugee' to connote one who is socio-economically marginalised, and poor; hence, their construction of a refugee was one who is miserable and thus they felt it disqualified them from that category of people.

iii) Records

Most of the refugees in Nairobi and many urban areas in Kenya are not documented. Due to various reasons, different organizations that work for refugees give varying figures

about the population of the refugees in Kenya. This made it difficult to arrive at a concrete population of the Somali refugees in Kenya who formed part of the study. The estimated population of the refugees by different refugee bodies during the conduct of the study is tabled below.

Table 3: Refugee population in Eastleigh

Refugee Body	**Population figures**
UNHCR	30,000
CRO	100,000

The figures could also differ because of the community leaders who inflate the figures for personal reasons. The refugees residing in the camps are transported by bus to Nairobi for registration (for rations) and asylum. This mobility from the camp also cannot allow proper documentation as there can be a situation where counting is done when others are away. Moreover, some refugees might remain in Nairobi and get enmeshed in the refugee-invested regions in the city. A situation can also arise where one is counted more than once. This can show how the inconsistency in the refugee population arises.

Due to the encampment policy in Kenya, all refugees are supposed to live in the camps, except for those who are registered in the institutions of learning. There are two camps in Kenya where the refugees are supposed to reside: Kakuma and Dadaab. The refugees who live in Nairobi do so in legal limbo, they live in an area known to the government, but without legal recognition by the government (Chesang, 2006; Campbell, 2005). The current study concentrated on school-going teenagers in order to address the refugees who have been in Kenya for a long time and are directly affected by the sociolinguistic profile in Kenya.

iii) Ethical issues.

Ethical considerations are two-dimensional. On the one hand, the researcher is to conduct the study in an ethical way, without infringing on the rights of the respondent; this was adhered to throughout the research period. The respondents were assured that no names would be used and that the study was to generate knowledge on the linguistic make-up of the refugees. On the other hand, it has to do with the legality of the refugees in the urban areas. As mentioned earlier (in part ii above), the majority of Kenya's urban refugees are not documented. In fact, official statements demanding urban refugees to return to the camps or face consequences are found posted in public places in Eastleigh and are followed by threats, police sweeps and mass arrests. Such a situation makes the refugees suspicious, thus affecting the respondent-researcher relationship. The researcher is in a dilemma: she is required to conduct her research to meet the academic standard of objectivity while not undermining the lives and livelihoods of the refugees (Jacobsen and Landau, 2004). But the refugees' worry that such data given to the researcher and their 'secrets' on which their livelihood strategies depend can be exposed. Such a situation had to be handled with caution.

In a research site like Eastleigh, which is a major trading centre, any one armed with academic regalia (pen, paper, and recorder) is viewed with suspicion. The respondents would in most cases pretend not to know what is required, which gave the study a difficult time. Thus, a researcher may risk not getting the relevant information and as a result miss out on the real issues at stake. In fact, in one of the questionnaires, the respondent concluded by writing, 'Thank you and don't come again'. The researcher was also put in a dilemma as to how to handle the expectations of the respondents. The majority of them expected to be given a token of appreciation after giving information. It seemed there had been commercial researchers prior to the study who were willing to pay to obtain information. So carrying out academic research was tricky but they were given much information prior to the study so that they could understand and differentiate the study from other prior ones.

iv) Identity: Outsider/ insider problem.

As much as the study utilised school-going teenagers to avoid the issue of illegality there could still be other factors. Being refugees, the respondents in question are a vulnerable group. More so, they are children and permission had to be sought from their parents, the bodies that deal with the refugees and the government of Kenya.

One has to get clearance and confidence to be able to convince them to divulge information. Being an outsider complicates the matter even further. There were factors which posed difficulties throughout the study which the researcher had to battle with throughout the research. First, my conducting research among foreigners as a Kenyan complicated matters. The refugees are foreigners in Kenya and had to take considerable time to decide whether to trust or not to trust a Kenyan researcher. Second, my being a female non-Muslim made my interaction with the refugees who were Muslims more difficult. For Muslims, the mode of dressing is very clear. Therefore, they could easily tell that I was not one of their own. The Somali refugees also seemed to have agreed that all information should be centralised. Anybody seen around soliciting information is received with a lot of suspicion. For the study to succeed, we sought permission from the community leaders and the religious leaders, who gave us assistance by providing one person who accompanied us throughout the study.

v) The fieldwork coincided with two critical periods in the Muslim and Kenyan calendars. Ramadhan is a Muslim festival where fasting takes place and the Muslims were not available. The study had to be postponed until the day the holy month of Ramadhan was over. The study also coincided with an election period in Kenya. The fieldwork commenced in October and the campaigns had started back in January. Candidates soliciting for votes could do anything to succeed, including giving money to eligible voters. Initially the refugees thought we (the research team) were campaigners for the various political parties but we managed to convince them that we were not.

vi) Religious practices

The culture of the Somalis and my own as a researcher were radically different. Muslims observe so many religious activities and the study had to be stopped several times for them to attend prayer sessions. For example, Muslims go for prayers at four o'clock every day and on Fridays in the afternoon. The researcher is a Christian; hence I had to suspend my own Christian activities such as going to church on Sunday in order to meet my research subjects. Moreover, there were some questions the refugees were afraid to respond to because they suspected that the information might be used against them. There were those respondents who also lived in guarded compounds and had fierce dogs, rendering accessibility to such places impossible.

vii) Legality of the Refugees

First, the majority of the refugees in Kenya's urban areas are undocumented. As a result, it is possible for the researcher to 'miss' credible respondents who have crucial information. Therefore, the documented data on the refugees is not reliable. Second, most refugees live in informal sections of the city. This situation forces most of the refugees to resort to illegal strategies to sustain their lives and livelihood putting them in legal and extra legal space, which in most cases is technically criminal. To a researcher, this is a very big challenge. Finding and documenting people and actions that are kept in secrecy and negotiating the ethical issues which arise is extremely difficult.

However, regardless of the problems highlighted above, the combination of all the methods mentioned in the study made it worthwhile.

3.9 Conclusion

The chapter describes the sample of the population utilised in the study. The appropriate methods relevant to the study are outlined and are hoped to make the study as objective as possible. The research utilises both quantitative and qualitative techniques considered as triangulation, which gave a rich source of data. The chapter further outlines the procedures utilized in the data analysis and data presentation. The ethics considerations are discussed in line with the demands of the University of Witwatersrand. The

challenges facing the study are given and also ways of resolving them. In the next chapter, the teenagers' social networks are focused on.

CHAPTER FOUR

Somali Teenager's Social Networks

4.1 Introduction
4.2 The Social Networks
4.3 Characteristics of Social Networks
4.3.1 Network Density
4.3.2 Multiplexity
4.4 The Somali Teenagers and Social Integration
4.5 Chapter Conclusion

4.1 Introduction

This chapter maps out the teenagers' social networks. This is in relation to the networks the teenagers gave as their contacts in Kenya; these are assumed to be crucial to the respondents. In addition, the characteristic of each individual's network is presented to pave way for further analysis of the respondents in the subsequent chapters. The social integration of the teenagers in the Kenyan society is further explicated.

4.2 The Social Networks

Mapping out the teenagers' networks is a complex process. In the present study, the teenagers were told to give nine people they interact closely with in their lives in various domains. The domains were home, school, neighbourhoods, family and an organization (religious). These domains are considered to be of great influence in the lives of Somali teenagers in the study because they are likely to change social behaviour (including linguistic behaviour). Similar domains were utilized by Milroy (1980). She considered them to be the sites where 'very intimate' relations among the individual teenagers take place in their daily lives. It is presupposed that individuals make social contacts in a social environment for various reasons. By looking at the social networks, we define the social environment of the individuals to see how the linguistic make-up is affected and the individuals are subject to the dictates of the environment where they interact.

Language is a medium of interaction and at the same time a link to the society. This is also consistent with Mitchell's (1986) assertion that individuals create personal communities that provide them with meaningful frameworks for solving problems of their day-to-day existence. Therefore, the networks are functional structures (Milroy 1980). In social network analysis, the character of the social interactions is examined. The social environment can be expressed as patterns or regularities in relations among interacting units. Drawing on Wasserman and Faust's (1994) ideas, we noticed that the following perspectives were relevant in mapping out the social networks.

1) Respondents and their actions were viewed as interdependent rather than independent autonomous units.

2) Relational ties (linkages) are channels for transfer of resources, which in the study are the linguistic resources.

3) Network models focusing on the individual view the network structural environment as providing opportunities for or control for individual action.

4) Network action conceptualizes structure (social, economic, political etc) as lasting patterns of relations among respondents.

The teenagers were told to identify at least two people whom they interact with in the five domains. Furthermore, they were required to say whether the contacts knew one another. In measuring the networks, the network links are first examined to find out the characteristics present. The subjects of the study were first asked to indicate the number of people from different categories: neighbours, relatives, schoolmates, members of organization and other relations. The questions to be examined were: Do the social networks extent outside the community or they are established networks within the community? Do the contacts know each other?

These people named by the respondents were given labels ranging from A to J. They also indicated whether these people were Somalis or Kenyans. This is captured below:

a) Neighbours (=A and B)
b) Relatives (=C and D)
c) Schoolmates (=E and F)
d) Others (=G and H)

e) Organization (=I and J)

This means that a maximum of ten people who interact with the respondent on regular basis in relation to the categories given. By activating various social networks, teenagers choose or signal various identities, languages, and roles they wish to be identified with. The study is meant to uncover the structures to find out whether the relationships are affiliated to their own linguistic group or to the Kenyan linguistic group. The tie an individual makes is supposed to create a social environment in which to operate. The idea of diagramming the networks is based on Wiklund (2002) and Milroy (1980).

Below are the figures for the thirty subjects of the study. At the centre of each figure is the respondent and the lines pointing outwards from the circle are the connections to the individual networks from the various domains. The arrows between the respondents and the subjects are what Smith (2002) refers to as relational space. 'K' indicates that the link is a Kenyan whereas 'S' indicates that the link is Somali. '[ ]' shows that no respondent was given for the category, which, according to Milroy (1980), reduces the integration index of a respondent. Furthermore, the capacities at which the various contacts are known to the respondent in the domains are represented as below:

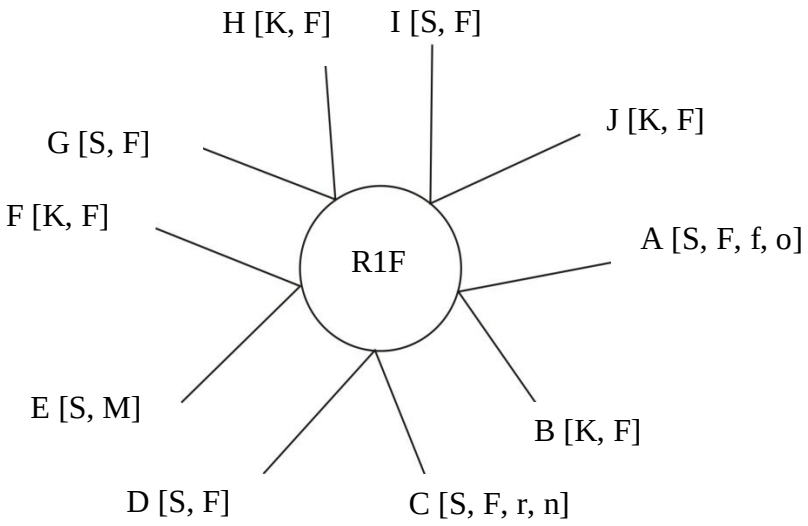
f) F=female
g) r =relative
h) n= neighbour
i) s=schoolmate
j) o=organisation.

For example when a contacted is designated as '[S,F, r, s, n]', it shows that she is from Somalia, female, relative, schoolmate and also a neighbour to the respondent.

The maps suggest that those teenagers who have more links with Kenyans will be able to acquire the languages spoken in Kenya, whereas those who have numerous Somali links will still retain their Somali language to a larger extent. However, the different cultural factors in network studies can modify the outcome, which will be the focus in the next

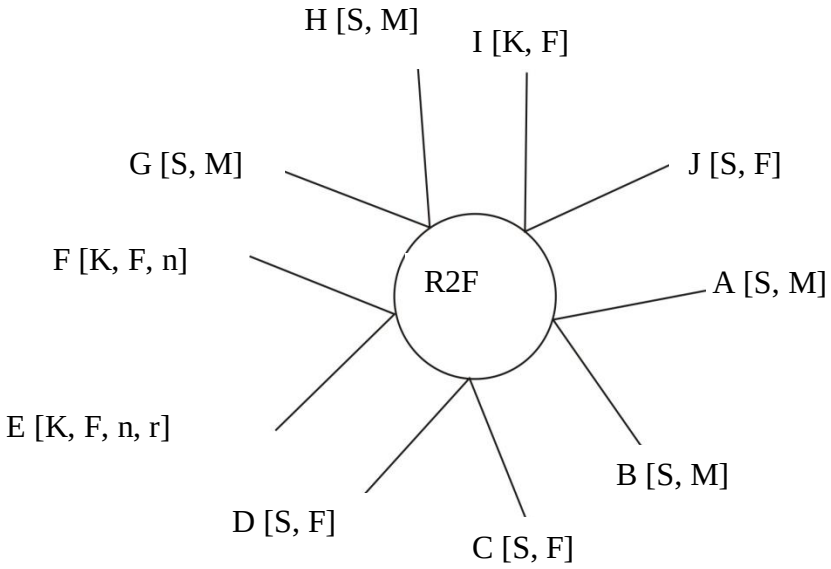
chapter. The study seeks to establish whether social networks affect language change: that is, do the social networks the teenagers make have an effect on their language use? Below are the individual respondents and their placement within a net of influential contacts:

Respondent 1



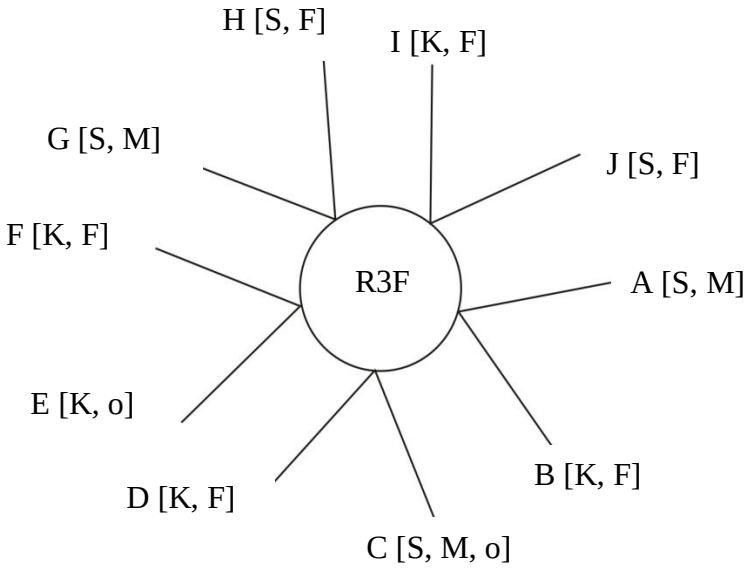
The respondent supplied all the contacts, except D. Five of them are Somalis abbreviated S, whereas four are Kenyans (K). Contact A is also known to the respondent in the organization whereas C's are relatives and are neighbours as well to the respondent, annotated as in the diagram as [S, F, f and o].

Respondent 2



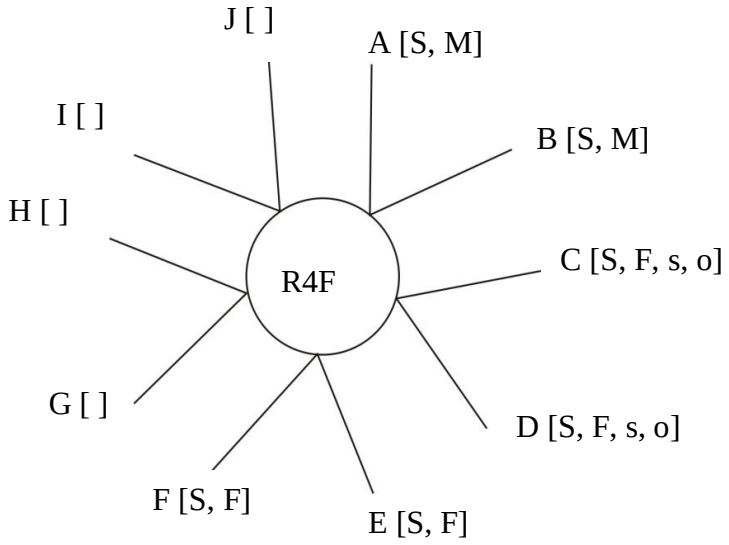
Apart from the network of relatives, the respondent has a mixture of Somali and Kenyan interactants. At the same time, in the school domain category, the subjects are Kenyans and also interact with the respondent in more than one capacity. E and F are also female neighbours to the respondent and belong to the category of others.

Respondent 3



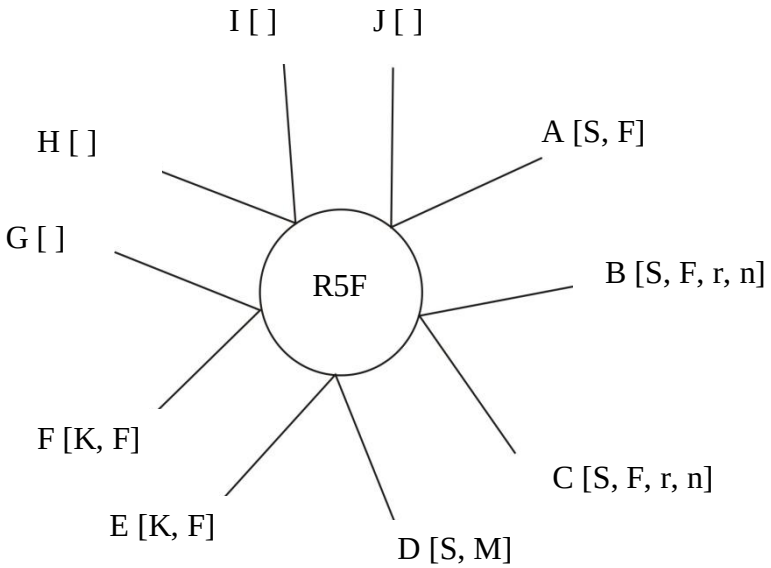
Respondent 3 reported a maximum of the required ten interactants from each of the two networks. In all the five contacts, the subject has both Somali and Kenyan interactants. The interactants C and E are known to the subject in more than one category: as a relative and at the same time belonging to the same organization.

Respondent 4



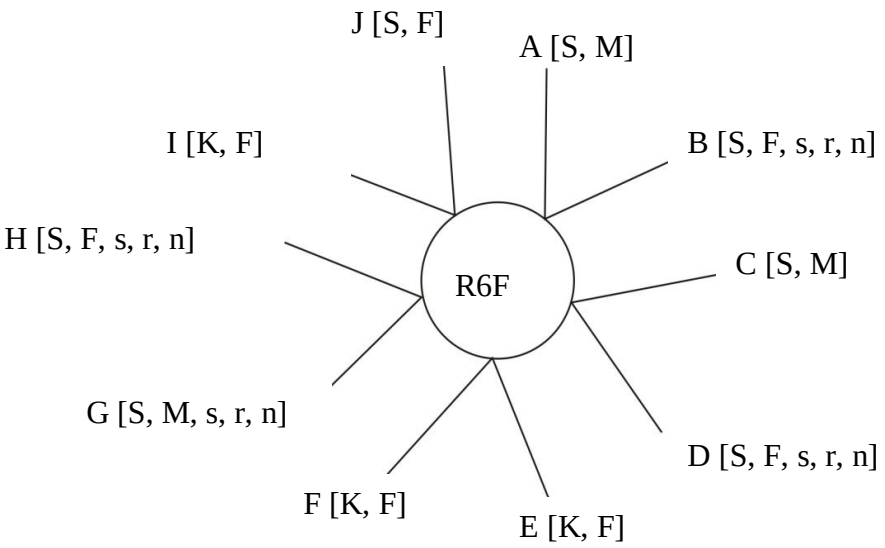
Respondent 4 supplied six contacts out of the maximum ten. In all the networks, the subjects are of Somali origin. Contacts C and D who are the relatives are also schoolmates with E and F and to the respondent; hence, the respondents have multiple relations with the contacts. They know each other in more than one capacity. However, the respondent did not supply any contact for the category of organizations and others. This is a typical close–knit network structure capable of inserting a high influence to the member.

Respondent 5



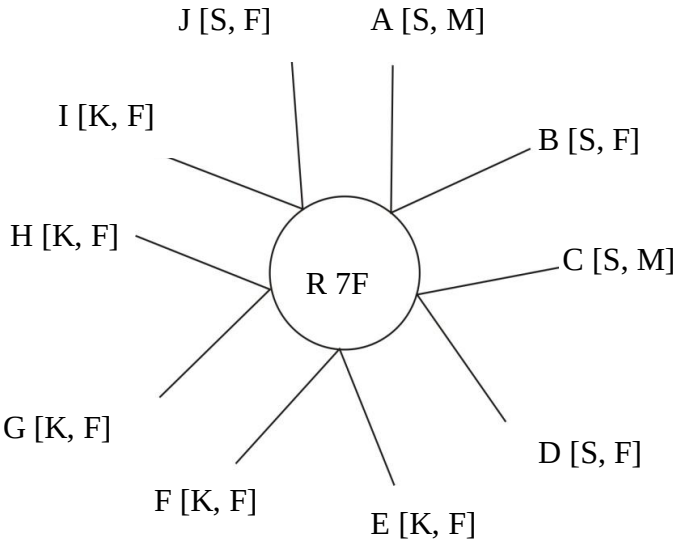
The respondent did not supply a contact for an organization; hence, it is assumed that the subject does not belong to such groups; thus H and I are empty, as shown in the figure. The other contacts are Somalis who are related and at the same time neighbours, except the schoolmates, who are mainly Kenyans.

Respondent 6



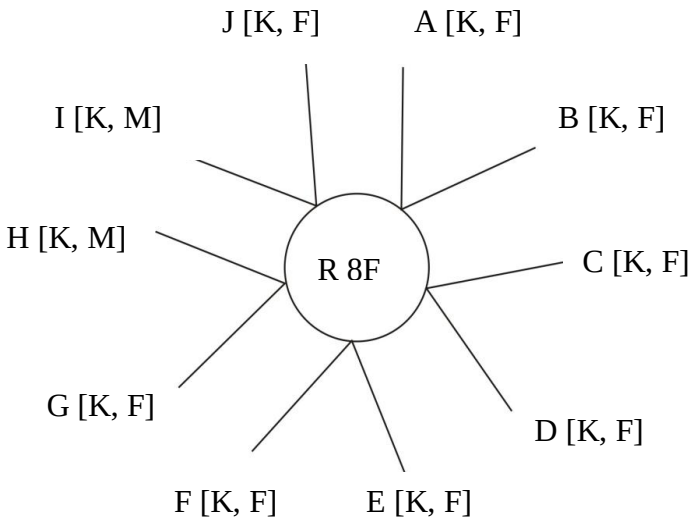
The ten interactants are supplied. The neighbours, relatives and others are all Somalis. They know one another in more than one capacity. The respondent did not fill in the category of the organization. Possibly, the respondent is not affiliated to any organization.

Respondent 7



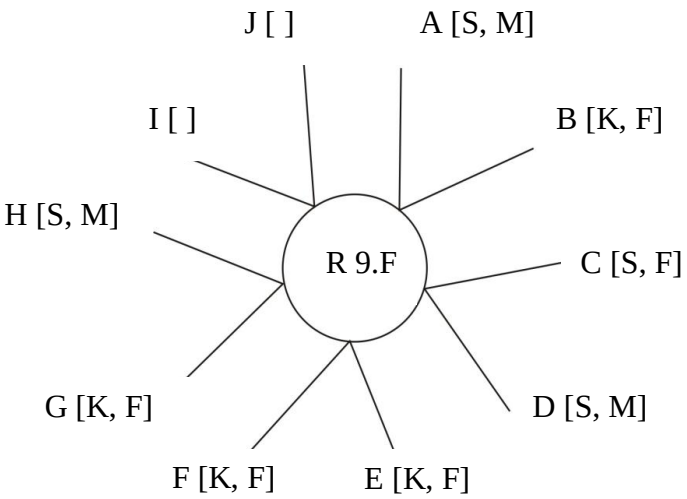
Apart from the neighbours and the relatives, the subject's ties are all Kenyan. However, they are known to the respondent only in one capacity as per the categories given.

Respondent 8



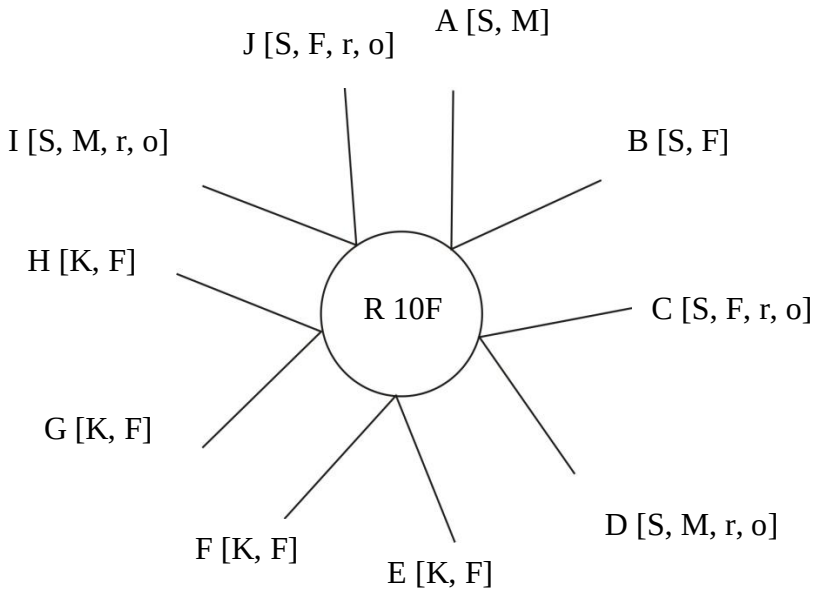
The respondent has given all the number of respondents required. The results indicate that all the contacts are Kenyan-based and know one another in some capacity.

Respondent 9



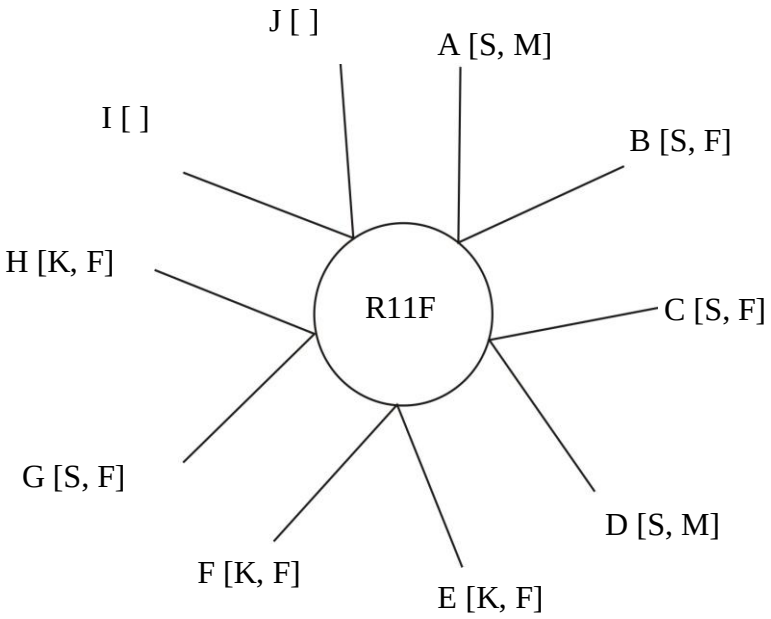
The respondent did not give the two contacts for the organization. The neighbours and contacts in others categories each have a Kenyan and Somali contact. They are all known to the respondent in one capacity.

Respondent 10



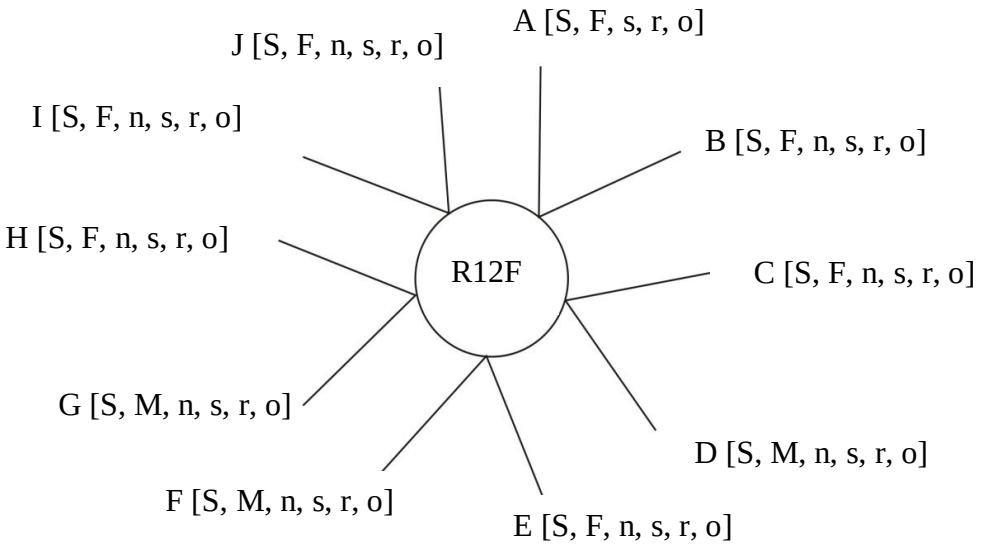
Respondent 10 has all contacts affiliated to the Somali ethnic group, except the classmates and those of the others who are Kenyans. The contacts C, D, I and J are relatives to the respondent and belong to the same organization.

Respondent 11



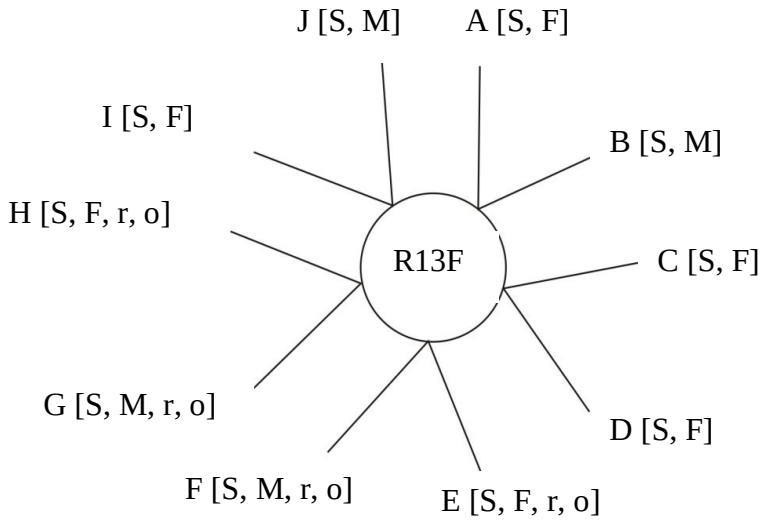
The respondent did not have any contact for I and J. Apart from the classmates, who are Kenyans, all the interactants in all categories are Somalis. This is a typical respondent who is highly integrated.

Respondent 12



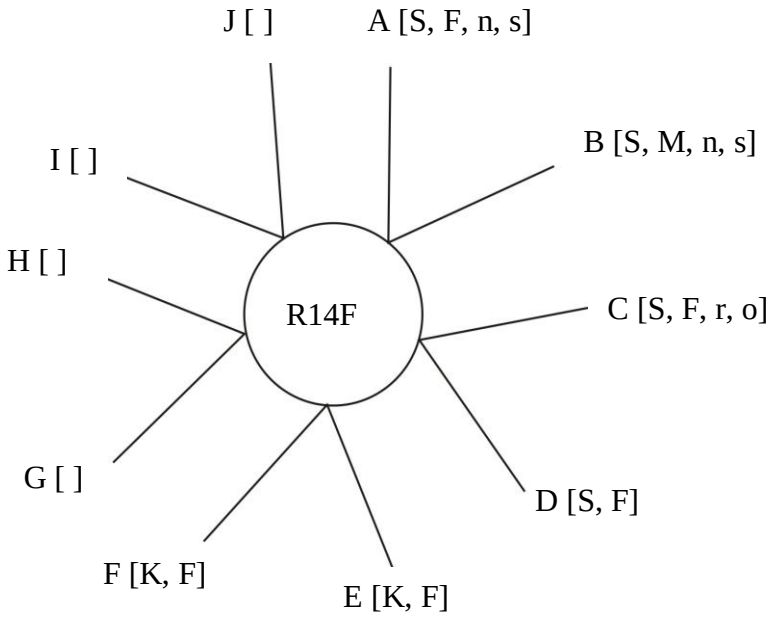
Interestingly, all the contacts for the respondent are Somalis and know each other in various capacities such as neighbours, schoolmates, and relatives.

Respondent 13



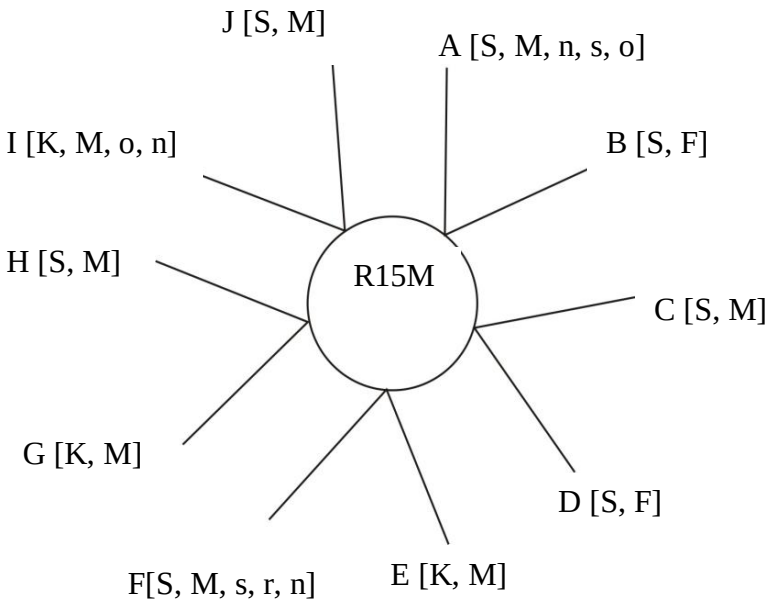
As shown above, all the contacts of Respondent 13 are all Somalis. Contacts E, G and I are known to the respondent in the organization and are also relatives.

Respondent 14



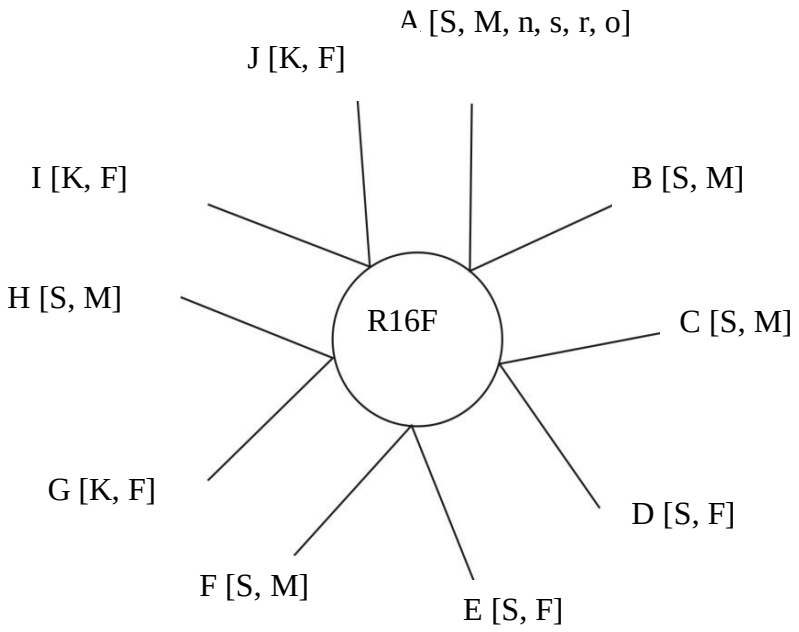
The respondent did not give any contact for the neighbour and the organization. Apart from the schoolmates, who are Kenyans, the respondent basically interacts with Somalis. The A and B are neighbours and also schoolmates to the respondent. Contact C, who is a relative, belongs to the same organization with the respondent.

Respondent 15



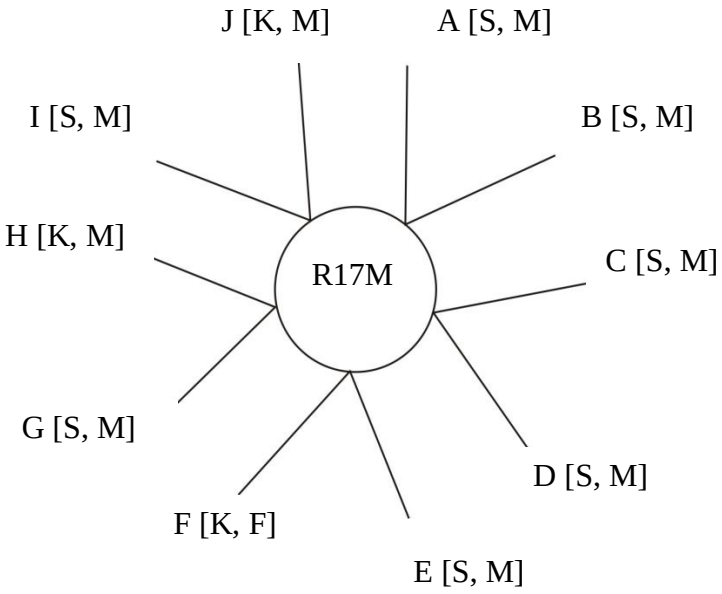
Contacts A, B, C and D are Somalis. A is known to the respondent as a relative and schoolmate, and belongs to the same organization. E is a Kenyan and E is a Somali and known to the respondents as relative and neighbour.

Respondent 16



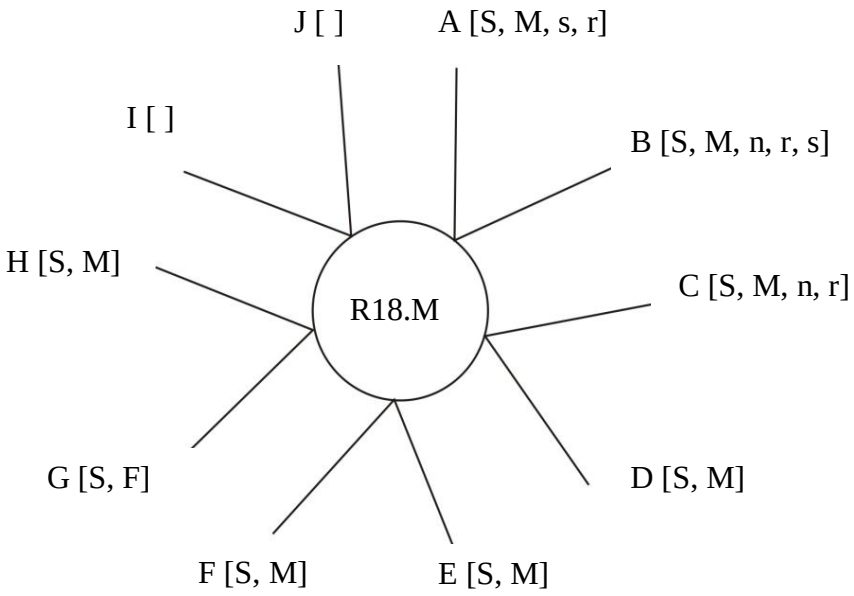
The respondent has contacts in the neighbourhood, relatives, and schoolmates who are from Somali origin. The subject A adds up as a schoolmate and others. The respondent interacts in the organization with contacts of Kenyan origin.

Respondent 17



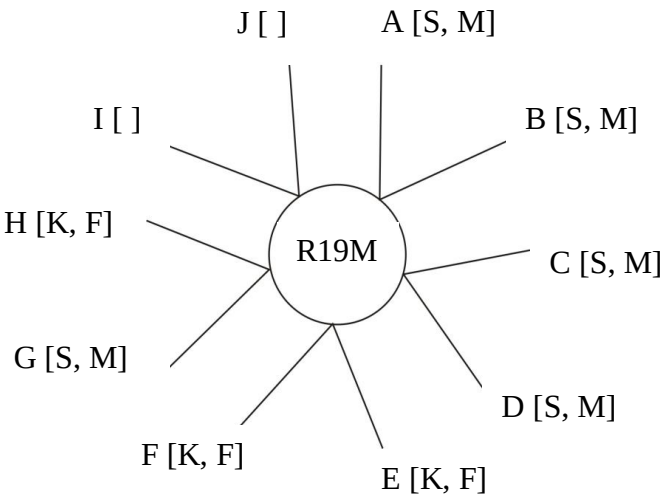
The neighbours and the relatives are basically Somalis and the schoolmates, the members of the organization and the category ‘others’ both have Kenyan and Somali contacts.

Respondent 18



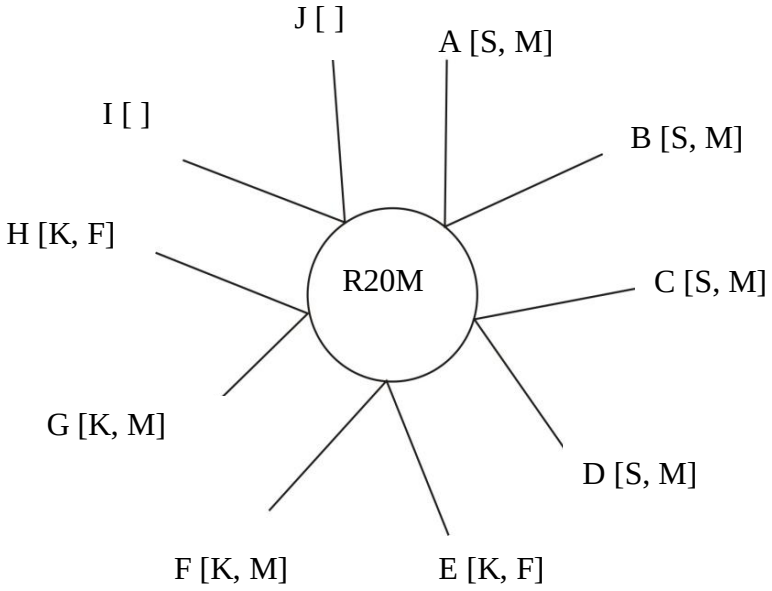
The respondent 18 above has given all important contacts in his or her life as Somalis. In some instances, the contacts are multiple. For example, Contact A and B both attend the same school with the respondent and are relatives; C is a neighbour and at the same time a relative. The rest of the contacts are all Somalis, except for the categories I and J, where the respondent did not give a contact.

Respondent 19



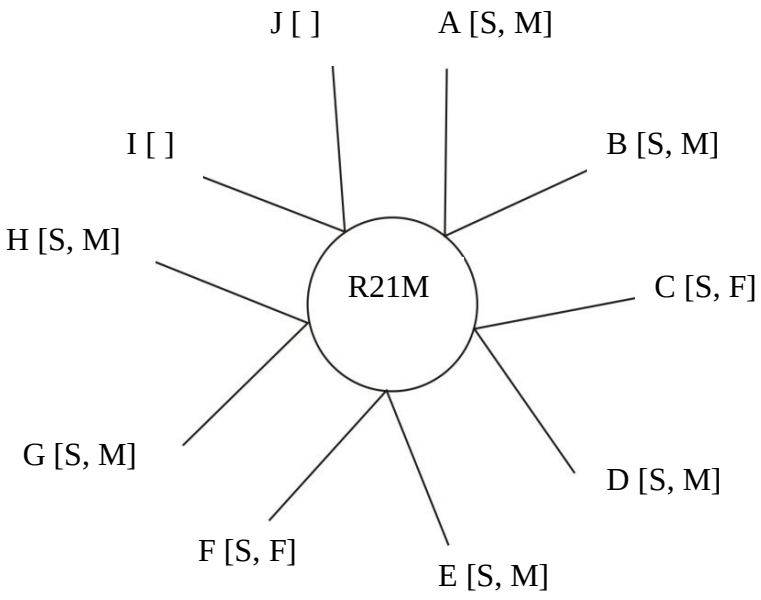
The respondent provided all the entries for the categories given: all the links were of the Somali ethnic group. The respondents had multiplex relations; that is, they knew one another in all capacities

Respondent 20



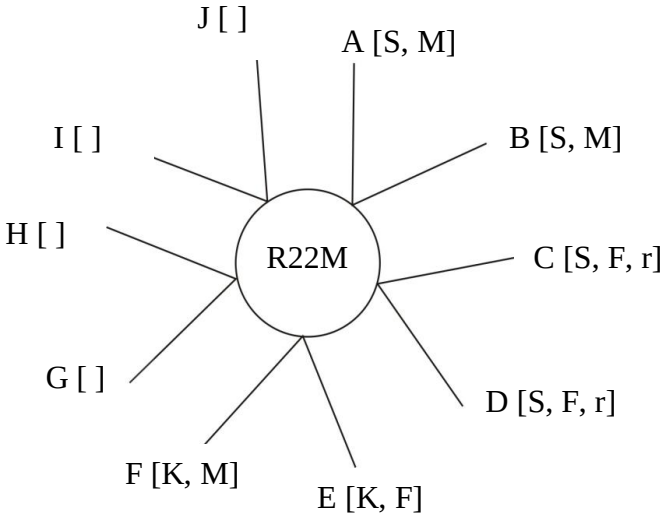
Here, the respondent has Somali contacts with neighbours and relatives. However, the schoolmates are Kenyans. No link was given in the category of the organization. The respondent indicated that he/she does not subscribe to any organization.

Respondent 21



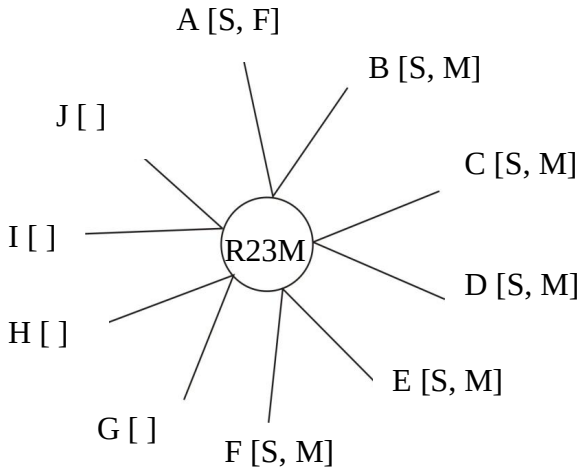
The interactants are all from the Somali ethnic group. The respondent did not give any link with the organization category, implying that the respondent is not affiliated to any organization in Kenya.

Respondent 22



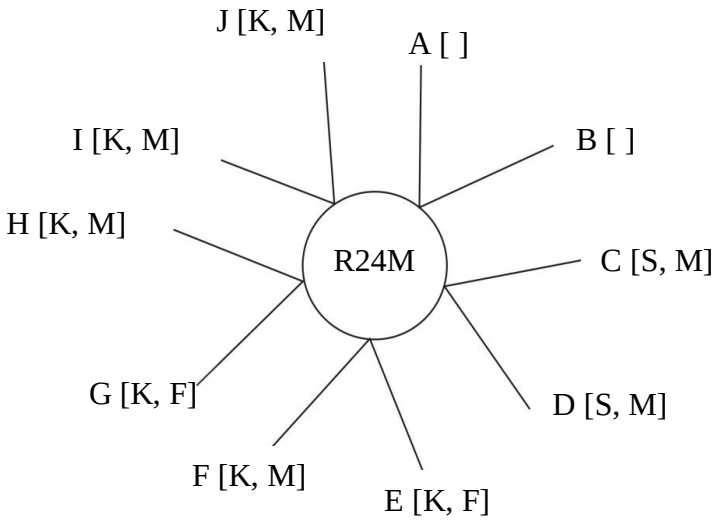
The neighbours and relatives to the respondent are from the Somali ethnic group. The schoolmates are from Kenya whereas no link was given for the organization and the others category.

Respondent 23



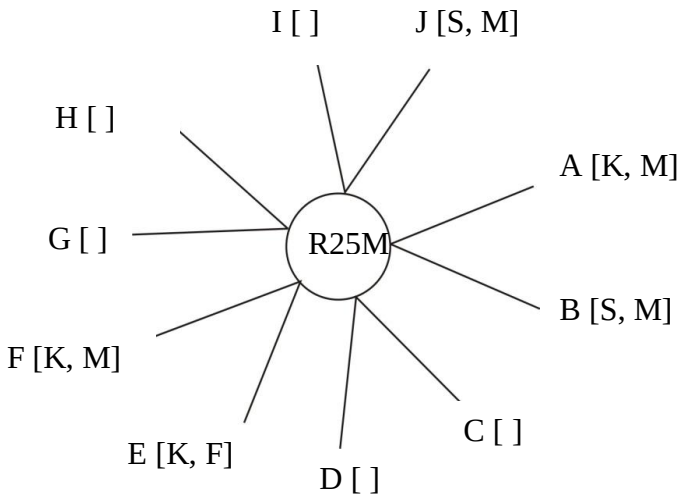
Like the Respondent 22 above, the respondent networks with Somalis only in all the categories, except the two, that is, others (G and H) and organization (I and J) where no link was given.

Respondent 24



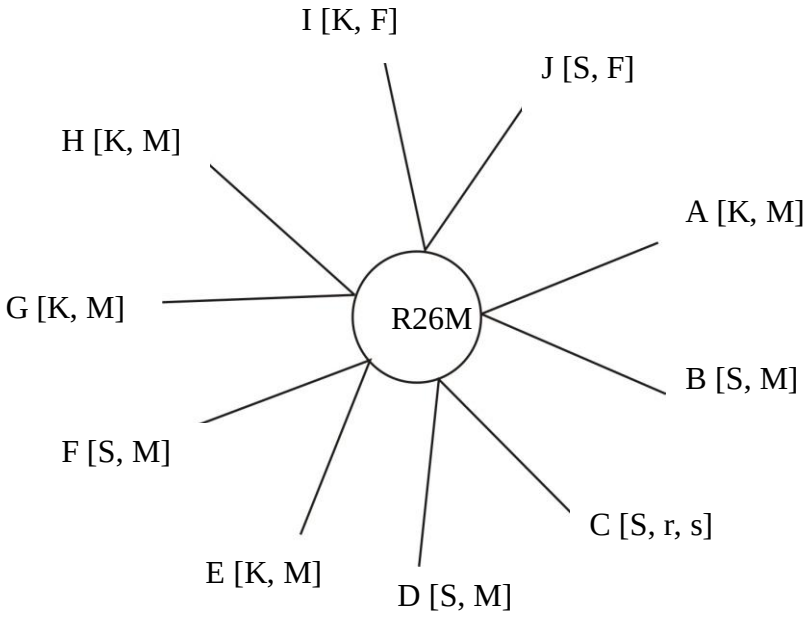
This respondent does not relate with his/ her neighbours. Except for the relatives, who are Somalis, all the other links are Kenyans

Respondent 25



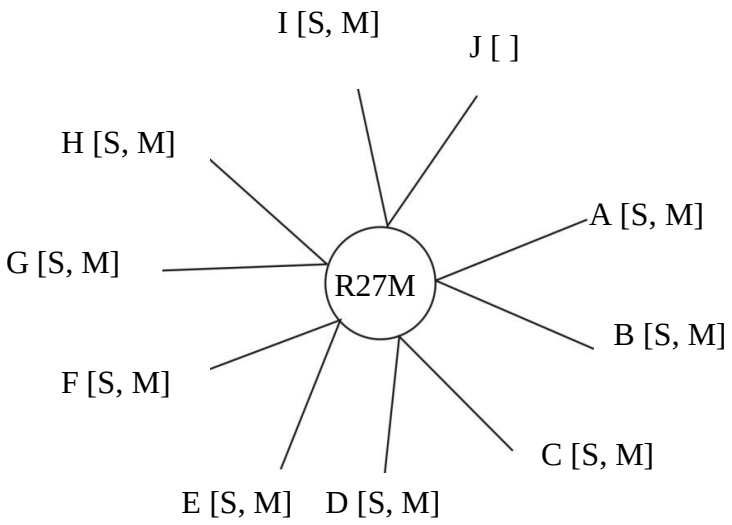
The respondent gets in touch with Kenyan and Somali neighbours but not with his/her relatives. The schoolmates are purely Kenyans and do not make other links. The respondent did not also provide any link with the members of an organization and the others category.

Respondent 26



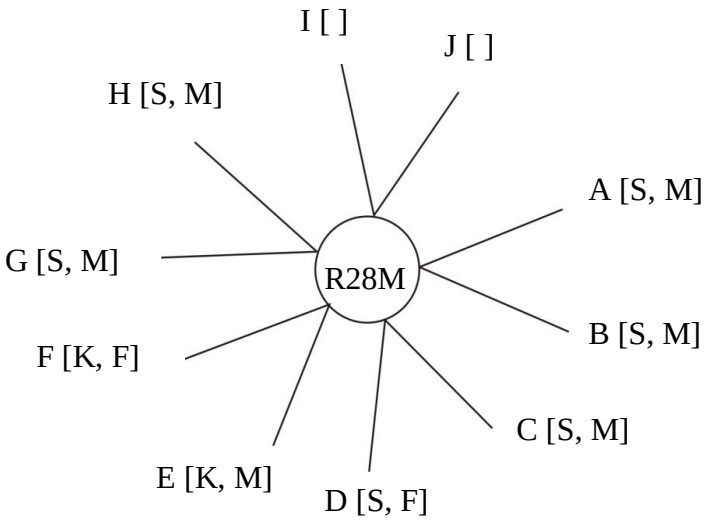
The neighbours the respondent relates with are both Kenyan and Somalis. The relatives are Somalis and attend school together as well. Other links are Somalis as they also link up in same organization.

Respondent 27



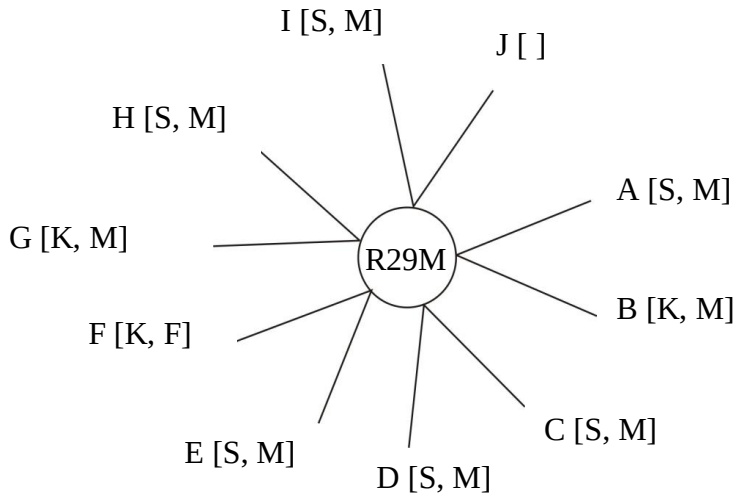
The neighbours, relatives, schoolmates, and the members of the organization the respondent links up with are all Somalis.

Respondent 28



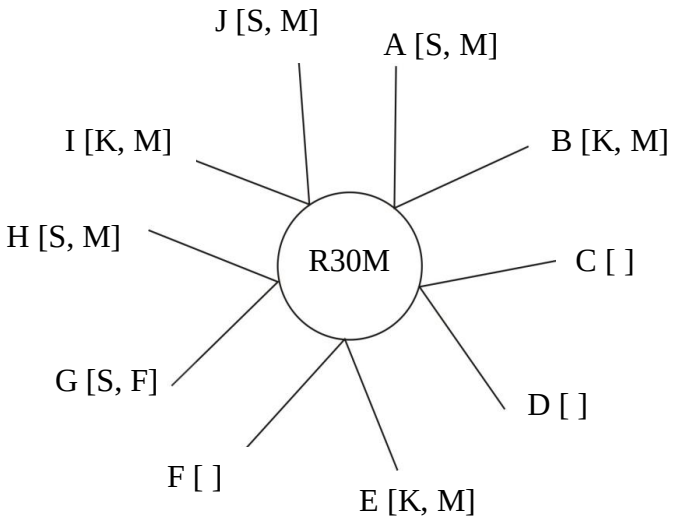
Apart from the schoolmates who are Kenyans, the rest of the contacts are Somali ethnic group.

Respondent 29



The contacts are Somalis and Kenyans. Moreover, the ties are uniplex; that is, the links are known to the respondent in one capacity.

Respondent 30



In A, the contact is a Somali; in B a Kenyan. The respondent does not get in touch with his/her relatives as he or she has only one close contact in school who is a Kenyan. The category labelled as others is occupied by the contacts of the Somali ethnic group. The I and J categories are Kenyan and Somali respectively.

4.3 Characteristics of the Social Networks

Structural and content differences between networks impinge critically on the way they directly affect the individual (Milroy, 2000) and if the ties are mainly Somalis, they have the capacity to support each another and as a result, maintain their language. However, a community cannot be 'self-contained'. Therefore, the members have to make links with others who are not members of their ethnic group. The loosening of the ties as a result facilitates language change, which results in uniplex ties, as shown in the diagrams. By delineating the social networks, the study looks at the social relations from the orientation of an individual. In the description of the social networks, the study assesses the extent to which the network structures (density) and the contents (multiplexity) affect the individual teenagers in the study.

Social networks analysis is a way of capturing the dynamics underlying speaker's interactional behaviours (Eckert, 2000). This is because ties contracted by individuals between and within speech communities when analyzed will illuminate language position. This is related to the argument that a teenager's immediate social environment has an influence on language use. The teenagers have both Somali and Kenyan counterparts. The break-up of such a structure, loosening of the kinship ties and the peer ties and the establishment of other links to the Kenyan networks leads to social mechanisms where norms and values change and the individual develops new group loyalties and adopts new language norms and behaviour (Hamers and Blanc, 1989). It is through the social network environment that the individual is exposed to values and language varieties where he/she internalises and uses them to build his/her own linguistic repertoires.

4.3.1 Network Density

This refers to the number of connections in the network. An individual can have varying degrees of density. In a low density, individuals usually know the central member and do not know each other. Some of the teenagers' social networks in this study are of low

density. For example, teenagers (Number 24 to 30) reported ten people they interact with in only one capacity. Such networks are also referred to as uniplex. From the findings of the social contacts the teenagers make, it is clear that the teenagers have a relatively high contact with the others from Somali and Kenya. This explains the reason why some know each other in one capacity. Density in the study is revealed by the set conditions the teenagers were to meet in order to qualify as integrated (See questionnaire). Condition one which identifies a teenager as a member of a bound group for example an organization measures density if the condition is met. 80% of the teenagers indicated that they are affiliated to such groups hence qualifies the networks as of high density.

A localised social network is one in which half of a person's acquaintances live in close proximity and all know one another within a geographical area. Others are single-strand relationships that are formed by people who engage in activities in their daily lives in isolated spheres (Wellman and Berkowitz, 1988). When closed networks are confined to a geographical area like Eastleigh, it permits greater communication among the members of the closed group, who can easily identify and examine others (Portes, 1998). Close networks are important in the acquisition of linguistic resources and information available within the group, whereas weak links bring new information and new knowledge. Kamuangu (2008) argues that language is a carrier of a set of values, norms and beliefs of a given community and as such it is related to manifestations of peoples' daily struggles and thus has a social function. As a result, the acquisition of language by the refugees in Kenya depends on the linkages in order to retain cultural knowledge and gain new information.

4.3.2 Multiplexity

Multiplexity refers to the content of the links between individuals in a network. It shows the capacity at which one respondent (A) is known to Respondents B, C, D, E, F, G, H, and I. For example, kinship which connects one to a sister or an uncle has a greater capacity to influence behaviour than an economic tie that connects one to a shopkeeper, yet both could belong to first order contacts. According to Milroy (1980), relationships in tribal societies, villages and traditional urban, as well as working class, communities are

typically multiple whereas those in geographically and mobile industrial societies tend to be uniplex and sparse. Eastleigh, the site of the study, is an urban community; hence, it confirms Milroy's assertion that relations are multiplex. Such networks enforce behaviour (Stoessel, 2002; Wiklund, 2002; Salami, 1991; Lippi-Green, 1989), for example, in the manner of dressing, language and conduct: these are discussed in Chapter 5.

In the present study, the combinations of both dense and multiplex networks are present, as shown in the mapping of the social networks. The teenagers relate to their Somali counterparts and to Kenyans as well, suggesting that they have 'dual networks'. The characteristics of the networks are very illuminating in the explanation of the varied linguistic situation of the teenagers. Granovetter (1982) observes that networks are important channels through which innovation and influence flow from one group to another, linking everybody to the larger society. This will then lead to change in relation to the characteristics of the ties. Ties can be categorised as weak or strong (Milroy and Milroy, 1997). Strong ties are concentrated within groups and result in local cohesion. Some instances in the study captured situations where a respondent has ties only within their local community (Somali), like Respondent 21. This respondent has all ten of his/her ties in his/her community. Those whose ties to the community are weak are exposed to external influence and can easily change. An individual who has ties to a group has to honour the 'rights and the obligations' which accompany the membership. The person has to speak the language which is required at a particular time if he/she wishes to maintain the valued relationship. Thus, for individuals to retain membership, they also have to maintain the linguistic norms which are part of the requirement in order to communicate.

The strong ties (Somali) move out through the links (Kenyan networks) and the result is a multiplicity of ties which have taken various dimensions. Innovators are marginal and they are the ones regarded as the weak ties. Through less dense contact with the Kenyan counterparts, they transmit new variants into the tightly knit group. As a result, the innovation is taken up by the core members of the group after percolating around the

periphery and becoming familiar and available. But there must be a motivation for the early adopters accepting the new variants. Milroy (1992) notes that for innovation to be adopted, the adopters must believe that some benefit must accrue to them. The normative pressure exerted by the strong network ties is legitimised by values and beliefs of the community in question (Downes, 1998). The teenagers speak Somali at home because of the values and obligations which come with it. Consequently, the other languages they have acquired as well must have benefits, depending on the domain of use. Therefore, the actions taken by the teenagers or the languages they choose in the particular contexts are driven by the norms and values (benefits) that accrue from speaking such languages. Thus there will be mutual intelligibility and mutual expectation in interactions. The people know what language is expected to be used in particular contexts.

In a densely knit group, such as the home or neighbourhood, the normative pressure and solidarity of values occur (Downes, 1998). A deviation in the norm would result in communication breakdown. A greater percentage of the teenagers indicated they speak Somali in these domains. Weak networks are perhaps open to multiple conflicting normative models from different sources and thus norms become unclear and diffuse. They bring in more acts of identity which are possibly more open, innovative, and richer. Dittmar et al. (1988) point out that the dominant culture and legitimate language may predominate where solidarity-based structures are weak; and people may divert using the languages that are used in the main society. Thus, the formation of recognisable set of linguistic norms is in itself is an aspect of linguistic change. New language use will arise out of negotiation; and, therefore, for language change to occur there should be clarity of norms in particular domains.

From the delineation of the social networks of the teenagers, it is clear that individual speakers live in a multidimensional set of relationships among the various groups in society; they have links with the Kenyans as well as Somalis. Such relations make one a subject of multiplicity of normative pressures from the various networks in the varied domains. Language use will be dictated by these ties and relations. Social links with the host community who have different knowledge and more material resources is essential

(Chavez, 1991). Therefore, the teenagers can be forced to strengthen the ties within themselves and also the host community in order to survive in all circumstances. Language acts as a bridge to the two societies; hence, they have to acquire the languages of the host society and retain their own language, hoping to go back some day. The teenagers also befriended their Somali peers in school, as few of the relations of the close friends they make in school were those of other communities from Kenya. From the data, 30% of the contacts were Kenyan social ties whereas 70% were Somalis. Hsin-Chun (2006) has pointed out that grouping in relation to ethnic groups is a coping strategy which enables one to overcome the stress of 'fitting in' in a particular context. The connection of the refugees with other Somalis in Eastleigh increases the likelihood of encounters of people who are alike and hence the Somali community in Kenya is an important support system. These social networks provide a basis for social interaction, intimacy, companionship, and cultural identification, access to resources, material goods and social mobility (Berkerman et al., 2000).

In this study, as seen earlier, the weak ties were numerous and were highly susceptible to innovation, that is, acquisition of new languages. Members adopt a norm when they realise that it is to their advantage. The opportunities the teenagers have in relation to the contacts with their ethnic group or with others (Kenyans) play an important role in their use of language. Innovators are marginal to the group adopting change. They hold weak ties in the community and their links bring in change. Adopters are those who are central to the group, have strong ties and conform highly to the group norms. In such a category, linguistic change is slow and is bound by close ties. Innovations are transmitted from one group to another by persons having weak ties with both groups. Hence where the proportion of weak ties in a community is high, linguistic change is likely to be rapid (Marshall, 2004).[10]The language we speak at a particular time depends on the contact which we are activating at that particular time (Knight, 2003). This network-variety shift

[10] Innovation is an act of one or more speakers and change is a reflex of a successful innovation in the language system (Marshall, 2004)

in tribal societies, villages and traditional urban, as well as working class communities are typically multiple whereas those in geographically and mobile industrial societies tend to be uniplex and sparse. Eastleigh, the site of the study, is an urban community; hence, it confirms Milroy's assertion that relations are multiplex. Such networks enforce behaviour (Stoessel, 2002; Wiklund, 2002; Salami, 1991; Lippi-Green, 1989), for example, in the manner of dressing, language and conduct: These are discussed in Chapter 5.

Closed networks are important in the acquisition of linguistic resources and information available within the group whereas weak links bring in new information and new knowledge (Milroy and Gordon, 2003). Thus, weak and strong links are equally relevant to the Somalis. The acquisition of the languages by the teenagers depends on such linkages. Social links with the host community who have different know-how and more material resources is essential (Chavez, 1991). The Somali teenagers try to strengthen both internal and external networks in order to access the social services offered in the host community. Language will then act as a bridge in the new set-up; hence, they have to acquire other languages. Cultures are constantly in flux, directed and redirected by the actions of the individuals making choices within the society. The society thus shapes an individual and hence the actions taken by the individual result from the dictates of the society.

4.4 The Somali Teenagers and Social Integration

Based on the conditions earlier stated, the teenagers were categorised as either integrated (+) or not integrated (-). Each respondent was observed very closely in order to determine the network score. The conditions for the network scores were thoroughly researched. Such conditions illuminate each individual and the combinations of the results which show language usage for the Somalis. Every teenager partakes in a multitude of social networks which differ from one another in their attributes but are interwoven and mutually dependent. Those who scored three (3) and above were considered to be

integrated into their own community (Somali) whereas if they scored two (2) and below, it implied that they were not integrated and thus they got a negative sign (-). Below is the assessment of the scores by the thirty respondents.

Table 4: Respondent's Level of Integration

Respondents	Conditions 1-5					Network Index	Integration + or -
	1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**		
1	+	-	+	+	-	3	+
2	-	+	-	-	-	1	-
3	+	-	-	+	-	2	-
4	-	-	-	+	-	1	-
5	+	+	+	-	-	3	+
6	+	+	-	-	-	2	-
7	+	+	-	+	-	3	+
8	+	+	-	-	-	2	-
9	-	-	-	-	-	0	-
10	-	+	-	-	-	1	-
11	+	+	-	+	-	3	-
12	+	+	-	-	-	2	-
13	+	+	+	+	+	5	+
14	+	+	+	-		3	+
15	+	+	-	-	-	2	-
16	+	+	+	-	-	3	+
17	+	+	-	-	-	2	-
18	+	+	+	+	-	4	+
19	+	+	-	-	-	2	-
20	+	+	-	-	-	2	-
21	+	+	+	+	-	4	+
22	+	+	-	-	-	2	-
23	+	+	+	-	-	3	+
24	-	+	-	-	-	1	-
25	+	-	-	-	-	1	-
26	-	+	-	-	-	1	-
27	+	+	+	+	-	4	+
28	+	+	-	+	-	3	+
29	+	-	-	-	-	1	-
30	-	-	-	+	-	1	-

Out of 30 respondents, 11 were found to be highly integrated whereas 19 were not integrated into their own community. When migrants move from their country, they go through a rite of passage and are marginalised by their economic, social and legal status. This is because they leaving everything back in the country of origin. They remain in a marginal space, outside the mainstream society of Kenya. The continued identification and social links with the sending communities place migrants in places simultaneously, reconfiguring spaces and redefining local and foreign (Coutin, 2005) such as, renaming places and listening to news from back home. Regardless of the amount of time they had spent in Kenya and their plans for the future, the teenagers have intentions of going back to Somalia if the situation changes. Those, however, who do not wish to go back to Somalia plan to relocate to other countries like the USA. The treatment they receive from the locals have made them resist integration.

Research has also established that Muslim migrants are slow in integration (Khadar, 2003). This is based on a study carried out in the UK. The study established that this is as a result of intensity of religion, which is a way of life for all Muslims. The Somalis are easily integrated with other Muslim communities in Kenya (Kenyan Somalis, Arabs, Indians) compared to other members of other religions. For example, in the process of carrying out the research, a Somali felt offended when he was buying a Quran and the shop owner erroneously gave him a Bible. This almost resulted in a fight as the individual felt it was an insult. The encampment policy also traps the refugees and their children in 'semi-criminalised shadow economy' with limited mobility, thus hampering their integration. A respondent had the following to say about her life in Eastleigh:

Every time you venture out everybody calls you 'walalo'. ..You can't even get a visa to visit a friend in another country ….life here is very unbearable. You are reminded every time that you are a refugee and that your country is on fire. I long for the time when my country will be at peace [Respondent 11]

The teenagers recounted situations where they had been arrested by the police in Kenya for no apparent reason. For example respondent 21 laments below;

…the police arrest you for no reason and they want your parents to part with a lot of money for no reason. When they charge you in court, they say you drink alcohol. I am Muslim I don't do that. My parents don't understand English they are forced to hire a lawyer who wants a lot of money.

The teenagers complain that they cannot get jobs in Kenya, even the menial jobs. They complain that the local community does not trust them so they start their own business or rely on their relatives to give them jobs. Thus, their internal cohesion provides them with emotional support and social security, which they do not get from the hosting society. The teenagers depend on their community members but have network relations with the local community in some domains. The above sentiments show the perception of the refugees in relation to their forced migration to Kenya. Their attitude shows that they are not in a hurry to integrate with the locals. The Somalis are self-reliant regarding resources for their upkeep. They find Kenya to be a very expensive country. They therefore rely on goods and services from their country provided by the relatives they have left behind.

The Somali refugees maintain a cohesive social network within their community. As a result, they have little exposure to the languages spoken in Kenya, except when in school and a few other situations. They have few opportunities and little motivation to integrate into the Kenyan community. The data above shows that the majority of the teenagers socialise with their Somali counterparts. They maintain strong communal ties but at the same time have few network ties in the host community. It is also inevitable for them to have links with the host community as these are important for different knowledge and material resources. Here language is a principal dividing factor and, therefore, the Somalis have no option but to acquire the language.

The networks delineated above show that the teenagers in the current study have strong network ties, which translates to a form of a strong norm-enforcement that resists outside pressure. However, there are other groups of teenagers who have weak ties with the community members. Such groups of people transmit outside influences. Following from an extensive body of social-anthropological research, it has been proved that social network ties act as norm enforcement mechanisms (Bott, 1971; Milroy, 1980, 87;

Wasserman and Faust, 2006). They provide bridges between the dense groups. Thus, there is a social configuration with strong relatively impervious nodes connected by weak networks. The weak networks are highly susceptible to outside influence as they are in contact with people from diverse backgrounds.

However, change would occur as a result of the fragmentation in the society and vulnerability to external stresses, outside control and social conflict, that is, marginalization, alienation from power, prejudice, unemployment, decline of income, and xenophobic obsession. The vernacular can be viewed through either utopian or dystopian lenses –the positive and negative side of solidarity are respectively pride of identity and cultivation of tradition or inward looking prejudice, inadaptability and exclusiveness (Fishman, 2001). Language change does not take place in a vacuum but as a result of usage by a speaker. A speaker's act of innovation facilitates linguistic change as it penetrates into language.

Milroy and Milroy (1997) point out that different kinds of networks can be linked to wider organization of society and it is suggested that these links can be explicated by considering the properties of the weak as well as strong ties which the present study took into account. The longer the refugees stay in exile, the less they become inclined to maintain their national identity and strong identity to their home country and hence assume a new identity by integrating into the host society. This has been proved so especially for second-generation refugees like the Somalis (Khadar, 2003). However, like the subjects of this study, regardless of their length of stay, they have a strong sense of national identity, social cohesion and attachment to their homeland. The development of social cohesion is a result of a number of interwoven factors like the Kenya refugee policy, urbanization and the culture. The Somali clannism is thus further developed, reinforced and consolidated. The situation is further exacerbated by problems of unemployment. Seventy-five percent of the teenagers stated categorically that they would not wish to stay in Kenya. Displacement of refugees leads to loss of independent, political, social and economic existence (Chesang, 2006). The need to adapt to new

environments requires, among other things, renegotiating the expectations, behaviours and relationships that have operated in the past.

4.5 Chapter Conclusion

The delineation of the social networks of the teenagers has been the subject of this chapter. Results from the analysis of the thirty respondents indicate that the teenagers subscribe to dense and multiplex networks. They also relate in clusters. As a result, these relations have the potential of changing the language use of the Somali refugees (teenagers), as will be seen in the subsequent chapter. The teenagers have social relations with Kenyans and Somalis in the various domains, thereby calling for different uses of language. The teenagers are also integrated in two respects, as seen by the network index scores presented in the table above. In the next chapter, language use in the domains will be correlated to these social network index scores in order to establish the relationship.

CHAPTER FIVE

Somali Teenagers and Language Use in Kenya

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6.0 Second Language Acquisition and the Adolescent

6.1 Language Shift and Maintenance

6.2 Conclusion

5.1 Introduction

From the description of their social networks in the previous chapter, the Somalis were found to have 'dual integration', a situation where the teenagers have social networks from both Kenyans and Somali social relations at the same time. This was further evidenced by the nature of the relations they maintain in Kenya. The study also established that teenagers socialize in clubs related to their Somali communities and Kenyan communities. This section discusses the linguistic position of Somali teenagers in Kenya. It focuses on how they use the four languages (English, Kiswahili, Somali and Arabic) which were found to have been retained and others acquired in Kenya. This chapter describes the languages in use in each of the various domains utilized by the study. The term 'domain' is used in the study, following Milroy in her Belfast study, as the 'setting' which could differentiate between the private domain and the public space. Knowledge of the interaction of the domains is necessary in the present study as it enables an understanding of the languages that are used by the respondents and their sociolinguistic make-up in Kenya. Individuals may also interact in shared networks because they are members of the same domains.

Focus will also be on the level of proficiency in the languages. Thus, this chapter considers the language use in various domains with the underlying assumption that social networks influence social behaviour and for the study at hand, linguistic behaviour. The study of language use in the various domains highlights how the teenagers interact and how the natures of the interactions model their language usage.

5.2 Domain Analysis

The social environment of a person is located within domains. The study of an individual in the chosen arenas portrays an individual (Lippi-Green, 1989) and the domains the ability to predict the degree of normative influence exerted on the individual. A domain is a construct which refers to the sphere of activity representing a combination of specific times, settings, and the role relationships. The linguistic behaviour of teenagers is discussed in relation to the language choices they make in various domains. Some

domains are generally formal (school) whereas others are informal (home, neighbourhood, family) and hence some languages dominate in some domains more than others.

The domains in the study are used to gauge language usage and to give a picture of how the languages are distributed and should be related to a particular population (Fishman, 1989). In the present study, it relates to the Somali refugees. Domains are defined, regardless of number, in terms of institutional contexts and their similar behavioural co-occurrences. For example, a family can be composed of few members whereas a school can consist of thousands of students. The domains in the present study are also regarded as speech communities of the teenagers. Milroy asserts that they consist of sectors, clusters and compartments of language associated with specific fields of activity and are important means of compelling normative pressure. The domains for the study were chosen after a thorough study of the research area and the lifestyles of the Somali people.

Spolsky (2003) emphasizes that when a person moves from one domain to another, social relations, topics and activities change. Spolsky (2003) further avers that in any language choice situation, three conditions affect language choice: first, the speakers' language proficiency (zero proficiency preventing choice); second, the desire of the speaker to use his/her stronger language and; thirdly, the speaker's attempt to accommodate the wishes of the audience. Consequently, language choice is impacted; for this reason, domains are useful constructs for making linguistic generalizations pertaining to particular groups of people. The teenagers subscribe to varied domains and their roles keep changing, depending on the responsibilities, rights and the obligations.

It is further argued that the teenagers use different languages, depending on the expectations of the domain. Domains are multi-party activity sites where teenagers acquire varied behaviour. Domains are also seen as cultural spaces where languages, cultures, and diverse backgrounds come together, depending on the networks which are at play at a particular time. What will then be the outcome of the fusion of the languages of the Somalis and the Kenyans in Eastleigh? Identity construction also takes place: a

language is chosen, depending on the identity a person wants to foreground, as discussed in Chapter Seven. Besides, the adolescent age is a very significant period as teenagers are out to cut out a niche for themselves in the transitional stages of their growth and development.

Drawing on the literature of Second Language Acquisition, researchers see domains as structured cultural spaces that play a role in the distribution of discourse practices and the production and reproduction of social orders (Pennycook, 2001). This is also related to Norton's (1995) idea on the subjectivity and the subject position whereby an individual can occupy different positions in different contexts. Thus, one can be a subject or recipient in different circumstances. Some of these domains carry expectations for using different languages. A Somali is required to use Arabic when in the mosque during the sermon and English and Kiswahili in school, for instance, in the Kenyan context. Domains attempt to bring together the major clusters of interaction that occur in clusters of multilingual settings and involving clusters of interlocutors (Fishman, 1972; Romaine, 1994). Fishman affirms that in bilingual communities, languages are associated with different domains. A minority language is one which has a relatively small number of speakers living within a domain of a more widely spoken language whose knowledge is usually necessary for participation in society.

The domains utilised in the study have been referred to in diverse ways by different researchers. Eckert (2000) views them as the community of practice; Speech community (Patrick, 2000) and Subgroups- Belfast Speakers (Milroy 1980); and frames of reference (Goffman, 1974). All of them agree that domains are sites where various people interact and languages come together. It is a place where social meaning takes place and is reconstructed. Being the smallest unit of investigation and the anchor of the network and the link-person, the social network becomes an important starting point. One needs to understand what traits individuals in society share that allow them to be grouped as a community (Da Silva, 2008). In a related case, Mesthrie et al. (2000) argue that a community is continuous on different levels and thus demarcation has to be made. Domains were chosen as linguistic communities to be analyzed in the study. This takes

account of the fact that individuals may define themselves as members of various communities at the same time at particular occasions, depending on what is contrastive in the circumstances (Da Silva, 2008).

5.2.1 Family and Home Domains

This domain centres on the languages used by the teenagers among their family members and the extended family. This also includes the relatives who may not be part of the nuclear family. The family plays an integral role in the upbringing of the teenagers. In the process of the study, it was established that the Somalis have a sense of obligation and loyalty to those of their families who are still trapped in the war back at home and support them wherever they are. Thus, they are not isolated by the national boundaries, but of kingship relations in their homeland because they stay in touch. However, the relations are truncated and so can weaken traditional mechanisms and support. As a result, the refugees mobilise ethnic resources to reconstruct systems of families in Kenya. They do so by shifting and expanding the criteria of inclusion in family circles to include the Somalis in Kenya. The reconstructed family patterns give them a sense of collective strength in coping with new mechanisms in the new homeland. They also establish social ties and corporate kin-based economic practices which enable them to support one another in an alien environment.

It was established that the families of the teenagers have restricted, closed and highly integrated circles of ethnic group relations. Most of the teenagers, like their members of the families, conform to the Somali way of life and this is attributed to the high value of family integration. Therefore, to be part of the Somali network for the teenagers appears to offer a better route to being an acceptable member of the community. This was, therefore, seen to influence the choice of language at home by the teenagers.

Four languages were established to be in use in this particular domain. From the interviews and the questionnaires results, Somali is the dominant language within the family. About 93.3% of the teenagers confirmed that their language of choice is Somali.

The Som/Kis/Arab combination yielded a score of 3.3% Som/Kis/English also scored 3.3%. This implies that the Somali still retain their language and hence other languages have not infiltrated so much into these domains. In a few cases, Arabic and Kiswahili were reported to be used by the teenagers at home. These were seen as instances when they have relatives who are Arabs. The majority of the teenagers came to Kenya about ten years ago. It was expected that other Kenyan languages have made a way into this domain given such a long period, but it seems very little has happened. In Kenya's urban areas, the majority of the speakers (including the youth) from diverse backgrounds use Kiswahili and English. The youth use English and Kiswahili or both: according to Ogechi (2008), 'they code' when the two languages are used in isolation and they use 'in-between codes' when they code mix and code-switch (Myers-Scotton, 1993). The Somali teenagers seem to be the exception, rather than the norm. The majority of them have close associations with their family members who happen to be Somalis, thus contributing to mother-tongue retention.

The Somali language dominates all the other languages, with the rest of the other languages having very little impact. People in families at times find themselves in relations where members speak different languages but in the case of the Somalis, the research established that they marry within their close families, a tradition not common in Kenya. The result is that people of the same family have overlapping relations and thus retain a common language. This creates more opportunities to use one language within a family, especially so if they belong to a minority community (Edwards, 2006). This leaves the family focused and cohesive with language as a binding factor. Through socialization, children, particularly those from migrant backgrounds, learn a particular way of behaving in their cultures and parents influence them so much because they want to protect them from any adversity, especially as they have been victims of war.

Spolsky (2003) avers that the domination of one language in the family is the result of the majority of the family members having high proficiency in one language, as compared to other languages. Language will be based on practice and ideology; hence, the family members tacitly agree on which language is to be used. Most of the teenagers reported

that their parents expect them to speak Somali. 'How do you speak to your parents in a language she cannot understand and the owners of the language don't want you?' This is how a respondent emotionally expressed herself on the use of other languages at home. Research has also found that immigrants shift to languages of the country of destiny (Stoessel 2002; Kaharan 2004), but the position of the Somalis is exceptional. This is attributed to the value attached to their language and more so, the reception in the host country. Most of the teenagers reported cases of harassment and discrimination in Kenya. They reported that they are arrested any time they encounter policemen and threatened with repatriation. This affects their attitude to the Kenyan languages. Most of the teenagers expressed their wish to relocate to either their country of origin when the situation becomes normal or other foreign countries in the West. 'Why do people always look at us differently?' Such questions were very common during the data collection. Some of them thought that they were being asked to participate in the study 'because we are different'. Thus, the vulnerability of the Somalis as a refugee group makes them even more integrated, as the study revealed that they shroud themselves in secrecy to shield themselves from police harassment in cases of terrorism. There have been cases of terrorist activities in the world recently and they have been associated with Islam. This does not leave out the Somalis who are also Muslims. In addition cases of ships being hijacked are common in the Somali waters and Somalis have been found to be party to such activities which complicates their life. This makes even innocent Somalis vulnerable and becomes a problem to the refugees.

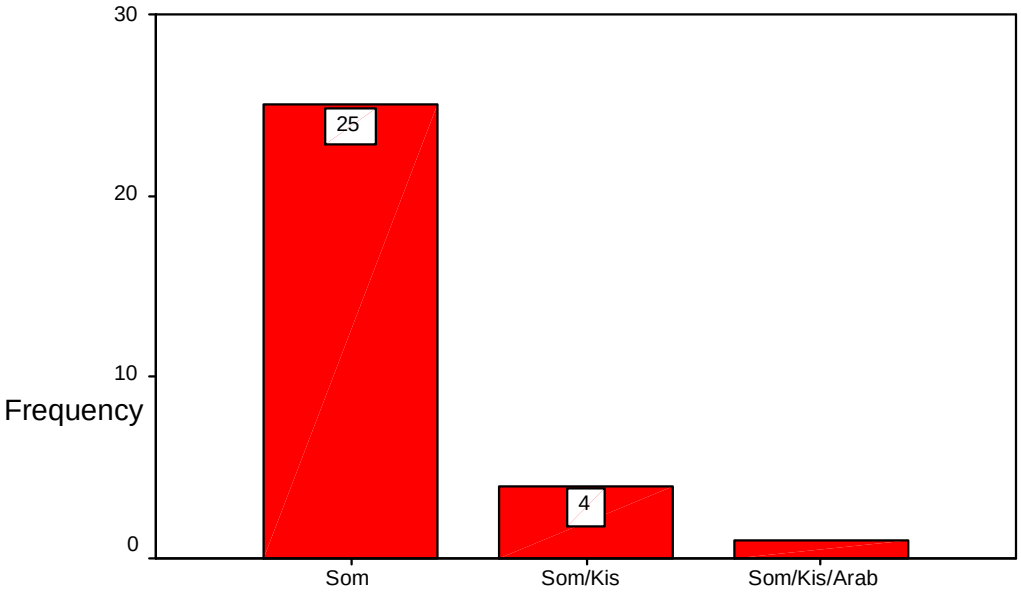
Popular prejudice also plays a part in the linguistic dispensation of teenagers and can undermine their use of a particular language in a domain. The Somalis regard their culture and language highly. In fact, in popular discourse among the Somalis, one becomes an outcast when one loses one's language. The teenagers reported that if they do not use their language with their family members they will be considered outcasts. This was seen as a factor which could undermine the acquisition and use of other languages in specific domains, particularly in the family and home. Parents and older family members seem to be so preoccupied with the day-to-day survival activities that they prescribe the same for their children. Somalis appear to have adopted a language policy that requires

that Somali be spoken at home. This enhances family communication, which is crucial in family relations and allows each member to be understood by the others. Edwards (2006) indicates that the loss of a language in such situations, as in the case of the refugees, impacts on many social situations. Thus, parents are obliged to pass on the language to the next generation. This explains why Somalis exclusively speak Somali with their family members. The home and family domains represent the last defence against the influence of the language of the majority. At home, children have to obey the parents.

Role relations also play an important part in the choice of language within the social networks. Where a teenager speaks with a father, mother, uncle or grandparents the language used is Somali. Where the teenagers interact with age-mates such as cousins, nieces and nephews, the language changes; in most cases it is either Kiswahili or English. Where the relatives are Arabs, they speak Arabic; those who indicated in the study that some of their relatives as Arabs are in most cases those who teach at Madrassa[11] schools or are the leaders of the mosque such as the Sheikhs.[12] This is also sustained when parents have minimal knowledge of other languages spoken in the larger context. The children, therefore, will have no option but to speak to the parents in the language which is acceptable in the home domain. The language choices in this domain can be captured in the bar chart below.

[11] Madrassas are Islamic Schools where Muslims are taught religious studies related to Quran and ways of life expected of a Muslim.
[12] Islamic leaders who are based in the Islamic institutions.

Figure 4: Bar chart showing language use at home and family domain



The Somali language, as seen in the figure above, is exclusively used in this domain by most of the respondents, whereas the combination of Som/Kis and Som/Kis/Arab is very minimal. In the home domain, language use could be restrictive because the teenagers are controlled by the parents but what happens in situations where they make their own choices? The domains discussed below are considered to be the public domains where the teenagers are free agents.

5.2.2 Friendship Domain

The friendship domain portrays the language use among teenagers and their close friends. These friends are categorized as those who are very intimate and participate in activities together. It is a relational domain, as one can choose friends and make decisions on which ties to strengthen. These are the people who are very important to the respondents (that is Somali teenagers) in one way or another but do not fall in the category of the other domains which are used in the analysis. Friends could be in other parts of town, another town, or they would have moved to new locations but still maintain close

contacts with them. The teenagers were also to indicate the reasons why they meet and give the language(s) they use. Milroy (1980) and Wiklund (2002) point out that such ties act as a normative influence and can be used as an indicator of language use.

The friendship domain had the highest distribution of language. English and Kiswahili are the dominant languages as 20% of the teenagers reportedly use a combination of English and Kiswahili with their friends. 20% use Kiswahili whereas 13% use Somali. It is expected that in this domain the Somali language is least used, though it does not seem to be the case. The respondents also interact with Somali friends who originally hail from Kenya — this could explain the reason why Somali is still a popular language in the friendship domain. However, there are situations when the teenagers relate to friends who are not necessarily Somalis and that calls for the use of a language which communicates with them all, hence the intrusion of other languages.

A notable innovation in this domain is the use of Sheng. As mentioned earlier, Sheng is a slang language which is a combination of many languages and popular among the youth in Kenya's urban areas (Ogechi, 2008). It was found in this domain though in a very small percentage of 3.3%. This is a very interesting finding in the sense that it is expected that such a language should be used by the majority of the teenagers, especially the male teenagers as they have room to interact widely because their culture does not restrict men as it does women. This raises the question of integration, as this suggests that Somalis have not fully integrated into the mainstream society of the Kenyan community. Furthermore, the activities the teenagers and their friends engage in are very revealing.

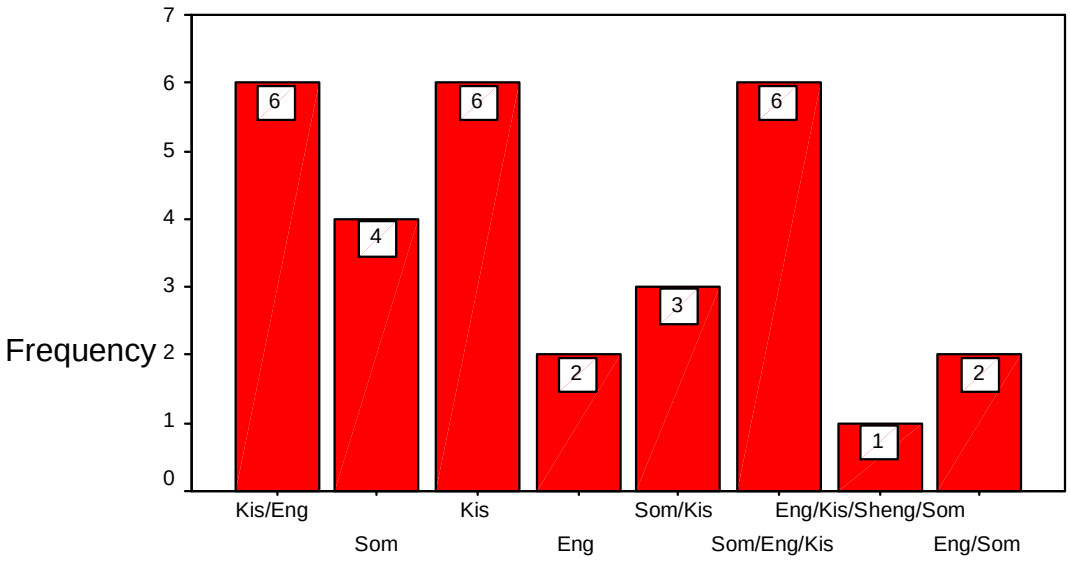
Most of them reported that they meet with their friends in the following circumstances:

1) Share the same bus from school
2) Attend weddings
3) Go to the library to do assignments
4) Meet at the computer cafes
5) Pray at the Mosque
6) Attend Madrassa
7) Go to the market together
8) Attend drama festivals
9) Watch matches (e.g. football and basketball)

10) Go to cyber cafes to read mail

All the above are typical teenage activities and they reported that the networks are imperative to them. The normative influence which should be seen here, given the nature of the meeting circumstances, is what Milroy (1980) referred to as 'innovative influences' where interaction with others outside the linguistic community is inevitable. Friendship is a domain which has obligations to be protected by friends if constant rights and obligations have to be protected. This seems to be the case but the pace is very slow and the idea of vulnerability of their status comes into play. Most of the respondents reported that they often engage in activities with their fellow Somalis. This means that they are still 'suspicious' and 'cautious' in their undertakings in the community, as seen in the language distribution in the following chart.

Fig 5: Bar Chart Showing Language use in the friendship domain



The chart shows a multiplicity of languages. Kis/Eng, Kis and combination of Eng/Kis/Sheng/Som have the highest frequencies. Som competes equally with all the other languages and in other situations it is paired with almost all languages. This implies that the vitality of the Somali language is still felt in the friendship domain. Though the

teenagers wish to be in close relationship with the members of their linguistic community, the tasks they perform involve other people in the society, thereby calling for other networks. This is seen in their use of languages, with Kiswahili leading with 20%, followed by Somali 13%, and English 6.7% (Appendix 9). It can be predicted in future that the use of English and Kiswahili will increase and the use of Somali will decline but at a slower pace among the teenagers.

5.2.3 School Domain

The teenagers in the study attend various schools within Eastleigh, like Soyal, Muslim Academy, and Eastleigh School. The languages used in school outside the classroom are English, Kiswahili, and mother tongue. The use of language in this particular domain depends on who is interacting with whom. First, where the teenager's networks are Kenyan-based, the language choice is either English or Kiswahili. Second, where the networks are Somali-based they speak Somali. They also switch codes between English, Kiswahili and Somali.

In this domain, teenagers become increasingly involved in the use of Kiswahili and English because of their encounters in school. English is used as the medium of instruction in Kenyan schools and Kiswahili is taught as a compulsory subject in the school curriculum. The teenagers were asked to report the use of language when they are outside the classroom. This is because when they are in class they use either English or Kiswahili. 76% indicated that they use both Kiswahili and English. 26% use English whereas those who use Kiswahili and Somali are 3.3%. Somali is still found in the school domain and even threatens to outdo Kiswahili. Some of the teenagers see Kiswahili as of no economic value to them. They reported that they prefer English because they can use it to acquire jobs abroad.

It was noted that the teenagers maintain social networks with their Somali counterparts in school. This serves as a way of maintaining their language and culture as there is a continuous link with their Somali counterparts and ideological resources. However, where topics of discussion are outside the Somali cultural experience, other languages are

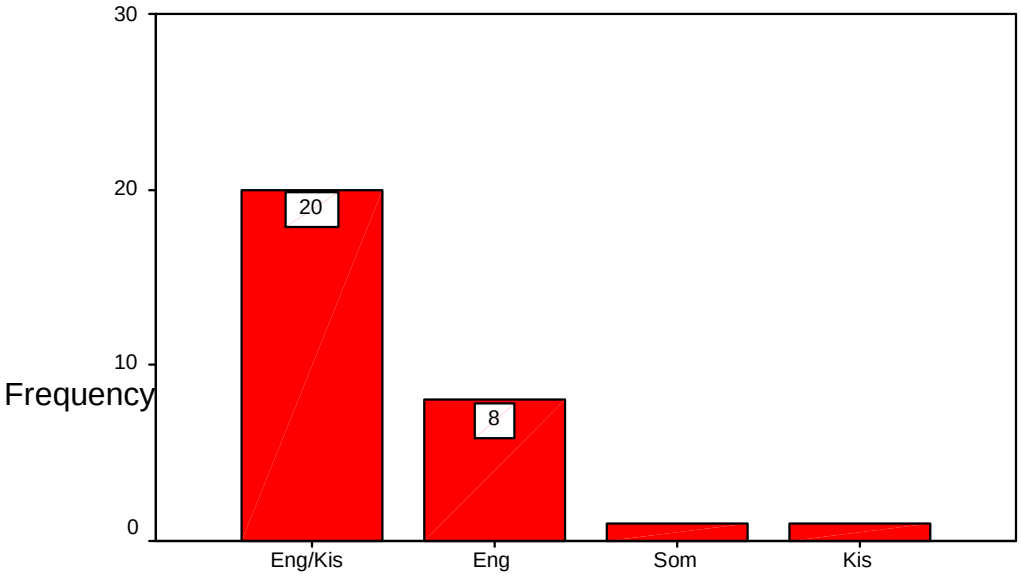
used. Interestingly, some respondents indicated that they can speak Kikuyu, which is one of the local languages in Kenya with a big population of speakers. Most people from the Kikuyu community do business in Eastleigh as observed in the study; hence, there is the possibility of their building networks with the Somalis in Eastleigh. Also Kikuyu was just used to exchange pleasantries and greetings. The teenagers also attend the same schools as some of their neighbours and relatives. This is what Milroy (1980:94) regards as 'multiplexity ties', that is, a situation where an individual is known to another in more than one capacity, for example as a neighbour and schoolmate. This is bound to exert more pressure on the language choice. Most of the teenagers indicated that they speak Somali with their schoolmates if they come from their ethnic group and English or Kiswahili if they do not share the same mother tongue. It was also established that the close network ties among the teenagers in school are with those from their ethnic group. Male Somali teenagers relate to male Somalis and females relate to female Somalis. It was noted that their status as refugees still impacts on them even when relating in school. They do not want to expose themselves lest they find themselves in trouble. One of the teachers reported that the Somalis do not want to disclose their status as refugees in school. Hence, they make friends with their counterparts in order to prevent their identity from being questioned.

Religion also plays an important role in that Somalis are Muslims. Somalis share so much in common, ranging from the way of dressing to food. This could be pulling them together even in a school context where students from all walks of life interact. The girls' way of dressing is very clear and tells much about their religion. They (particularly the boys) go to the mosque on Fridays. As such, sticking together is inevitable and thus the choice of language becomes automatic since the ties are multiplex.

Though the teenagers reported that they use Somali in this domain, English and Kiswahili are specifically reserved for academic purposes. Classroom opportunities to use English and Kiswahili are given by the teachers and the peers but the teenagers can also resist this tendency. English and Kiswahili are used in Kenyan schools as media of instruction and are compulsory subjects in the curriculum. It was expected that the teenagers would use

the two languages exclusively in school and reserve their language for other domains like the home and the family. This could be as a result of many factors such as the lack of proficiency and identity construction. Researchers in the poststructural framework argue that use of language is not uniform and language users can resist the use of the powerful language in certain contexts such as the school (Norton, 2000; Heller, 1992 and Gal, 1991). This is evident from the importation of languages such as Somali into the school context. The teenagers use English and Kiswahili for academic purposes only and within the classroom. The chart below shows the language distribution in the school domain.

Fig 6: Bar Chart showing Language use in the School domain



English and Kiswahili are dominant but the use of Somali is still important. It was observed that Somali students often keep to themselves and converse in Somali. This excludes them from the extensive social interactions with the others. Most of the students said that they do not interact with the others. One student expressed this sentiment:

> Many students here think Somalis are not sharp… When you talk. every one look at you. Nobody wants discussions groups with you. ...we walk home alone we live just like Somalia……. police thinks everybody is a terrorist (Ahmed: Respondent 8)

The above sentiment echoes the disillusionment of the Somali teenagers in Kenya. A teacher who was willing to help in the study contends that Somalis merely attend school to disappear halfway through their schooling and abandon it. Most of them join school in order to get documents which they can use to acquire travel documents but as soon as they attain a particular age, they go away. This could be because they have no hope of securing employment in Kenya.

When bilingual speakers regard their mother tongue as inadequate for domains like education and employment, they may only use the language in the home and in cultural activities, thereby hastening the shift towards other languages. The teenager is removed from the Somali language setting and as a result he/she is exposed to various social networks where the use of other languages is inevitable. Like the family and the home domains, schools dictate the language use. The teenagers who had close networks with their Somali counterparts in school reported that they speak Somali once they are not in class. Second Language Theorists have argued that exposure to a second language is one of the sure ways of developing proficiency (Ellis, 1990) but it could still take time for the Somalis to lose their language as a result of minimum exposure.

5.2.4 Neighbourhood Domain

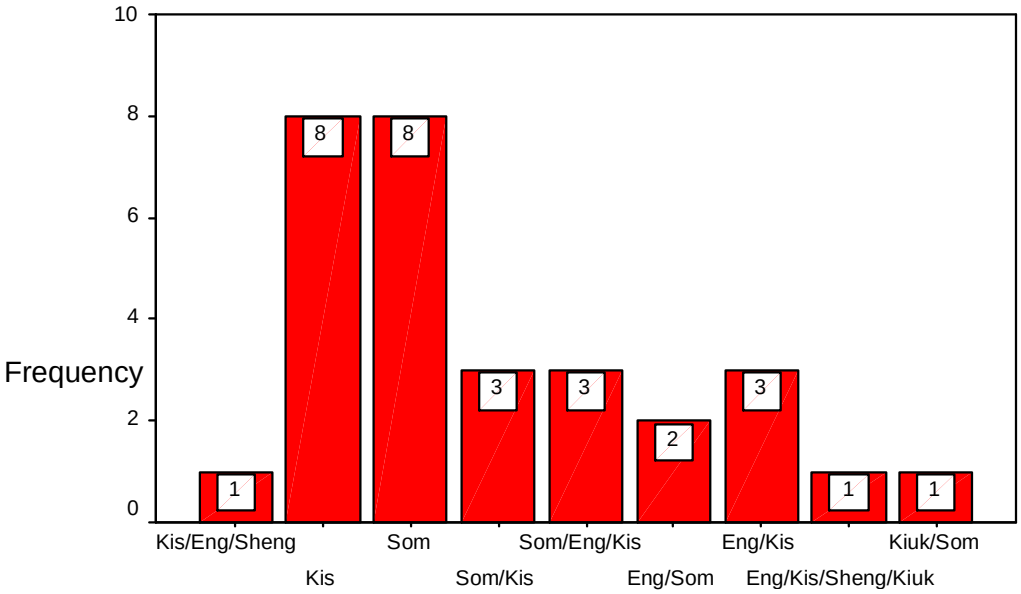
The neighbourhood networks involved those contacts which the teenagers establish regularly from time to time by correspondence as in the use of mails, phone calls or face-to-face interaction. Such associations enable the subjects to turn for help and advice when there are problems. Neighbours provide social support and serve as buffers against various forms of adversity. In such a case, teenagers would be expected to make links with 'good' neighbours who will not jeopardize their situation as refugees. It was established that the Somali parents are very strict in the upbringing of their children and concerned with who they associate with. Many even wanted to be the ones to speak on behalf of the children thanks to the friend-of-a-friend method where we managed to be enmeshed in the rights and obligations of community. Living in a society implies knowing who your next door neighbour is and also how one is socialized. Taylor (2000) describes socialization as a process where people become aware of the social norms and

learn what is expected of them in the society. The way the Somalis have socialized their children goes all the way to shape them on how to relate with their neighbours.

Eastleigh is a mixed community estate but the majority of the inhabitants are Somalis. Findings from the research indicate that two languages (namely, Somali and Kiswahili, 26.7%) are dominant in this context. Even when combined the two languages still retain a score of 10% each. As in the friendship domain, the teenagers reported the choice of Kikuyu as one of the languages of interaction. This is associated with those teenagers who reported living with Kikuyu neighbours.

The choice of language also depends on the circumstances at play. It was noted that when the teenagers are among neighbours who are their elders they speak Somali but when neighbours are their age mates English, Kiswahili or Sheng is used, although it is noted that Somali and Kiswahili dominated in this domain. Kiswahili dominated because of the networks the teenagers formed. When teenagers interact among their peers, they choose a language which enables them to discuss freely; as Fasold (1990) specifies, a speaker may feel herself pulled in different directions by her desire to speak the language she knows best and the language expected by her social group, hence circumstances may force one to choose a particular language as opposed to another. Drawing on Giles et al.,'s (1977) Accommodation theory, people 'converge' or 'diverge' their linguistic behaviour, depending on the audience being addressed. This theory proposes that individuals modify their speech in accordance with socially prescribed norms. Convergence is where two or more individuals alter or shift their language to resemble those they are trying to interact with. By the same token, divergence refers to the ways which speakers bring out their verbal or non-verbal differences in order to distinguish themselves from others. Thus, a person may choose a language to emphasize loyalty or dissociate him/her from a group. The speakers can also decide to combine language varieties like the choices the teenagers have made. Such strategies as code-switching, code-mixing, and borrowing also come into play, as will be discussed in the next chapter. The chart below shows the language distribution in this domain.

Fig 7: Bar Chart Showing Language use in the Neighbourhood domain



It seems then that teenagers interact with neighbours from various linguistic backgrounds, with Kiswahili and Somali dominating, as shown above. The teenagers have a low opinion of Kiswahili, though it competes with Somali in other domains such as the neighbourhood. Their attitude towards Kiswahili is considered to be overtaken by the social networks they contract. Earlier, it had been mentioned that people make social relations to solve problems in their daily lives. This in turn dictates the kind of language to be used.

5.2.5 The Religious Domain

Somalis are mainly Muslims and Islam is highly associated with Arabic. The Quran and sermons are in Arabic. In this study the mosque was considered as an important domain in the use of language. Complexities arise when languages, religion, and nationalities come into contact, as evidenced in the case of the Somalis who are Muslims and foreigners.

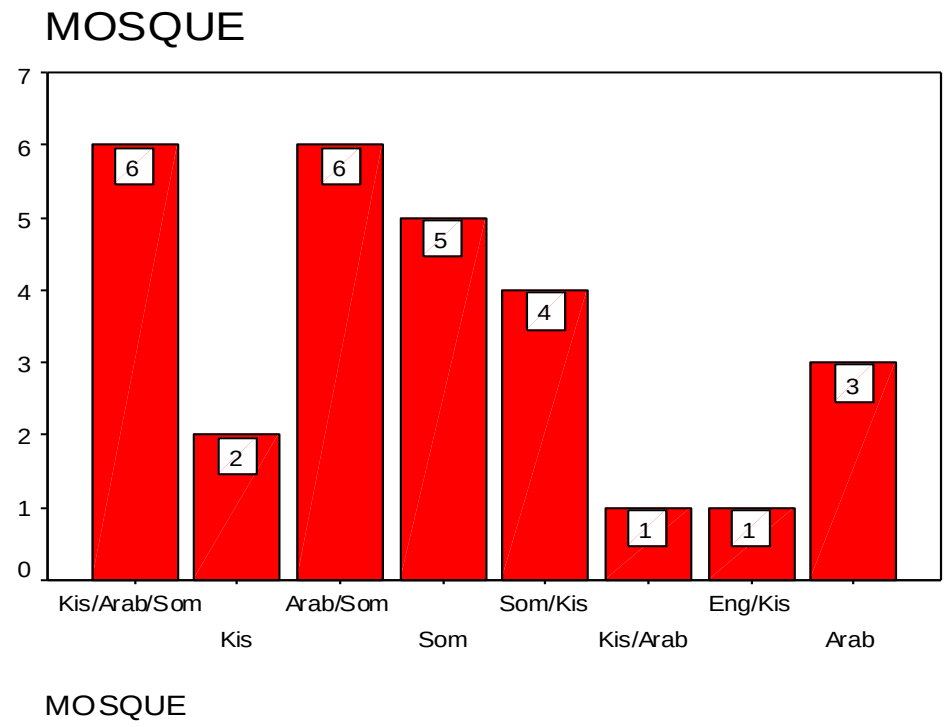
The Somali teenagers were required to indicate whether they go to the mosque and if so, they were to indicate the people they interact with as well as the languages used in such interaction. They were to identify only those people who are important and whom they interact with in the mosque as well as those who participate in various non-religious activities with the respondent. In addition, it was important for them to indicate if the people mentioned attend the same school with them and whether they are relatives, neighbours, or any other category. When one has multiplex ties, the normative influence to behave or speak in a certain way will be greater.

In the domain of religion, Kiswahili, Somali, English and Arabic are used, but the majority reported that they use Arabic and Somali, which had highest score of 20%. Somali on its own scored 16.7% and Arabic 10%. There was no case of English being used on its own. The Somalis do not use Arabic in their daily conversations but they teach their children to memorize verses from the Quran from early childhood. The children are enrolled in Madrassa classes and it is the duty of every Somali parent to send their children for the lessons every day after school. Madrassa classes are those lessons which are offered to the children in order to learn matters of religion. Most respondents could recite a full verse in the Arabic language but could not construct a sentence outside the Quran in Arabic.

Somali and Arabic are the most frequently used languages, with the latter used to pray in the mosque. Though the Quran is in Arabic, the Somali language is mainly used to explain the Quran for those people who do not understand Arabic. The Somali children attend Madrassa schools to be taught Islam. Here the medium of instruction is Arabic. They are taught at an early stage to memorize the Quran; in fact, most of those interviewed indicated that they can do so for all the prayers. This could perhaps explain the reason why the Arabic language is more popular. However, it is rare to find them using Arabic outside this domain (that is, religion). Other languages like English and Kiswahili also emerged. These are used by teenagers with their friends from other estates who attend the mosque as well. The social networks the teenagers gave showed that they relate with teenagers from Nairobi. They also attend mosques located anywhere within

their reach and hence it is possible to meet varied people, which might call for language adjustments.

Fig 8: Bar chart showing language use in the religious domain



A combination of Kiswahili, Somali and Arabic is the most popular grouping of languages in this particular domain. Other languages are still relevant as seen in figure 8 above. From the analysis of the language use in the various domains, it is clear that the Somali teenagers have become multilingual. This is what Fishman (1989) refers to as 'shrewd calculation of membership'. One has to acquire and learn to use a language when and where required, as portrayed by the teenagers' language usage. As the teenagers make links in their social networks, languages from the host community infiltrate into other domains like the home. Acquiring these languages means that one has to lose at least some part of the native language (Hoffman, 1989). Language acts as a means of identifying teenagers with their native language and the host society. The teenagers indicated that they spoke Somali at any give chance in school but resort to English and Kiswahili when required to do so. They also reported that they speak Somali with each

other consistently in social situations. Further, the teenagers considered Kiswahili, which is one of Kenya's main languages of communication, as less valuable. They feel that it is just like a mother tongue, and speaking it is considered as a way of becoming Kenyan though they still use it when it is inevitable. English, to them, is a gateway to success; they wish to acquire it as they hope to move to other foreign countries like Canada and America, where there are better opportunities. There are instances where they are very fluent in Kiswahili but would always remark 'I will always be a Somali'.

The Somalis moved from a situation where their ties were similar to what Bortoni-Ricardo (1985) referred to as 'insulated' networks, where every one is a Somali. As a result, the networks are a combination of uniplex and multiplex, contracted from various social domains. It might be expected that the teenagers will have lost their vernacular but this does not seem to be the case. The Somalis in Eastleigh still have close ties among themselves and in most situations they tend to gravitate towards members of their ethnic group. This could be for the purpose of coping in a new environment. They have to get in touch with genuine and trustworthy persons, especially in an environment where they are looked upon with suspicion, given the fact that, as refugees, they are not allowed in Kenyan urban areas. This makes them create personal communities which become insulators in unfavourable situations. The results from the study are also network-dependent. This is because, as the teenagers choose a code, they do so in relation to who is speaking to whom.

In the domain analysis language use is seen as socially and culturally constructed, Shieffrin (1994) posits that language is used in ways that represent a particular group (the macro-level). Individual speakers who use these languages do so to reflect the group identity they wish to portray. The teenagers are from a minority and, for that matter, vulnerable group. Their being in the minority and attending institutions associated with the majority requires that certain linguistic and socio-cultural knowledge needs to be displaced to pave a way for new ideas. Interactions impose rules of involvement based on broader rules of social engagement. Thus, the use of language by teenagers is in itself indexical of their social world. Drawing also on Giles et al.'s (1977) Accommodation

Theory alluded to earlier, on the one hand, a speaker may choose to converge with the needs of a particular domain if he/she chooses a language variety that suits the needs of the listener. A speaker may speak Somali in the intimate domains in order to emphasize loyalty. On the other hand, a speaker may diverge and dissociate him/herself from another group by speaking Somali in the domains that are formal, as in school. Somali teenagers value their language so much that they learn the dominant language just out of the need to carry out their businesses. The Somalis have no choice; they need to learn the languages of the host community. In this way they have dual group membership. The teenagers cannot be loyal to their own group alone as required by their community members. Consequently, they make conflicting linguistic choices. When I made a formal request to interview Asha at her home, her parents did not oblige. All the conversations were conducted in English but interestingly, Asha was not at ease. She might even respond to us in Somali at times:

Interviewer: So how do you find your life in school? Is it interesting? Do you like your subjects?
Asha: …. [Hesitant] ok oh it is good. All subjects I like them.

In this excerpt, the respondent was finding it difficult to use English in a domain which she possibly finds it to be inappropriate. She felt shy and behaved as though she wanted the permission of her parents. But the rest of the family members, except when speaking to us, used Somali. Could they have been trying to diverge? But it cannot be the case since we were there at their invitation. Therefore, it is because the language is specifically meant to be used in that domain.

There were cases where the Somalis had intermarried. For instance, in one family, the mother was an Arab. She told us that she only uses Arabic when she goes back to her family members and none of her children knows the language. She has to learn the language spoken by the entire community otherwise she would be considered an outsider. There was a similar case involving a lady who was a Borana. [13] Somalis and Boranas are almost alike but the lady intimated that the last time she spoke Borana was when she was

[13] Boranas are a group of people who border the Kenyan Somalis

in Boranaland and that she would not be able to speak it fluently when given the opportunity. She also lamented that her children cannot even construct a sentence in Borana. There were cases where the teenagers indicated that they could speak Arabic with relatives. This was found out to be in case where they had intermarried. They can only do so if the father is a Somali. Hence, when one intermarries one is under obligation to learn the family language as one cannot remain as an alien at the same time belonging to the family.

Clearly, language use depends on the networks which are at play. These networks are domain-specific. The Somali teenagers use the appropriate languages because of the rights and obligations they would wish to maintain. As a result, they acquire and use many languages in order to fit into the 'new' environment and also for survival. In the view of Mazrui (1995), it is possible to have a declining ethnic behaviour as one becomes cosmopolitan but stable and increasing ethnic loyalty in terms of emotional attachment. The teenagers have mastered the techniques of surviving in a multilingual context and hence they try to fit in, and at the same time maintain their Somali identity. The next subsection examines the networks and language usage per domain.

5.3 Social Networks and Language Use

The hypothesis to be tested in this section is that there is an association between network scores and language usage in each domain. The t-test is used to evaluate the relationship, resulting in static *p* which maps out how the scores are related to the language usage. The nearer *p* approaches a significance level of 0.05, the closer the relationship between the two factors. This is done on the individual scores. An illustration of the scores of two respondents is given in the example below.

Ann, Respondent 5, has a network score of 3 and was considered as not integrated into the community. She has social networks in the neighbourhood where she speaks Somali and English. She is also in touch with her relatives from time to time and they both happen to attend the same school with some of them hence multiplexity of the relationship. However, she does not subscribe to any teenage organization in Eastleigh.

Respondent 8 met all the conditions and supplied all the social networks. She thus scores 5 and is considered to be highly integrated. She only speaks English and Kiswahili to her non-Somali counterparts; otherwise, in all the other domains she speaks Somali. The linguistic choices of the two respondents are very different and it is because of the networks they activate. Thus, the aggregate scores of all the teenagers depict a linguistic position taken by majority of them.

5.4 Social Network Index and Language Choices among Somali Teenagers.

A social network index was calculated for each respondent based on the conditions measured and met by the teenagers (See Appendix 8 for respondent index scores). The social network index for each respondent was then correlated to the use of the Somali language in each domain. Somali was coded as 1 whereas the other languages were coded 2. The SPSS (Fishers exact) was done in each domain. The *p* value was taken to be significant at level 0.05. In the family domain the value of *p* was 0.041; hence less than the expected value ($p<0.05$). Thus, the null hypothesis was accepted and it was concluded that there is an association between the index scores and the language use. Furthermore, the results were narrowed down to those of the home domain to differentiate between the extended family in general and the nuclear family. This was because it was discovered that the family in the Somali context is very extensive. The *p* value was $p < 0.049$, implying that $p < 0.05$. This was very close considering the teenagers were highly integrated into their community. This is also corroborated in Milroy's social network theory where the higher the network scores for the respondents, the closer they are to the vernacular variables.

In the friendship, neighbour, school and the religious domains, the results were quite different. The *p* value for the friendship domain was 0.71, in the neighbour 1.00; mosque was 0.12 and 0.062 for the school domain. All these values are greater than the *P* value which was considered to be significant at 0.05. The results are summarised in the table below.

Table 5: Relationship between Social networks and language use

Respondents (N)	Domains	*P* (0.05)
30	Home	0.049
30	Family	0.041
30	Neighbourhood	1.000
30	Friendship	0.071
30	Mosque	0.012

The relationship between the home and the family domains to the *p* is very close, implying that the social networks are very influential in this domain in the choice made by the teenagers. The normative influence from the parents and family members takes a centre stage as seen earlier; but in the situations where the teenagers are free agents outside influence takes toll of the teenagers. In neighbourhood, family friendship and the religious domains the *p* is greater at all levels; hence the null hypothesis is rejected. All other factors were controlled by choosing one age group that attended school; hence such influences were reduced as much as possible. Milroy (1992) points out that outside contacts people make result in linguistic change in a community as those who get in touch with outsiders bring in that influence and this is the reason why we find other languages in the home and the family domains which should be reserved for the Somali language. Proficiency in the languages can show the level at which teenagers master their mother tongues as compared to other languages, which will be tackled in the subsection 5.6. Section 5.5 gives a glimpse of language situation in Nairobi. This serves as a comparison between the Somalis and other Kenyan teenagers.

5.5 Language Usage by Teenagers in Kenya.

Various studies have been carried out to explicate language usage in Kenya, especially language use by various groups in urban areas (Whiteley, 1974; Mazrui, 1995; Abdulaziz, 1997; Githiora, 2002; Kingei, 2001; Ogechi, 2006, 2003, 2002). The argument here is whether the earlier findings by other researchers are similar to the case of the Somali teenagers. Many studies conducted in Kenya in relation to refugees have

never investigated language use. The present study is thus worthwhile. Below is a table showing the general trend of language usage in Nairobi.

Table 6: Language Preference in informal domains

Language(s)	% Usage
Kiswahili	40
Sheng	24
English	25
Others (L1)	8

(Source: Githiora 2006)

Kiswahili is the leading language, (40%), which is contrary to what is used by the refugee teenagers even in all the domains combined. Sheng and English almost tie at 24% and 25% respectively. Makau (2001) observes that Kiswahili is a popular language in Nairobi, compared to all other provinces in Kenya. The Somali refugee teenagers use more of Somali language in these informal domains. Similarly, the national language seems to echo the same trend as seen below:

Table 7: National Language preference in the informal domains

Language (s)	% Usage
Kiswahili	58
English	30.7
Sheng	8.2
Others	2.9

(Source: Githiora 2006)

There is a diminishing use of L1 and Kiswahili is the most dominant language in the country. The Somali refugee teenagers consider Kiswahili as a mother tongue and feel that once you can speak Somali there is no need to speak Kiswahili. English is viewed as an international language that is associated with socio-economic power (Abdulaziz, 1997; Mazrui, 1995).

5.6 Language Proficiency among the Teenagers

Given the multifaceted nature of the study and the vulnerability of the Somalis as a refugee group, the study chose to test the proficiency in a way which best suited the conditions in the study. Respondents were told to report their ability to perform given tasks in the four languages identified and as a result they were rated on a four-pointer scale which ranked them from poor to excellent proficiency in any of the languages. These activities included giving directions, greeting, and giving a description of an object. The teenagers were requested to give the score of their language evaluation tests from their teachers in English and Kiswahili to further aid in the assessment, which included their composition books. The researcher, being an experienced teacher, was able to score and rate their ability in relation to the work. The interviews were also transcribed and their level of proficiency determined. The conditions prevailing during the research were 'tricky' because the refugees were very cautious and thus the kind of assessment described had to suffice.

The researcher further graded the teenagers on the results obtained and went ahead to tell the subjects to grade themselves on their ability to use the languages, ranging from 1 for basic up to 5 for excellent, which Clark (1981) and Boshner (1997) referred to as 'Can-Do' scales. The scale was modified to reflect the specific uses of language among the students. This was done separately for reading and writing skills. Such a method was used and recommended by Rammenick (2003) in her study of social integration among Russian immigrants. Hakuta and Andrea (1992) and Stoessel (2002) also recommend testing proficiency in circumstances like the study at hand. The method was found to be the most reliable for the teenagers who felt the information required from them was 'excessive', given their vulnerability as refugees. Besides, the 'friend of a friend' technique introduced me to the teenagers as a friend. I was able to get enmeshed into the rights and obligations of the friendship. This, therefore, enabled me to obtain genuine self-reports.

The need to determine the proficiency of the languages was to find out the degree to which the teenagers have acquired the languages which are spoken in Kenya. Language

use, as seen in the preceding section, is different from proficiency as an individual can use a language but how proficient one is in a language can shed some light on one's integration into the society. Proficiency in the acquisition of the languages implies that the teenagers have been integrated into the society. Determining how far the teenagers still use or retain their Somali language is important in showing the linguistic vitality of the language. Language proficiency is an important human capital, the possession of which improves the prospects and success in school and work market (Mesch 2003; Dyers 2007). Lack of language compromises economic opportunity, access to resources and the opportunity to become a member of the power structure of a given society. The degree of acquisition of the Kenyan languages is an index of the integration into the Kenyan community.

Wiklund (2002) argues that proficiency in written production can be based on oral language proficiency. However, in this study proficiency was determined separately for speech and writing. Wiklund adds that it is not the language teaching in school that aids proficiency but the informal contacts and the language use. As mentioned earlier in the methodology, the data were entered in the SPSS 13 and the frequencies were determined and as a result their corresponding tables were drawn to give a clear picture of the results.

5.6.1 Performance in Spoken Language

The results on speech proficiency can be shown in the table below. This is based on four languages: English, Kiswahili, Somali and Arabic.

Table 8: Language Speaking Proficiency

	Eng %	**Kis %**	**Som %**	**Arab %**
Excellent	20	20	80	6.7
Good	70	56.7	3.3	23.3
Fair	10	16.7	13.3	46.7
Poor	0	6.7	3.3	23.3
	100	**100**	**100**	**100**

The teenagers are excellent speakers of Somali. Out of the four languages teenagers use, they are most proficient in their ethnic Somali language, with a score of 80%. The scores

in the other languages were 20% for English and Kiswahili and 6.7% for Arabic. In the next category, which is labelled 'good' the teenagers are good speakers of English, with a score of 70% whereas Kiswahili, Somali and Arabic recorded 56.7%, 3.3% and 23.3% respectively. This implies that that teenager's second most proficient language is English. They are least proficient in Arabic, with majority of them scoring fair and good in this language.

The results shown in the preceding table portrays the nature of the social networks seen in Chapter Four. A good percentage of the teenagers' social relations were those of their Somali counterparts. Even in the school the teenagers indicated that they relate with Somalis who also happen to be neighbours, friends, and relatives and go to the mosque together. They were found to be highly integrated among the Somali community. The teenagers honour the rights and the obligations in the networks which call for various languages to be used; therefore, proficiency in the Somali language is a sign of normative influence. At this point, it is also important to find out whether the normative influence is similar for speech and writing.

5.6.2 Performance in Written Language

The teenagers were also rated, using similar parameters used for speaking. The results are shown below:

Table 9: Writing Performance

	Eng	**Kis**	**Som**	**Arab**
Excellent	26	16.7	63.3	3.3
Good	56.7	63.3	20.0	13.3
Fair	10	20	13.3	40
Poor	3.3	0	3.3	43.3
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**

Generally, the scores for the writing are low for all the languages rated. Like speaking, Somali leads in writing, with a score of 63.3%, far below the spoken which was seen to be 80%. This is followed by English with 26%, and Kiswahili 16.7%, with the least

performance recorded in Arabic at 3.3%. The teenagers are better writers in Kiswahili than English but poorest in Somali.

5.6.3 Some of the errors noted in the use of Languages.

1) Omissions.

Omissions are characterised by the absence of an item that must appear in a well-formed sentence structure. For example;

a) *He to him*

b) *Killed the snake*

c) *Tulipoenda hakuna mwalimu* (Kiswahili)

We went no teacher

It is not possible to deduce meaningful sentences from the above constructions. The verb is missing in sentence (a), the subject in (b) and other lexical items in the Kiswahili sentence (c). As illustrated above, the omissions of sentence parts or constituents render the sentences ungrammatical.

2) Misordering

These are sentences characterised by incorrect placement of a syntactic structure. The teenagers have a tendency to postpose the Wh-interrogative in the sentences, which is ungrammatical in English. This can be seen in the following examples:

d) *The school I go is where?*

This could be a result of direct translation from Kiswahili, which could read '*Shule gain unasoma?'*

3) Concord/Agreement.

This is in relation to subject verb agreement. Some of the sentences used by the respondents where the verb was not in agreement with the subject include:

e) *I comes from Somali long ago*.

f) *You goes to that direction you get*.

g) *The food are expensive in Kenya*.

In the sentences (e), (f) and (g) above, the subjects are in singular whereas the verbs are pluralized thus, there is no subject–verb agreement.

4) Direct translation

This is where the respondents used one language with structures found in another language. For example:

h) Be careful not to let police *catch* you

In the sentence, the word in italics *catch* should have been *arrest*. In Kiswahili, the word translates as '*shikwa*', which is appropriate. In this case, the respondent has translated '*shikwa'* to English 'catch'.

4) Ambiguity. This is where a sentence generates multiple meanings.

i) *I read that one here*

In the sentence (i) what is to be read by the respondent is not clear. It can mean a book or it can also mean that he can read something from a distance. What is conveyed is not clear.

5) Tense

Some sentence structures used by the teenagers had wrong tenses. For example:

j) *We go home after school* instead of *We went home after school*

Kiswahili is a Bantu language taught in Kenya and used by the majority of Kenyans, as explained in Chapter 1. Some of the problems noted in the texts by the students can be seen in the following sentences;

a) Mimi nakuja napata hakuna mtu
I came here and didn't find anybody

b) Tulipoenda shule mwalimu hakuna
When we went to school there was no teacher

c) Wewe shule yako gani?
Which is your school?

All the sentences above as used by the teenagers are ungrammatical in Kiswahili. For example, sentence (a) directly translates to 'me come find nobody'. The sentence does not make sense even in Kiswahili. Sentence (b) also translates to 'when we went to school teacher not there'. The respondent omits the auxiliary verb 'was'. Sentence (c) translates to 'you school yours which?' The items in the sentence have been mixed up and it does not make sense. Apparently, the teenagers have fewer problems in Somali

proficiency. Some of the problems noted were to do with structuring the sentences. This was common among teenagers who had weak social networks and possibly could be developing decreased proficiency.

Milroy (1992) argues that an individual's knowledge of language should include communicative competence – knowledge of when to speak or be silent; how to speak on each occasion; how to communicate and interpret meanings of respect, seriousness, humour, politeness or intimacy. Since shared knowledge of norms and constraints depends on the intensity of the contacts and the structure of community networks, speech and community boundaries such as ethnic, class or national boundaries, all linguistic behaviour should be shared by a group which has networks that are highly integrated as they act as norm enforcements. Errors like those explicated above can hinder effective communication.

The attainment of language proficiency is an important factor in the adjustment of the refugees in the Kenyan context. Linguistic flexibility incorporating language fluency and discourse/communicative competence can be seen as being integral to a refugee's ability to survive in an urban area in Kenya. The extent to which refugees can fit into the Kenyan discourse structure depends on their linguistic capability, among other things. An individual's linguistic capability includes accumulated stock of languages and the communicative competence (Rassool, 2007) to use language in various domains. These languages are to be used in negotiations at the home with family a member, in school with colleagues and other relevant places.

The refugees are impacted mainly in countries whose infrastructures are underdeveloped to cater for the linguistic needs and rights, as found in Kenya. Therefore, they are obliged to put in place structures which enable them to survive. The study further investigated language proficiency among a sample of the teenagers. Studies have shown that attainment of language proficiency among migrants enhances the absorption into the labour market, in terms of ability to find work and ability to match occupational skills

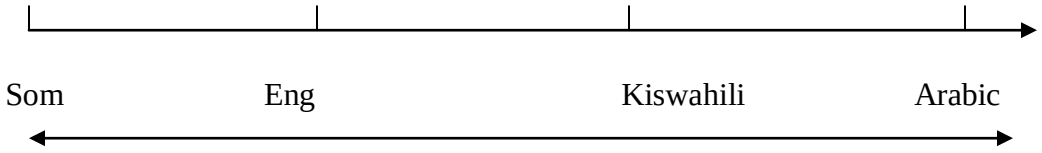
(Mesch, 2003). Mesch also adds that proficiency in language raises the socioeconomic status of refugees and almost equates them to the local population.

Immigrants who seek refuge in another country because the conditions in their home countries are unfavourable are likely to retain their language in the hope of going back. This is the case of the Somalis in Eastleigh. During the process of interviewing, there was a case of a parent who had employed teachers to teach his children in the curriculum based in Somali, hoping that the children will go abroad to study and look for jobs. In such a case, the two teenagers were unable to communicate in other Kenyan languages. The parent complained that the society in Kenya is so harsh for his children, that he would rather keep them at home. They were able to communicate in English and Somali but were not able to speak in Kiswahili. Refugees are motivated to maintain their culture and language because they see themselves as temporary residents and thus they do not put in so much effort in integrating into the mainstream society as observed by Chiswick and Miller (2001). Refugees who see the country of destination as positively oriented towards incorporation of newcomers will be inclined to adapt to the local language (Mesch, 2003). However, Somalis are unlikely to adapt fully to the Kenyan languages because the country has no provision for refugees in the urban areas, except when they are in the refugee camps, where they are under the umbrella of the UNCHR.

5.6.4 Languages in Order of Preference by the Teenagers

The languages were then placed in a continuum in order of the languages the teenagers prefer to retain in the Kenyan context, from most preferred to least. The results are indicated below:

Figure 9: Language Preference



Most preferred **least preferred**

The most preferred language is Somali. The teenagers have a sentimental attachment to the language. In fact, they feel even their children should be able to learn Somali. From the interviews, the teenagers assert that it is through the Somali language that they learn their culture and very strongly their mother tongue. English language comes second. To the teenagers, English is an international language. Most of the teenagers expect to go abroad, especially to Europe and America, where they believe they will not be discriminated against. One of the teenagers asserts that in the western world, refugee structures are put in place and life would be better for them. As a result, many of them have enrolled in language schools to polish their skills in the English language.

L2 acquisition also depends on the social contexts and the institutions which provide the differing opportunities to hear, learn, and use the language. Therefore, some domains recorded higher frequencies of the use of the language. Home language is based on families and social activities. It is through such activities that individuals may establish their identity and continuously encourage the use of that language and therefore maintain and hence improve their proficiency. Those who are proficient in their L1 and continue to use it have favourable perception about it. Age also plays an important role. Young teenagers are likely to acquire the language because they are motivated by many factors (Chiswick and Miller, 2001).

5.7 Motivation for Learning Languages in Kenya.

It was established that the teenagers are motivated by a variety of factors to learn the languages in Kenya. The factors are discussed in the section below:

5.7.1 Economic Incentives

This is the expectation that after a language has been used and learnt, it will be required for economic benefits. The teenagers in the study believed that learning English and Kiswahili will enable them to perform better in school in the Kenyan context. Besides, most of the teenagers help their parents run the home businesses especially after school. The motivation behind learning the language is also to be able to communicate or facilitate the family business. In fact, there are language literacy classes where the learners were taught English. Such schools were Saqaal and Soyal language schools. Young refugees have a greater economic incentive to learn the languages of the host country because of expected higher earnings of such an investment over the years (Chesang, 2006). The perception of English as a language of emancipation is unassailable. The teenagers see English as a language which can enable them to secure jobs abroad and even encourage some of their parents to enrol in English classes. Dyers (2007) found the same for black South African teenagers in her study in the Western Cape. She argues that the black South Africans see English as a guarantee of upward social mobility and also as a key in getting employment.

5.7.2 Exposure.

The length of time the migrants have stayed in Kenya has an impact on the acquisition of languages. As the period of stay in the country increases, so do the immigrants adjust to the society. The majority of the teenagers indicated that they moved to Kenya in 1992. According to the SLA theorists, one of the factors that aid the acquisition of a second language is the duration of exposure (Ellis, 1985). This is a long period of time for them to be able to adjust to the social conditions found in Kenya. Neighbourhood concentration is also an indicator of the exposure. In the study, the teenagers indicated that they spoke Somali with their neighbours. This shows that there is a concentration of the Somali language. This hampers the acquisition of proficiency in the languages spoken in Kenya. Such neighbourhoods develop institutions that serve the consumption, social and cultural needs of the refugees in their mother tongue.

5.7.3 Individual Effectiveness

Those who enter the country at younger ages attain more proficiency than those who enter at an advanced age. Chiswick and Miller (2001) have also found that younger individuals have a superior ability to acquire language skills. Moreover, the proficiency in a language increases because of the use of the language in school. In Kenya, English and Kiswahili are taught in school. Furthermore, English is used as a medium of instruction from level four of primary education all the way to the higher institutions of learning. Also, education boosts socio-economic awareness, thereby motivating learners to invest in languages that can be an avenue to better prospects for example getting employment.

5.7.4 Religion

Many Somalis have settled in Kenya for several years, leaving their relatives, possessions, and a country ravaged by civil war for a new life in a radically different culture. However, they have never left their Islamic faith. The Somalis live and think within the Islamic framework and believe religion is their guide; it is not a matter of choice. Their prayer is based on the Islamic five pillars. They also follow the Islamic dietary requirements. For example, pork is prohibited at all costs by the Islam faith. Religions are received via languages and have been adopted by ethnolinguistic collectivities. According to Fishman (1997), the majority of the world's ethno-cultures are predominantly of a particular traditionally associated religion to this very day, notwithstanding the demographic heterogenization and cultural secularization resulting from modernity.

One of the distinctive features of the Somali ethnic identity is the fusion of ethnicity and religion. Thus, the maintenance of the Somali traditions by the teenagers is aided by the availability of the various institutional networks that help sustain the group well beyond the period of the initial migration. For example, religious education (Madrassa), Somali youth groups and other social institutions foster and create extensive networks. Teenagers

reproduce their economic niche and various social, cultural and religious activities. The Somalis are therefore able to maintain a Somali identity and instil a Somali identity in their children. The guest houses built for the new immigrants to occupy and summer camps enhanced the social networks. Ethnic communities and feelings of ethnic solidarity are usually strengthened as a result of residential concentration and experiences of domination and discrimination from the dominant group (Levine, 2001). Thus, as much as the Somali teenagers have managed to integrate into the Kenyan society as a result of attending Kenyan schools, they have remained religiously and ethnically different.

Bauer et al. (2005), in their study of Mexican migrants, established that immigrants will always prefer to settle in places where other migrants have settled before, which as a result slows down the acquisition of the languages in the host country. They went further to say that individuals who are located in areas of high migrant concentration have less motivation to assimilate and reduce their acquisition of the languages. In addition, Tannenbaum (2003) says that the use of their first language by migrants in all generations is crucial for families as well as individuals as it enables them to survive in case of adversity.

Therefore the high concentration of the refugees in Eastleigh and the many languages that come in contact makes the Somali refugees an interesting case for study of language proficiency among the immigrants. The study reveals patterns of language use in the various domains. It has established that family matters are basically restricted to the Somali language whereas English is restricted to the school.

5.8 Role Relations

Members who interact in the various domains do so as hearers and speakers, and take on certain roles. The study revealed role relations such as student-teacher, parent-child, friend-friend brother-sister, and boyfriend-girlfriend. An adolescent can construct himself or herself in many ways according to the demands and constraints of particular situations. The teenagers assume different perspectives and therefore take varied roles, allowing

them to use different languages in order to portray who they want to be at a particular time (Dyers, 2000). The languages provide them with the means to explore and construct the multiple facets of relationships (Calvert, 2002).

People typically function in multiple roles because of the different fields of interaction they find themselves in. Gal (1991) asserts that the role relationships that people have acts as important predictors of language choice. People normally find themselves playing various roles because of the duties they are required to perform such as sister, child, brother, school mate and church mate. The statuses have entitlement accruing to them due to power differentials (Foley, 1997). These entitlements are learnt by the individuals and the society inculcates these in them through the norms learnt in the society. Foley sees the society as a network of fields of conventionalized interactive relationships of different power, reward and prestige. A person becomes a social actor accessing and acquiring the status through the process of interacting with others. Therefore, the role relations the teenagers occupy in the society to some extent contribute to the linguistic choices they make. The effect is that other languages are used formally whereas others take up the intimate or informal domains.

5.9 Is it Diglossia or a Case of Truncated Multilingualism?

Domain analysis is related to diglossia (Fasold, 1984), whereby some domains are formal whereas others are not. The Somali language is the dominant language at home, family and neighbourhood whereas English is the dominant language in the school. Therefore, the friendship, home, family can be considered as the low domains whereas the school is the high domain. It is surprising that English should appear high in the friendship domain. The answer is that most of the friends the teenagers reported do not share the Somali language but use other languages as their L1. Besides, the teenagers regarded the English language as more valuable as it can open doors to foreign countries. Fasold (1984) further claims that the presence of other languages in an unlikely domain could be the result of choice of topics when friends are conversing. In the neighbourhood it is because the teenagers do not share a mother tongue. For example:

The setting: A playground where a respondent took us to meet another friend.

1 A: Who are the visitors?
2 B: Researchers from South Africa.
3 A: Wanaleta pesa.
[They are bringing money]
4 A: By the way …tunaenda trip kesho.
[Are we going for the trip tomorrow?]

At the start of the conversation, teenagers are discussing the researcher and what she has brought; when they switch to talk about a supposed trip they automatically change the language to English. The two teenagers come from a different ethnic background and thus do not share a mother tongue. Kiswahili in Kenya is also a *lingua franca* and unites people from different ethnic backgrounds.

Diglossia is a language situation where one language functions in a formal domain and the other serves as the informal language. The diglossia evident in the study is what Fishman (1972) regards as extended diglossia. This is where two forms of genetically unrelated languages (or at least historically distant) languages occupy the H (high) and L (low) niches such that one language is used for religion, education, and literacy while the other is used for informal domains. English seems to occupy the high positions whereas Somali and Kiswahili occupy the informal domains. In addition, Arabic is used in the religious domain but when the teenagers are interacting informally, they resort to other languages, as shown in the domain language use.

Diglossic situations are very common in situations where there exist a minority and a majority language. Somalis are refugees and they are the minority in Kenya. Already the country has over 40 languages and the majority of its citizens use English as their international language. In a community where literacy is not universal, the teenagers have networks with their neighbours and relatives who basically speak the same language. These networks influence their language choices; and more so a normative influence is exerted by the networks which are basically Somali.

The diglossic situation among the teenagers is not stable but keeps on shifting. English is encroaching into the home domains; hence, there is a possibility of language shift. This is because of political, religious and educational views as well as values established and perpetuated in the society (Dyers, 2000) and can occur in a society which recognizes several languages. There are no cases in each domain where one language is uniformly used. Hence, with time language change might occur. Fishman (1972) has categorized diglossia into the following:

1) Diglossia and bilingualism together, where almost everyone has the high and the low variety of the two languages.
2) Diglossia without bilingualism, where two languages spoken by the same population have the same status
3) Bilingualism without diglossia, where everyone is bilingual but does not have to restrict one language to a specific set of purposes only
4) Neither bilingualism nor diglossia, where a linguistically diverse society is forced to change into a monolingual society like the case of the Somali.

The use of English and Kiswahili in other domains could be a result of the topic. There are some topics which can be discussed using one of these languages and are not suitable for the mother tongue. The teenagers who schooled in one school would always hold discussions in Kiswahili, especially matters relating to the school. Webb (2002) opines that it is generally accepted that one's choice of sociolinguistic variants, varieties, and languages is conditioned by one's attitude to individual speakers and groups, by ones personal goals, ideals, social ambitions and one's knowledge of the conditions of discourse. The high variety could be associated with certain functions and attitudes whereas the L variety is associated with others as well. Where the interlocutors do not share a L1 the most likely language used will be English. The use of Somali is very high in the home and family domains but degenerates in other domains although it is still popular.

Blommaert (2005) and Dyers (2007) equate diglossia to truncated multilingualism. This is defined as a situation where one acquires linguistic competencies which are organized topically as in the domains discussed in the present study. The competencies vary as an individual can be competent in one language and less competent in another. The activation of a social network in domains necessitates 'enabling' and 'disabling' the use of different languages in dissimilar environments. Consequently, other languages gain prominence in other domains as opposed to others. Continued use of these languages leads to proficiency in the languages as seen earlier.

6.0 Second Language Acquisition and the Adolescent

It has been argued that second language acquisition by children from immigrant families increases at dramatic pace during adolescent years as youths spend more time in the contexts outside the home (Tseng and Fuligini, 2000). In the adolescent period, one becomes an adult but is denied roles in the adult spheres. Contrary to research that has established that language shift occurs at adolescence (Eckert 1989, Coulmas, 1997), the present study has found that teenagers learn to use various languages in order to fit in the society. Parents normally maintain the native language whereas children adopt new languages, but still retain the L1 at native language proficiency. Cohesion plays an important role in the use of languages among teenagers. As mentioned earlier, the Somali families are close-knit. The teenagers interact with peers from their Somali community. They strive to cohere as a way of adapting and surviving in the Kenyan context whereby family closeness and mutual obligation takes centre stage. Somali becomes the dominant language; hence, the teenagers are able to retain their language and their values of family closeness and engage in culturally prescribed expectations regarding parental guidance (Tseng and Fuligini, 2000). Language use plays a critical role among the family members as they engage in rich, complex exchanges that facilitate development and close relationships. Stoessel (2002) points out that languages link people and the society and in order to fully participate in a society, immigrants may choose to adapt their linguistic behaviour or will have to find other ways to balance the needs of their new community with their own needs and presenting self. The teenagers in Eastleigh seem to conform to the requirement of their parents. Close-knit networks also flourish in low status

communities and are important in fostering the solidarity ethos associated with long-term survival of socially disfavoured languages and dialects (Milroy, 2004). Close-knit networks are contracted by adolescents as these are the linguistically influential peer group that are of great interest to sociolinguists in attempting to understand the kind of change associated with different points in the lifespan.

Widdicombe and Wooffitt (2000) opine that choices made by adolescents are seen as indexing the wider society and are seen as the epitome of social change. The Somali teenagers acquire varied languages and thus could reflect the change that is to be undertaken by the community at large. In school the teenagers give way to be dominated; at the same time the teenagers negotiate space for coexistence between their mother tongue and the other languages. At home they are dictated to by their parents but they still make way in other domains such as friendship. The 'free spaces' where the teenagers have their freedom enable them to exercise their rights and obligations without being dictated to by any forces. For example, girls would come and meet the researchers without covering their heads (in accordance with Muslim-Somali culture) without fear when they learnt that I was not a Somali and not even a Muslim. Individual adolescents may behave differently from their parents and sometimes may appear to rebel against the adults by wearing clothes and hair fashion like their friends'. This is because they fear isolation and also recognize the need to experiment with the outside world.

6.1 Language Shift and Maintenance

When a language is no longer occupying a particular domain which is normally associated with, it can be said to be in a state of decline brought about by language shift. Baker (2004) contends that language shift is characterized by a lessening number of speakers in a language, a decreased saturation of language speakers in a population and the loss of proficiency. The teenagers are proficient in Somali and the instances of use at home are still relatively high compared to other domains. In the study, 93% of the teenagers use Somali in the home and family domains. Language maintenance occurs when a language manages to maintain most of its functions and the role in society despite the presence of other languages (Dyers, 2000). The Somalis being a minority group seem

to take a positive view of both their own language and the dominant group adaptation. This is because the Kenyan community and its languages have not brought them economic benefits. For example, most of the teenagers complained of lack of jobs in Kenya when they finish school and indicated their wish to travel overseas to seek greener pastures. In addition, from the analysis of the social networks in Chapter Four, the characteristics of the social networks were those which were close-knit (dense and multiplex).

Milroy and Milroy (1998) argue that such network characteristics have the capacity to maintain and enforce local conventions and norms, which include linguistic norms. Thus, network analysis facilitates the understanding of the mechanism that underlie the process of language maintenance. Where ties are relatively loose, this will lead to linguistic change. Because of the varied needs which cannot be supported by the community, teenagers have to link up with other ties. Innovation results where other languages come to be used. Innovators are the people who are loosely linked to the teenagers.

Fishman, 1971 asserts that language shifts starts when languages other than the mothertongue start encroaching on a private domain. The findings in the study indicate that apart from the Somali language in the home and family domains, Kiswahili is gaining entry though by a small percentage of 7.7%. Thus there is a potential for the Somali teenagers to undergo language shift with time. Hsin-chun (2004) argues that a community may choose or maintain a language in a domain, adopt another and abandon a language that has been traditionally used or agree to the co-existence of languages. In the case of the teenagers, Somali has been maintained in the home and the family domain. But in some instances, other languages are intruding. Somali is also found in the unfamiliar quarters like the school domain. The languages are thus competing in terms of usage the various domains. Eventually the teenagers might decide to yield to local linguistic patterns.

English and Somali are particularly chosen in the intimate relations like the home, family, and neighbourhood. Milroy opines the intimate network ties are the most probable sites

where linguistic transmission takes place. The formal environment, the school, is dominated by the English and Kiswahili, although the teenagers agree that Kiswahili is only used in the classroom and in the situations where there is no common language otherwise whenever they are with their Somali counterparts the language in use is mainly English.

6. 2 Conclusion

In order to determine the linguistic position of the teenagers, language usage was stratified into various domains. As a result, revelations of language usage among the teenagers were made. The teenagers have acquired various languages and indeed language change has taken place. Some languages were more dominant than others in various domains and the situation kept shifting, depending on various factors. It was also discovered that social networks were highly influential in domains of the home and the family as compared to the others where an individual is considered as a free agent. These social networks have been seen to act as language maintainer or change. When the teenagers relate to non-Somalis, they use other languages but when they are relating to Somalis they use Somali. The long-term effect is that either language change or maintenance occurs. The chapter also revealed cases of diglossia where language specialization occurs. Furthermore, language proficiency was also seen as a relevant way of determining the state language acquisition. The teenagers are still very fluent in Somali language. The trend exemplified above is also supported by Fishman (1989) who argues that the immigrants become relinguified as a result of decompartmentalization of social interaction, such that ethnically related domains (home, community, and church) respond to the same hierarchy rewards and statuses as do the ethnically unencumbered domains (schools, friendship, and government). The teenagers and the migrants, in general, find norms which are already established for what constitutes a Somali of a particular ancestry and, therefore, have to redefine their own language policy. Therefore, the present linguistic state calls into question the linguistic rights in Kenya. The next chapter focuses on language in relation to gender.

CHAPTER SIX

Language Change and Gender

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7.1 Conclusion

6.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses language and gender in pursuit of establishing whether there are any differences in language usage and change between the teenage female and male respondents. This study argues that cultural practices impinge on language usage and therefore result in language change. As a result gender practices in the Somali community are observed in order to explain the language choices in each domain. This does not refer back to historical practices but the current practices which are common and are expected of a Somali woman or man at present. Research has shown that cultural practices affect the ways in which language is used (Milroy, 1980; Eckert, 1989, 2000; Norton, 1995 and Tannen, 1991). The domains in the study are considered as 'sites',

where people share norms and rules for the usage of language. The social networks which affect social behavior have a way of monitoring the individual's language usage in each domain as discusses in chapter five. Portes (1998) points out that closed networks guarantee the observation of the norms due to overlapping relations of interdependence and obligation.

In the previous chapter, it was established that the teenagers maintain close-knit networks. Each domain is defined by membership: where people come together, the relationships within the domains and the people from the various social institutions. Consequently, gender is constructed in social practice domains, and it intertwines with other components of identity, difference and language change (Eckert, 1988). Identity will be explored in the next chapter. In this chapter then, the emphasis lies on how one negotiates/engages membership through the use of language in the domains and more so in relation to gender. The gender domain approach is relevant in extracting the similarities and differences of language use by the different genders. The subsequent section is a concise depiction of the Somali gender expectations in general.

6.2 Somali Culture

Before examining the language use among the varied genders, it is necessary to give a glimpse of the Somali culture. This is in support of Gefen and Ridings' (2005) assertion that the basic premise of sociolinguistics is that communication should be interpreted through the prisms of culture so that the cultural difference lenses should apply to gender language differences. This implies partly that culture has a role to play in shaping language set up in a society, which at times may result in the varied use of language by different genders.

In general, Somali community is patriarchal (Khadar, 2003). This means that the community system gives power to men than women. Somali girls are culturally conditioned to participate in the social, cultural and the linguistic contexts based solely on the relations of solidarity amongst women (Khadar, 2003). This implies that the girls are expected to perform duties which are gender-specific. Somali girls are trained from

childhood to participate in the 'strictly for women culture' learning sessions. As a result, women are marginalised as the members of the minority culture and further by religion, in that they are predominantly Muslims.[14] But does such marginalization affect the language in the host society? Sociolinguistic researchers have noted various differences between men's and women's language use, but yet to date, no research has examined gender-differences in language use in a refugee community in an urban area, like Eastleigh.

In addition to having to perform 'woman' duties as mentioned above, the girls are encouraged to get married early. The reason is that when girls stay unmarried long after their teenage years, they might be tempted to be 'immoral'. Therefore, early marriage is a means of upholding morality. From the study, it is clear that the interests of the teenagers are no longer aligned to the interests of the parents. The teenagers are not adhering strictly to the cultural norms of the family while outside the home and the family domains. Most of the girls who participated in the study where 18 years old which could be considered as going slightly beyond the marriage age bracket among the Somalis. One respondent was very categorical that she doesn't intend to get in to such arrangements (marriage) until she completes her education and secures a job. However, the wishes of her mother were different. She desired that her daughter should get married early enough so that she would not be ridiculed by her women folk and the clan. She reported that two of her daughters had got married the previous year.

The Somalis throughout the Diaspora live as a very close-knit community. They subscribe to a highly valued clan loyalty and this has kept the Somali people a relatively homogeneous, cohesive cultural ethnic group despite long-term residence in a culturally and ethnically diverse world (Kenya). This is evidenced in Eastleigh which has the highest number of Somali refugees in Kenya. Eastleigh is divided into three main avenues: First, Second and Third avenues. The Somalis occupy these avenues and they live very close to one another. In the process of data collection it was possible to

[14] The Somali culture is considered to be marginalized in the study compared to mainstream Kenyan cultures as they are refugees (low status) in a host community which has the dominant culture. Moreover, Islam in Kenya is not a mainstream religion as majority of the people are Christians.

encounter an individual in one avenue visiting a relative and also meet him or her later in the day in a different avenue meeting other relatives.

The Somalis also have extended refugee families who are distributed throughout the globe and are always in touch through wide and diverse networks enabling them to continue to maintain very strong ties with family and clan members in their country of origin, in other countries apart from the country of asylum, and also with refugees in other locations of the same country. Wherever they are, the Somalis have family obligations which are considered as the norm. Those who become successful in the process of forced migration have to send remittances to their families. The remittances are used by the families to meet basic needs, educate their children and possibly start businesses which sustain them. This is also supported by Horst (2006), who points out that Somalis are intertwined across borders, and keep in touch with their relatives and friends, engaging in various social, economic and sharing ties. One of the respondents asserted that her parents have no source of livelihood and therefore they get remittances sent from Canada by their elder sister. This explains the reason why the Somalis in Kenya are able to sustain themselves in the Kenyan context within close-knit networks. The closeness of the Somalis also enables them to practice their culture and socialise their children to the ways of their community. But how has the status of Somalis as refugees impacted on their use of language? Research has established that gender differences are a result of being socialised differently and therefore such differences should recur in the informal networks of the refugee teenagers.

Milroy (1980) related the language differences in her study to the life styles in the Ballymacarrett, Clonard and Hammer areas in Belfast. The study found that such activities working in stores and local trading impact on the language use by the different speakers. However, for the present study, refugees are always on the run, so that it is very difficult to establish finer details about their lifestyles. Mesthrie et al. (2000:225) aver that in order to understand the gender differences in language, it is important to look at the women's and men's lifestyles in different communities: whom they interact with, and

what might motivate them to adopt varieties which the study adopts. Below is an analysis of the language differences among the teenagers in the various domains.

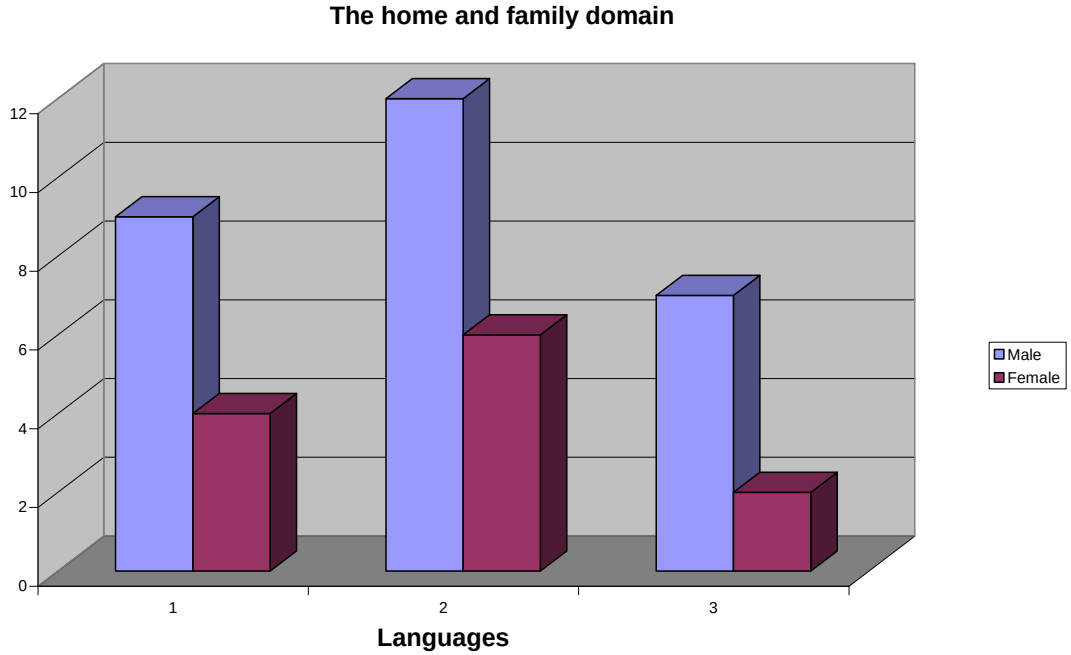
6.3 Gender and Domains

As mentioned earlier, domains can be formal or informal. The study sought to look at the domains where members participate fully. It is assumed that the teenagers participate in multiple domains and their language choice is based on the multiplicity of participation in the domains. As a result gender is recreated which results in the similarities and differences in the language use by the teenagers. Domains analysis enabled the researcher to focus on the teenager's active involvement in the in the social networks which portray the production and resistance of gender arrangement in the communities. The domains are important to be examined as they are contexts where gender roles are in flux or under challenge. A comparison of language use by the teenagers in the different domains is enabled by the differing opportunities and settings of interaction where language contact and change is possible.

6.3.1 Home and Family Domain

In the diagram below a comparison is made between how the teenage girls and boys use language in the home and the family domains. The teenagers were given equal chances to report on the language usage. The results indicate the frequency of language usage by the males is greater than among the females. The male teenagers use more than one language in a given social set-up.

Fig. 10: Gender Language Use in the Home and Family domain



Key: 1, Somali; 2, Kiswahili; 3, English.

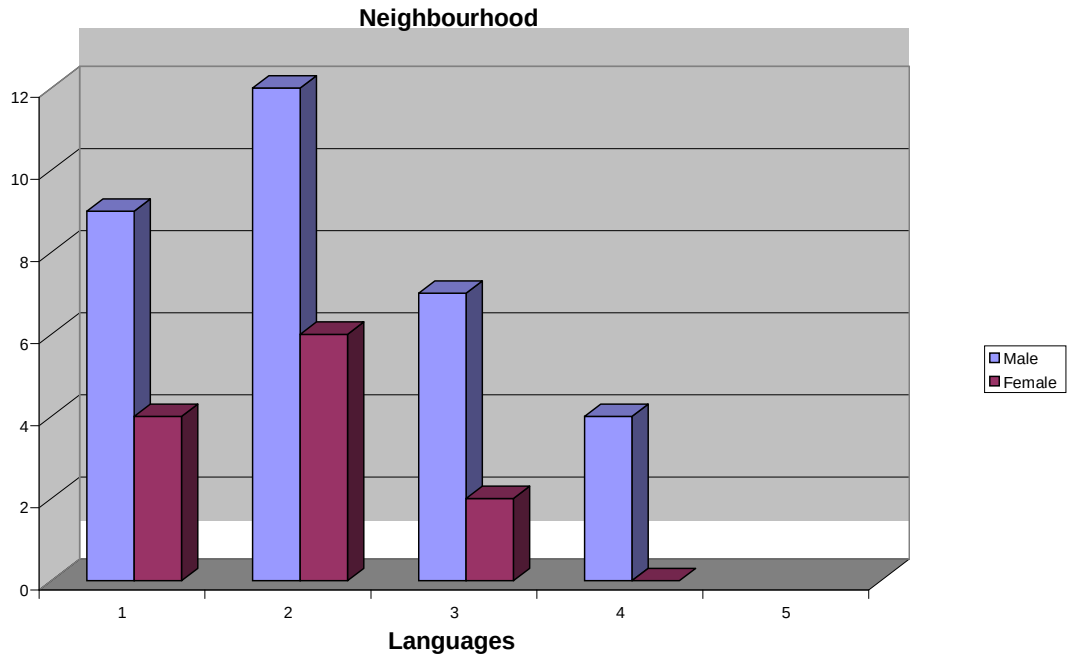
In the bar chart above, the frequency of the most used languages in the home and family domain were considered and tallied. The chart shows that the boys are leading in the use of all the languages in all instances. It was established that the Somali girls are expected to stay at home and participate in female activities, hence their networks are limited to those within the same domain because the interactional sites are limited. It is expected that the differences in the use of Kiswahili and English could be marginal. This is because research has shown that girls tend to use the prestigious language (Eckert, 1989; Milroy, 1980, 1987) more than boys, especially given that it is the home domain. It might have been expected that the prestigious language would be English as it is an international language in Kenya. The study shows that this is not the case and therefore it could be concluded that the socialization which the girls receive curtails their freedom to interact. For example, a girl respondent X reported that she spends most of her time when she is not at school at home, helping her mother to do household chores. Her brother,

who happens to be her schoolmate has fewer duties at home and has more time outside the home and family domain. This contributes to the girls' having more close-knit networks than the boys, which affects language usage. Does this apply in all other domains? This will be established in the subsequent discussions of the other domains.

6.3.2 Neighborhood Domain

The teenager's social networks are mapped out and the languages they use in each network are extracted. In the chart below the frequencies of the language choices are extracted.

Fig 11: Gender Language use in the Neighborhood domain



Key: 1, Somali; 2, Kiswahili; 3 English; 4 Arabic

The frequencies maintained the same status as in the home and family domains for both sexes, except that language 4, which is Arabic, is not used by the girls at all. This is because, in matters of religion, Somali women are not obligated to pray in the Mosque. In a refugee set-up like Eastleigh, mobility for the women is not encouraged. The leading languages used in these domains are Somali and Kiswahili. The teenagers use Kiswahili with people who don't understand Somali. Most teenage boys help their parents to run

small businesses and therefore they interact a lot with the outside community. This calls for the frequent use of Kiswahili for communication. The English language is reportedly used in the context with 'foreigners' who come to do business in the region. These foreigners are traders, visitors and their colleagues in school. It is therefore easy to switch to a language like English in a neighborhood domain if the topic of discussion is related to school (Milroy and Gordon, 2003). For example, in an excerpt from an interview:

Respondent A: Salaam aleikum [Arabic]
Respondent B: Aleikum salaam [Arabic]
Respondent A: Why are you carrying books. School today?
Respondent B: No, we are taking round our friend.

In this excerpt, the respondents exchanged greetings in the usual Arabic language. Books according to them are items which are to be found in the school context. Respondent A (boy) asks B (girl) in English whether it was a school day, hence he uses the language appropriate for the school. When they have clearly agreed that it was nothing to do with school, language choice shifts to Kiswahili as below;

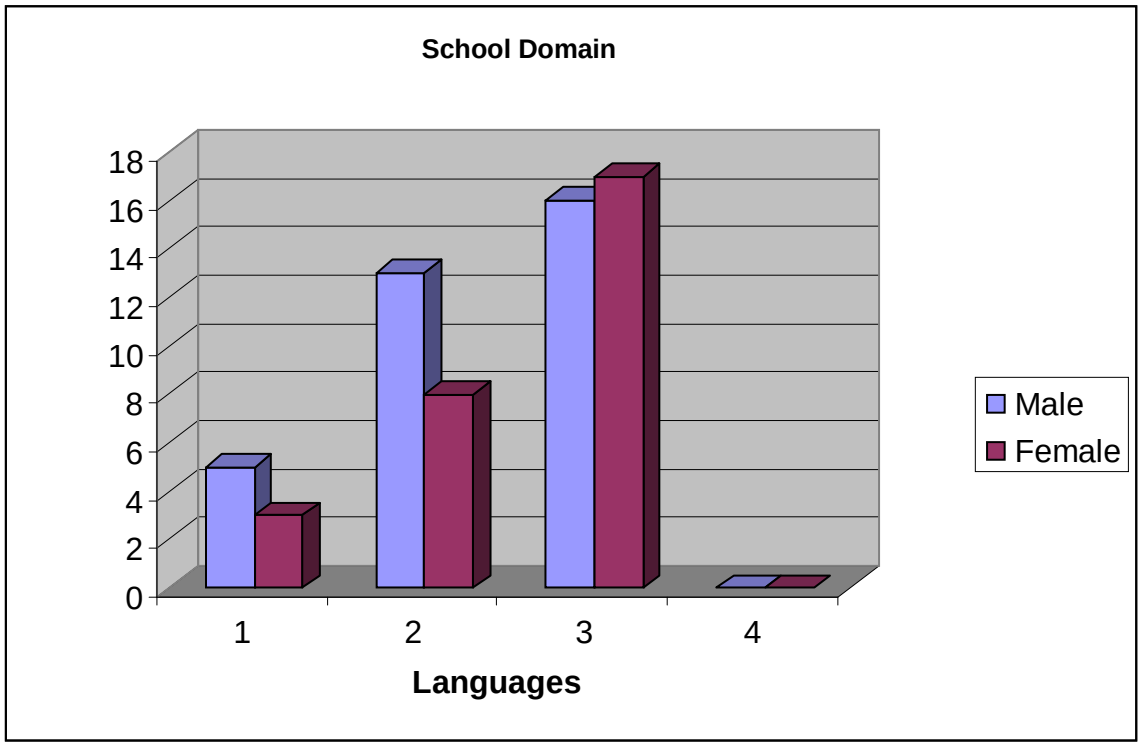
Respondent A: Mnataka nini? (What do you want?)
[Kiswahili]

Then, respondent B goes on to ask what we wanted but has shifted to a language which is favourable for the context since there was a stranger (the researcher) in the group. In normal circumstances, since there were two Somalis, the language choice would be Somali but the presence of a different network necessitated the choice of a neutral language.

6.3.3 School Domain

It is expected in this domain that language choice is strictly limited to the languages which are allowed in the school. The social networks and the language choices indicate that the teenagers still use Somali. This could be as a result of the close-knit networks which allow the Somali language to intrude in situations where it is unexpected. The chart below plots the language choices in the varied networks in this domain.

Fig 12: Gender Language Use in the School Domain.



Key: 1, Somali, 2, Kiswahili, 3, English, Arabic 4.

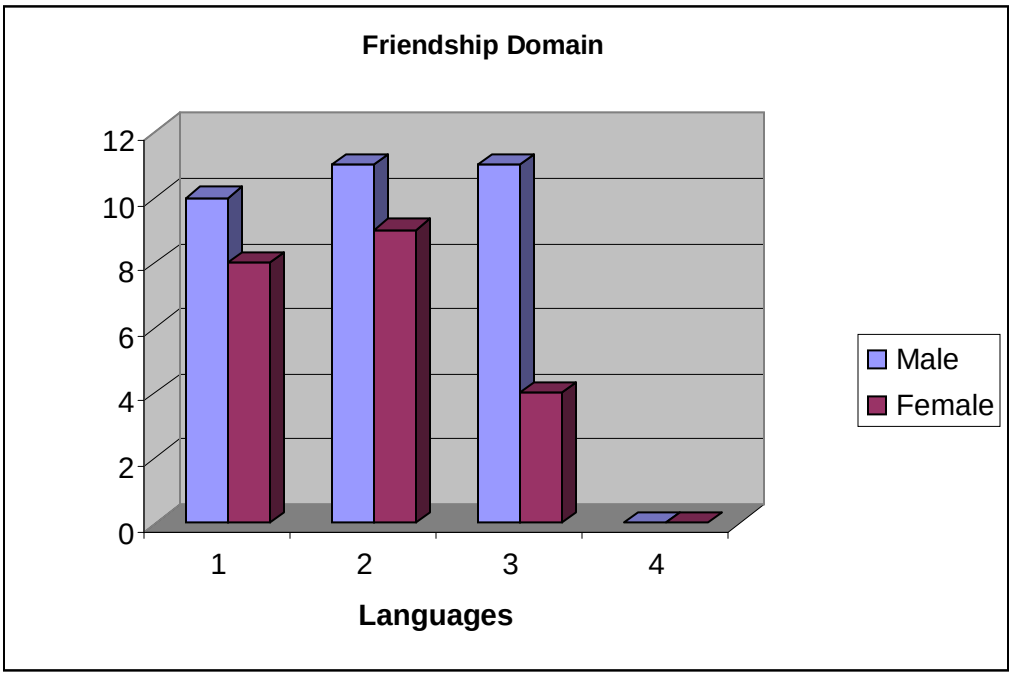
In school, the teenagers are socialized in the same way. They are expected to use English and Kiswahili in all instances. In fact, in one of the schools, there was a sign in one of the notice boards which read, 'English and Kiswahili should be used at all times'. The teenagers seem to observe the rules but they still fall back to the mother tongue when the opportunity avails itself. It was very clear from the observations made that the Somalis keep each other company as much as possible. The teenagers gave many reasons why most of their social networks in the school domain are with Somalis, ranging from fear to be known as refugees, religion and discrimination by the other students. For example, they alleged that they are given nicknames such as 'Walalo' and 'Misumari', which means 'backward, untrustworthy'; hence they decide to keep to themselves as much as possible to guard against any threats. They also reported that their parents and community members in general would not wish to be identified as refugees as it is 'risky' for them. The boys are more interactive and hence, the frequency of their use of Kiswahili and

English is high. However, the girls use the English language more than the boys. This is in line with Milroy's (1980; 2000) assertion that girls use the prestigious language. The school domain is also a venue where the teenagers are outside the socialization practices of their communities and act according to the rules and regulations of the school. In this case then the girls are seen to be leading in the change in the use of English. In the friendship domain, the teenagers are free to make their own individual choices. The linguistic make-up will be explicated next.

6.3.4 Friendship Domain

Friendship is generated by intimacy, and language choice in this domain is not dictated by factors from outside, like teachers, parents, or neighbors. Social networks in this domain show the identities the teenagers would wish to portray and hence are very important in the discussion on identity options available to the teenagers as elaborated in the next chapter (Chapter 7). In the figure below language choices by the teenage boys and girls are shown:

Fig 13: Gender Language use in the Friendship Domain



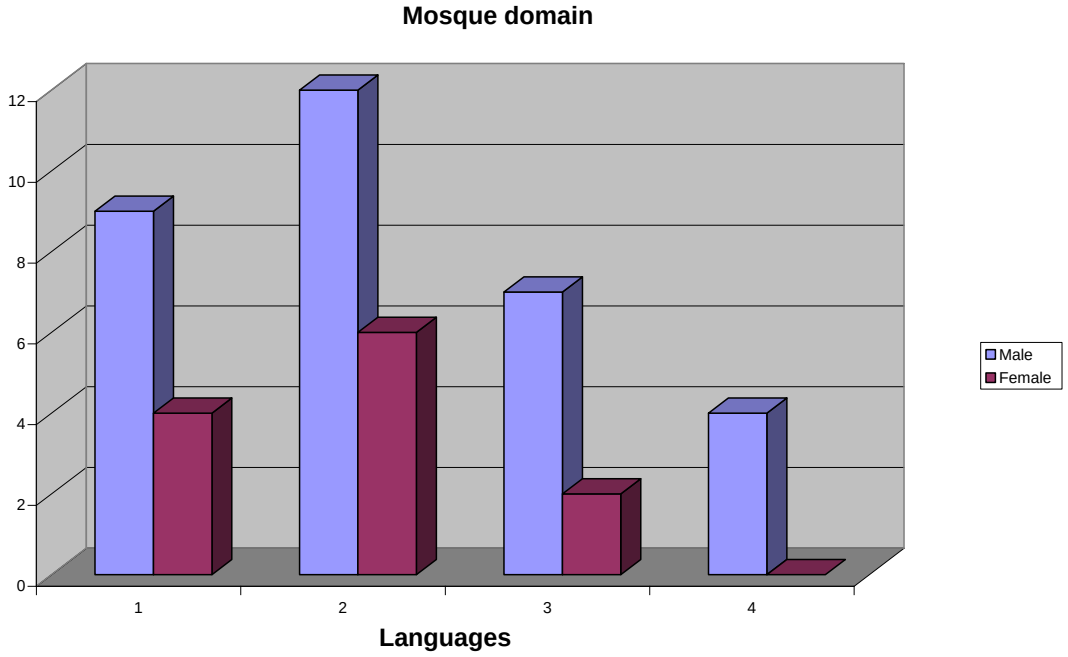
Key: 1, Somali, 2, Kiswahili, 3 English, 4, Arabic.

The chart above shows that the teenagers use Somali English and Kiswahili to an almost similar degree, whatever their gender. The social networks of the boys are varied and hence utilize all the languages to a higher level. The least use of English in this domain by the girls indicates the variety of the social networks they make. Their friends are restricted to those they may make at school. Kiswahili is a common language utilized by the boys and the girls in this domain. This resonates with Githiora's (2006) observation that teenagers in the urban areas use Kiswahili. The Somalis as a close-knit community are further characterized by the high frequency of choice of the Somali language in the friendship domain. This shows that the teenagers, both boys and girls, mingle with and are intimate with other Somalis more than with friends from other communities. The friendship domain is a relational domain in the sense that no one monitors the teenagers. The absence of Arabic in this domain can be attributed to Arabic being regarded as a language used for religious purposes and so when teenagers are making their individual choices outside the Mosque, they do not use the language.

6.3.5 Religious Domain

In this domain few girls indicated that they go to the mosque and hence there is a big discrepancy in the choice and use of language in their social networks. This is shown in the diagram below:

Fig 14: Gender and Language Use in the Mosque



Key: 1, Somali, 2, Kiswahili, 3, English, 4 Arabic

The teenage boys lead in the use of all the different languages. The sharp differences in the language usage could be a result the girls not obliged to attend the Mosque. Kiswahili is the language most used by both the girls and the boys. It was established that there are some mosques which are shared by many non-Somali Muslims. For example, one of the Mosques was frequented by Asian Muslims who live in a region neighboring Eastleigh. This could affect language usage in the Mosque. The majority of the teenagers were using English with their classmates and also with those Asian friends who do not speak Kiswahili. They used Somali primarily when speaking with their neighbours, family members and relatives.

From the analysis of the language use in the domains, it is clear that the teenagers tend to regulate their linguistic repertoires through contact with the language used by those they

speak regularly to (Eckert, 1989) and as a result, the infrequent contact across the boundaries brings about language change. When people are put together by a calamity such as war which results in relocation, languages are impacted. The teenagers use Somali (local vernacular) in the informal domains to claim the local goods and services due to authentically local people (Bourdieu, 1990). Fasold (1990) sees that the use of prestigious forms by the women is a way of resisting traditional norms and becoming more asserted. Cheshire (1991) opines that local economic conditions, unemployment and educational opportunities and the extent to which they are available to each sex, and social conditions affecting network strengths, amount to differences in language use by different genders. Gal (1991) also contends that women learn to position themselves in relation to the dominant practices and hence try to subvert what she calls 'rival practices'. This implies that in the current study, the teenagers are trying to reconstruct, revalue and reject norms which may not be appropriate to them, which also impacts on language use. Moreover, the extent to which women are allowed to participate in the social activities of the community contribute to the speech differences in gender.

6.4 Social Networks and Gender Language Use.

This study is modeled on Milroy (1980), where she explored language use in Belfast in three neighborhoods earlier alluded to. From the network studies Milroy (1980) discovered that men had high network strengths, were employed locally, spent leisure time in pubs, and had local linguistic norms. Women, on the other hand, were characterized by low networks, were employed outside the community, had leisure activities elsewhere and had acquired relevant communal linguistic norms.

A comparison was made between the teenagers language choices in relation to the network scores in all the domains selected for the study. This was to evaluate how the social networks affect language usage in terms of gender. The teenagers' network scores were compared between those whose scores were highly integrated and those considered not integrated and the results are shown in the table below:

Table 10: % Language use according to Sex split by Network

	Som %	Kis%	Eng %	Arabic%
Women				
High network	50	24	20	6
Low network	30	32	31	8
Men				
High network	60	30	10	8
Low network	28	36	32	4

The table illustrates the use of language by 30 teenagers in relation to those who have high network scores and the low network scores in relation to gender. The results indicate that when the female teenagers are highly integrated (have a high network) they use their first language (Somali) more. In the table above, 50% of the teenagers with high network scores speak Somali, 24% Kiswahili, 20% use English and 6% Arabic. The male teenagers with high network scores use more of their mother tongue in all domains. 60% use Somali, 30% Kiswahili, 10% English and 8% use Arabic. In the cases where the network scores are low, use of the first language goes down whereas there is an increase in the usage of the other languages. The teenage boys lead in the percentage of the language usage despite the fact that all sexes were given equal chances. This is attributed to the freedom earlier mentioned whereby the teenage girls participate more in the domestic duties as compared to the teenage boys who are not constrained by domestic chores. In both cases, network scores indicate first language usage: where the network scores are high the more the teenagers use Somali. Milroy (1980) attributes such a relationship to the normative pressure by the social networks whereby the members of the networks impose 'terms and conditions' which an individual has to accept. It can thus be construed that a speaker's language selection is not a matter of chance, but conditioned by the pressure from the social networks.

The social networks have a strong force in the maintenance of the vernacular and the force becomes less when the networks become loose. Thus the teenagers with weak

networks contract fewer ties with the local community and language change occurs more often. The use of vernacular also varies with the gender. The teenage boys use more vernacular in the varied domains than the girls do. This could be related to issues of identity, as will be discussed later. Milroy and Gordon (2003) assert that such variations call for understanding of the socio-cultural practices for the specific community. Further, they point out that such data under certain conditions can be interpreted as evidence of change of language in progress but also minor changes over real time.

The teenagers are not in control of the repertoires they use; the linguistic market dictates. It can also be pointed out that in as much the social networks sanction the speakers to use certain languages, power relations between the dominant community and the minority calls for the use of other languages to be used in order to survive in the context. Power relations will be discussed in the next chapter.

Female teenagers prefer English and Kiswahili in the domains which are marked. In the home and family domains, the teenage girls were found to use languages other than the Somali language. Chambers (1995) agrees with such results that men always associate with localized forms (in this case, Somali) whereas women associate with forms more widely distributed socially and regionally (in this case, English, Kiswahili). Arabic is a language associated with the religious domain and its use is not felt and thus is not related to the network usage. This supports Labov's (1992) assertion that women favour more prestigious language than do men. Milroy and Gordon (2003) also argue that language change should always be associated with social division, which is the use of language by different genders.

The characteristics of network scores from Milroy (1980) study found that the males who had high network strength were employed locally, and spent their leisure time in pubs, and therefore used local linguistic forms. The female subjects had low network scores, were employed outside the community, their leisure time was spent at home and hence their linguistic forms were general. In this study a comparison was also done for teenagers with high networks scores in relation to those who had low network scores.

Respondent 1: Is a female whose social network integration is 5 which is considered has highly integrated to the community. The participant speaks Somali at home, family and with neighbours. She uses Kiswahili in school but when she is with her friends, she speaks Somali. Similarly, **Participant 26** a male is highly integrated with a score index of 5. He speaks Somali with his family members and neighbours. In the friendship and school domain, depending on who he is speaking to, he alternates Kiswahili and Somali. The two participants belong to different genders yet their language usage is very similar, hence the study argues that circumstances cause individuals to use language in different ways as opposed to categorization. The aggregate ways of language use gives a general language behavior of the refugee teenagers.

It was also rare for the girls during interviews to speak languages other than the language used for the interview. This could be attributable to Fasold's (1990) assertion that women may be used to be judged on appearance and therefore, use prestigious language forms. The prestigious forms then are those considered to be in demand in certain contexts. In the study the female teenagers would always stick to the language they chose to be interviewed in whereas the male teenagers would always shift from one language to another. Trudgill (1991) also opines that men in their speech may wish to emphasize local norms and traditions.

The use of language by females in the study can be seen as a way of improving their status in a patriarchal society. In language contact situations, women teach their children to maintain their languages. The sameness of use of language by the female and male teenagers is a sign of the effect of social networks.

6.5 Statistical Correlation of Language and Gender in each Domain

Further statistical analysis was done to establish the relation between language use and gender in various domains. Milroy (1980) used chi square in her research, whereas this study uses a more advanced statistical tool SPSS 13. Specifically, Fishers Exact Test was

performed to test the hypothesis that there was either a relationship or none in gender language use in all the domains. The results are tabulated below.

Table 11: Correlation of Language and Gender

Domains	***P*=0.05**
Home	1.00
Family	0.283
Neighborhood	0.272
School	0.245
Friendship	0.483
Mosque	0.695

The P value was relevant at P=0.05. In the family, neighborhood and school the P value was less than the significant level (P<0.05). It was greater than (P>0.05) in the home, and the mosque. In all the domains above, the P value is not statistically significant. As a result, the hypothesis that there is an association between gender and language usage by the teenagers is rejected. This could be attributed to marginalisation of the Somalis in a majority culture. The teenagers have to 'fit in' and be like the rest of the mainstream Kenyan teenagers and hence, bring similarity in the gender language usage. In these domains, there are shared ways of doing things, shared values and even shared ways of talking. Socio-historical changes in the community affected the language use and gender. The teenagers have no clear differentiation because they are an immigrant group and therefore, family structures are not easily adhered to. Wodak (2003) opines that gender categories are social constructs which institutionalize cultural and social statuses. The findings above echo what other researchers who have studied language in relation to gender have found out. Lakoff (1991) asserts that women have begun to resist being silenced and hence cooperate with men. This is evident in this study where there is no significant difference in the use of the various languages in the diverse domains.

6.6 Some Factors Contributing to Some of the Gender Language Differences by the Teenagers

1) Community Activities

The activities men and women engage in enable them to use language differently. A teenager could be a member of a social set-up where the parents are educated and own businesses, neighbours are non-Somalis, friends are from another part of town etc. A teenager, being a member of these diverse domains will negotiate the social set-ups using different languages. The activities for the boys and the girls are different, as explained in section 6.1, hence language choice becomes a social construct. For example, a boy runs the parents business in town and comes across all kinds of people who speak varied languages. A girl may be restricted to stay at home to do the home chores and hence social networks are limited. This means that gender is reproduced differently in the varied domains and shapes language usage because the men and women behave differently in the dissimilar social set ups. As a consequence, the teenagers develop linguistic patterns as they act in the various domains, thus social meaning, identity, community membership and linguistic value of the linguistic forms are constantly and mutually constructed (Eckert, 2000).

2) Culture

The teenagers are placed in the contexts of various cultures which come to play. Their parents are still strongly rooted to the cultures from their country Somalia. The teenagers are a second generation in a foreign land which has multiple cultures and languages. School is also an environment where the diverse cultures converge and there are rules and regulations to be observed. Language is a link to all the cultures and therefore the teenagers acquire the languages in order to fit in the society. As a result the teenagers have multiple languages which they use in the varied contexts. Culture enables the teenage girls and boys to be socialized differently by their parents, peers and other people in the society and hence difference in the choice of language.

2) Responsibilities

The boys are more flexible and can interact within diverse networks as opposed to the girls and as a result their use of language is different. For example, two teenagers in the

study, a boy and a girl, were brother and sister, but their language differences were highly differentiated. The only activity which linked them together was at home when they are with the family members. During the interviews, the boy was easily available but the girl, as much as she was willing to participate in the study, was curtailed by the chores she had to attend to most of the times.

6. 7 Language Behaviour among the Teenagers

In the process of the data collection, various observations were made in the progression of studying language change among the boys and the girls that could contribute to the language differences amongst them. Such findings have been supported by sociolinguistic researchers (Milroy, 1980; Chambers, 1995; Eckert, 2000 and Milroy and Gordon, 2003). Boys compete and display their own ideas. For example, a participant, X, was eager to give a lot of information on how Somali teenagers are morally upright and even perform better in school despite the fact that they don't get jobs when they finish their studies. He went ahead to dismiss the Somali girls as shy and are threatened by police officers who just want '*kitu kidogo'* which translates as a bribe. The male teenagers also avoid depicting themselves as vulnerable.

Further, male teenagers also speak non-stop, given the chance, and they are curious to find out many issues, interrupt a lot, and give a lot of information. For example, respondent X in a response to a question had this to say:

Interviewer: Are you satisfied with the members of your networks in Kenya?
Participant: Yes, Kenya is a very good country, but police are bad. But to be Somali is dangerous, everybody doesn't like you. But you see, we are tough. We know how to survive. Look at me now do I look like a refugee? In South Africa, are the Somalis happy?

In the above excerpt, the participant, upon being asked whether the networks served him well, went ahead to give more information on what it means to be a Somali and about the mistreatment of the police. He also tries to make a comparison between the Somalis in other countries, for example, in South Africa. This is different for a female teenager:

Interviewer: Are you satisfied with the members of your networks in Kenya.

Participant: Yes I am.

This is very brief and to the point as opposed to the male participant, who had to give a lot of information and who was also curious to know much. Various reasons have been advanced to explain such a disparity in the use of language. Such reasons include: undervaluation of one's competence; inability to interact; caring; and shyness. These explanations have not been without criticism (Speer, 2005). Other researchers view such reasons as context dependent.

Relatively, the girls are more interactive and they seek clarity on issues before giving an answer. This advances Tannen's (1991:45) assertion that on the one hand, men engage in the social world in a hierarchical social order and they struggle to preserve independence and avoid failure. This is portrayed by the statement by one of the respondents that 'we are tough'. On the other hand, she further argues that women approach the world as individuals in a network of connections and life becomes a community, a struggle to preserve intimacy and avoid isolation. The girls would want to find out more about the interviewer, reasons for the study and were even happy to be called upon in case of another study. For example:

Interviewer: Are there people who are very important to you in your life?
Respondent: Who are important in what way? I have so many people but of course some are important than others.

The girl in the excerpt is very careful with the information she gives and hence, she answers a question by another question. She goes ahead to suggest that she even has people in her life who are more important. In another instance, a male respondent gave just 'yes' for the answer. Such a behavior was very common among the girls. To Tannen (1991), women then see their role symmetrically as providing empathy and understanding while men seem to be accustomed to their role as problem solvers and advice givers. For example in answering the question, 'When you have a problem, who do you turn to for help?' in most cases the female teenagers would give multiple people they reported would turn to for help whereas the male teenagers found it insignificant.

Male teenagers were found to interrupt a lot in the conversations as compared with the females. For example in the ten sampled interviews, five teenage boys and five teenage girls were interviewed simultaneously. In the results, it was established that there were 15 interruption cases by the male as compared to 3 by the female teenagers. Such interruptions cannot be taken *per se* as the differences because there have been cases of non-interruption in other researches by men and women (Cheshire, 1991), hence, such evidence still needs to be fine tuned.

Furthermore, male teenagers are more defensive and edit the information before they give it to you. In the 'friend of a friend' technique of interviewing, getting enmeshed in the rights and obligations of the teenage boys was quite an uphill task. They were typical of pastoralist communities, were the men are the guardian of the society and very careful to divulge what they considered to be sensitive information. For example:

Respondent: How can you be a student at your age? Student or teacher?

In the response above, it is unlikely that the teenager has been exposed to situations where people go to school when they are older, as for example in the case of the researcher. It was difficult for him to acknowledge the researcher as a student and hence thought the interviewer could be out to extract some sensitive information from him. Such encounters were common among male respondents throughout the study.

6.8 Gender as a Social Construct

Differences between men and women are also important aspects of gender. Gender is constructed in the different domains and it intertwines with that of other components of identity, of difference and of language change (Eckert, 1992). The teenagers bring to fore all the socialization practices that they have encountered and hence, the relationship becomes complex. This identity practice in which teenagers bring meaning to their lives in the domains is also relevant. The findings in this study on gender go against the power/dominance findings in gender studies (Lakoff, 1975). This is because both sexes seem to be negotiating their space in language use.

Earlier scholars like Fishman (1980) attributed the gender difference in language to be a result of men dominating women. Later studies (Coates, 1997; Tannen, 1991, 1998) see the differences in language between both sexes as a result of being socialized differently in their cultures hence language differences which the findings in this study support. For example, they proposed that females tend to favour co-operative, rapport-seeking speech styles whereas males tend to favour competitive status-seeking speech styles (Mullany, 2000). The argument in this study is that such studies on gender have ignored the social variables such age and status. The differences in language are not fixed but keep changing depending on the situation. A group of girls on their own compete and try to outshine one another like the boys.

The gender perspective can also be observed in terms of language usage and performance in the different domains (Speer 2005). Performance thus allows gender to be flexible where an individual acts in various ways and capacities in the domains of the study. For example, a teenager can use language differently when speaking to her friends as compared to her parents and the teenagers of the same and different sexes. It is against this background that comparative usage of language between female and male teenagers is made. This makes the notion of performance a rigid regulatory frame within which speakers make linguistic choices (Cameron, 1995).

As much as there exist norms that govern how individual speakers decide to perform gender, men and women are fully capable of resisting and subverting these norms although the speakers who break the norms are judged negatively (Mullany, 2000; Speer, 2005). Thus, differences in language among the female and male teenagers cannot be considered to be fixed but change depending on the domains as signalled by language usage.

6.9 Teenage Subcultures and the Somali Teenagers

Youth culture is partially manifested in the youth's language choice (Ogechi, 2008). Eastleigh is Kenya's urban area where it is expected that language used by teenagers is

very common. Youth languages have been identified in various countries by scholars: Sheng in Kenya, Tanzania Bongo Flava, and South Africa Tsotsitaal (Kiesling and Mous, 2001). In the Kenyan context, such languages are spreading and it is even infiltrating into the rural areas (Ogechi 2003; 2008). Such a language also called slang. Language serves many purposes: for identity in the local groups, to be witty or humorous, show disrespect of authority. The use of Sheng creates a boundary between the youth and other members of the society hence, what Ogechi (2008) refers to as the 'we code' and the 'they code'. The 'we code' is the language of the home and the family links, the language used for informal activities and interaction within one's in-group members. The 'they code' is the language one uses for socio-economic advancement, language associated with more formal stiffer and less personal out group relations. Whatever language one chooses depends on the benefits and goals one expects to achieve in the society (Bourdieu, 1990; Kamwangamalu, 1998).

Teenagers in the urban areas have 'cool' ways of referring to issues and mode of dressing (Coulmas, 1997). An immigrant Somali teenager has to struggle to keep to the norms of the community and at the same time, become like a teenager in an urban area. It is interesting to note that Sheng, which is a slang language in Kenya, is not common among the Somali teenagers. It is expected that Sheng would be used in the friendship domains but it seems the teenagers are highly constrained and they still have to go a long way to fully integrate. A negligible percentage of the teenagers indicated the use of Sheng in the general study, implying that the Somali teenagers are still not able to fully integrate themselves to the mainstream teenage sub-cultures in Kenya where the use of Sheng could be inevitable.

7.0 The Teenagers and Agency

Agency is the ability to resist social norms (Butler, 1997). Agency in social research has several components; iteration, projective and practical-evaluative (Mische and Emirbayer, 1998) and all are construed to influence an individual in varying degrees. Iteration is related to cultural competence (Bourdieu, 1991) where people learn from the past cultures how to behave in particular social worlds. Bourdieu (1990) refers to it as

'cultural tool boxes of practical competences' which dispose people to fit with some action and not with others. Projective is where individuals imagine what the future holds: hopes, fears and desires and hence shape their actions in relation to the future, otherwise what is termed as 'reproduction through creativity'. Practical evaluation is the capacity of people to make alternative possible trajectories of action in response to emerging demands, dilemmas, and ambiguities of present evolving situations.

The teenagers as gendered agents act to steer out how to behave and use language in the various domains (social worlds: schools, homes, families, neighborhoods and Mosques). Taking into account the several components mentioned above, the study argues that the teenagers are agents who are temporally embedded in a process of social engagement and are shaped by social action as individuals responding to the diverse and shifting environments around them (Mische and Emirbayer, 1998). They manoeuvre the various contexts using different languages hence multilingualism is a positive element in such predicaments. The study takes definition of agency as (Mische and Emirbayer, 1998: 970):

> …..the temporary constructed engagement by actors of different structural environments- which, through the interplay of habits, imagination, and judgments, both reproduces and transforms those structures in interactive response to the problems posed by changing historical situations.

The similarities and differences in the use of language in the varied domains by the female and male teenagers is through activation of past patterns of thought and action which help to sustain identity, interactions and the institutions over time. In Chapter One, it was seen that speaking Somali is one of the conditions required to become a Somali. To be of Somali nationality is also another precondition. As a result, the choice of language by the teenagers is informed by such conditions. They do this bearing in mind the emerging demands, dilemmas and ambiguities of the present situations in their lives and are also capable of shaping their own destinations. For example, the mode of dressing for any Somali Muslim woman is to cover their hair and wear long dresses covering extensive parts of their bodies. In the study, some girls would appear for the interviews in locations where there parents would be away, dressed like any other young girls in Kenya's cities. Thus, one can conclude that such a teenager is being creative and

rationally operating in relation to the demands of a particular social world but will fall back later to other behaviours when the situation calls for. One teenage boy was also very categorical that he would want his children to acquire all languages which he considered important in Kenya in order to fit into the society well if their country does not go back to normalcy in the near future.

Mische and Emirbayer (1998) point out that projectivity includes the imaginative generation by actors of possible future trajectories of action, in which received structures of thought and action may be creatively reconfigured in relation to actors' hopes, fears, and desires for the future. The decisions made or arrived at by the teenagers include their projections of the future and the decisions made may be temporal and keeps on shifting. Individuals shift between agentic orientations which may vary in different situations to which they respond. Mishe and Emirbayer (1998) further contend that it is such orientations within particular structural contexts that give form to effort and allow actors to assume greater or lesser degrees of transformative leverage in relation to the structuring contexts of action.

Drawing on Bourdieu (1990), and Giddens (1993, 2000), social contexts within which significant processes of socialization occur are agencies of socialization. For example we take in the study the school, family, mosque, neighbourhoods and friendship domains as agencies of socialization where language behavior is partly determined. Individuals within the contexts are then considered to be social agents. The behavior is regulated by the social contacts that people make. The teenagers pick up different languages in the process of socialization. The friendships domains are where the languages are used similarly by the different sexes. Giddens (1993) points out the teenage friendship domains are more democratic and it is a matter of give and take. Friendship relations play a very big role where there is less mobility. The teenagers are in a dominant culture environment and are trying to emancipate themselves from their own cultures. Agency is the mutual engagement of human agents in a wide range of activities that creates and sustains, challenges and sometimes changes society and its own institutions, including language and gender (Eckert 1992). Furthermore Bourdieu (1990) and Giddens (1993)

declare that people are creative and have foresight in implementation of practical needs – manoeuvre and expectation. The teenagers in the study challenge, reconsider and reformulate their own ways of using language and behaving, but they also put the interests of the social worlds in place so that they don't contradict.

In addition, Fairclough (2003) asserts that social agents are not merely passively positioned but are capable of acting as agents among other things of negotiating their identity with the multifarious types of discourses they are drawn into. In the study, it is clear that the Somali teenagers have become their own agents of social change. The teenagers are able to direct themselves as individuals within their homes, families and all the other domains. One of the driving forces behind the teenagers' maintaining their first language could be the fear of losing the social capital provided by their families and possibly their nationality. Such action helps them increase the command of the social capital and facilitate successful adaptation into their host community as well as reintegrating into their sending community (Grim-Feinberg, 2007). Some of the teenagers wish to go back; others wish to remain whereas a group of others would want to venture to the western world. In this case the study agrees with Mishe and Emirbayer (1998) that individuals at times reconfigure their lives by generating alternative responses to the problematic situations that they encounter in their lives. As a result, they move beyond themselves into the future, construct changing images of where they think they are going, where they think they want to go and how they can get there at the present.

As the teenagers are considered to be social agents, Fairclough (2003:22) points out that those social agents are not free agents but are socially constrained by the social practices. In the study, the domains where the teenagers belong have varied social practices. For example, in school, the students are supposed to use English and Kiswahili. The results in the research showed that such requirements don't restrict them so much. According to a notice board at one of the schools where the study was carried out, the students were expected not to speak their first language at any time within the school premises. Thus, as much the society prescribes what is to be expected, one is free to digress to some degree. This is in agreement with Fairclough's (2003) assertion that social practices define

particular ways of acting, but actual events may diverge because the causal powers of agents still shape them. As the society demarcate and creates boundaries for the teenagers, they have the capacity to transform themselves and as a result change the language they use. Further, Fairclough (2003) argues that agency depends on the nature of the event and its relationship to social practices and social structures, and the capacities of the agent. There are instances in the study where the teenagers used English and Kiswahili in the home domain but in others totally use English. Thus the expectations of the teenagers in the domains may be given but could still act on their own to shape what they feel is important, hence their actions are not totally socially determined. In this case the study argues that the actions are shaped by the social networks the teenagers belong to and where they negotiate how to act.

Earlier researchers in language and gender studies reviewed women in relation to culture. Lakoff (1975) opines that women have begun to resist being silenced and behave like the men. This is evident in the friendship domain where there is association between what women and men do. Cultural norms are threatened in the urban areas because the teenagers get influenced by others to do what is expected of them in the environment. There is a lot of agency among the female teenagers in order to liberate themselves. They participate in the community and survive in the society the way the males do. Gal (1991) points out that cultural constructions of cultural behaviour are sources of power that are enacted and contested in talk. Women learn to position themselves in relation to the dominant practices and hence try to subvert domination, what Gal (1998) refers to as 'rival practices' as referred to earlier. The teenagers are trying to reconstruct, revalue and reject norms which are not appropriate to them, but they fall back when they get to their habitual residences. Thus the women empower themselves as agents in a competitive world and are able to utilize the resources in such contexts. They do so using language and they rework, reconstruct their identity as it is the entire network of practices, knowledge and subject positions in the society. For example, every time I would meet the girls outside the research site, Eastleigh, they would come dressed 'casually' in tight clothes and would freely uncover their heads, unlike when we could meet at home and in the neighbourhood, where they would hardly expose their bodies.

The use of language depending on the context is another manifestation of agency. One of the girls, Rahma, was taking me to visit her home and meet her relatives. The interviewer and the respondent chatted lively until we got close to their home when things changed all of a sudden. The respondent became naively polite, and quiet and 'wore the image' which is required in the home. Mische and Emirbayer (1998) add that individuals are capable of distancing themselves (at least in partial exploratory ways) from habits and traditions that constrain their social identities and institutions.

Corson (1992) agrees that discourse of individuals is heavily influenced by institutional practices. The teenagers in this study are subject to various practices ranging from institutions of learning to the family. This does not render them helpless but they can negotiate their own space and at times depart from the wishes of the same institutions and become their own agents. The teenagers as agents of their own are tightly constrained by discursive structures and the effect of these constraints often shows up in stereotyped and unjust opposition in the society especially for refugees, who are vulnerable. The teenagers are trying to emancipate themselves in the society in order to be like their counterparts in the Kenyan context, but their status as refugees curtails their freedom. The results of the teenage language set-up could be attributed to the fact that the constraints in the domains come to play. The teenagers have their own means of liberating themselves.

As much as the teenagers are disadvantaged because of the forces of domination in the host community they reconstruct their own ways of dealing with the situation. The result is multilingualism where the teenagers have several languages at their disposal which enable them participate in various discourses. This goes against the view that women are always relegated to the disadvantaged position and hence their language use is different. All human beings are agents who have a free will to exercise their linguistic capacities as they wish. Thus we can conclude that men and women are not always different in their use of language at different ages and different settings.

Power has also been considered as a variable that separates men and women from one another (Khadar, 2003). Routine exclusion from the public spheres of action excludes women from access to recreation, maintenance, and elaboration of dominant ideologies and the language used to express them (Corson, 1992). The study established that the male social networks are wider and exposed to wider social connections. The teenage girls are assigned domestic roles and hence they are less free than the male teenagers. Similarly, Khadar (2003) found that men possess non-kin ties whereas female ties are strongly rooted in the family and less diversified. As much as the ties are different for the male and the female, language diversity is not much.

Vulnerability is one greatest obstacle which confines them to limited space. Women have been studied in situations where they do not take public roles (Milroy, 1980). Shieffrin (1994) suggests that it is the activities engaged in by women and the activities engaged in by men that influence the linguistic choices of the different genders. In normal life circumstances (as opposed to being a refugee) women and men belong to different subcultures; hence produce differences in language use. This can be attributed to different modes of socialization due to socio-cultural boundaries and also structural constraints that exist as a result of categorization. However, in this study, it is not the case.

The subtle differences in the gender seen could be attributed to competitive exchange. In situations where both sexes were participating, there was more interruption and the boys wanted to interrupt more often. Men tended to be more wordy and inquisitive and anxious to give more information than the females, when asked and probed further. They could shift from one topic to another but use the questions for topic maintenance. They ask the questions and use them as opportunities to seek for favours or expect to get information. Thus Corson (1992) takes the behaviour of women as a way of negotiating and expressing relationship to support and cooperate, to establish engaging and communal exchange.

7.1 Conclusion

Language plays an important and diverse role in the social construction of gender. The way people are socialized affects how they use the language. In the current study, the different domains the teenagers subscribe to and are socialized by play an important role in their daily usage of language. Earlier research has pointed out that when boys and girls are socialized differently, their language usage is also transformed (Corson, 1992). School arrives too late in the teenagers' lives to have much impact on the robust patterns of linguistic socialisation that are already well established in infancy and early childhood.

The subtle differences of language use among the different genders could be attributed to the vulnerability of the Somali in the refugee group. It might be concluded that as a much as there is documented evidence of gender languages differences, it can be negligible for the refugees. This is because of the complex relationship between the host community and the immigrants', which does not provide normal conditions for their socio-cultural practices. The complex relationship in this case refers to the structures that limit freedom within the diverse domains and other institutions and apply to all genders. The findings in the study resonate with similar findings in other studies. This leads credence to the usual notion of linguistic decorum, finesse, politeness and correctness associated with women's use of language (Coates, 1993; Lakoff, 1975).

CHAPTER SEVEN

Linguistic Strategies by the Teenagers in a Multilingual Set Up.

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7.1 Introduction

This chapter is concerned with who speaks what language to whom in a multilingual setting (Fishman, 1989). As mentioned earlier in Chapter 3, in multilingual settings, language choice and attitudes are inseparable from political arrangements, relations of power, language ideologies, and interlocutors' views of their own and identities. Social, economic, and political changes affect a group, modifying identity options offered to individuals at a given moment in history and ideologies that legitimize and value particular identities more than others (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004). As a result, such

factors can facilitate language change as the teenagers have to develop suitable strategies, language inclusive, in order to fit in the host society. In this chapter, focus will be on linguistic market (Bourdieu, 1990; Heller, 1992; Woolard, 1985; Norton, 2000; and Milroy and Gordon, 2003). The linguistic market involves the distribution of languages in the different domains, where some languages are considered to dominate others and has been equated to a market by poststructuralist researchers. The linguistic market creates ranking of different linguistic registers, whereby some are more prestigious than others. Furthermore, the chapter extends to the social identity options that the teenagers have taken in order to 'survive' in the linguistic market, which in the chapter is discussed under multiplicity of identities. Code switching is also explored in the chapter as another strategy. Finally, these considerations are seen as eventually leading to language change.

7.2 Linguistic Market

Languages have different values depending on the contexts (Bourdieu, 1990; Heller, 1992; and Norton, 2000). The teenagers use language varieties depending on the social networks activated at a particular time. This calls for a different languages to be foregrounded, be it Somali, English, Kiswahili or Arabic, in different social set-ups. In the language domain study, it is established that the teenagers use different languages depending on the social set-up; Bourdieu (1990) reinforces the idea that all human activity, language inclusive, takes place within a web of socially constructed fields: family, community structures, educational systems and institutions, corporations and businesses, all of which change with time and circumstances. As a consequence, an individual is placed in different fields in the society in different capacities — child, student, parent — and language is used to negotiate the position of power in the societal structure. Thus, the habits in society, Bourdieu (1980) argues, shape people's behaviours so that the teenagers know which language to use with whom and when. The sum total of all social and cultural experiences and as a result the habitus[15] determines which language is appropriate in what time and thus the linguistic choices made by the teenagers is not a

[15] Acquired schemes of perception, thought and action developed by an individual. The individual develops them in domains such as home, family and education. The habitus provides practical skills and dispositions necessary to navigate within fields and guides choices made by the person.

matter of preference but the collection of factors in the society. The teenagers choose the varied languages depending on the dictates of the domains. However, this does not occur in all situations. There are instances like the friendship domain where the teenagers are free agents and make their own linguistic choices. This is discussed in the previous chapter.

As language is a key resource vital for the development of various ways of thinking in the various domains, its usage is dictated by the social networks at play. The home and school domains create persistent use of language whereas the other domains, school and friendship, can be regarded as short-lived, involving limited and routine practices, hence language change is very possible (Li, 2008). This gives each language power in the relevant situations, as argued by Eckert (1992) that the dominance of the language is sustained by privileging in the particular domains obscuring the statuses of others and naturalising as unmarked and neutral (Eckert, 1992). She points out further that the privileged languages can assume own positions to be norms and which every one orients to. This is like the English language, which is considered to be prestigious in Kenya (Chapter 1). The teenagers can judge other positions while supposing their own to be invulnerable, less privileged in particular contexts, for example, the Somali language in the job market. The teenagers consider the acquisition of English as an opening to better chances in life. For example, one teenager asserted that learning English would enable him to move to the western world where he can get a job. The privileged relation to the symbolic system also referred to as symbolic privilege carries with it interpretive and evaluative authority that requires no explanation or justification (Bourdieu, 1990). Thus, language change is felt in complex array of social practices of interaction and shifts in different domains and this explains why the teenagers use multiple languages in various domains.

The symbolic values of the languages in each domain as referred to by Bourdieu (1991) are not fixed; one language has more value in one context and less value in another. The teenagers' acquisition of many languages ensures and gives them power to use various languages depending on the context and enables them not to be excluded in the social

organization of their Somalia community and the host country (Kenya). The resultant effect is that languages in different domains wield different powers. The Somali language, for instance, is powerful in the home domain and less powerful in others like school, as seen in Chapter Five. Somali registers the highest use in the home domain and declines in other domains. Bourdieu (1991) asserts that all symbolic domination presupposes on the part of those who submit to it a form of complicity which is neither passive submission to external constraint nor a free adherence to values. The acquisition of languages in Kenya by the teenagers is not forced but happens through a long and slow process of acquisition. The teenagers adjust to the sanctions of the linguistic market without any calculation or consciously experienced constraint.

This case of bilingualism/multilingualism, a characteristic the teenagers have taken up becomes skewed in favour of those languages which have more power in particular domains. Languages are not acquired for their own sake but as key to other things (Fishman, 1989) and a language will have an intrinsic value depending on the context which is used. Heller (1992) specifies that the dominant groups define the linguistic codes that should be possessed to obtain the necessary goods, whether symbolic (i.e. status, power, prestige and elite group membership) or materials (jobs, capital, means of production). The dominant group in each domain hence dictates the language to be used and at times code-switching occurs (section 7.4). Therefore, Somali teenagers undergo a transformation from monolingual to bilingualism in order to fit in the linguistic set-up in Kenya.

In the linguistic market, the currency is the linguistic capital, which is the language that is considered to be more valuable. English, Kiswahili, Somali and Arabic have different values depending on the domain. Arabic, for example, has least value in school, but more value in the Mosque. This is shown by the findings in Chapter 5, where the frequency of usage in school is nil, whereas it is high in the Mosque. English is used in the school domain as a medium of instruction whereas the Arabic serves as a sermon language in the Mosque. Canagarajah (1995) points out that the dominant groups confirm and sustain the hegemony since any group wanting to obtain these goods will aspire to use the codes. In

most cases, the teenagers have limited knowledge because they are exposed to the languages later in life. English in Kenya is a compulsory subject but the use by the teenagers is restricted only to the school domain. Furthermore, Webb and Kembo-Sure (2000) assert that languages in Africa are embedded in the political and economic orders of the state which results in some languages becoming powerful (and also empowering speakers) and others being powerless (offering the speakers no power); the division of languages into the majority and the minority. This puts the Somali language into a position of power particularly in the home domain and gives it less power in the other domains like the school.

The linguistic markets also dictate the nature of linguistic capital and the intensity required in the linguistic exchange. Those who have high levels of linguistic capital speak with command and influence (Rassool, 2007). In this study, various languages are dominant in various contexts. The right linguistic market can transform the otherwise 'worthless' utterance into one that may command attention in powerful circles. As much as the Somali language could be seen as powerless in the domains such as school, it wields a lot of power in other domains like the family, home or the neighbourhood, as seen in Chapter Five. In fact, one of the respondents indicated that he cannot even speak or allow himself to be heard by his parents speaking English at home because it will make them feel that he is being rude, 'English is for school and Somali is for home!'; this is an expression by one respondent.

The right language can also facilitate access to positions and situations of societal power and the 'wrong' language can block access. The Somali teenagers acquired the languages hoping that they would enable them to gain access to the job market and possibly get employed in the global market. One respondent categorically responded that he was attending extra English language classes after school because he expected to go to America. He considers the acquisition of English as a prerequisite to relocation to the west, expecting better prospects. The maintenance of the Somali language enables them to continue gaining access to and become legitimate members of the wider Somali community, benefiting from the social resources accruing from the use of the language.

Sometimes the community to which one belongs might command a language that is not used to access the global power, prestige or wealth (Eckert and McConnet-Ginnet, 2003), but command a variety of resources that might be of greater value to the many in the community. For example, Arabic as a religious language is used exclusively in the mosque, and Somali is used at home and to keep the 'secrets' of the community, as the teenagers would often switch to their language whenever there was a stranger in the midst (the interviewer). Therefore every language has its own value depending on where it is uttered. Standard languages enhance the chances of material gains for an individual in the global market whereas vernacular is the symbolic capital in the local market.

The powers of the utterance reside in the fact that speakers do not simply speak on their own account but as the bearers of words on behalf of the group or the institution that provides the power. Most of the Somali teenagers made friends with people because they make social connections with them. According to Rassool (2007), all languages have an intrinsic value as cultural, economic and political resources. It is argued in the next sections that the language contact situation can thus result in speakers having a variety of codes at their disposal. This can result in speakers switching or mixing codes. Concepts of power are inevitably drawn into the discussions about identity among migrants and the situation becomes even more complex in multilingual communities where there are power dimensions at different levels of interaction (Pavlenko and Backledge, 2004).

7.3 Domain Language Allocation

Domain language allocation (Fishman, 1972; Myers-Scotton, 1993; Milroy and Gordon 2003) paradigm treats and assumes social structures as broadly determining language behaviours and particularly speech activity types hence there are codes for each domain whereas in interaction approach (code-switching), code choices are directly linked to interpersonal relations (section 7.4). The resultant effect of the allocational approach is the emergence of institutions such as the home, school, neighbourhood, religious and friendship domains. The teenagers in response activate different codes in their repertoires. They are motivated to possess language structures appropriate for each domain, necessitating language change from monolinguals to bilingualism. Prior to their

arrival to Kenya, the teenagers lived in Somalia where Somali language was used in almost all domains. The language domain specificity view is also held by Auer (1998) who affirms that language choices are predicted by domains in which they occur.

Domains are broad structures which shape language used in social relations. Social networks specify the discourse practices which structure the conversations to precise and appropriate languages choices in different domains. Mesthrie et al. (2000) also support this view that in practice, certain languages tend to be associated with certain contexts. Below is a table showing the social network allocation of language by the teenagers in the domains selected in Eastleigh.

Table 12: Domain Distribution of Languages:

In this table below, the distribution of language(s) per respondent (30 respondents) in the family, home, friendship, neighbourhood, school and the mosque domains of study are given. The blank slot for respondent 12 and 21 implies that there was no language supplied for that particular domain (Mosque).

Respondents	Family	Home	Friendship	Neighbourhood	School	Mosque
1	Somali	Somali	Kiswahili English	Kiswahili English Sheng	English Kiswahili	Kiswahili Arabic Somali
2	Somali	Somali	Somali	Kiswahili	English	Kiswahili
3	Somali	Somali Kiswahili	Kiswahili	Kiswahili	English Kiswahili	Arabic Somali
4	Somali	Somali	Somali	Somali	Somali	Somali
5	Somali	Somali	English	Kiswahili	English	Somali
6	Somali	Somali	English	Kiswahili	English	Somali
7	Somali	Somali Kiswahili	Kiswahili	Kiswahili	English Kiswahili	Arabic Somali
8	Somali	Somali	Somali Kiswahili	Somali Kiswahili	English Kiswahili	Somali Kiswahili
9	Somali	Somali Kiswahili	Kiswahili English	Somali English Kiswahili	English Kiswahili Somali	Kiswahili Arabic
10	Somali	Somali	Kiswahili	Somali	English	Kiswahili
11	Somali	Somali	Kiswahili	English Somali	English Kiswahili	Arabic Somali

12	Somali	Somali	Somali English Kiswahili	English Kiswahili	English Kiswahili Somali	-
13	Somali	Somali	Somali	Somali	English Kiswahili	Somali
14	Somali	Somali	Somali English Kiswahili	Somali	English Somali	English Kiswahili
15	Somali	Somali	Kiswahili	Kiswahili	English	Somali Arabic Kiswahili
16	Kiswahili Somalia	Kiswahili Somali	Kiswahili English Somali	English Kiswahili	English Kiswahili Somali	Arabic Somali Kiswahili
17	Somali	Somali	Kiswahili English	Somali Kiswahili	English Kiswahili	Arabic Somali
18	Somali	Somali	Kiswahili	Kiswahili Somali	English	Somali Kiswahili
19	Somali	Somali	Kiswahili English	Kiswahili	English Kiswahili	Somali Kiswahili
20	Somali	Somali Kiswahili	English Kiswahili	Kiswahili English	English Kiswahili	Somali
21	Somali	Somali	Somali Kiswahili	Somali	English Kiswahili	-
22	Somali English Kiswahili	Somali	English Kiswahili Sheng Somali	English Kiswahili Sheng Kikuyu.	English Kiswahili Somali	Arabic Somali Kiswahili
23	Somali	Somali	Somali Kiswahili	Kiswahili	English	Arabic Kiswahili Somali
24	Somali	Somali	English Somali	Kikuyu Somali	Kiswahili English	Arabic Somali
25	Somali	Somali	Somali English Kiswahili	Somali English Kiswahili	English Kiswahili	Arabic
26	Somali	Somali	Somali English Kiswahili	Kiswahili English Somali	English Kiswahili	Arabic Somali Kiswahili
27	Somali	Somali	Somali English	Somali English	English Kiswahili	Somali Kiswahili
28	Somali	Somali	Somali Kiswahili	Somali	Kiswahili English	Somali Arabic

			English			
29	Somali	Somali	Somali	Somali	Kiswahili	Arabic
30	Somali	Somali	English Kiswahili	Somali	English Kiswahili	Arabic

The distribution of languages in the table above indicates that home and family domains registered few varieties, with Somali being dominant. The family and neighbourhood registered a multiplicity of languages. In each domain, as shown above, the individual teenagers have norms of language behaviour suitable for each social situation, also referred to by Dyers (2007:13) as 'preferential code switching'. This is where there are languages for each domain, as seen in the language-domain distribution shown in the table above. The home and family domain is basically dominated by the Somali language whereas the other domains combine various languages. This implies that the change from one language to another is a result of preference by an individual or a group from one language to another depending on the networks activated. The teenagers also play different roles in each domain and therefore have to make language choices which best suits their purposes (Bell, 1982).

In this allocation paradigm above, interesting results which are contrary to the norm also occur. On the one hand, in the home domain, respondents 3, 16 and 22 proposed to be using Kiswahili in the home and family domain. On the other hand, respondents 9, 12 and 14 use Somali and other languages in the home domain. This could be taken as a change in process (Milroy, 1980). When languages creep into the domains where they are unlikely, with time, they become frequent or even the norm. As a result, language change will be seen to have occurred. This implies that allocational language use is a social marker in the process of language change.

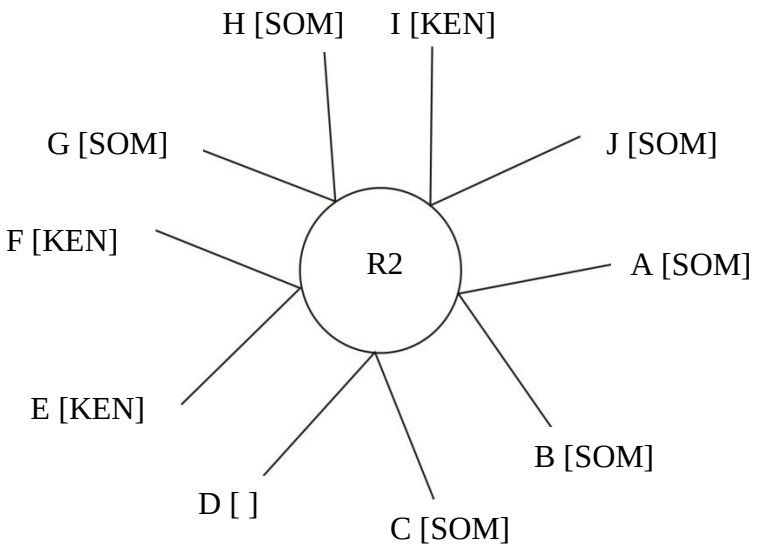
In the friendship domain and the neighbourhood, the teenagers display their multilingual skills and hence bring all languages on board. We find all the languages in use. In the mosque, the codes are restricted between the Somali, Arabic and Kiswahili. This is the domain where all people with different roles and competencies in languages converge.

Moreover, the teenagers are with their elders, who also happen to be parents. Hence, the role relations give them little choices to make and are restricted to domain- specific codes. It can be argued that the absence of English in the Mosque, the religious domain, could be a result of the socialization process. English is mainly acquired in the school domain and the social networks that come together in the Mosque may not be part of their school networks.

Myers-Scotton (1993) also sees the allocation paradigm above as situational and thus switching between languages is unmarked. The unmarked is used to mean that the choice of a particular linguistic variety is expected as the medium of exchange given the social norms of the society regarding the relevant aspects in a given context of situation such as speaker, addressee, topic and setting. Thus, the unmarked choices are socially seen to reflect a pre-existing set of social rights and obligations indexed by each language choice. The present study also proposes that code changing can be network dependent as the language use in each domain depends on the people a teenager socialises with (see figure 15 below). The analytical framework from Fishman (1971) and the Markedness model by Myers-Scotton (1993) in this study are not looked at as different entities but are seen as related paradigms of explicating bilingual language choices. A teenager chooses a particular language because of the social networks that are at play.

As mentioned before, the teenagers have to be multilingual in order to fit in all the domains hence necessitating language change. What Fishman refers to as who speaks what language to whom? Below is a diagram which captures the network ties of one teenager and the language ties.

Figure 15: Social network and language choice



In the diagram above, the respondent (R2) above has ten nodes which she has activated in the various domains. Each node activated calls for a particular language to be used hence language changes depending on the specific context. Woolard's (1985) research on network and language use established that girls' networks are more cohesive and more ethnically and linguistically homogeneous whereas boys have, loose, larger networks which are mixed. Such findings are also replicated in other studies (Milroy 1980, 87; Eckert, 1989). The above network structure is for a female respondent and has more ties with networks from her ethnic community. The language use by the above teenager is indicated below;

Table 13: Language domain switch

Domain	Language
Family	S
Home	S
Neighbourhood	S, K
School	E, K
Friendship	S, K
Mosque	A, K, S

KEY: S, Somali; **K**, Kiswahili; **E,** English; **A,** Arabic

The teenager's social networks A, B, C and D in the home and family domains use the Somali language. In the neighbourhood and friendship domains, they use Somali and Kiswahili; in school, English and Kiswahili; and in the Mosque they use Arabic, Kiswahili and Somali. All these language choices are network dependent and therefore there is a language change from one individual to another in the domains.

7. 4 Code switching (CS)

Code-switching in social research has been studied using many approaches (Gumperzs, 1983; Myers-Scotton, 1993, 1999; Auer, 1998; Poplack, 1997, 2002; Myers-Scotton and Bolonyai, 2001; De Fina, 2007; Li 2005). In addition, Webb and Kembo-sure, (2002) and Li (2008) observe that code-switching is a cross-linguistic communication strategy in a multilingual situation. Myers-Scotton (1988, 1992, 1993b, 1993c, 1999), who is one of the authorities on code-switching, defines it as the use of more than one language, dialect or style of the same language in the course of a single communication episode.

The present study draws heavily on Myers-Scotton's Markedness (1993) model, which fully captures the dynamics of code-switching in the study on refugee teenagers. The basic premise of Myers-Scotton's (1993) model is that speakers' code choices are strategic and goal-oriented, determined by the speaker's interactional goals in an encounter, and the interactional characteristics, including both the extra-linguistic nature

of the interaction and the speech economy of the community and setting. Codes are an organised system of opposition so that for every interaction in the social networks, each language indexes a special kind of social relationship, including participants, attitudes and expectations to each other – called rights and obligation (hereafter abbreviated as RO) (Myers-Scotton, 1993).

Myers-Scotton argues that all speakers have what she calls 'markedness', an innate internalized model that enables them to recognize that all code choices are more or less 'unmarked' or 'marked'. The use of unmarked versus marked to refer to code choices is based on the precedence within structural linguistics of using markedness both as a theory and as an organizational device to explain how linguistic systems are structured. The 'unmarked' is used to mean that the choice of a particular linguistic variety is expected as the medium for a talk exchange, given the norms of the society regarding the relevant aspects of a given context or situation, such as the speaker, addressee, the topic and the setting as alluded to earlier. 'Marked' choices, on the other hand, are at the end of the continuum; they are not usual and in some sense they are *dis-identifications* with what is expected (Myers-Scotton, 1993:151). This idea is based on the premise that speakers and addressees know (as part of their communicative competence) that choice of one linguistic variety rather than another expresses social import. This premise is embodied in 'a negotiation principle' modeled after Grice's 'co-operative principle' (1975), which is seen as underlying all code choices;

> Choose the form of your conversation contribution such that it indexes the set of obligations which you wish to be in force between speaker and addressee for the current exchange. The principle embodies the strongest and central claim of the theory: that all code choices can ultimately be in terms of such speaker motivations (Myers-Scotton, 1993: 113).

The markedness model of CS rests on this principle and on the maxims following from the principle. The negotiation principle sees code choices as identity negotiations. The use of identity here is, however, limited in that code choices can negotiate a particular identity for the speaker in relation to other participants in the exchange, that is, code

choices can be seen as bids to alter the rights-and-obligations set which holds between participants (1993:152).

For Myers-Scotton, the markedness model works in such a way that members of bilingual communities, like the teenagers in the present study, know that code switching is a strategy which is followed when speakers perceive that their own costs-rewards balance will be more favourable for the conversation at hand through engaging in CS than through using only a single code whether throughout the conversation in a domain or at a particular point. In her view, under the markedness model, CS has one of four motivations: (1) CS as a sequence of unmarked choices (sequential unmarked choices); (2) CS itself as the unmarked choice; (3) CS as a marked choice (marked CS); and (4) CS as an exploratory choice (1993: 152). In her view, community norms represent the starting point for the model. The teenagers operate as creative rational actors but within a normative framework specific to their community and thus this framework is responsible for the interpretation of choices. The teenagers make choices not because norms direct them to do so, but rather because they consider the benefits (RO). In other words, speakers weigh the costs and rewards of alternative choices. Variation results because the different speakers weigh the costs and the rewards differently and hence switch from one code to another.

The Markedness model as proposed by Myers-Scotton (1993) makes six general predictions which follow from the key concepts of the theory. Three of these predictions given here are relevant to the present study in that they provide a way of understanding code switching in the teenagers' language choices. First of these is that when speakers are faced with choosing paths, the majority of speakers will follow the known path and make unmarked choices, thereby maintaining the *status quo*. In such cases, CS will not be a frequent choice except when it is an unmarked choice. Secondly, the more linguistically conservative a group is the more unmarked choices it will make in general. For example, the teenagers would use Somali as an unmarked choice. However, if there is a change in the macro-social conditions prevailing in their community so that they see making marked linguistic choices as facilitating their upward mobility, they will be the major users of marked choices, that is, CS as a marked choice will occur among the more

linguistically conservative innovative groups. Thirdly, the more potential a group has for changing their status, the more its members are likely to make marked choices in interactions allowing for status-raising. Such persons are characterized by possession of whatever social identity factors the community sets as prerequisites for mobility, such as high educational level.

Kieswetter (1995) observes that code switching conveys identity, interpersonal relationships, social positions, group solidarity, ethnic identity, exploring new relations, status, level of education, authority, neutrality, and intimacy or distance. The teenagers are seen are actors who come to the social arena not as blank slates but with habits inculcated into them, with particular attitudes and practices due to their lived trajectories (Foley, 2000). The refugees' trajectories have been shaped in varied ways in the various domains and the code switching was seen to serve varied functions as indicated below.

7.4.1 Excerpt 1: Solidarity

The teenagers code-switch in order to portray to their Somali counterparts a kind of closeness and cut out the rest who are seen not to belong to their community. As mentioned earlier when describing the social networks of the teenagers, Somalis are a very close-knit community and shrouded in a lot of secrecy because of so many problems of war in their country and terrorism in the world. For example, in the excerpt below, respondent A was taking us to her parents.

1 A: *Kani madoow yaa waaye?* [Somali]
[Who is the African?]
2 B: *Ayada qudhigeeda lahaday*. [Somali]
[Talk to her yourself]
3 A: C*aadi waaye* [Somali]
[Are we safe?]
4 B: *Ni student huyu rafiki yangu* [Kiswahili] from South Africa.
[She is a student friend of mine]

5 A: *Mwanafunzi mkubwa*? [Kiswahili]
[A grown up student?]

A, who is the mother of the teenager B, initiates the conversation in Somali, which is the unmarked choice in the home domain. Respondent B honours the RO and responds in Somali. The mother maintains the RO by continuous use of the Somali language. In the exchange in the next turn (4), respondent B switches to Kiswahili and code-mixes with English, possibly to include the interviewer. The use of English and Kiswahili by the respondent invites the others to use either of the marked languages in the negotiation. Respondent A honours the RO by responding in Kiswahili, the language she is comfortable with. In this case B can be considered to be negotiating a new set of RO when introducing the marked choices (English and Kiswahili) for all the participants to be included in the conversation. In this excerpt, being a non-Somali women, and Somalis being Muslims, it was very clear that we were not 'them'. They classify non-Somalis as 'they' in opposition to 'we'. Somalis consider themselves as non-Africans and as a result, the question was asked 'who are the Africans?' The speakers' code-switched until they agreed that we were not posing any kind of danger and as a result invited us to join in the conversation and furthermore carry out the interviews. Moreover, role relations also came to play in this excerpt. We waited for the respondent A (mother) to initiate the conversation because she is a parent and is the one to begin the conversation. In the Somali culture elders initiate greetings (Gulet, 2008).

A similar incident occurred outside the mosque. The teenagers had taken us to seek permission from the Sheik, when he meets his friend.

1 A: *Aleikum Salaam*…. [Silence] *maxaad ukeedeysa waxaanan afoonin*? [Somali]
[Why are you bringing strangers?]
2 B: *ardey* [Somali]
[student]
3 A: *Islan*! [Somali]
[Such an old woman!]
4 B: She is schooling with Zam Zam.
5 A: *Aniga na ardey?*
[Even I can be a student?]
6 B: She doesn't speak Somali.

A welcomes us with a greeting in Arabic, which is the unmarked language choice in the Mosque. B honours the RO by responding in Somali, which is also the language acceptable in such a context where the respondents were Somalis. The answer surprises A, who finds it hard to understand how an adult like the interviewer can still be a student. B becomes more authoritative by switching to English. A new set of RO is thus established and English becomes the language of choice. In the beginning, the conversation cuts out the respondent until they come to an agreement that all the parties get involved in the conversation. In this excerpt, we went into the Somali community as a friend of a friend. The Zam Zam mentioned (name changed) is a student in South Africa and was a link to the social networks in Kenya, though she is still a young girl. Respondent A, upon seeing us, could not believe that people of our age still go to school, given that most refugees of the old generation did not receive any education because of the instability in Somalia. The use of the Somali language enabled the respondents to dispel any suspicion before opening up for us to carry out the interview. The teenagers restrict their L1 to private spheres; hence code-switching can be a way of expressing solidarity or a rebellious move to exclude others from the conversation completely.

7.4. 2 Excerpt 2: As a Probing Choice.

This occurs when speakers are strangers to one another. They don't know what rights and obligations are at play. Speakers do not always know what norms apply and therefore do not know what unmarked rights and obligations for themselves and other participants would be (Myers-Scotton, 1993). The speakers initially find themselves in an uncertain situation. They start a conversation with one language and switch to others trying to invite the recipient to participate in deciding the appropriate language. For example, we were in Eastleigh in one of the shops to meet a respondent B.

1 A: *Salaam Aleikum*? [Arabic]
[Peace be with you]

2 B: *Aleikum Salaam. Nyinyi ni Waislamu*? [Kiswahili]
[Are you Muslims]
3 A: Not all of us.
4 B: Okey
5 A: We are doing research. She needs to do that in order for her

school. *Sio watu wa gazeti* [Kiswahili].
[They are not journalists.]

A initiates the conversation in Arabic, which is unmarked, given that she was talking to a Muslim. B responds in Arabic to honour the greetings but as an act of deference, and completes the sentence in Kiswahili, which is commonly used in Kenya amongst people who do not have a common first language. A confirms B's suspicion that there was a stranger amongst them (non-Muslim). In 4, the language choice shifts and English becomes a unifying language, which is the language used in the interview and also the language used in academia.

It is interesting in this conversation how the young teenagers are so much aware of their vulnerability as refugees. They were curious to find out whether we were journalists. The media people are associated with the collection of information for the police regarding the Somalis. Respondent B's question whether we were Muslims is exploratory because Muslims are known from the way they dress, especially in Kenya. The interviewer was non-Muslim and hence was conspicuous. The teenager was also trying to test our trustworthiness because had we given contradictory information then we would be denied the rights and obligations. He asks the question and when he realises that there was one person who was not a Muslim, then they code switch to Somali until they agree. It was established that their parents and elders caution them against any interaction with strangers and even more so, on the kind of information to give out, hence permission had to be sought from all people who matter in the refugee set-up. At the end of the conversation, we had struck a deal with the respondents and they agreed to participate in the interview.

7.4.3 Excerpt 3: Enhance meaning:

Code switching is useful in enhancing meaning and clarity. This could be a result of not being able to express oneself well in one language, hence the need to switch to another suitable code, which makes the conversation meaningful. This is exemplified in the following case:

1 A: Here in Kenya life is expensive

2 B: Yes, like in… [hesitant]

3 A&B: Like *chakula, nyumba, shule* [Kiswahili]
[Food, housing, accommodation]
4 A: Yes, like that.
5 A&B: *ukweli* [Kiswahili]
[yes]

The respondent begins with an unmarked language. English is considered unmarked because it is the language used for the interview, hence it is expected. Respondent B hesitates before responding possibly trying to get the relevant words to use. Both A and B, in turn (3) respond by switching to Kiswahili. Myers-Scotton (1993:476) refers to such a situation as a case where 'the facility in the unmarked choice fails them'. The respondents are complaining that life in Kenya is too costly, possibly the sentiments of their parents. The interview was initiated in English but as it progressed, there were some terms which could be more easily accessed in Kiswahili and hence the codes had to be switched to facilitate clear communication.

7.4.4 Excerpt 4: Intimate Family Life

It is in the home of one of the teenagers, it is time for dinner and we are still carrying on with the interview with one of the girls. The mother comes to announce that the food is ready.

1 A: *cuntada waa diyaar* [Somali]
[The food is ready]
2 B: *Hooyo ma afaano wakaay anto. Wacha nimwulize*.
[Somali] [Kiswahili]
[Mother I don't know whether they eat our food. Let me ask]
3 A: *Waidi* [Somali]
[Ask]
4 B: We are serving Biriani. Will you join us for supper?
5 C: No thank you. We have to catch the bus to the hotel before it gets late.
6 A: *Yenyewe Nairobi siku hizi ni kubaya!* [Kiswahili]
[Anyway Nairobi nowadays is not safe]

A, who is the mother of the respondent, had been busy in the kitchen. After a while, she comes to announce that the food is ready. She does so in Somali, the unmarked language, which is used predominantly in the home domain. The respondent answers in Somali to honour the rights and obligations. The discussion is carried out in their mother tongue to find out whether the interviewer could partake in the meal. As a result, they code-switched in order to exclude anyone who was not part of the family until they came to an agreement, which is when they involve the respondent by indexing the marked choice (English). '*Biriani'* is a kind of food preferred by Somalis over other foods. In turn (6), the mother answers respondent C in Kiswahili, the language for interethnic communication in Kenya. This shows that code-switching interacts with the dynamics of family relationship and negotiation for effective communication.

7.4.5 Excerpt 5: Multilingual Competence

Code-switching, according to Kamwangamalu (2000), could be taken to be a result of a speaker having competence in many languages which come into contact. Thus, speakers switch from one language to another to draw on the rich linguistic repertoires they have at their disposal. Kamwangamalu (2000) also points out that code-switching often results in language change and innovation in the structures used. This is evidenced in the selection below:

1 A: I would love to do English in the next level. *Lakini ni ngumu*. By the way *huko*
[but it is hard] [there]
South Africa people write exam in English? *Eee hata Kiswahili*? [Kiswahili]
[Eee even Kiswahili?]

The continual change from Kiswahili to English is a case where the respondent is able to use the two languages simultaneously, constructing grammatical sentences. From the proficiency tests in Chapter Five, the same teenager had scored highly in both Kiswahili and English.

Code switching also occurred as a display of incompetence in the languages acquired. For example:

1 A: But don't know *sijui wale. Hata si jirani. …tunasungumza tu Somali*
[I don't know them. Not neighbours…….we speak Somali]

Wewe tribe gani? [Kiswahili]
[Which tribe are you?]

The teenager above use both Kiswahili and English ungrammatically. Both languages are unmarked because the teenager and respondent do not share a first language. In the first part of the sentence, 'but don't know' is incorrect, there is no subject–verb agreement to make the sentence an acceptable structure in the English language. The same sentence leads to another one in Kiswahili and the dialogue ends with a mix of Kiswahili and English. This shows the level of competence of the teenager. Moreover, the mixing of English and Kiswahili is regarded as Sheng, commonly used by Kenyan youth in urban areas, as discussed in Chapter One.

7.4.6 Excerpt 6: Dual Group Identification

It is in the school domain and there are two Somali teenagers and the researcher.
1 A: When our country is at peace we shall go back.
2 B: [Laughs] Are you sure?
3 A: *Walidkey waheishegen.*[Somali]
[My parents say so]
4 A: Me, I don't know.

The conversation above takes place in the school domain and it is in English, the unmarked language which is expected. English is also the language used in education circles in Kenya. When the teenagers are talking about matters related to their parents, they switch to Somali. This could be an indication that they are conversant with the wider dominant culture in Kenya by using English and indexing their identity as of Somali origin, hence this supports Heller's (1982) notion of dual group or ambiguous identity. Heller points that by indexing more than one language in a conversation, an individual can seen to be portraying more than one 'face'. Myers-Scotton (1993) asserts that code switching may be frequent among recent migrants or even among long standing immigrants who maintain tangible or strong psychological ties with their original community, for example the Somali immigrants.

7.4.7 Excerpt 7: Create Social Distance

This is a situation where two boys and girls and researcher and the researcher are brought together.

1 A: How are you?
2 B: *Fiiaan*[Somali]
[Fine]
3 A: *Baaris baan sameneyan* …[Somali].
We are doing research
4 B: we are not interested ….*miad la beheyei*?[Somali]
[is it paid]
5 A: *maya* [Somali]
[No]
6 B: *Maa rabin* [Somali]
[We are not interested].
7 A: *Nabad galeiyo* [Somali]
[Bye then]

The excerpt opens with unmarked choice which is English language used in the school domain. The research assistant initiates the talk in English but the other respondent indexes a marked code (Somali) to create as much distance as possible. A honours B by responding in Somali and goes ahead to explain the motive of our visit. B switches to English, possibly to include all the speakers and make his position known, but switches to Somali at the end of the sentence. He further wants to find out whether they are going to receive any payment upon participation in the research, whereupon A says 'no'. B emphasizes the distancing by repeating 'we are not interested' in Somali which marks the end of the exchange. The conversation alienates the researcher from the possible respondents because they do not want to participate in the study. They display confidence in the refusal to participate in the research because they realise that the researcher does not understand the Somali language, hence they have freedom in the choices of their lexicon. The teenagers were advantaged as they distinguished themselves as the 'we' as opposed to the 'they'. Hua (2008) asserts that code switching is a multifaceted social practice, a; flexible and contextually contingent resource used by bilingual speakers to both index and construct their everyday social worlds and in particular their own social roles and identities and those of interacting with them.

7.4. 8 CS as a Marker of Virtuosity

This is where participants switch to a language which is understood by all. Myers-Scotton (1993:148) refers to such a situation as virtuosity. This is where code switching to any code is necessary in order to carry out a conversation or accommodate the participation of all speakers present. This was exemplified by a respondent who said:

> I can't speak any other language at home. Only Somali because my parents don't know English. My younger sister knows Somali only because she has not gone to school. She only attends madrassa lesson…At home is only Somali.

In another incident, family members all decided to converse in Kiswahili in order to include the interviewer. Myers-Scotton asserts that in Africa, the virtuosity maxim comes into play to accommodate others (Myers-Scotton, 1993). For example, educated people acknowledge the limited repertoire of less educated family members when the come together by switching to a shared mother tongue in order to accommodate all the members of the family.

7.4.9 Code Switching in Language Variation

To draw from Blommaert (2005), multilingualism is not what the individuals do not have, but what the environment 'disables and enables' them to employ. The code choices above were a result of the various reasons that precede the current discussion. Language choice also varied according to the kinds of interactions the speakers made. Most of the teenagers use their first language at home or with others from their own community. Similarly, Myers-Scotton (1993) found the same when analysing code switching in Kenya's urban areas. The respondents are seen as actors and therefore are able to make linguistic choices. Thus, the Markedness model assumes that language users have the ability to make choices regarding the varieties they employ, choices that necessarily involve cognitive calculations based on their effect. These language choices are intentional because they are used to achieve certain social requirements. The teenagers are obliged to use the L1 at home and with relatives and neighbours, but in school they use English and Kiswahili. Each language choice has a social function. Moreover,

speakers' choices are determined by their social group membership, thus one is a student, family member, neighbour, etc.

Myers-Scotton (1993) also affirms that the social norms are the major mechanism in choosing from the language varieties. She points out that in a multilingual/multicultural milieu, where different people from varied backgrounds interact, mixing many languages is the norm. The unmarked choices are the most frequent as people make them to avoid group disapproval and personal distress, as seen in excerpts discussed earlier. The potency of unmarked choices is derived from existing norms and a marked choice is an attempt to construct new norms. Anderson (1989) sees change in the use of a language as being motivated by various circumstances under which speakers deviate from the usage that is traditional in their community. Thus, the speakers can change by observing or neglecting their linguistic social norms as they see fit. The Somali teenagers attend the Kenyan schools where the curriculum is radically different and therefore have to be like 'them'. The teenagers notwithstanding have to introduce the changes to their parents. The speakers of a language (teenagers) can be regarded as social agents who spread the language contact induced change.

Ethnic groups can typically shift to use the language which is dominant. For example, it is evident in the use of the language by the refugee teenagers that the domains which are marked, i.e. those that are likely to be dominated by the vernacular, are slowly being replaced by the languages of the dominant group. The Somali language, for example, is not the only language in use at home and among the family (table 12). The shifting of languages makes it likely that if the refugees do not go back to their countries, language transformation will occur. According to Paulston (1994), language shift can occur when a group moves into a region where their social institutions of marriage and kinship, religious and other beliefs are not in tandem with the situation. To Paulston (1994), language shift frequently begins with women, where the most common explanation is that they are in subordinate position in the society and are sensitive to issues of power, including language power. However, ethnic groups who have pride in their ethnicity rarely shift. The Somalis still maintain their culture. For example, they believe that those

who desert their culture are not worth being considered Somalis. Besides, among the Somalis, intermarriage with other communities is still viewed as foreign. In fact, when one marries outside the Somali community, they are considered as outcasts. Exogamy is a foreign term in the Somali culture. For example, in a response to the question: Would you want your children to retain your Somali culture? For example, marrying from other communities in Kenya?

Respondent X

When I grow up I would like to get married. I would not mind getting married to a Kenyan, but my community will disown me. …….my mother will not like my children and my husband will not be acceptable. ….He will not understand our customs….You don't know. *Hakuna mtu atakuja arusi*. [Kiswahili]

[Nobody in my family will attend the wedding]

The respondent is emotionally expressing how it feels to intermarry with non-Somalis and how the members of the family might not even show up for the wedding. The strict observance of their culture enables them to preserve their language.

Speakers use code choice to renegotiate and perhaps to resist the established identities, group loyalties and power relations (Canagarajah, 1995), and in essence are exploiting the different symbolic and material rewards associated with each language. Code choice is a socio-political-economic activity enacting tussles for power with material consequences (Canagarajah, 1995). By choosing a language in a context, the speakers exclude others (non-Somalis) from crucial deliberations. For example, in most instances before interviewing the teenagers, they might shift to Somali exclusively to decide whether to participate in the interview or not, what Blommaert (1999) refers to as 'boundary creation'. They collaborate to define their identity where they assert their power and the researcher, lacking the code to be party to the conversation, risks the prospect of losing the respondent and as a result crucial information. This was addressed by utilising a research assistant who was a member of the Somali community. Heller (1992) says that people use code switching for levelling the inequalities of power, hence it is appropriate for them to be bilingual.

It was also interesting to note that in all the encounters, the Somalis speak only Somali amongst themselves at all costs. I was accompanied by a Somali interpreter throughout the study and whenever we would interview the teenagers, even those who know all the other languages, they would always code-switch. In fact, in most cases, before they could answer the questions, they would always seek approval from the interpreter. At the first encounter with most of the Somalis, they would drive them to code-switch to assess whether we were acceptable to carry out the interview or not.

Code-switching is also one of the tools used by the bilingual teenagers to negotiate meanings, rights and obligations, power and identity (Jorgensen, 1998). English and Kiswahili are used for public content to include the researcher whereas the Somali language is used for private business and emotional utterances (Jorgensen, 1998), hence the division of power between the languages. The teenagers speak in English when asked about school matters because it is after all the domain for English and Kiswahili but when undertaking private business, they speak in Somali, community linguistic repertoires are linked to the particular relations in a community (Auer, 1998).

The discussion above demonstrates that the Somali teenagers engage in the same range of code-switching patterns as those discussed by Myers Scotton (1993). Similar results have also been found by research in bilingual communities (Auer, 1998; Ncoko et al. 2006; Kamuangu, 2008). The teenagers use code-switching to negotiate interpersonal social meanings in everyday interactions. A salient function of CS is to negotiate the changes in the nature of the interaction. More importantly, however, CS among the Somali teenagers functions to manage the speakers' self presentations and the relationship with the interlocutors. The discussion of CS patterns by Somali teenagers also supports the previous research in Kenya and views them as complex. The varieties of languages used by the teenagers are linked to one or more social situations, social activities, events, and social groups and as a result, have acquired a specific meaning. Somali teenagers, like all bilinguals, creatively and strategically draw on these meanings in their everyday interactions to manage their self-presentations and their relationships with their interlocutors. This gives rise to different kinds of interaction between the varieties that may, but do not have to, lead to the emergence of new bilingual codes (Auer, 1998). In

the next section the identity options the teenagers have adopted in Eastleigh are discussed.

7.5 Who is a Somali Teenager? Negotiation of Identity in Eastleigh

The issue of identity has increasingly taken a prominent place in research lately. A common strand of such is the relationship between language and identity (Norton, 2000; Pavlenko and Backledge, 2004; Afful, 2006). Language choice is not only an effective way of communicating, but as people use a language, they are reconnecting with other people, situations and power configurations. As a result, the choice of language enables people to maintain and change language boundaries and personal relationships, and construct and define 'self' and 'other' within the broader political economy and historical context (Li, 2008: 3–18). Although identity has been a subject of sociolinguistic studies, the links between social networks and identity among teenagers has received little attention. This chapter explores identities which come to play in the teenagers' lives as refugees in Eastleigh. Code switching, as discussed earlier in the study, is a result of multilingualism. What impact then does it have on identity? In this section, we look at identity options the teenagers have in a multilingual set-up (Kenya), having been dislocated by the war from a monolingual Somalia.

Dyers (2000, 2007) argues that there is an assailable link between people's languages and their identities. Therefore, the use of more languages signals two or more identities of the speaker simultaneously (Ncoko et al., 2000). Dyers (2007) further points out that the clearest signals of groups and individual identities is the languages that dominate in the intimate domains of language use such as the home, in conversation with family, neighbours and close friends. The underlying question is to find out whether Somali language continues to remain vital as part of the teenagers' lives and identities despite the presence of other powerful languages or whether even in intimate domains there is a shift in language power differentials, the resultant effect being shift in identity.

As mentioned earlier, domains in sociolinguistics refer to spheres of life in which verbal and non-verbal interaction occur (Dyers, 2007) and they include the areas of work, family, school, friends and wider communication. It is clear from the results in Chapter 5

that the use of other languages by the teenagers does not necessarily imply that this will edge out the vernacular (Somali) in the other domains considered to be formal, like the school. As long as the Somali language continues to be a symbol of solidarity between the teenagers and enjoys a particular usage within the community, it will take time to be replaced. The domains of the family and the home are fundamental to the building of identity through socialization (Boxer, 2002). The language(s) through which children are socialised initially within the family therefore play a crucial role, not only in shaping the personal identities, but also in ensuring the continuous vitality of the Somali language. The vitality of a language can also be considered by the number of domains in which it is used, especially those regarded to be intimate, for example the friendship domain. Somali, as seen earlier, is represented in all the domains of study and is dominant in others like the home and family. The fact that the Somalis are a close-knit community further enables the language to thrive. Their status as refugees also creates unity as they try to avoid unfavourable encounters, for example, with the Kenyan police. This is also supported by Li (2008), who points out that speakers feel a sense of identity-security in a culturally familiar environment, but insecurity in a culturally unfamiliar environment, thus satisfactory identity negotiation outcomes includes the feelings of being understood, valued, supported and being respected.

Perception of the English language by the teenagers as the trajectory out of poverty, towards a better life, was evident in the present study. The teenagers imagine that when they acquire English, they can get employment. One teenager was very categorical that he hopes to go to America and hence needs to be a fluent English speaker. The Somalis who are in other countries like America and South Africa send remittances to their families in Kenya. This motivates them to want to follow suit. As mentioned above, the same teenager who hopes to relocate to America has also enrolled for English language classes in the neighbourhood to enhance his language skills. Another respondent claimed that only two languages are relevant in his life: English and Somali. The respondent regards the two languages as relevant because he considers Somali as a way of bonding with his family members and the Somali community in general whereas English is a means of enhancing the likelihood of acquiring a job in Kenya or abroad. Dyers (2007)

findings for South Africans in the Western Cape are similar. Dyers' research was on patterns of language attitudes, choices and use among high school pupils in the township. The languages in Dyers study were Afrikaans, Xhosa and English. The focus of the research was to find out which of the languages were used in intimate domains like home, friendship and family in one of South Africa's townships, Westbank. Like the present study, Dyers' (2007) results showed that high-school pupils' use of language was based on domain-specific activities. Xhosa and Afrikaans were mainly used in the family and home domains for those who use these languages as their mother tongue. The respondents also were seen to perceive English as a way of improving their prospects in life, similar to the Somali teenagers in the present study, though they were not migrants.

How teenagers construct their identity can also be understood as a process of framing in which language choice in different domains play a part. A frame, according to Dyers (2007), is a schema of interpretation that enables individuals to locate and perceive identity and label occurrences within their life space and the world at large. As a result then, the identity options the teenagers make are negotiations based on daily occurrences. Drawing on Dyers (2007), the study argues that the teenagers reflect linguistic identities of their family members, if they are responsive to societal change. The majority of the teenagers showed that Somali had a great intrinsic value in their lives, but also spoke the other languages because of their relative importance. In this case, the teenagers identify themselves with their ethnic group and use their language and also use other languages to portray other identities. Similarly, drawing on Social network theory, individual network ties are conceived as part of an individual's construction of identity (Milroy 1980). Therefore, the languages spoken within the networks are also an opening to the acquisition of other identities, such that the creation of ties is an indication that is the identity one is intending to wield.

From the study, the composition of the teenagers' networks had a strong and greater explanatory value for the language choices. Pavlenko and Backledge (2006) observe identity as fluid and performed and reconstructed in any social interaction (domain) and therefore the social networks the teenagers make is a construction of their social identity.

This is contrary to Auer's (2005) assertion that there has been discontent with variationist sociolinguistic models in which linguistic heterogeneity is explained through correlations with pre-established social categories such as socioeconomic status or ethnicity. Heller (1998), Woolard (1985) and Norton (1993) recognise the fluidity of identities as more applicable and thus the result of the multilingualism of the Somali teenagers is a reflection of the multiplicity of identities. Language, especially mother tongue, is an integral part of collective identities such as cultural or ethnic and the maintenance of first language across generations is a key factor to the maintenance of such identities (Lanza and Svendsen, 2007). Li (2008) also asserts that low ethnic vitality within a group and low identification with the in-group leads to the acquisition of the majority group language. But does it apply to the case of Somalis? The Somali teenagers are seen to be emulating what Fishman (1989) considers as 'shrewd calculation of membership benefits' earlier alluded to, where the teenagers choose an identity at a particular time based on the cost and benefit analysis. For example, on one occasion one teenager was not willing to participate in the study because he did not want to make his identity known. The teenager thought the researchers were looking for Somali refugees in order to repatriate them or report to the police hence declared he was a Somali from Kenya. Later, the same respondent turns up claiming to be a Somali from Somalia. The respondent was trying to portray an identity he thought would benefit him. This is by participating in the study and making his views known as he had seen it as having no harm.

The study further agrees with Lanza and Svendsen (2007) that identities are constructed along various alignments such as age, gender, social status, geographic, religious, and political and sexual orientation. This causes individuals to have multiple group identities: multiple ethnic, personal and social identities which fluctuate in different situations. Thus, language choices made are acts of identity (Auer, 2005) and governed by other factors: language situation, domains of language use, social network ties, themes and purposes. The individual identity reconstruction is also not a free play but restricted by various factors such as symbolic value and linguistic market discussed in the preceding section.

Names are also seen as markers of social identities. Aceto (2002) points out that names are acquired at birth through a culturally accepted arrangement and often remain with the person until they are changed through the act of marriage or other means. Such names acquired later are regarded as secondary names and are normally given by family members' friends, community religious organizations and school acquaintances (Afful, 2006). Names are therefore seen to indicate an identity which the teenager would wish to foreground. The teenagers have used names which are typically from Somalia: Abdul, Zam Zam, Zadiq, Ahmed, Qadhar, and Omar. The fact that the Somali teenagers have not changed their names is an indication that they still identify with their origin. Thus, the choice of social networks has also been accompanied by the choice of names in order to foreground their identity. Various social identities are therefore demonstrated by the teenagers. This includes ethnic based identity and religious based identities. Afful (2006) in Ghana established that teenagers' identities include religion, historical, gender and ethnic based identities. The next section discusses the specific identities observed in the study: ethnic and religious.

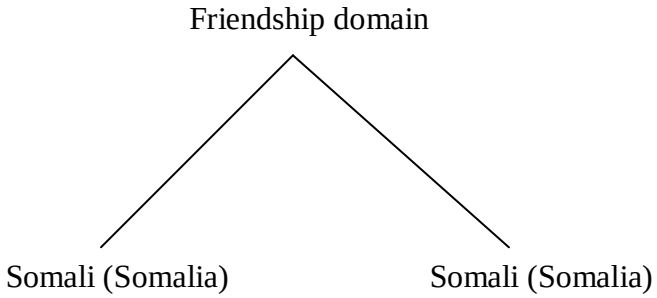
7.5.1 Ethnic Based Identity

A teenager in an immigrant country faces complex matters of adaptation in both culture and origin in a new country. He/she develops an identity as a member of an ethnic group within the larger society which enables him/her to use his or her first language. The teenagers then face a dilemma in choosing language in a multilingual situation. The study argues that the social networks and language choices signalled by the teenagers is an expression of the identity they would wish to adopt. Thus, mother tongue retention can be considered as a sign of identity the teenagers wish to project. Ethnicity is difficult to define (Fishman, 1971 and Lanza and Svendsen, 2007); but we take Lanza and Svendsen's (2007) definition of it, whereby it is seen as self-identification and how others identify you. The teenagers would respond when asked about their identity in Kiswahili, 'Mi ni Msomali kutoka Somalia ……Pia naongea Kisomali' (I am a Somali from Somalia and I speak Somali). This supports the view that language is also a marker of ethnic identity. However, the language situation in the study is a much more complex one

in all the domains. All the teenagers reported a more complex language situation than in the officially monolingual Somali.

The extent to which the teenagers choose their social networks in the social domains is an expression of who wants to be identified with whom. The teenagers were to choose the most important links in their lives in each social set up and most of the teenagers chose others from their ethnic group.[16] These contacts were people who were very important to them and are consulted on various important issues affecting the respondent. This is reflected in the social networks of an interviewee in two domains which are considered as 'free' – where an individual is not limited by social conditions – as shown below:

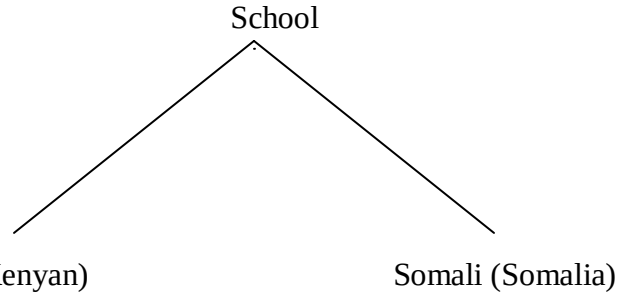
Figure 16: Social ties of a respondent in Friendship Domain.



In the diagram above, the respondent gave two people who are important and intimate to him in the friendship domain. The diagram indicates that the friends are Somalis. Therefore, for this particular teenager at this point in time, he wishes to be identified with Somalis. Another teenager interacts with a Somali from Somali and a Somali from Kenya below:

[16] The teenagers either gave contacts who are Somalis from Somalia or the Somalis who are of Kenyan origin.

Figure 17: Social Ties of a Respondent in the School Domain



This teenager in Figure 17 associates with Somalis from Somalia and Kenya to signify the closeness with the people they wished to identify with.

A further interesting aspect of ethnic based identity is derived from the teenagers categorically referring themselves as Somalis, 'Mi ni Msomali kutoka Somalia', which translates to 'I am a Somali from Somalia'. Doran (2004) refers it to 'ethnic specifity'. Indeed, given that the status of Somalis as refugees in an urban area which is 'illegal' underscores the aspect of ethnicity as a legitimate aspect of identity.

The interviews conducted showed that the 60% of the teenagers identified themselves as Somalis whereas a small number, 20%, would wish to be identified as Kenyans. 20% were not sure about their identity. Those who identified themselves as from Somalia would not even wish to be married to fellow Kenyans. The teenagers strongly feel that they would wish to be regarded as Somalis. This sense of ethnic identification enables them to chart their way forward. They feel their language is very important because it helps them maintain their culture and values. Their culture is different from the Kenyan culture and it is critical during the adolescence period when there is so much peer influence that orients them to Kenyan culture. For example, the Muslim culture in Kenya, as one parent commented, is not 'strict' and there are so many kinds; 'Indian, Kikuyu and many others'. The Somalis feel that the Kenyan Muslim culture is 'liberal', and one does not have to strictly adhere to the tradition, unlike in Somalia. Boshner (1997) discovered that the degree to which the immigrant youth are able to maintain their ethnic identity

while adapting to the majority culture has often been seen as critical to their self-esteem, psychological well-being, successful adjustment to their new society and academic success.

Ethnicity can also be understood within the social practices in the domains. Drawing on De Fina (2007), the study argues that code switching is a central marker of ethnicity. In this model, De Fina (2007) points out that participants in the social interaction do identity work and align themselves or distance themselves from social categories of belonging depending on the context of interaction and insertion in the outer world. In this regard, ethnicity is attributable to individuals and therefore shaped and negotiated in specific contexts. The teenagers would code switch to their Somali language as seen in the preceding section (7.4) in order to cut out others in the context. This implies that language and ethnicity transforms in varied domains. Ethnicity is invoked and negotiated by individuals and groups in different circumstances, creating boundaries from food to accent (De Fina, 2007) and hence it indexes affiliation. Blommaert (2005) further says that ethnicity should be studied in social contexts to establish how people portray themselves and wish to be identified. It is with this understanding that ethnicity of the Somali teenagers in the different domains is constructed.

As much as ethnicity is negotiated, it is indexed in subtle ways and often contradicts expectations and stereotypes about received ethnic boundaries (De Fina, 2007). From the data, the study argues that being a Somali may not necessarily be primordial but circumstantial. For example, one respondent claimed to be a Somali from Kenya. Upon interviewing and getting enmeshed into the rights and obligations (accepting as part of the study), the respondent actually agreed he was a refugee. In this case, he thought that admitting to be a refugee could put him in trouble, but when he realised that ethnic identity was not a threat to him, he produced his real identity. Thus, in other subsequent cases identified, it was clear that the teenagers when engaging in different activities are able to enact, project and negotiate identities.

Entertainment, particularly in activities related to one's ethnic group, is a positive orientation towards one's culture. The male teenagers particularly group themselves in the evening in the neighbourhood to chew *Khat* a substance which is tobacco- like and chewed to keep one awake. In such groups the teenagers specifically speak Somali. This is equivalent to what De Fina (2007) referred to in her study as the '*circolo de briscola'*, a group of Italian men who used to group themselves together to play a game. The teenagers meet in the places that underlie Somali ethnicity. The girls also like relaxing at home with their teenage Somali counterparts to chat and share ideas. The refugee community thus offer us a privileged position for observation of the relationship between language and identity. Cameron (1995) suggests that change in the language of people is brought about by behavior and attitude of the actual speakers. Observation of the behavior and consideration of these should be incorporated in the quantification to give a fine-grained analysis which reveals linguistic norms by institutions and socializing practices; how the norms are apprehended, accepted, resisted and subverted by individual actors and what their relation is in relation of construction of identity (Cameron, 1997:62). The teenagers have close-knit networks and are expected to maintain vernacular varieties (Milroy, 1980). Could the findings be related to the lifestyles of the community?

The respondents could also at times point out 'others' as not Somalis as opposed to 'themselves'. For example, in the process of snowballing, one could encounter statements such as, 'Mi ni Msomali kutoka Somali na najua Kisomali Kamili' which is said in Kiswahili and translates as 'I am a Somali from Somalia and speak real Somali'. Such an utterance depicts the teenager as trying to construct what he is, as opposed to what he is not and what others think of him. It seems also that 'Somaliness' could be seen as a continuum. There are those who are 'more Somali' like the said respondent and others are 'less Somali'. The Somali teenagers are sentimental about their ethnic group and hence, they use language as a strategy to attribute their ethnicity and therefore strive to retain their language at all costs.

In the process of trying to assert their ethnic group, the teenagers use their culture to exclude and include others as belonging or outsiders. For example, they look at the other teenagers (Somalis from Kenyan) as 'dressing badly' and hence, see themselves as different from them. They say such form of dressing cannot be allowed back in Somalia. They also claim that they don't participate in such activities as taking alcohol, or going to entertainment places like discos, as this is against their ethics. In fact, one teenager claimed that Somalis don't contract HIV! This she claimed is a punishment from Allah for those considered to be immoral and who have abandoned their cultures. Such responses and observations made by the teenagers actually confirm that they hold their ethnicity in high esteem. The teenagers also take their language as one of the requirements for being included in the larger ethnic group. They claim that they can't talk to their parents and other relatives in a language other than Somali, otherwise they risked being disowned by the entire Somali community. For example, one respondent very categorically stated, 'If I don't speak Somali, how can I survive in Eastleigh? It is like being deaf'. The teenagers acquire the other languages because they are obliged to do so by their parents, the school, and other institutions.

As much as the teenagers are affiliated to their ethnic community, they also realise that being in Kenya as refugees is part of them and hence, they have to devise strategies in order to balance their needs. This calls for multilingualism, one language for 'their own' and the rest of the languages 'with them' in reference to those who don't share their ethnic identity. Thus, they are characterised as having monolithic ethnicity and partial multilingualism. This means that they consider themselves as Somalis from Somalia first before other identities come to play in order to project other images. Thus, we conclude by legitimising Skuttnab-Kangas's (2000) assertion that language is a differentiator of identity and culture. Linguistic capital also plays an important role. Languages wield different statuses and values depending on the societal ranking based on the cultural and linguistic capital that is perceived to have. When an individual acquires a prestigious language he/she is able to negotiate apposition of power in the societal hierarchy through the use of language, as earlier discussed.

7.5.2 Religious Based Identity

Somalis are predominantly Muslims. Religious identity can also contribute to a sense of collective identity and language maintenance among the Somali teenagers. Islam functions as a pivot for them all, offering solid support in difficult times and providing cultural and social linkage with other Somalis. Other researchers have found similar results (Lanza and Svenden, 2007; Clyne and Kipp, 2006). It is at religious festivals like Ramadhan and Eid-Ul-Fitr, that Muslims arrange social meetings. Islam also gives the Somalis a sense of belonging and through it they come to know the location of other Somalis in varied places. As result, the teenagers are able to speak their language. Religion thus takes on a central role for many Somalis in Eastleigh and could potentially lead to language maintenance.

The Islamic religion to the teenagers seems to be a form of identity which is not negotiable. Most of the time, the teenagers would make a clear-cut statement to say, 'Mimi ni Muislamu', which translates as 'I am Muslim'. In fact, they view changing one's religion as a form of resistance to the moral values the person upholds, which are dictated by the Quran. It seems like the religious practices strongly make them identify as Somalis, stemming from their way of dressing.

Religion is also another marker of ethnicity. One teenager very categorically stated that 'Sisi wasomali wote ni waislamu', meaning all Somalis are Muslims. The majority of Somalis are Muslims and the teenagers seem to take this to mean that being a Somali means practising Islam. The religion also dictates the dress code, food and lifestyles of the Somali teenagers. One teenager kept on referring to food offered in the school as 'our and their food'. Islam prescribes food which is supposed to be eaten by those who are affiliated to it. In another instance, one of the teenagers was criticising the cultures of other Kenyan teenagers, saying that they dress 'inappropriately'– in tight pants and short skirts, and they spoil their hair. To her, being a Somali, and for that matter a Muslim, is a very 'ideal' culture.

7.5.3 Multiplicity of Identities and Language Change.

Identities among displaced populations especially if the duration is prolonged are continuously changing – being created, recreated, negotiated, and adapted in response to changing circumstances as earlier alluded to in chapter one. Their continuous identification and links with the sending communities place the migrants in situations where they continue to reconfigure spaces and redefine local and foreign (Coutin, 2005). Integration is a one-way process where the immigrants opt to become part of the hosting country. Thus, in the study, the integration which is taking place is what Wang (2002) portrays as a process of cultural change in ethnic group without losing identity where the group is brought into active and coordinated compliance with the dominant group's ongoing activities and objectives but still retain a larger part of their identity.

The ethnolinguistic identities of the Somali teenagers are constructed at home and strengthened by the contacts at home and the general community networks. However, such an arrangement is challenged through education, friendship, and religious ties. This is supported by Bourdieu's (1990) assertion that the dominant group's language is more prestigious and valued. Hence, the individual is an agent of change of their own identity and use their linguistic resources to resist or accept identities depending on how these position them (Pavlenko and Backledge, 2007) in the different social set-ups. As a result, an individual eventually wields multiple identities in different contexts/domains.

The study argues that identities are not given entities, static properties, or finished projects but are rather practical accomplishments that are constructed and reconstructed in everyday conversations (Georgakopoulou, 2006). Critical to becoming a member of a social network and more so a domain, one has to develop knowledge and behaviour expected, which includes language. But in the case of the Somalis, the teenagers need to fit into their Somali ethnic group as well as the wider Kenyan society, hence the need to also preserve the knowledge and the behaviour which is similar to their own back in their country. Languages bridge the gap through shared meanings in the process of communication. The teenager's country of origin (Somalia) uses the Somali language exclusively, whereas Kenya is a multilingual country. The teenagers seem to have

integrated so well and thus have acquired all the languages which enable them in Eastleigh to have multiple identities, i.e. Somali, Kenyans, Muslim, student, friend, etc. This is a result of role relations that the teenagers adopt at various times. Role relations put one in different subjective positions and thus have different expectations and also language differences. This calls for different languages to be used. A student will use English and Kiswahili in school with his/her friends and use Somali at home with parents and relatives.

The teenagers' places of identity construction have been categorised as those in the public space (school, friendship, and neighbourhood) and the private space, which include home and family (Giampapa, 2004). As languages are used to signal identity, the teenagers use the various languages to negotiate for their identity in order to suit the conditions that pertain to all domains. Some identities are negotiable and others are not. For example, in the school and the mosque domain, the teenagers have no option because the languages to be used are dictated by the dominant powers. When they are in the private domains, the teenagers are basically Somalis and they speak their mother tongue. This is what Giampapa (2004) refers to as claims to identities, positions and spaces within their worlds. For example, a teenager says:

> I am a Somali even if I live in Kenya. One day my country will be at peace and when I change how will my people treat me in my homeland.

The respondent in the above excerpt sees himself as a Somali and whatever he is undergoing is temporary. The hope is that one day they will relocate their native land and reunite with people in Somali and hopes that things will come to normalcy and hence has an imagined identity.

7.6 Conclusion.

The chapter reflected the Somali teenagers in the time of postructuralism. As mentioned in chapter one, social network theory could not sufficiently explain the linguistic make-up of the teenagers, particularly the relational ties in the social networks. The chapter then went on to discuss the linguistic market, where it portrays how the teenagers use the

various languages which they have acquired depending on which language has power in what domain. For example, the Somali language could dominate in the home and family domain but becomes a minority in others like the school, as seen in the domain allocation. Code-switching is also explicated in the chapter, where various forms are observed and the social functions they serve. Similar findings had also been observed by other researchers though the Somali case is different because of their refugee status in an urban area and also the methodology used in the study. Further, language choice is seen as an act of identity hence it becomes inevitable to discuss the linguistic market and code-switching without looking at identity. By using various languages, the teenagers were seen to portray identities they would wish to take up. The resultant effect is multiplicity of identities discussed under: ethnic and religious which conclude the general study.

CHAPTER EIGHT

A Summary of the Main Research Findings and Directions for Further Research

8.1 Introduction

8.2 Findings in relation to the research questions

8.2.1 What are the Linguistic Characteristics and Complexities of the Teenagers Social Networks of the Refugee Teenagers?

8.2.2 To what extent have the refugee teenagers lost or retained their mother tongue?

8.2.3 Is there a Linguistic Gender Difference among the Refugee Teenagers?

8.2.4 What Linguistic decisions have the Teenagers made in Kenya?

8.3 Findings in relation to theory

8.4 Directions for further research

8.5 Conclusion.

8.1: Introduction

This chapter which concludes the thesis argument is divided into four sections. Section 8.2 restates the research questions which guided this investigation and goes on to summarize the main research findings. Section 8.3 presents the main findings of the research in relation to social network theory and post-structural theories. In section 8.4, suggestions for further research are given.

8.2 Findings in relation to the research questions

8.2.1 What are the Linguistic Characteristics and Complexities of their Social Networks of the Refugee Teenagers?

From the delineation of the teenagers' ties, the study uncovered various kinds of social networks. It is evident that the teenagers have both Somalian and Kenyan relations in almost similar proportions. The social networks are dense and multiplex. Such network

ties influence the individual teenagers in various ways and result in language change. The teenagers are further categorised into those who are integrated and those who are not, based on the social network scores. The teenagers were found to be enmeshed in multidimensional relationships from both countries. Thus, the social network environment exposes them to values and language varieties which enable them to develop their own language repertoires. These findings are in line with the social network theory, addressed in Chapter 3.

8.2.2 To what extent are the teenagers social networks oriented towards the Speaker's linguistic/ and or ethnic group

The teenagers have multidimensional social networks as mentioned in the preceding section (8.2.1). With the Somalis, the teenagers speak Somali whereas with Kenyans, they choose between English and Kiswahili and at other times code-switching. The teenagers cannot remain close-knit to their ethnic group as they need to share the valued resources which cannot be provided for by their ethnic group as no community can consider itself to be 'self-contained'. As a result the teenagers strike a balance, consequently multilingualism becomes the norm rather than the exception.

8.2.3 To what extent have the refugee teenagers lost or retained their mother tongue?

The Somali teenagers have formed an autonomous community which has its own infrastructure of social networks where they practice 'language specialization' in the various domains. They use their mother tongue a great deal because of the need to be part of the rights and obligations of the Somali community and also use other languages to be part of the wider Kenyan community. The teenagers are compelled by various reasons to make language choices. Such factors include the domain an individual is placed in at a particular time, the identity one wishes to take up and also the subject position. Relations of power also play a role in language choice. This is because people act in their daily lives within larger social structures which determine relations of power at the institutional level.

Mother tongue retention was discussed in various domains of the study. At home and at the family level, the members were found to have restricted, closed and highly integrated circles of ethnic relations. Thus in this domain, the Somali language is dominant. The mother tongue retention is also aided by the vulnerability of the refugees. The teenagers are also made aware by their family members that failure to speak their language is like loosing one's identity. In the friendship domain, the teenagers use multiple languages. Kiswahili is the most dominant language in this domain though the Somali language is still popular as the teenagers relate more to those of the same ethnic group. Similar finding were also established in the school domain. The Somalis share a lot, ranging from food, form of dressing and religion as the chances of coming together are high therefore mother tongue use is inevitable, even if it is a context like school. The teenagers speak their language with their elders in the neighbourhood but speak Kiswahili with their age-mates and friends. Arabic is popular in the religious domain but its purpose is for prayers, otherwise, Somali is still a popular language. Further statistical analysis of the social networks in relation to language usage revealed that Somali language was significant but to a larger extent in the family and the home domain. In terms of speaking and writing, the teenagers are highly proficient in Somali as compared to other languages though the scores are lower in writing compared to speaking. The teenagers contended that they prefer Somali above all other languages, except that they are compelled by forces beyond their control to learn other languages. This research question was further discussed in relation to second language research and diglossia and truncated multilingualism (Fishman, 1971; Dyers, 2007).

8.2.4 Is there a linguistic gender difference among the refugee teenagers?

A glimpse of the Somali culture was probed in the hope of understanding the gender differences. It was established that the teenagers are not strictly adhering to the cultural norms. There were subtle language differences among the teenage boys and the girls in the study. In the home and neighbourhood domain, the differences in language use by the teenagers was extensive but became marginal in the friendship and the school domain. This was attributed to the fact they are free from cultural bondage in domains like the

friendship, hence are able to make independent decisions in terms of language use. This finding agrees with Wiklund's (2002) assertion that kinship is a categorizing label whereas friendship is relational. In this case, it can be said that the teenagers are trying to reconstruct, revalue and reject norms which they deem inappropriate. It was also established that the vulnerability of the teenagers as refugees impinges on language usage. This is because of shared ways of doing things and values as their freedom is curtailed. Such situations also affect the teenagers in participating in the teenage subcultures common in the mainstream Kenyan society. For example, the use of Sheng, a slang language common in Kenya's urban areas as Eastleigh, is not prevalent among the Somali teenagers. However, it is concluded that despite the vulnerability of the teenagers, they have become their own agents and are in the process of emancipating themselves.

8.2.5 What linguistic decisions have the refugees made in Kenya?

Chapter 7 focused on the distribution of languages also referred to in the study as the linguistic market. It was established that in the process of negotiating for identity in Eastleigh, the teenagers use various languages depending on the 'price tag' of a language in a given context/domain. The language usage is also dictated by the social networks activated at a particular situation. In this regard, language shifts from one domain to another due to the prevailing market conditions; at times codes are switched and mixed in one domain to another discussed under allocation and interaction theories. The teenagers' code choices are necessitated by the need for solidarity, exploratory, meaning enhancement, intimate family life, multilingual competence, dual group identity, and creation of social distance, and also as a marker of virtuosity.

The multiplicity of languages at the teenagers' exposal enables them to negotiate various identity options relevant at any given context/domain. The teenagers were thus found to negotiate identity options based on ethnicity, religion which results to multiplicity of identities all discussed in chapter 7.

8.3 Findings in Relation to Theory

The study has affirmed the usefulness of Milroy's (1980) Social Network Theory in the study of language change in Eastleigh by the Somali refugee teenagers. The theory stipulates that the social relations people are involved in are observable and can be described by the reciprocal behaviour of the people studied. Social Network Theory is two-pronged: density is based on whether respondent A knows B, C, D or E. Multiplexity measures the strength of the links between the respondents. All these factors were found to affect language usage by the teenagers in Eastleigh.

However, the theory is seen to be too structural. As demonstrated from the data, the findings point to the theory as in adequate in some issues. The theory tends to ignore the fact that individuals cannot be divorced from the societal, economic, political and social conditions. Refugees for example is a result of failures in the society's political and social systems, thus Social Network Theory cannot be seen as an all inclusive theory. It does not address in-depth issues like identity and relations of power. Labov (1986) opines that social network theory must be supplemented at the interpretative stage, which the study adhered to.

As a result, the study introduced the second and a third theoretical frameworks. Domain analysis is used to describe language usage in various domains. The poststructural theory sees an individual as diverse, contradictory, multiple and decentred. In using these approaches to supplement the Social Network Theory, issues of power relations, identity and ethnicity in a multiple context are hence addressed. Poststructural theory in this study begins where Social Network Theory stops whereas Domain analysis gives a clear understanding. This elevates the Social Network Theory to a multi-level sociolinguistic theory. Other theories explicated in the study include Accommodation theory, to explain 'convergence and divergence' in the study, and the Markedness paradigm to understand code switching.

8.4 Directions for Further Research

A range of directions for further research are given in this study. This includes:

- Sociolinguistic profile research in Kenya: very little is known in terms of languages spoken in Kenya. Earlier research indicated a range of between 40 to 70 languages. As such, it is necessary to carry out an in-depth research on the actual number of languages in Kenya. Such findings would provide relevant data used by researchers, government and the civil society in language policy and planning to evaluate past, present and on-going language research.

- Surveys on language attitudes in Kenya. The findings of such surveys give the government and the people residing in the country the position and the feelings of the people in relation to their languages. Such language attitude surveys should centre on the relationship between ethnicity and language. There seems to be an unclear correlation between belonging to a particular ethnic group and also speaking a language in Kenya. This could possibly help highlight problems of ethnic wars as experienced in Kenya in the violence that followed the 2007general elections. Such surveys should also include the number of speakers of each language to help in the distribution of the resources in the country.

- Ethnographic research on refugees in Kenya's urban centres. It is not enough for policy documents to state that refugees are not allowed in urban areas while results indicate that refugees reside in such areas with the full knowledge of government agents. Ethnographic research will also shed light on the conditions of the refugees in Kenya urban areas. Refugees are very good entrepreneurs and could boost the economy of the country if they are given recognition.

- Education. Performance of refugee students in the Kenyan schools should be studied. This will enlighten the education sector on the language problems the students have in order for appropriate measures to be taken. Furthermore, this should be in relation to establishing the chances and placement of the refugees in

the job market and to avoid discrimination. This will be relevant data for researchers in the human rights sector.

- Code-Switching. This should be carried to establish the codes that are mixed and switched by the teenagers. This follows the findings in the present research that the teenagers code-switch. A few instances were discussed in this study as an observation made during the data collection.

8.5 Conclusion

This study has uncovered the linguistic position of the Somali refugee teenagers in Eastleigh. The Social Networks the teenagers form were found to influence their language choices. This in turn facilitates language change. The Somali teenagers still retain their mother tongue to a larger extent. The highest levels of mother tongue are reported in the family domain with progressive decline through others, culminating with the lowest level of use in the education domain. However, other factors come to play as the community cannot be 'self-contained' in a foreign land. This calls for the incorporation of other languages, English, Kiswahili and at times Sheng. Language change was also seen to be tied to identity, gender and power as discussed in chapters 5, 6 and 7. The teenagers choose a language depending on which identity they want to be affiliated to and this results in a multiplicity of identities. Somali culture is patriarchal but the teenagers have become their own agents. Thus, gender can be seen as a social construct where both females and males negotiate positions in society depending on the roles they play at any one particular time. Finally, power relations also play a role in language change. The Somalis are a minority group in a majority society (Kenya). This puts the Somali language in a less powerful position. However, it was established that this is not always the case. There are domains where Somali language wields more power, for example, in the home domain. Thus, a language can be powerful in one domain and less powerful in the other. To conclude the general study, it is argued that language change is dictated by the social networks at play and domains of practice, but other factors like power, the identity one wishes to wield, and gender also play a role.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1

Subject Information Sheet (Qualitative and quantitative/Interview Based Research)



School of Literature and Language Studies
Private Bag 3, Wits 2050, Johannesburg, South Africa
Tel: (011) 717-4500 Fax: (011) 717-4559
Email: 018lucy@muse.wits.ac.za

My name is Phylis Bartoo, and I am conducting research for the purposes of obtaining a PhD at the University of the Witwatersrand. My area of focus is Social networks and language change among the Somali refugees. The study centres on how the social networks the refugees make orient them to the languages spoken in Kenya. Social networks are social relations people make when they meet other people. These relations have been found to influence social behaviour which includes language. In Kenya there are several languages spoken. In the proposed study, we want to find out whether the respondents have acquired these languages spoken in Kenya.

Participation in this research will entail filing in a questionnaire and being interviewed by me at a time and place that is convenient for you. The interview will last for approximately 30 minutes. With your permission, this interview will be recorded to help in further data analysis. Participation is voluntary, and no person will be advantaged or disadvantaged in any way for choosing to participate or not participate in the study. All of your responses will be kept confidential, and no information that could identify you or the people you mention would be included in the research report. The questionnaire and interview material (tapes and transcripts) will not be seen or heard by any person at any time, and will only be processed by myself. When the study is completed the recorded data will be destroyed. You may refuse to answer any questions you would prefer not to, and you may choose to withdraw from the study at any point.

Your participation in this study would be greatly appreciated. This research will contribute both to a larger body of knowledge about languages spoken by the refugees. This can help to provide baseline information that will help in addressing the language needs of this group in general and inform development of new policies and procedures.

Thank you,

Phylis Bartoo.

Appendix 2

INFORMED CONSENT FORM FOR QUESTIONNAIRES

1) I understand the aims of the study and the procedures involved. I understand that my participation in the study is voluntary and I can withdraw anytime I want to.

2) I understand that my name will not appear on the questionnaire schedule and it will not be used in the final report.

3) Any information I reveal to the researcher will be treated with confidentiality.

4) I agree to take part in the study by answering questions on the questionnaires.

Signature: _____ Date _____

I, Phylis Bartoo, have explained the procedures and the aims of the study. I have assured the participant that participation is voluntary and that he/she can withdraw anytime he/she wants to.

I have also guaranteed the participant that all information revealed to me will be treated with much confidentiality and that his/her name will not appear on the questionnaire schedule and it will not be used in the final report.

The questionnaire answers will only be available to the supervisor and external examiner if requested.

Once the exam process is completed the questionnaire answers will be destroyed.

Signature: _____ Date _____

Appendix 3

Consent Form (Interview)

I _____ consent to being interviewed by Phylis Bartoo for his/her study on _____. I understand that:

0) Participation in this interview is voluntary.
1) That I may refuse to answer any questions I would prefer not to.
2) I may withdraw from the study at any time.
3) No information that may identify me will be included in the research report, and my responses will remain confidential.

Signed _____

Appendix 4

Consent Form (Recording)

I _____ consent to my interview with Phylis Bartoo for his/her study on '**Language change and Social Networks among Somali Refugee Teenagers'** being tape-recorded. I understand that:

1) The tapes and transcripts will not be seen or heard by any person in this organisation at any time, and will only be processed by the researcher.
2) All tape recordings will be destroyed after the research is complete.
3) No identifying information will be used in the transcripts or the research report.
4) I shall have the right to listen to all audio-tapes and to erase them or part of them.

Signed _____

Appendix 5

Parental Consent

We agree our daughter/ Son to participate in a study of Social Networks and Language Change, to be carried out by Phylis Bartoo, a PhD Candidate in Linguistics from the University of Witwatersrand, South Africa with the understanding that:

1) The purpose of the study is to describe the language change and how social networks influence language use. The **intent** is not to change the behaviour of our children, but just for their academic work.

2) Our daughter/son will fill a questionnaire and also be audio-taped by Phylis Bartoo. She will also be allowed to make observations and take notes.

3) All questionnaires, observations made and interviews recorded will be analyzed by Phylis and a limited number of people involved in her study, only for academic purposes.

4) All times, our identity and that of our children is kept confidential our lives should not be put to any risk in whatever way.

5) We shall have a right to access the questionnaires, tapes and any observations made and can request to destroy or erase any of them or part of them.

6) At the end of the study, Phylis Bartoo will be allowed to keep all the materials for future research purposes only.

7) Participation in the study by my son/daughter is on voluntary basis.

Signed by Parent(s) ——————————

Signed by the Researcher——————————————

Appendix 6: Questionnaire

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

1. Name:

b) Male [ ] female [ ]

DOMAIN INFORMATION

1**.** Place of birth

When did you come to Kenya?

2. Which languages do you frequently use in the following domains (places)?

a) Family

b) Home

c) Friends

d) Neighbours

e) School

f) Church or mosque

SOCIAL NETWORKS

I. Neighbourhood

1. Are there people in your neighbourhood you have contact with from time to time? (Including phone conversations, correspondence by mail and face to face contact)

Yes [ ] No [ ]

2. If yes, which of the people are important to you in one way or another? (People you might turn to for general help, or advice about things like information, borrow something when you have a problem etc.) Which language do you speak with them?

	Person	Sex	Language
a)			
b)			
c)			

II. Relatives

1. Are you in contact with any of your relatives from time to time?

Yes [ ] No [ ]

2. If yes, thinking about the relatives that you have contact with, can you tell me if there are relatives who are important to you in one way or another? Give their relation to you and the language you speak with them.

	Person	Sex	Relation	Language
a)				
b)				
c)				

3. Where do they live?

III. School

1. Is there any one at your school who you have contact with and who is important to you in one way or another? Who and what language do you speak with them?

	Person	Sex	Language
a)			
b)			
c)			

2. Is there anyone whom you have already mentioned as a relative or neighbour who you know from school as well?

	Person	Sex	Language
a)			
b)			
c)			

IV. Others.

1. Are there people that you are in contact with who do not fit neatly into one of the areas mentioned like neighbours, relatives or fellow students? Again, am interested in those people who are important to you in one way or another. Friends from another part of town, another town, people who have moved to new locations with whom you still maintain contacts. Who are they, where do you meet, and what language do you speak?

Person	Sex	meeting circumstance	Language
a)			
b)			
c)			

2. Where do they live?

V Organizations

1) Many people belong to different organizations/groups or a church or a mosque. For example, they may be involved in a social club, football group, a community organization like the "y", a political-type group, or some other kind of group not mentioned here. Do you belong to any groups or organizations? Which one? What language(s) do you speak?

Group	Language(s)
a)	
b)	
c)	
d)	

2. Are there any people in these organization(s) who are very important to you? Who are they? What language do they speak?

Person	Sex	Language
a)		
b)		
c)		

Appendix 7

Interview Schedule

SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT

Do you have a problem when speaking these languages?
Is there a situation which you fear speaking any of the languages?
Which of the languages are very important and why?
If the situation improved in your country would you wish to go back?
Do you think you are disadvantaged in Kenya in any way?
How do you feel to be in Kenya? Do you like it? If no why?
Have you received discrimination or negative attitudes or treated badly by Kenyans?
What do you think about Kenya in general?
Have you participated in Kenyan clubs and Organizations?
Tell about friends you have made in Kenya. Was it difficult to make friends in Kenya?
What are your feelings about the Kenyan culture? Do you feel you want to learn the cultures or you are satisfied with your own Somali culture.
What do you think on the whole about your contacts? How satisfied are you with the people you do things with?
How would you compare your social networks in Somali and in Kenya?
What has changed since you moved to Kenya?
Are you proud to be a Kenyan or Somali? Given a choice would you like to be Kenyan or Somalian?

LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY
What can you do? Answer Yes or NO
Greet
Ask direction
Buy food
Tell a joke
Give orders e.g. close the door, play soccer, play netball, hockey.
Teach someone how to swim
Fill in an application form
Answer an exam question
Read a book
Read a magazine
Read a notice
Pray
Write an essay
Write a note
Text a message by using a mobile phone?

Write a letter to a friend.

Rate your proficiency in English, Kiswahili, Somali and Arabic in terms of the following: Put an X or + in the appropriate box.

a) Speaking

i) English

☐ Excellent ☐ Good ☐ Fair ☐ Poor

ii) Kiswahili

☐ Excellent ☐ Good ☐ Fair ☐ Poor

iii) Somali

☐ Excellent ☐ Good ☐ Fair ☐ Poor

iv) Arabic

☐ Excellent ☐ Good ☐ Fair ☐ Poor

a) Writing

i) English

☐ Excellent ☐ Good ☐ Fair ☐ Poor

ii) Kiswahili

☐ Excellent ☐ Good ☐ Fair ☐ Poor

iii) Somali

☐ Excellent ☐ Good ☐ Fair ☐ Poor

iv) Arabic

☐ Excellent ☐ Good ☐ Fair ☐ Poor.

Appendix 8

Social Network Scores for 30 (thirty) Respondents

Respondents	Conditions 1-5					Network Index /5	-,+ Integration
1	1	2	3	4	5		+
2	-	+	-	-	-	1	-
3	+	-	-	+	-	2	-
4	-	-	-	+	-	1	-
5	+	+	+	-	-	3	+
6	+	+	-	-	-	-	
7	+	+	-	+	-	3	+
8	+	+	-	-	-	2	-
9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
10	-	+	-	-	-	1	-
11	+	+	-	+	-	3	+
12	+	+	-	-	-	2	-
13	+	+	+	+	+	5	+
14	+	+	+	-	-	3	+
15	+	+	-	-	-	2	-
16	+	+	+	-	-	3	+
17	+	+	-	-	-	2	-
18	+	+	+	+	-	4	+
19	+	+	-	-	-	2	-

20	**+**	**+**	**-**	**-**	**-**	**2**	**-**
21	**+**	**+**	**+**	**+**	**-**	**4**	**+**
22	**+**	**+**	**-**	**-**	**-**	**2**	**-**
23	**+**	**+**	**+**	**-**	**-**	**3**	**+**
24	**-**	**+**	**-**	**-**	**-**	**1**	**-**
25	**+**	**-**	**-**	**-**	**-**	**1**	**-**
26	**-**	**+**	**-**	**-**	**-**	**1**	**-**
27	**+**	**+**	**+**	**+**	**-**	**4**	**+**
28	**+**	**+**	**-**	**+**	**-**	**3**	**+**
29	**+**	**-**	**-**	**-**	**-**	**1**	**-**
30	**-**	**-**	**-**	**+**	**-**	**1**	**-**

Appendix 9

Language Distribution in the Domains

Domains'	Language Distribution	% Usage
Home	Som	83.3
	Som/Kis	13.3
	Som/Kis/Arabic	3.3
Friendship	Kis/Eng	20
	Som	13.3
	Kis	20
	Eng	6.7
	Som/Kis	10.0
	Som/Eng/Kis	20.0
	Eng/Kis/Sheng/Som	3.3
	Eng/Som	6.7
Neighbourhood	Kis/Eng/Sheng	3.3
	Kis	26.7
	Som	26.7
	Som/Kis	10
	Som/Eng/Kis	10
	Eng/Som	6.7
	Eng/Kis	10
	Eng/Kis/Sheng/Kik	3.3
	Kik/Som	3.3
School	Eng/Kis	66.7
	Eng	26.7
	Som	3.3
	Kis	3.3
Mosque	Kis/Arab/Som	21.4
	Kis	7.1
	Arab/Som	21.4
	Som	17.9
	Kis/Arab	3.6
	Eng/Kis	3.6
	Arabic	10.7