

THE CULTURAL AND INTERCULTURAL DIMENSIONS OF KISWAHILI AMONG THE MAASAI OF KENYA: THE PLACE OF ATTITUDES

Naisei, Gladys Kaindi ¹ and Mukhwana, Ayub ²

¹ Department of Kiswahili, University of Nairobi, P.O Box 30197 – 00100, Nairobi – Kenya.
Email: gladsnaisei@gmail.com

² Department of Kiswahili, University of Nairobi, P.O Box 30197 – 00100, Nairobi, Kenya.
Email: ayubmukhwana@yahoo.com

Abstract

The present study is about the attitudes of the Kenya Maasa speech community towards Kiswahili language due to acculturation. In the study, we analyze the factors that drive the Maasa speech community towards either being for or against Kiswahili in the Kenyan linguistic context where Kiswahili is both a national lingua franca and an official language. The area of study was Kajiado County and its choice for the study was purposive besides being a cosmopolitan county whose result can pass as a representative of the attitudes of the entire Maasai speech community towards Kiswahili in Kenya. Research methodology for the study included both questionnaires and interview schedules that were constructed in Kiswahili, English and Maasai language besides library research and participant observation. The sample for the study included 40 participants who were mainly opinion leaders among the Maasai people of Kajiado county and of both gender. Tajfel and Turner's Social Identity Theory was used in this study. The results of the research show that the Maasai speech community has both positive and negative language attitudes towards Kiswahili and the kind of attitude is dependent on various factors. That the youthful Maasai speech community respondents were for Kiswahili usage is a pointer to the fact that Kiswahili's future among the Maasai is bright.

Key words: Kiswahili, Maasai, Language attitudes, Social identity, in-group

Introduction

The present study takes cognizance of the fact that language and culture are inseparable and so by researching the attitudes of the Maasai towards Kiswahili, it tries to find out how Kiswahili culture has been impressed by the Maasai people through the language. This is the essence of acculturation or cultural contact as a process of cultural change as a result of two cultures coming together due to long and intimate contact.

The importance of Kiswahili in Kenya where it is a national language and the first official language cannot be overemphasized. This is the only native Kenyan language that does not carry with it feelings of ethnicity when used in communication. As Kembo-Sure (1996) puts it, many people in Kenya learn and use Kiswahili language because it stands for Kenya's national unity and it is used for communication by people from various ethnic communities in the country. This fact may explain why Kiswahili is among the few African languages that have been extensively researched (Mbaabu 1991). Many of these researches have explored areas like the origin and history of this language, its development, its spread, its standing nationally and internationally, besides its use in wider circles of communication (Mbaabu 1991, Chimera 1998). Presently, Kiswahili has spread and is in use in many parts of East and Central Africa where it is used as a lingua franca in many spheres (Massamba et al 2001).

In Kenya Kiswahili language is taught as a compulsory examinable subject in both primary and secondary schools. The language is also taught in colleges and in universities where it is examined as an optional subject. Besides, Kiswahili is broadcast in many radio and television stations both within and without Kenya where examples include BBC, London, VOA, Washington, and Radio China International. Apart from electronic media, print media has also not been excluded in as far as Kiswahili is concerned. There are many books, journals, newspapers, and newsletters written in and on Kiswahili locally and internationally. In the Kenyan context, *Taifa Leo* newspaper that is published by *The Nation Media Group* is published in Kiswahili is very popular because of the kind of news it carries.

Still, at the social level to do with ordinary intergroup communication, commerce, and even politics, quite a sizeable number of Kenyans communicate by means of Kiswahili than any other language (Mosei 2002). This fact is also held by Chimera (1998) who holds that indeed in the entire East and Central African region, Kiswahili is the leading lingua franca and that this state of affairs has been made possible regardless of the fact that the region is highly multilingual and Kiswahili has received competition from foreign languages like English and French.

Despite the fact that Kiswahili is a very important language on the Kenyan linguistic scene as is evidenced by the many domains in which it is used for communication both within and without the country, the language still faces many challenges (Mohochi 2011). Among these challenges are attitudes towards language by Kenyans (Mukhwana 2008). This is the essence of the present study on attitudes of the Maasai speech community towards Kiswahili in Kajiado county of Kenya. People's attitudes towards a thing or a concept do have influences on the target group. In this context, a people's towards a language can have an effect on the way the people perceive the language. Attitudes towards languages are as a result of various factors as the present study will have to reveal in relation to the Maasai speech community in Kajiado county of Kenya.

Kajiado county of Kenya has a plethora of Kenyan ethnic groups drawn from the Maasai, Kikuyu, Kisii, Kalenjin, Luhya, and Luo besides pockets of Somali and Hindi and Urdu speakers. In spite of this multilingual nature of Kajiado county, the Maasai speech community is still the largest and has spread all the way from Isinya sub-county up to the Kenya – Tanzania border. Kiswahili, being Kenya's national and official language ought to be the one used for communication in national and official domains. Failure to use Kiswahili for communication as required in contexts like religious ones or public meetings that involve Kenyans from different ethnic groups by the Maasai speech community served as an impetus for the present study. The study sought to find out whether this kind of linguistic behavior is as a result of language attitude towards Kiswahili or the Maasai cultural pride.

Aims and Objectives of the study

The present study had the following aims:-

- i. To observe the various attitudes towards Kiswahili by the Maasai speech community residing in Kajiado county
- ii. To identify the reasons that lead to the kind of attitudes the Maasai speech community of Kajiado county has towards Kiswahili.
- iii. To observe whether the attitudes that the Maasai speech community of Kajiado county hold towards Kiswahili have any effect on the position of Kiswahili as Kenya's national and official language or not.

Theoretical framework

This study used the Social Identity theory by Tajfel and Turner. In this theory, Tajfel and Turner talk about identity as a major component of this theory. To these scholars, identity which can be at individual or community level is an endless process, and which is as a result of many causes that are supported by the speech community that forms the identity of the community. Language is used in this process as an important signal that helps to explain that identity. This element of identity as used in this theory begins with trying to explain what a speech community is as follows:- "A speech community is made up of those people who see and identify themselves as originating from one speech community that is different from any other speech community". Basically, the theory that this study has used to analyze language attitudes of the Maasai speech community towards Kiswahili in Kajiado county has to do with the concepts of US versus THEM. This theory was important given the Maasai people's refusal to disregard their rich cultural heritage for many centuries.

Social identity as a phenomenon demands that an individual identifies with a social group that is relevant to him or her. Social identity concept helps in explaining the psychological basis of intergroup discrimination hence coming up with processes of social company described as in-group and out-group. This theory of social identity was quite useful in this study for it helps predict certain intergroup behaviors on the basis of perceived group differences.

The present theory proved very useful to the study because of the fact that every language serves as a bearer of a culture. Thus, if one speaks a language he or she takes part of life represented by that language. In other words we can argue that each system of culture has its own way of looking at things and people and of dealing with them. In the context of the present study, if a person from the Maasai speech community adapts Kiswahili by identifying with the speakers of the language, he or she gets elements of the original owners of Kiswahili.

Methodology

Research methodology began with the identification and training of research assistants in social science research methods.

The present study was carried out in Kitengela location, Isinya sub-county of Kajiado county with an aim of getting the attitudes towards Kiswahili by people from the Maasai speech community. Kitengela Division has two wards where each ward has two locations each under a chief. In total, Kitengela has four locations which are Ololoitikoshi, Kitengela, Oloosirkon and Sholinke.

Questionnaires which were carefully constructed were used in data collection and were in English, Kiswahili, and Maasai languages. Interviews were also conducted and where the researchers and their research assistants felt the answers given were not satisfactory, follow up questions were asked the respondents. Library research was also used in the present research especially to do with what had so far been done on the topic of language attitudes, and theoretical framework.

Purposive sampling was used in this research and this helped the researchers to pick on a sample with respondents whose features the study wanted and not that of chancing (Creswell 2007; Kombo and Tromp 2006). Four chiefs were selected, each from each location, for purposes of the present research. Four assistant chiefs were also purposively selected for the study. Besides, religious leaders were also used in data collection in the study. Also used for data collection for the present study were four village elders who proved to be true leaders at their level. Sixteen residents from Kitengela and of both gender and of varied ages, educational levels, and places of residence were also used in the study.

Results and Discussions

In this section of the paper we give results of the study on Maasai speech community's attitudes towards Kiswahili as reported by respondents of Kajiado county. A brief discussion of the same results on attitudes towards Kiswahili among the Maasai speech community as reported by respondents from Kajiado county will also be given.

As has already been mentioned, a total of 40 respondents were used in the study and their breakdown is as shown in table 1 below.

Table 1: Total number of respondents used in the study

Respondents	Female	%	Male	%
Preachers	1	25	3	75
Residents	8	50	8	50
Elected leaders	2	50	2	50
Chiefs	0	0	4	100
Assistant chiefs	0	0	8	100
Village elders	2	50	2	50
Total	13		27	

From the above table regarding the number of respondents used in the present study, it clearly comes out that the Maasai speech community in Kajiado county does not assign administrative duties to its female folk. When it comes to positions like those of chiefs and assistant chiefs, women are not represented. This kind of scenario may be as a result of the positions being elective from the grassroot level. Out of the 4 chiefs none is female as the same applies to the 8 assistant chiefs. Another possible explanation has to do with the levels of education. The Maasai speech community is still traditionally deep rooted in its past practices. Thus, for fear of polluting their culture, girl child education has not seriously taken root in the Maasai community.

Without present day western education, one does not ordinarily qualify for positions like those of chiefs and assistant chiefs in modern day Kenya. In this case therefore, education is used to mark in-group and out-group and by so doing help in discriminating the out- group (females) from the in-group (males) when it comes to administrative roles in Maasai community.

Besides gender, age was also investigated as a factor determining attitudes of the Maasai speech community towards Kiswahili in Kajiado county. Respondents of ages between 18 and 30 years showed lots of competence in the Kiswahili language and preferred using it for communication regardless of their would be audience. Respondents in this age gap preferred answering the questionnaire and interview questions in Kiswahili language with a lot of effort being put in proper pronunciation of Kiswahili words. An explanation to this kind of linguistic behavior for Kiswahili emanates from Kenya's history. Before the year 1985, Kenya as an independent nation did not place much emphasis on Kiswahili language. When President Daniel Moi started the 8.4.4 education system and made Kiswahili a compulsory examinable subject at the end of both primary and secondary school levels, the importance of Kiswahili language became more pronounced. The Maasai speech community generation aged between 18 and 30 years now is a generation that has directly benefited from the fruits of the change in language in education policy by Moi. Despite the fact that these youthful respondents favored Kiswahili more in the entire scenario of language attitudes by the Maasai speech community in Kajiado, there are those few respondents who also wanted to show that besides Kiswahili they also had competencies in English, Maasai language and a Kenyan slang called Sheng due to education and urban influences. The above reported language preferences were in reaction to an item on the interview schedule that went thus:-

7 (a) In your view, in what language would you prefer leaders in this division to use in addressing residents in public meetings? Why?

In response to this item, respondents whose age was above 30 years tended to prefer Maasai language. In this case of age, women did not seem to feature as an important factor. Here again, the issue of Maasai culture comes into play. We reliably established that according to Maasai traditions and cultural norms, decisions for women and children are made by men. In this case therefore once Maasai men chose Maasai language as the most preferred language women respondents had but to abide by that decision. It must however be noted that single, educated and youthful female respondents held independent attitudes towards the languages in use in Kajiado county but because their population was significantly small it was treated by this research as negligible. We are here going by norms of the Maasai speech community in Kajiado as they regard women in educational circles.

The issue of occupation was also investigated in relation to the attitude the Maasai speech community has towards Kiswahili language in Kajiado county. According to the findings of this study, one's occupation affects attitudes towards Kiswahili in Kajiado county. The attitudes emanate from one's job environment as he or she goes about his or her business. In circumstances where an individual interacts with people from only one ethnic group, say Maasai, one is forced to have an inclination towards the language lest he or she loses the linguistic group membership. In occupations like business, one cannot afford to disregard Kiswahili language given that it is the main language of communication in multilingual business circles in Kenya (Mukhwana 2014). From the respondents, it was noted that some residents of Kajiado county from locations like Kitengela engage in business ventures with Kenyans of all ethnic groups. In this regard, it is Kiswahili language that they use as a vehicle that enables communication with a wider audience of Kenyans. Apart from business, the people of Kajiado county who work with the county and national governments and even with national and international companies need to communicate far and wide. In this respect, such residents of Kajiado county find themselves with no linguistic option except impressing Kiswahili for national linguistic unity and cohesiveness. The fact that residents of Kajiado county use Kiswahili in the

success of their occupation became evident when the interview item below was put to respondents for their reaction:-

9. Which of the many languages in use in Kenya do you use at your place of work and why?

In reaction to the question above, 75% of the respondents felt Kiswahili and English should be the rightful languages for use at places of work in the entire nation. The reason given for preferring of the two languages is that they are ethnically neutral and so can bring unity at work places. Despite this positive attitude towards Kiswahili in as far as occupation is concerned, there were a few respondents (25%) who have pride in the use of Maasai language in Kajiado county. Such respondents felt they should use the Maasai language when communicating with their fellow Maasai workers for the language helps in saying exactly what is supposed to be said without going round in circles.

Table 2 below shows respondents reactions to the above question (9).

Total	Negative attitudes	%	Positive attitudes	%
40	10	25	30	75

From the table above, it becomes clear that residents of Kajiado county have very positive attitudes towards Kiswahili as a language that is to be used at working places in Kenya.

Place of residence is another variable that the study set out to research in relation to the issue of attitudes towards Kiswahili by residents of Kajiado county who belong to the Maasai speech community. Broadly speaking, Kajiado county can be divided into two categories that are urban and rural. Basing our research on these broad categorization, the result of our study showed that urban Kajiado had residents who are not wholly from the Maasai speech community for they are from mixed ethnic backgrounds. Kitengela town, for instance, is a location in Kajiado county but whose residents are from all over Kenya. In such a setting it is rare to come across people communicating in their mother tongue as was observed by some respondents. Instead, the language that is preferred for communication is Kiswahili as was reported by respondents. "Do not be surprised if I told you that Kiswahili is the main language in my house", confessed one respondent when asked a follow up question on an item that wanted to know which language is used where in terms of location (urban/ rural).

In reference to place of residence, respondents reported that residents of rural Kajiado county and who are from the Maasa speech community prefer to use Maasai language because rural Kajiado is basically monolingual in Maasai. For convenience sake and for ingroup solidarity sake, the people of rural Kajiado county would rather maintained communication in their Maasai mother tongue. It must be pointed out that from the respondents it clearly comes out that youthful respondents have comparatively more positive attitudes towards the use of Kiswahili in Kajiado county regardless of whether they are rural or urban folk. One reason for this state of affairs is that the Maasai youth are more culturally and socially exposed than their elder brothers and sisters through western type of education. no wonder, the result of the present study shows youthful Maasai respondents as people who do code mixing and code switching involving Kiswahili, English, and Sheng. Very rarely will one find code switching and mixing involving Maasai language, although this was not ruled out by respondents. "Sometimes we have concepts that are purely Maasai. These ones can only be expressed in the Maasai language", confessed a respondent.

Table 3 below gives a true picture of the attitudes of the people of Kajiado county depending on whether they are urban or rural dwellers.

Table 3: Attitudes of Urban/Rural Dwellers towards Kiswahili

Place	Total	Negative	%	Positive	%
Near town	20	15	75	5	25
Far from town	20	4	20	16	80

This table clearly shows that residents of Kajiado county who reside from urban centres have an inclination towards the use of Kiswahili in their day to day activities unlike those who reside in the rural areas of the county.

Some mention has already been done on the variable of education. here we report on this variable of education and the way it affects attitudes of the Maasai speech community in Kajiado county with specific reference to educational levels. It clearly came out that like the rest of the Kenyans, the Maasai people of Kajiado county have whole heartedly impressed western education. This is evident from the fact that a sizeable number of Maasai speakers have received a university level education. In this research, therefore, educational levels are important in pointing towards the attitude kind of towards Kiswahili by Maasai speakers in Kajiado county. Broadly speaking, this study divided educational levels into two; low and high educational levels. For the purposes of the present study, respondents with low levels of education did not hold any school certificate. On the other hand, those with higher levels of education were residents of Kajiado county who are members of the Maasai speech community and who have attained a Primary 8 certificate and above.

In this research it became clear that the respondents with low levels of education have negative attitudes towards Kiswahili for they prefer the use of Maasai language. These respondents find pride in the use of Maasai language for to them it is a marker of Maasai culture. In the use of the Maasai language, the people of Kajiado see themselves preserving their rich cultural heritage. This kind of thinking was in reaction to a statement that sought to find out the suitability of the use of Kiswahili as Kenya's official language. This item (question 6.a), was overwhelmingly supported in favor of Kiswahili by respondents with higher levels of education among the Maasai speech community in Kajiado county. It was clearly articulated by respondent with higher education that Kiswahili which served as a national lingua franca was already in use in official domains like public education and in the national assembly. Due to the fact that the language was performing these official roles perfectly well, the respondents felt that Kiswahili was suited for this role. That Kiswahili qualified as Kenya's official language emanated from the fact that respondents with high levels of education interact with people from other ethnic communities where it is either Kiswahili or English that are the only languages of communication.

This issue of educational levels goes hand in hand with the variables of age and gender. People from the Maasai speech community who went to school before the 8.4.4 education system where Kiswahili was introduced as a compulsory examination question, have an attitude towards Kiswahili that are in a way negative. From the study's respondents, it is apparent that those aged 46 years and above are those whose educational levels are low. These respondents' inclination towards the Maasai language could be an indicator that they do not have confidence in the use of Kiswahili hence their negative attitude towards it as a language that can be used for communication in the Maasai speech community in Kajiado county. This issue about educational levels and age is deeply rooted in the history of the Maasai culture. To the Maasai, western education was useless compared to the indigenous Maasai culture and education that emphasized creation of wealth through many heads of cattle. Thus, when people from the Maasai speech community attained the cattle looking after age, they were forced to leave school.

Respondents with low levels of education, and of both gender had language attitudes towards Kiswahili that were similar. Just as those from the Maasai speech community who are male had negative attitudes towards Kiswahili because of dropping out of school, their female kind were not an exception. It was reported by respondents that some parents forced their children out of school to go and get married so that the parents would benefit from bride wealth that would go into enriching them. This act forced the girls out of school and is a pointer to why female respondents aged 46 years and above in the Maasai speech community of Kajiado county has a negative attitude towards Kiswahili. It must be noted, however, that overall a majority of respondents had more positive attitudes towards Kiswahili in Kajiado county when the variable of education was considered.

Table 4 below shows how respondents used in this experiment reacted to the variable of educational level.

Table 4: Reactions to the variable of educational levels.

Total	Positive attitudes	%	Negative attitudes	%
40	25	62.5	15	37.5

As can be seen from the above table, 62.5% of respondents have positive attitudes towards Kiswahili because of its role as Kenya's national language that helps facilitate communication nationally. On the other hand, the respondents from the Maasai speech community in Kajiado county who stick to their mother tongue are driven by the desire to want to keep their language and cultural heritage pure and free from pollution.

Another social variable that the study sought to research was religion. Unfortunately, the study respondents did not include a single Muslim. It is however the conviction of the researchers that their purposive sampling of Christians gave them the much desired end result. In any case, the population of Muslims in Kajiado county is only about 1% which is actually negligible in any serious research that does not use every body as a sample. Thus, the study sampled Christians with an aim of finding out their attitudes towards the use of Kiswahili in religious proceedings. The result of the study showed that the Maasai language was very popular in its use in religious undertakings. Maasai language was used in Bible readings, in preaching, and in the religious hymns that go with church services. Respondents who favoured the use of Maasai language in church services did so with a belief that translation of such serious literature into any other language is cumbersome and does not give the exact intended equivalent. Such an attitude towards Maasai language was arrived at after some preachers attempted to use interpreters in contexts where the congregation was of mixed ethnic backgrounds.

Limited use of Kiswahili in religious circles among the Maasai speech community of Kajiado county can also be linked to the attitude of youthful respondents towards the church. In most churches in Kenya, it appears worship is the domain of the aged who have refused to change with the changing trends the world over. Although this observation is not limited to this study, there are signs in Kenya to the effect that churches are boring hence places not worth visiting. With this background knowledge about who goes to church and who doesn't go, the kind of attitude towards use of the Maasai language in church is expected. From the study sample, only 37.5% of the respondents favored the use of Kiswahili in church. In this case, language use in the Maasai speech community of Kajiado county reinforces social distinctions. That Maasai language is used church services serves to assert the social position of the elderly Maasai people and to keep their place as custodians of Maasai language and culture.

Lastly, the present study recognized the role played by elected leaders in shaping people's attitudes towards phenomena. From the respondents' reactions, it was apparent that elected Maasai leaders from Kajiado county prefer the use of their mother tongue as they go about their day to day business. The reason for elected leaders preferring Maasai language has to do with being understood well by a majority of their electorate who are mostly from the Maasai speech community. It is also worth noting that elderly respondents and who are not necessarily elected political leaders also prefer the use of Maasai language to Kiswahili in politics. According to Maasai culture, as was reported by some respondents, it is a sign of alienation to address one's own people, and more so the elderly, in a foreign language. Despite this very positive attitude towards the Maasai language by elected leaders from the Maasai speech community in Kajiado county, the attitude changed when it came to addressing constituents in areas that are around and about urban centres like Kitengela, Isinya and Ongata Rongai in Kajiado county. This is as a result of these urban centres having people from all ethnic communities in Kenya. This immediate change in language use depending on where the audience is found indicates that social structural factors influence Kajiado county people's behavior towards language.

Conclusion

In this study attitudes towards the use of Kiswahili by the Maasai speech community residing in Kajiado county of Kenya have been ascertained. The study result has shown that most respondents have positive attitudes towards the language for they prefer the use of Kiswahili in most domains tested. Respondents aged between 18 and 30 years prefer the use of the language in many domains including the home domain. Use of Kiswahili in the Kenyan context, and especially the use of Kiswahili by the youth, is a step towards the linguistic global village. In this regard, these youthful Maasai speech community members are intrinsically motivated to achieve linguistic distinctiveness through Kiswahili language. On the other hand, those from the Maasai speech community who are elderly prefer the use of Maasai language for it is to them a marker of their rich cultural past. Here, the issue at stake is the maintenance of a positive social identity through the Maasai language.

The result of this study is worth taking note of. Every language serves as the bearer of a culture especially given that language and culture are intertwined. When people from the Maasai speech community speak Kiswahili freely the way youthful respondents have indicated, they take part in the way of living represented by the Kiswahili language. Thus, the reported positive attitude towards the use of Kiswahili is a pointer to the changing cultural dimensions in the use of Kiswahili the world over. In the Maasai speech community, Maasai language is learned and used as a native language, the language of the home, the family, the streets and the marketplaces, friendship, and solidarity. On the other hand, the use of Kiswahili in the Maasai speech community is for education, serious public speaking, and for overall national integration.

In conclusion therefore, we note that there is a tendency among the Maasai people to impose dominant cultures to subordinate groups of their own. The Maasai as a people are quickly integrating the newly acquired linguistic features of the entire Kenyan nation that has embraced Kiswahili as both national and official language. Even in cases where Maasai language is defended as a source of their cultural past, it is not wholly meant to compartmentalize the Maasai speech community along languages of preference but rather as a means of amalgamating the languages along social domains of usage. This study mainly aimed at investigating the effects culture contact has had on the linguistic structures of the people of the Maasai speech community. In this study the result has shown that reactions vary widely depending on the circumstances.

References

- Chimera, R (1998): *Kiswahili: Past, Present and Future Horizons*. Nairobi, Nairobi University Press.
- Creswell J.W (2007): *Educational Research Planning and Evaluation: Qualitative and Quantitative Research (2nd ed)*. Ohio: Prentice Hall, Inc.
- Kembo-Sure (1996) "Language Attitudes, Use, and Proficiency: A Sociolinguistics Study of English in Kenya". Unpublished PhD Thesis. Eldoret. Moi University.
- Kombo, D.K and D. Tromp (2006): *Proposal and Thesis Writing: An Introduction*. Nairobi. Paulines Publications Africa.
- Massamba et al (2001): *Sarufi Miundo ya Kiswahili (SAMIKASA) Sekondari na Vyuho*. Dar es Salaam. Taasisi ya Uchunguzi wa Kiswahili, Chuo Kikuu cha Nairobi.
- Mbaabu, I (1978): *Kiswahili Lugha ya Taifa*. Nairobi .Kenya Literature Bureau.
- Mbaabu, I (1991) *Historia ya Usanifishaji wa Kiswahili*. Nairobi. Longman Kenya.
- Mohochi, S (2011): *Mielekeo ya Wasomi wa Kiswahili na Viongozi wa Afrika Mashariki kuhusu Lugha ya Kiswahili*. Swahili Forum, 18: 24- 36.
- Mukhwana, A (2008): *Language Attitude in Urban Kenya: A Case Study of Nairobi, Kisumu, and Mombasa*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Nairobi.
- Mukhwana, A (2014): *Attitudes Towards Kiswahili in Urban Kenya*. *International Journal of Scientific Research and Innovative Technology*. Vol. 1 No.4; October 2014.
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J.C. (1979). An Integrative Theory of Intergroup Conflict. *The Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations*.