

BWANA ASIFIWE IN THE USA: LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY IN EAST AFRICAN
CHRISTIAN FELLOWSHIPS IN THE UNITED STATES

By

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ABSTRACT

BWANA ASIFIWE IN THE USA: LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY IN EAST AFRICAN CHRISTIAN FELLOWSHIPS IN THE UNITED STATES

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In an effort to expand the sociolinguistic knowledge regarding the East African diaspora, this dissertation investigates the linguistic repertoires and language attitudes of transnational populations from Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda, who have established Kiswahili-language churches and Christian fellowships across the United States. Data was collected over a two-year period at national East African Christian conferences and two Kiswahili-language church fellowships. Using an ethnographic approach employing participant observation, semi-structured oral interviews, and written questionnaires, I investigated how the language attitudes and beliefs of an African immigrant group contribute to its members' ethnic and religious identity construction.

Although there is a high regard for English, the former colonial language of Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda, this study found that the attitudes toward indigenous African languages, especially Kiswahili, were very positive among this diaspora's members; these positive language attitudes were central to their African identity and played a major role in their spiritual lives. It was also found that ease of communication, lack of spiritual nourishment from American churches, and desires to recreate linguistically and culturally relevant worship experiences, encourage East African transnationals to establish Kiswahili churches and fellowships.

This study concluded that the language attitudes of this transnational population were shaped by sociostructural forces in the research participants' home countries, and these attitudes are brought with them when they emigrate to the United States. Kiswahili is a strong marker of their

African identity, and they are not likely to cease its use in the American context. It was concluded that language attitudes contributed more to this study population's ethnic identity than religious identity; however, these attitudes were a factor in how "close" they felt to God. Finally, location influenced the linkage between language and ethnic and religious identity in that participants felt "more African" utilizing their indigenous languages in Africa than in the United States, but did not feel "more Christian" using any particular language in either locale. Respondents reported feeling "closer to God" using their L1, Kiswahili, and English in the American context, with utilization of their L1 yielding the most intimate feelings of closeness

It is hoped that this study will contribute to the growing body of literature regarding African immigrants in the United States, as well as supplement our knowledge of the relationship between language and identity construction. Some of the broader impacts of this study are its potential to increase understanding of the obstacles, pressures, and coping mechanisms that African immigrant groups encounter and utilize as they transition and maintain their lives in a new country. This study will also yield greater evidence of ways that African languages are being introduced and maintained in America, and it is hoped that this study will advance our understanding of how linguistically and ethnically distinct religious communities play a role in the overall immigrant experience in America.

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To my mother, Lois L. Driver, the wind beneath my wings.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND UNDERSTANDING THE CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

The congregation sat quietly in the pews, listening to a Kiswahili hymn as the late afternoon sunlight peered through the stained glass windows of the sanctuary. I was thankful I had arrived in time for the 4 pm service; after a 3 ½ hour drive, I was not sure I would make it. I studied the service program. At the top of the cover page, the words, “Katika Jina la Bwana Yesu” (In the Name of Jesus) were written. Below the image of a crucifix were the pictures of six flags of the countries where Kiswahili is a lingua franca—Burundi, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Rwanda, Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda. Underneath the flags, a map of the East African region was placed, with each of the countries marked. The bottom of the program confirmed where I was: the “Worship Service for Swahili-speaking People of the Midwest.”

More and more parishioners arrived, greeting each other with the familiar, “Bwana asifiwe!” (Praise the Lord!) and its response, “Amina,” (Amen) shaking hands as they took their seats. At 4:30 pm, the service began. The worship leader, Dr. Besha, a thin and wiry man, approached the front of the sanctuary; he surveyed the congregation, then cast his gaze toward the children seated in the first two rows of pews, looking at them fondly. He greeted the congregation. “Bwana asifiwe!” A weak response followed. Sensing the hesitation, Dr. Besha waved his arms excitedly proclaiming, “We should use Kiswahili in our service and be proud of it!” as his wrinkled, walnut-hued hand sliced the air. He welcomed everyone to this month’s service and then turned our attention to the first hymn to be sung, Utukufu Kwako Yesu (Jesus, Your Glory), led by Sis. Beatrice. We timidly began the hymn; it was evident many of us did not know it. Pastor Stephen tried unsuccessfully to accompany the song on the electric keyboard, but everyone seemed lost. Dr. Besha abruptly stopped the singing, and with the wisdom of a loving father, he gently admonished his flock. “No...no... We are going astray. We need to sing

this the African way...voices only, no instruments. And you will learn this the African way. Follow my lead... I sing one verse, then you repeat.” Dr. Beshu led the song and we repeated what he sang. In a short time, we knew the entire song and were singing in three-part harmony—in Kiswahili.

1.0 Introduction

According to immigration figures, since 1990, more Africans have migrated to the U.S. than during the Transatlantic Slave Trade (Dodson & Diouf, 2004; Roberts, 2005). While the number of African immigrants is small compared to those from Latin America or Asia, their power and presence is being felt in a number of sectors of American society. Africans are the most highly proficient in English than any other immigrant group to the United States (Terrazas, 2009), and they are not relinquishing their native languages and customs, including those in their spiritual lives, when they arrive in the U.S. In an effort to expand the sociolinguistic knowledge regarding the East African diaspora, this dissertation investigates the linguistic repertoires and language attitudes of transnational populations from Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda, who have established Kiswahili-language churches and Christian fellowships across the United States.

1.1 African Immigration to the United States

Africans have been migrating to the United States, voluntarily or involuntarily, for almost 400 years. True voluntary immigration from sub-Saharan Africa began in the 1860's when men from Cape Verde, then Portuguese-controlled islands off the coast of Senegal, journeyed to Massachusetts where they worked as seaman and whalers (Dodson & Diouf, 2004, p. 199). Toward the end of the nineteenth century, a small number of African students sent by Christian missions and churches to historically black colleges and universities also arrived in the United States. This trend continued into the early 20th century. Nnamdi Azikiwe, the first Nigerian

president, and Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana's first president, both studied at Lincoln University and pursued graduate studies at the University of Pennsylvania.

The second wave of African immigration to the United States began around 1960 with the decolonization of African nations gaining their independence from European colonial rule. Many Africans came to America in search of educational opportunities, and they were often sponsored by their governments and the U.S. through cooperative exchanges. Most of these people, however, returned to their countries to use the knowledge and skills that they gained in the United States (Okome, 2002a).

The third wave of African immigration began around 1985 to the present day. Many Africans came to this country not just for economic opportunity, but to escape danger, natural disaster, war, or oppressive political regimes in their home countries. Unlike their counterparts of the 1960's and 70's, whose primary objective was to obtain an American education before returning home to contribute to the task of nation-building, this newer wave is comprised of refugees and asylum seekers escaping the ravages of civil wars and political persecution in their homelands, or they are highly skilled professionals distressed and disillusioned by the worsening economic situation in many African states (Takougang, 2003; Ndubuike, 2002). Also unlike their early counterparts, many of these more recent immigrants come with intentions of establishing permanent residency, or in some cases, acquiring United States citizenship (Takougang, 2003; Okome, 2002a). Traditionally, Africans had primarily migrated to their former colonial powers—Great Britain, France, and Portugal—but beginning in the late 1970's, these countries froze immigration due to economic slowdowns; the United States, then, became a viable option. (Dodson & Diouf, 2004; Djamba, 1999; Takougang, 2003).

Initially, most African immigrants in the United States came from the North African countries of Egypt, Morocco, and Algeria, and they primarily identified themselves as white. White South Africans who chose to emigrate to the United States came later, particularly after the end of apartheid. (Okome, 2002b). Many anti-apartheid activists also fled to the West, as did dissidents of the neocolonial, one-party, or dictatorial states of Africa, such as Uganda, Kenya, Ghana, and Nigeria (Okome, 2002a).

According to Okome (2002a) there is indeed a qualitative difference between the second and third waves of African immigration, those who came after World War II, and those who have come during the past twenty-five years. The difference is that instead of returning to their home countries with the educational and economic resources they gained in the United States to engage in “nation building,” the African immigrants of today are intending to stay in the United States for an unspecified period of time, if not permanently. Reinforcing this situation is the fact that some cannot return home anytime in the near future because they lack the visas that would enable them to travel back home once they left. The reasons for this unprecedented surge in African immigration are what Okome (2002a) calls economic, political, and social “push and pull factors” that move people to the U.S. from the African continent (p. 1). The “push factors” include poor economic conditions, lack of employment or underemployment, the absence of a family member due to prior migration, and violence, persecution, or oppression; “pull factors” include stable economic conditions, greater employment opportunities, reunification with family members, and freedom from violence, persecution, or oppression.

In sheer numbers, the population of African immigrants is very small when compared with the total number of immigrants to the United States. Not one African nation is included among

the top ten countries of origin from which the largest foreign-born populations originated in the 2000 U.S. Census (see Table 1). The top three nations were Mexico, China, and the Philippines.

Table 1. Top Ten Foreign Country – Foreign Born Populations Among U.S. Immigrants

Mexico	9,177,487
China	1,518,652
Philippines	1,369,070
India	1,022,552
Vietnam	988,174
Cuba	872,716
Korea	864,125
Canada	820,771
El Salvador	817,336
Germany	706,704

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Census 2000, Summary File 3

In 2007, U.S. Census Bureau statistics show that 14.4 percent, or 37.3 million of the country’s population was foreign born (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010, Tables 42, 43). Most of today’s immigrants are from Latin America, including the Caribbean, Central America, Mexico and South America (US Census Bureau, 2010, Table 44). According to the *Yearbook of Immigration Statistics: 2007*, as reported by the Migration Policy Institute, African immigrants numbered only 1,419,317, which was only 3.7% of the total all immigrants to the United States in 2007. (Terrazas, 2009).

Immigration from East Africa, particularly from Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda, is small compared to that from West African countries. Nigerians, Egyptians, and Ethiopians are the top three countries of origin for African immigrants, with Kenya coming in fifth (see Table 2).

Table 2. Top Five Countries of Origin for African Immigrants (2007)

Nigeria	185,787
Egypt	136,648
Ethiopia	135,547
Ghana	104,842
Kenya	80,595

Source: Migration Policy Institute, February 2009

According to figures from the *Yearbook of Immigration Statistics: 2008*, of the 1,107,126 immigrants who became legal permanent residents in 2008, only 105,915 were from Africa; of that number, only 6,998 were Kenyan, 838 were Tanzanian, and 1,174 were Ugandan (*Yearbook 2008*, p. 12). An even smaller number became naturalized citizens that same year; 2,218 from Kenya, 464 from Tanzania, and 541 from Uganda. This does not, however, include non-immigrants, undocumented workers, refugees, or asylees.

1.2 Reasons for Current African immigration

There are many reasons Africans emigrate to the United States; they do so to escape war, famine, natural disasters, oppressive military regimes, and to increase their educational and economic opportunities. Others, however, continue to travel back and forth to their respective countries and have vibrant transnational lives. This current group often stays for long periods of time, even decades, but most do not become citizens. Many are what Arthur (2000) calls “invisible sojourners” because they reside in countries outside of Africa for a long time, but they have the notion that they still belong to their home countries or cultures, and they will eventually return. Although they may be classified as “immigrants” by the U.S. Census, I use the term “transnationals” because of their strong ties to home and their intention to eventually return to their countries of origin.

Recent studies in the social sciences have focused on immigrants whose social activities traverse more than one nation-state (Glick Schiller, Basch, & Blanc-Szanton, 1992; Glick Schiller & Fouron, 2001). These immigrants are referred to as ‘transnationals’ or ‘transmigrants’ because they “develop and maintain multiple relations—familial, economic, social, organizational, religious, and political that span borders.” (Glick-Schiller et al. 1992, pp. 1-2). These immigrants are engaged in what Adéyanjú (2003) calls “a process in which the agency of their action and the structures that channel their decisions are interwoven over time and space” (p. 2). My study population leads very transnational lives, keeping in touch frequently with friends and relatives back home, hosting relatives in the U.S., visiting their home countries with some regularity, and conducting church business and evangelical outreach to parishioners in their countries of origin, often from the cities and towns from which they came.

1.3 African Demographics in the U.S.

Although African immigrants can be found in many small towns and cities throughout the United States, major cities like New York, Chicago, Minneapolis, Los Angeles, Houston, Dallas, Atlanta, Boston and Washington, D.C. attract the largest number of immigrants (Takougang, 2003, p. 6). In 2007, over half of all African immigrants (53.0%) resided in New York, California, Texas, Maryland, Virginia, New Jersey, and Massachusetts (see Table 3); over one-third of them (34.0%) lived in four metropolitan areas, with the New York-New Jersey-Pennsylvania region claiming the largest number of African born residents (see Table 4) (Terrazas, 2009).

Table 3. U.S. States with Largest African Immigrant Populations (2007)

State	Population	Percentage (%)
New York	151,697	10.7
California	145,335	10.2
Texas	119,116	8.4
Maryland	111,698	7.9
Virginia	79,661	5.6
New Jersey	74,031	5.2
Massachusetts	70,231	4.9

Source: Migration Policy Institute, February, 2009

Table 4. Metro Areas in U.S. with Largest African Born Populations (2007)

Metro Area	Population	%Afr Imm Pop'n
New York <i>(NY-NJ-LI-PA)</i>	196,531	13.8%
Washington, DC <i>(MD-VA-WV)</i>	159,928	11.3%
Atlanta, GA <i>(Marietta-Sandy Springs)</i>	64,567	4.5%
Minneapolis/St. Paul <i>(MN-WI)</i>	61,228	4.3%

Source: Migration Policy Institute, February, 2009

Some characteristics of the African immigrant population are that most have arrived in the United States since 1990, and the majority are not U.S. citizens. They are the most highly educated immigrants in the U.S., with 42.5% having earned a college degree. Most African immigrants are proficient in English; less than one-third report being limited English proficient (Terrazas, 2009). Among African immigrants, 52% self-classify as black, 41% as white (Egyptians and many South Africans), and 7% as Asian. This Asian population represents remnants of the Indian diaspora during British colonial rule, particularly from Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania (Rumbaut, 1994; Okome, 2002b).

Life in African immigrants' home countries often revolved around the community. In their adopted homeland, the United States, this population's strong commitment to community is reflected in the large number of groups that have been created across the country. Every nationality has national, regional, professional, gender-based, and political organizations. People often belong to several of these, and the great number of groups reflects the many layers of identity Africans bring with them and are eager to maintain. These organizations reinforce this sense of community and create resource networks to serve their needs. (Dodson & Diouf, 2004)

1.4 Religion and African Immigrants in the United States

Religion impacts immigration because it is one of the avenues through which immigrants negotiate their integration into host countries. Churches, mosques, and other religious institutions perform the functions of socialization, providing opportunities for networking, political participation, counseling and leadership. Many immigrants continue in the faith to which they were born, while others change either religion, or more often, denomination. Recently, there is a growing tendency for a few African immigrants to affiliate with or establish houses of worship that belong to African traditional religions. An increasing number of African initiated churches are being formed with significant numbers of African immigrants, while other African immigrants attend pre-existing American churches (Okome, 2002b).

As African immigrant communities grow and become established, they generally pool their resources to rent or buy spaces that can accommodate from a dozen to several hundred believers in order to worship in familiar surroundings. Ethiopian immigrants have established Coptic Orthodox Christian Churches, African Protestants of many denominations have also started churches, and there are now hundreds of Ghanaian, Nigerian, Kenyan, and Liberian churches across the country. Mosques have also been established in areas that have large French-speaking

West African populations, where the majority is Muslim. There are also well-established Nigerian mosques in Chicago, Miami, Houston, Dallas, Philadelphia and Washington, D.C. (Dodson & Diouf 2004, p. 208)

These African religious institutions have taken on new roles in response to the needs of the immigrant population. They serve as orientation focal points for recent immigrants, conference halls, community and counseling centers, religious schools, temporary shelters, and mutual aid societies. They have become job referral centers, and imams and clergy often act as intermediaries between undocumented congregants and the authorities. (Dodson & Diouf, 2004). Weddings, baptisms, and religious holidays are opportunities for gathering and sharing news, discussing social and political developments at home, and passing on information that can make life in the United States easier to negotiate. They also are an essential instrument of cultural continuity. It is during these events that younger Africans, many of whom were born here, learn about traditions, rituals, national and ethnic culture, as well as the proper way to behave—respect for elders, sharing, and the importance of community. (Dodson & Diouf 2004).

The impact of African Christian immigrants is not a much-studied subject. Few scholars and analysts probably realize that there is an increasing tide of religious immigration, where ministers and pastors of African churches come into the United States as missionaries. Many of the churches that they head are Pentecostal, and many of them have exclusively African immigrant membership. More established denominations also make efforts to service their African immigrant population through the sponsorship of the immigration ministers that would provide pastoral care for African immigrants in their area of operation (Okome, 2002b, p. 20).

1.5 Language and African Immigrants in the U.S.

Africans are among the most English-proficient immigrant group in the United States, according to U.S. Census reports, so English is not an assimilating language for them when they arrive. Although they know English very well, they often use their indigenous languages at home or within their own community groups. In fact, three-fifths (61%) of all African immigrants come from countries where English is the official language (Rumbaut, 1994, p. 611).

For non-English speaking workers, the adjustment is very difficult since they may lack the skills necessary to navigate their new surroundings and new cultures accommodated, even if not understood. Many Americans comment on the immigrants' accent which usually sets them apart. However, Africans that went through certain educational training are often confused with being from the Caribbean, Britain, or in the case of second generation African immigrants, of being African Americans who had been born in the United States, and this often causes them some distress (Okome, 2002b; Clark, 2008).

Immigrant parents are concerned with ensuring their children are well educated, not only in school subjects, but in their linguistic and cultural heritage as well. The linguistic challenge in the American educational system is often posed as that between Spanish and English, thus driving the needs of other linguistic groups into the background. To complicate this matter further is the fact that there are numerous African languages. If a child is fluent in Yoruba, Wolof, Amharic, or Kiswahili, or the parents are, it is often a challenge to see that their needs are served (Mucherah, 2008).

For all the outcry about the demise of the English language and the alleged "lack of assimilation" of today's immigrants, roughly 224 million out of 279 million (80%) U.S.

households speak “only English” at home (U.S. Census, 2010: Table 52) Only a fraction (approximately 1 in 5) do not yet speak it “well” or “at all”, and these are disproportionately the elderly, the most recently arrived, the undocumented, and the least educated. English proficiency increases significantly over time, and English becomes by far the preferred language of use by the second generation (Rumbaut, 1994). It is the immigrant’s mother tongue that is lost over time, and it does so rather quickly. “This has been the pattern throughout American history—the third generation typically grows up speaking English only—and explains why the United States has been called a ‘language graveyard’ (Rumbaut, 1994, p. 611). Unfortunately for many Africans who know English well, “cultural discrepancy between English and the diversity of African cultures renders English useless in expressing their ways of life” (Mulokozi 2000 in Mukuthuria 2006:160). This is what Mulokozi (2000) refers to as ‘alienation’, and it is often one of the reasons African immigrants have established places of worship that utilize their indigenous African languages.

According to Okome (2002b), “Immigration transforms the social structure of the country of origin and the receiving country. It also affects the immigrant’s perception of the self and identity” (p. 34). She notes that the evaluative success of past immigration focused on assimilation, and from this, Milton Gordon identified three of these ideologies in his 1964 study. These included Anglo-conformity, the melting pot, and cultural pluralism. Anglo-conformity refers to the effort to push for the conformity of the immigrants to the dominant Anglo-Saxon culture in the United States; the “one hundred percent American” movement during the First World War, with its emphasis on speaking English only, was an example of this conformity. Immigrant quota laws under the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1924 carried the “hundred percent” movement forward by encouraging Northern and Western Europeans, many of whom

spoke English, to emigrate to the United States, while Southern and Eastern Europeans, who did not speak the language, were discriminated against. Okome states that today, “the ‘English only’ movement re-awakens the same desire to divest immigrants of their native culture and merge them into the dominant culture” (Okome, 2002b, p. 34). African immigrant organizations, including faith-based groups that utilize their indigenous languages and take pride in doing so, challenge this notion.

1.6 Statement of the Problem

As Africans migrate to the U.S., they bring with them their language and culture, utilizing these assets to create a new life for themselves and their families. This project looks specifically at the connection between identity construction and the linguistic practices and attitudes of immigrant (transnational) East Africans toward their indigenous African languages and English as they establish and maintain sites of worship in which the language of service is Kiswahili.

The church has long been a haven and social network for immigrant populations in the United States. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, immigrants from Europe and the former Soviet Republics came to the United States and often established their own churches that utilized their native languages (Hirschman, 2007). Mainstream American churches also extended material and spiritual aid to new immigrants; however, many of these churches had “assimilation” programs to assist new immigrants in becoming “new Americans” by offering civics and English language classes. This has not been the case for African immigrants who have established sites of worship in their own mother tongues. Many of these churches have three missions—1) to serve the spiritual, physical, and cultural needs of the immigrant group, 2) to spread the Christian gospel, and 3) to bring spiritual renewal to the United States.

These new waves of African immigrants are using their indigenous languages and cultures to create a new life in the U.S. for themselves and their families. Although English proficient, many Africans are establishing churches and religious organizations that utilize their native languages and engage in culturally relevant worship practices. This study further explores this trend, the reasons behind it, and linguistic ramifications of it.

1.7 Research Questions and Definition of Terms

The broad research question my study sought to answer was: *How do the linguistic attitudes of an East African immigrant group contribute to its members' ethnic and religious identity construction?* The specific research questions that I used to answer the broad question included:

- 1) What are the linguistic repertoires (knowledge, skills, aptitudes, and claims of usage) of this population?
- 2) What are the linguistic attitudes of this population toward their indigenous languages (including Kiswahili) and English?
- 3) What claims does this immigrant group make in regards to their use of Kiswahili within their spiritual and lives?
- 4) What desires or pressures prompt East African transnationals to establish Kiswahili-language church fellowships in the United States?

It is important to clearly define the terms or concepts that figure prominently in any study. Although a more complete discussion follows in a later chapter, the terms and concepts that are germane to my study are briefly defined below:

Identity: a strategy or tool that individuals or groups use to categorize themselves and present themselves to others (Owens, 2006).

Ethnic Identity: a subgroup within a larger context that claims common ancestry and shares culture, religion, language, kinship, or place of origin (Phinney Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001). There are many ethnic groups on the African continent, and

the concept of ethnic identity is quite different there than it is in the United States. Some ethnic identities were forced onto African peoples from outside colonizers and missionaries. Therefore, for this project, ethnic identity will refer to African identity for this population.

Language attitude: In short, the way people feel, think, or behave in reaction to different languages or their speakers (Ryan, Giles, & Sebastian, 1982).

Transnational/transmigrant: a person who emigrates to a new state, but still maintains social, economic religious or political ties with the state of origin (Glick Schiller, 1999). Although the members of my research population are truly immigrants, in that they have moved permanently or for an extended period to the United States, I prefer to call them transnationals or transmigrants. They are a part of and contribute to American society, but they have a less than permanent view of their residence in the U.S., in that they will one day “go home.”

1.8 Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to investigate the relationship between ethnic and religious identity construction and the linguistic practices and attitudes of transnational East Africans as they establish and maintain sites of worship in the United States in which the language of worship service is Kiswahili. It was hypothesized that the previous colonial and neocolonial language policies of East African countries would influence the language attitudes of its citizens toward African languages and English. It was further hypothesized that these language attitudes would contribute to the identity construction of this population, especially when they emigrate to a country where the lingua franca is that of a former colonial power.

1.9 Significance of the Study

Over the past ten years, there have been a growing number of studies of African immigrant experiences in the United States, but a relatively small number focus on language (Yakoubou, 1994; Mutonya, 1997; Reynolds, 1997; Rouchdy, 2001; Githiora, 2008; Mucherah, 2008).

The intellectual merit and uniqueness of this research project is that it investigates the linguistic repertoires and attitudes of an understudied ethnic group in the U.S., and it contributes to the sociolinguistic literature in the area of identity construction and language. One of the broader impacts of this study is its potential to increase understanding of the obstacles, pressures, and coping mechanisms that African immigrant groups encounter and utilize as they transition and maintain their lives in a new country. This study will also yield greater evidence of ways that African languages are being introduced and maintained in America, and it is hoped that this study will also advance our understanding of how linguistically and ethnically distinct religious communities play a role in the overall immigrant experience in America.

1.10 Summary of Chapters

In the chapters that follow, I expand and explain the way language attitudes contribute to the ethnic and religious identities of my research population. The chapters are organized as follows:

In Chapter One, I have presented the background and context in which this study was undertaken. Chapter Two provides the sociohistoric and linguistic background of the study. It includes the origins, spread and development of Kiswahili in East Africa, the influence of European colonial languages and their relationship with African indigenous languages in the region, and the introduction and maintenance of Kiswahili in the United States. I also chronicle the historical, social, and political events of East Africa, specifically from the countries of

Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda, in order to explain the foundation from which the language attitudes of African immigrants from this region may have developed (see Figure 1).

Figure 1. Map of Africa



Source: www.maps.com.

Chapter Three discusses the theoretical frameworks that inform my study. It provides a review of the relevant literature pertaining to the study, namely that of language attitudes, identity construction, and the intersection of language and identity. Chapter Four provides brief review of the history of immigrant churches in America and current studies that have been

conducted pertaining to them. Chapter Five presents the research methodology used in the study and a detailed explanation of how the research instruments were constructed and how the data was analyzed. Chapters Six and Seven present the actual qualitative data and analyses; Chapter Six concentrates on the data gathered from the focus groups and content analyses of the videotaped worship services of two research venues, while Chapter Seven focuses on the content analyses of the videotaped worship sessions and workshops at the third research venue. The qualitative data and analyses were organized this way due to their richness and length. Chapter Eight presents the quantitative data and analyses, namely the results of the written questionnaire. Chapter Nine presents the conclusions, limitations of the study, and suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER 2: SOCIOHISTORICAL AND LINGUISTIC BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

2.0 Introduction

This chapter will present the sociohistoric and linguistic backgrounds of the countries of my research participants. It is presented because the way language is conceived and regulated (through language policies), especially in regard to the indigenous African languages of this region, influences how these languages are perceived by the participants, and ultimately, this influences their attitudes toward them (St. Clair, 1982). In short, studying the sociohistoric and linguistic background of East Africa lays a foundation from which my research participants' language attitudes and ethnolinguistic identity have been formed.

Although Kiswahili originated in East Africa, its spread and development were somewhat different in Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda. European languages, which were once the colonial languages of this region, also had differing fates in these countries. The impact of European languages upon the development and use of indigenous African languages varied as well. Although English was a former colonial language of all three countries, its prominence and that of Kiswahili, have emerged in unique ways.

2.1 Kiswahili

Kiswahili¹, a language of the Bantu family, originated in East Africa between 700 and 800 A.D. in various coastal locales between Mombasa, Kenya and Mogadishu, Somalia (Ohly, 1973). When Arab traders arrived on the East African coast before the tenth century, they found a form of standard proto-Kiswahili being spoken there (Whiteley, 1969). The people they encountered

¹ “Ki-“is the Swahili prefix which means “language.” “Ki-swahili” literally means, “language of the Swahili people.” The language is referred to as “Swahili” in English. Both “Kiswahili” and “Swahili” will be used interchangeably throughout this dissertation.

were the “Sowauli” or “people of the coast,” and their language was called “Swahili.” Swahili culture dates back to pre-Christian times when people of this region were more aligned with the northern Indian Ocean civilization and practiced the Zoroastrian religion, which is still practiced in some parts of Zanzibar. The Swahili people were and are mixed peoples from all around the Indian Ocean, however, they are primarily of black African Bantu and Cushitic ethnicities (Lodhi, 1994).

The Arab traders brought their faith, Islam, with them, which eventually became part of the coastal culture. It remained a local religion on the East African coast, until it spread along the trade caravan routes which reached the Tanzanian cities of Tabora, Morogoro, and Moshi, then on to Kigoma, Ujiji and Mwanza, and ultimately, the rest of East Africa.

Once Islam was brought to East Africa, Arab immigrants and their Islamic practices became “africanised” or “swahilised” transforming Islam into an indigenous African religion (Lodhi, 1994, p. 88). These Arab immigrants adopted Swahili dress, cuisine and culinary practices as well as other cultural elements, not the least of which was language. Arab immigrants adopted Kiswahili as their own and used it in practicing their faith. Although many Arabic loan words and verbs were adopted by Kiswahili, the language maintained its Bantu structure and lexicon. In short, “the Arab immigrants passed on their religion to their African neighbors; the Africans passed on their language to the Arabs” (Mazarui & Mazrui, 1993, p. 283).

Kiswahili remained primarily on the East African coast until the nineteenth century when it began to spread into the interior of East and Central Africa (Whiteley, 1969). This inward expansion from the coast came about in two phases:

In the first, from about 1800 to 1850, the country was gradually opened up by trading caravans, who took the language with them in the form of a Swahili-speaking ‘managerial’ core; during the second phase, from around 1850 until

the advent of the colonial powers, the first systematic studies of the language were made and used as a basis for teaching others (Whiteley 1969, p. 42).

The initial spread of Kiswahili from the coast to the interior during the nineteenth century was due mainly to trade in ivory and slaves, but the pattern of trade was not uniform throughout the region (Rubagumya 1990); it spread more readily in Tanzania than in neighboring Kenya and Uganda to the north. According to Mazrui and Zirimu (1998), some communities in Kenya and northern Tanzania were extremely protective of their land and did not welcome foreigners, thus, they were able to block trade from the coast. The Maasai, who resided in both Kenya and Tanzania, were one such group, and they were able to hinder both trade expansion and the spread of Kiswahili, especially in Kenya (p. 172).

When the Germans colonized East Africa (Tanzania, Rwanda and Burundi) in the 1880s, they found that Kiswahili was fairly widespread. They relied heavily on Kiswahili-speaking coastal people for administration of the colony, and this pushed the language still further into the interior of the region. Hence, the Germans promoted Kiswahili to a great extent because it provided them administrative convenience, and as the language of government, the language was promoted even further (Rubagumya, 1990, p.6). During German colonial rule (1885-1919), Kiswahili was the medium of instruction throughout the colonial school system. German was taught as a subject, but no efforts were made to promote the language or supplant Kiswahili as the medium of instruction.

In contrast, Christian missionaries in Kenya and Uganda were vehemently opposed to the use of Kiswahili in schools (Rubagumya, 1990). The hostility missionaries harbored toward the language are summed up in the words of Bishop Alfred Tucker of Uganda:

That there should be one language for Central Africa is a consummation devoutly to be wished, but God forbid that it should be Swahili. English? Yes! But Swahili never. The one means the Bible and Protestant Christianity,

the other Mohammedism ...sensuality, moral and physical degradation and ruin...[Swahili is too closely related to Mohammedism] to be welcome in any mission field in Central Africa. (Mazrui & Zirimu, 1998, p. 175)

This strong bias still serves as a basis of attitudes toward Kiswahili today in Uganda. English was the “embodiment of Christian thought” (Pennycook & Makoni, 2005, p. 140), while Kiswahili was considered solely the language of Muslims. Aside from its spiritual associations, Kiswahili was also strongly opposed by the Kabaka (King) of Buganda, Sir Daudi Chwa, albeit for political reasons. In 1929, he wrote:

...it is quite unnecessary to adopt the Kiswahili language as the official native language in Buganda, and I am entirely opposed to any arrangements which would in any way facilitate the ultimate adoption of this language as the official native language of the Baganda in place of, or at the expense of, their own language (Whiteley, 1969, p. 70)

In short, for missionaries, Kiswahili was an alien, inferior tongue, because of its association with Islam, and for the Baganda of Uganda, it was a threat to their status.

When Germany lost its colonies at the end of World War I, the British took over the colonial legacy in East Africa, and they made several changes to the language policy of the region. They maintained Kiswahili as the medium of instruction for the first five years of primary school; English was offered as a subject beginning in the third year of primary school, then it replaced Kiswahili as the medium of instruction in the last three years of primary school. English was the medium of instruction in secondary school, and Kiswahili was offered as a subject up to the “O” level certificate. (Rubagumya, 1990).

Although Christian missionaries and the Kabaka of Buganda were hostile to Kiswahili, the colonial governors of Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, and Zanzibar believed that it could be a suitable lingua franca for all of East Africa. With the approval of the Secretary of State for Colonies in London, the Inter-territorial (Swahili) Language Committee was established in 1930,

with the primary goal of standardizing and developing Kiswahili. Some of its specific objectives were standardizing the orthography and securing the uniformity of grammar and syntax throughout standard books on Kiswahili (Whiteley, 1969). However, the long-term objective of the colonial government was to develop Kiswahili as a subordinate lingua franca in relation to English (Onyango, 2005).

2.1.1. Kenya

Kenya is a multilingual country that has approximately 40 different indigenous ethnic languages belonging to the Bantu, Nilo-Saharan, and Cushitic language families (Abdulaziz, 1991). Over 75% of the population of the country speak languages belonging to the Bantu family (including Kiswahili), and about 20% speak Nilo-Saharan languages, which include Luo, Maa, and Kalenjin; the rest speak Cushitic languages which include Somali, Oromo and Rendille (Abdulaziz, 1991, p. 391). These ethnic languages of Kenya serve as languages of group identity at the subnational level (Schmied, 1991). Kiswahili is a co-official language with English, and it is the official language of parliamentary debates and the predominant language of politics.

Although Kiswahili was brought from the coast to the interior of East Africa through trade, this went on to a lesser degree in Kenya than in Tanganyika and Zanzibar. Missionary involvement in the Kiswahili question was ambivalent, according to Onyango (2005). Prominent missionaries such as Krapf and Rebmann were instrumental in the study of Kiswahili, however, missionary leaders who succeeded them emphasized the vernacular languages of Kenya at the expense of Kiswahili.

After Kenya gained its independence from the British in 1963, the ruling party, Kenya Africa National Union (KANU) put forth a major policy statement regarding language in 1970 which ordered Kenyans to speak Kiswahili at all times to both Kenyans and non-Kenyans (Whiteley,

1973 cited in Onyango 2005, p. 220). Although not readily enforced, the ruling did capture the populist feeling of the country at that time. No further plans were made in regard to systematic language planning until 1980, when the Mackay Report was released which made Kiswahili a compulsory and examinable subject at both the primary and secondary school levels, seventeen years after independence.

The current language attitudes in Kenya do not seem much different than they were during the colonial period; English reigns supreme in its official capacity, and indigenous languages fare as they will. The difference today is that some Kenyans are acknowledging the contribution Kiswahili could make to their society. In his opinion piece in the *Daily Nation* (May 7, 2010), contributor Peter Mwaura explains that Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o's recent book, *Something Torn and New: An African Renaissance* (2009), has one overarching message: "If Africans do not shed Europhonism, they stand to lose their memory. A people without memory are in danger of losing their soul." (paragraph 1). This message is a continuation of Ngũgĩ's earlier premise that the effects of colonialism on the minds of Kenyan citizens has placed English ahead of any African language (Ngũgĩ, 1986). By Europhonism, Ngũgĩ means Africans' continued embrace and self-identification with European culture and languages, namely, English, French, and Portuguese, all former African colonial languages. In short, it is the replacement of native African names and language systems for European ones (paragraph 2). This replacement of African languages leads to a loss of memory and self-identity, and this is achieved through *linguicide* and *linguifam*. *Linguicide*, the linguistic equivalent of genocide, is the fate of Africans taken to the Americas; *linguifam*, or linguistic famine, is what has happened to Africans on the Continent who are not using their indigenous tongues, and this loss of language will eventually lead to the loss of Africa's very essence—its identity (paragraph 11).

The responses to Mwaura's article are indeed interesting. The majority of posts immediately following the article criticized Ngũgĩ's stance on European languages such as English, and they also criticized the author personally, namely, for living outside of Kenya (in England and America) for so long, charging that he has lost touch with his own African roots while living comfortably in the West. Only one post agreed with Ngũgĩ, lamenting that African languages were not being passed on to the next generation. In contrast, a post from agusa2010 (8 May 2010) stated:

When will Ngugi ever decolonize his mind and go back to his parents, relatives and countrymen?...Just what is Ngugi doing in the US? Scavenging like any average desperate Kenyan? I'm sure one day, Africans will [be] so tired of Ngugi and ask that he leave them alone!

Another post, from Ireadlines, stated that Ngũgĩ was a "very reasonable man" and that when he met him personally, he "didn't see any of the silly stuff he keep writing about," adding that Ngũgĩ was probably "just trying to justify his position at UC Berkeley." Still others had much greater

criticism for Ngũgĩ. Rkg (8 May 2010) wrote:

How can Kenyans communicate without a common language? What kind of memory are we losing by using English? Is it FGM, cattle rustling, wife beating? Culture is what we do every day, like using a phone, car, making tea, banking, vaccination, schooling, things we did not do before. If the Europeans have a way of life that is more suitable for today's living, then we shall adopt it, including language.

Obviously, Rkg acknowledges a need for a common language, but does not offer an African language as an alternative. He/she does not see losing anything culturally by using a European language; in fact, this respondent views European languages as more suitable for modern living.

The very first response was the most scathing. Thabari (7 May 2010) wrote:

Ngũgĩ's persistent anti-Westernism is paternalistic and self-serving. Black Africans are not the only people in the world to be enslaved, colonized or de-

cultured. At a time Kenya and Africa are bursting with political, economic and yes, cultural revival and creativity, he continues to bloom in Western academic citadels while spewing balderdash. We could use him in one of the local universities, but that might Africanize him!

Two later responses to Mwaura's article were also illuminating. In a letter posted to the OpEd section, Otieno Jerim agreed that the presence of foreign languages in education "portends doom" to local languages, but he also said that although English and Kiswahili do bind the country together linguistically, he sees the trend is to marginalize local languages (*Daily Nation* July 23 2010). Henry Gekonde (25 July 2010), posting from the United States, wrote:

Like Otieno Jerim (*Daily Nation*, July 24), I used to defend Kenya's local languages, partly swayed by the Marxist arguments of Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o. But I lost my zeal. Parents, not government decree, determine the language a child speaks. Many no longer speak their mother tongue. English and Kiswahili bind us.

Here, we see that someone used to agree with Ngũgĩ, but now realizes that not only English, but Kiswahili, an African language, does linguistically unite Kenya—an idea that historically has had difficulty being fully accepted in the country.

2.1.2 Tanzania

Tanzania, with a population of about 41 million people (Central Intelligence Agency [CIA], 2010) has approximately 130 indigenous languages. The majority belong to the Bantu language group; the rest include four Nilotic languages which include Maasai and Tatoga, five Cushitic languages such as Iraqw, and two Khoisan languages, Hantsa and Sandawe (Ngonyani, 1995, p. 69). Tanzania is comprised of the two former British colonies, Tanganyika and Zanzibar.² In 1961 and 1963, respectively, Tanganyika and Zanzibar gained their independence from Britain, and in 1964, all areas were united as one nation, named Tanzania.

² Zanzibar is comprised of the islands of Unguja and Pemba. Together, they are commonly referred to as Zanzibar.

In Tanzania, the fate of Kiswahili has been quite the opposite than in Kenya. Used as a unifying force during Ujamaa, President Julius Nyerere proclaimed the language to be the official language of the State in 1967. Kiswahili was to be taught from primary school through university, and it was used to unite the people of Tanzania and promote peace after independence from the British. It indeed did that, and the language unifies the people of Tanzania today both at home and abroad.

Unlike in Kenya, Christian missionaries actually contributed to the spread of Kiswahili in Tanzania. Their evangelical work was primarily in education, and they used local African languages for communication, religious instruction, and literacy development (Polome, Polome, & Abdullah, 1981). However, as Kiswahili was promoted by the colonial authorities, the language became more prominent. Although they often favored local languages, the missionaries had to recognize the importance of Kiswahili and the fact that it had become a lingua franca, penetrating the remote parts of the country. In fact, before World War I, the Berlin Mission, the Moravian Church, and the Church Mission Society had established Swahili Central School in Morogoro, which trained mission assistants, teachers and civil servants (Wright, 1965 cited in Polome et al. 1981, p. 44). In 1925, the Phelps-Stokes Commission Report was published which provided a linguistic dimension to the “civilization” and “modernization” effort for its African colonial subjects of the British Empire (Mazrui, A.A., 1998, p. 143). This report called for integrating mission education in the colonial school system with government schools; it called for no impediments to the teaching of English to African students, but also advocated mother tongue instruction. However, in Tanzania, mission authorities required Kiswahili to be recognized as the medium of instruction in primary education (Polome et al., 1981). By 1945, African vernacular languages had all but disappeared from the entire mission educational system.

Despite the efforts of the Inter-territorial Swahili Language Commission, there was still great opposition to Kiswahili, even in Tanganyika. In 1953, the Binns Mission Report tried to persuade the colonial government in Tanganyika to get rid of Kiswahili in schools, asserting that its use was not in the interests of African children:

If a distinctive African contribution is to be made to the world it must be based on the African's love and respect for the mental inheritance of his people and much of this is enshrined in [the vernacular] language... The existence of Swahili... in Tanganyika and its place in school teaching is unfortunate for it seems to have affected adversely the teaching of both the vernacular and English... We suggest therefore that because the present teaching of Swahili stands in the way of the strong development of both the vernacular and English teaching a policy should be followed which leads to its eventual elimination from schools where it is taught as a lingua franca. (Cameron & Dodd, 1970, quoted in Rubagumya, 1990, pp. 7-8).

This statement is indeed curious since Kiswahili had been a lingua franca for close to a century before the Binns Mission Report was published, it had been promoted by a former European colonial power (Germany), and these colonial leaders had advocated for the language to have a greater role in the region 23 years prior. Rubagumya (1990) points out that “the position of English in the educational system was taken for granted. That is, the report did not question the possible effects of English on the children's mentality” (p. 8). Rubagumya adds the “foreign nature” of Kiswahili was exaggerated by the Binns Mission, because the children of Tanganyika had already been exposed to Kiswahili. In addition, many of their vernacular languages were Bantu languages, like Kiswahili, so it would neither be difficult to learn, nor would it have a detrimental effect on the students who learned it. In short, “the government simply rejected the recommendation that the vernacular be taught as representative of the true African heritage and Swahili was eventually eliminated from all the schools” (Cameron & Dodd, 1970 quoted in Polome et al., 1981, p. 45).

In 1954, the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) was formed to fight for Tanganyika's independence, and its political leaders utilized Kiswahili as a galvanizing force to unite the people of the country from all ethnic groups. Because the political leaders could communicate in a language understood by many throughout the country, this enhanced the status of the language after independence, and it was regarded as a national language, as it is today (Rubagumya, 1990).

Tanganyika gained its independence from the British in 1961, and when the first president, Julius Nyerere, took office, he did not deliver his inaugural address in English, the former colonial language, but in Kiswahili, the language of the people (Temu, 1999). Kiswahili then became even more prominent in the country. In 1967 his government made Kiswahili the national and official language of Tanzania³. From this point on, all government business was to be conducted in Kiswahili. In addition, Kiswahili became the medium of instruction in primary school throughout the country. English remained the language of instruction in secondary and post-secondary institutions, but a plan was drafted to phase it out by 1982, and from this juncture, Kiswahili would be the medium of instruction at all educational levels in Tanzania (Temu, 1999). However, this plan never came to fruition, and English was retained as the medium of instruction in secondary and post-secondary institutions.

The adoption of Kiswahili as the official language of Tanzania was just one of a number of sweeping changes the government would make in its Arusha Declaration in 1967. In it, the government committed itself to a socialist strategy in which a new plan of self-reliance that would develop Tanzania through mobilization of its own people and resources. Kiswahili had served to mobilize the masses during the struggle for independence; it would now galvanize

³ Tanganyika and Zanzibar were united in 1964 as one nation called Tanzania.

them again as the primary way to foster unity among the many different ethnic groups, and serve as “new nationalism” as the cultural embodiment of the republic. (Temu, 1999). In 1969, President Julius Nyerere issued guidelines to establish Ujamaa villages, which were cooperative communities that worked for the well-being of the entire community. Kiswahili played a large role in the way people worked together. With the building of Ujamaa villages came a campaign to foster adult education, and the medium of instruction in these villages was Kiswahili, just like it was in primary schools. Mass media also played a large role in the encouragement and spread of Kiswahili throughout the country. Tanzanian radio, broadcasting solely in Kiswahili, was broadcast from 6 am to 11:15 pm daily, with programs that included news, news commentaries, religious and cultural programs, music and songs, and even discussions on Kiswahili itself. (Abdulaziz, 1971 cited in Temu, 1999, p. 150). Newspapers also figured highly with two government issued dailies, *Uhuru* and *Ngurumo*, trade papers and missionary organizations, all published in Kiswahili. All of these efforts helped to make Kiswahili into what Ngonyani (1995) describes as a “supra-ethnic” language. Although a very small percentage of the Tanzanian population actually belonged to the Swahili ethnic community which resided predominantly on the nearby islands and coastal towns, the country as a whole embraced Kiswahili as its own. What made Kiswahili so appealing to the Tanzanian population was that it was not the language of a majority of people; it was not the language of an oppressor or dominant group. It was the language of business, trade, politics, and now, education to which all people had access. The institutional support that Kiswahili had in Tanzania from independence through politics and education helped to “enhance a common identity for Tanzanians, forging a solidarity between common people, the peasants and the workers, and politicians as well as others such as business and other middle class people” (Ngonyani, 1995, p. 87) regardless of ethnicity or occupation.

In the late 1970's, the Tanzanian economy began to decline, and with it, the zeal for Kiswahili. Inefficiency and corruption replaced the euphoria of independence, the hard work and goodwill of Ujamaa, and the spirit of cooperation and unity. "The people lost confidence in their achievements and in themselves" (Ngonyani, 1995, p. 89). This economic decline set the stage for dependence on foreign aid, which the Arusha Declaration, with its emphasis on self-reliance, had fought against. The people, having lost confidence in themselves and in their leaders, looked to "foreign experts" to help them with their economic woes and ways to run the country. This lack of confidence also extended to language policy and a lack of confidence in Kiswahili as a medium of instruction. A foreign language, English, had to be the answer to all educational woes, but as Ngonyani (1995) points out, although the medium of instruction in secondary schools and institutions of higher learning was mandated to be English, the language was actually not the medium of education. Instead of trying to obtain a viable solution to this problem, the public demanded more English taught in schools. Again, foreign assistance was asked to solve educational problems in Tanzania. Ngonyani (1995) views this as problematic because it created a "loss of national self-esteem and rejection of [our] identity as a Swahili speaking community that can work more efficiently in Swahili" (p. 90). In addition, he adds the changing attitudes towards Swahili and English in education was only a symptom of political and economic crisis. "[They] blame Swahili for the decline in education while the actual causes are the neglect of the education system and the empty rhetoric of politicians insensitive to people's needs" (Ngonyani, 1995, p. 91).

The decade of the 1980's was characterized by the liberalization of the Tanzanian economy under the IMF, and this dampened the government's enthusiasm to adopt Kiswahili as the medium of instruction in post-primary institutions (Temu, 1999). With the desire for foreign aid

also came the desire for a foreign language, as if it could impart more knowledge than Kiswahili. “They see the English language as the language of communication with the rest of the world from which Tanzania needs technology. They therefore insist that English must be retained in schools” (Temu, 1999, p. 154). During the colonial period, knowledge of English afforded certain prestige and opportunity, as it does today, but some scholars assert that abandoning Kiswahili was not the answer. Temu (1999) adds that by the 1980s, technological terminologies in Kiswahili had not been sufficiently developed, but advances had been made by the Institute of Kiswahili at the University of Dar es Salaam and the National Council; however, due to lack of dissemination of these terms, and the lack of government initiative and ideological commitment, these efforts waned (Abdulaziz, 1980 cited in Temu, 1999, p. 154-155).

In 1982, the Presidential Commission on Education proposed that the switchover from English to Kiswahili as the medium of instruction in secondary schools would begin in January 1985, and by 1992, it would apply to all subjects taught at the University of Dar es Salaam (Rubagumya 1986). However, the government rejected these recommendations the same year and initiated measures to strengthen English in the educational system. This was done through the efforts of the Criper and Dodd (1984) recommendations, which suggested the establishment of the English Language Support Project (Temu, 1999).

A very common notion is that English has suffered in Tanzania as a result of the development of Kiswahili, but according to Rajabu & Ngonyani (1994), this is not really the case. The two authors argue that “the decline of English is only symptomatic of the decline of education in Tanzania due to the neglect which has resulted in the lack of equipment, a lack of teachers, ill-trained teachers, a dilapidated and deplorable educational infrastructure, and a disproportionate expansion in enrollment” (p. 9). Rajabu & Ngonyani (1994) also cite that the reason the

Tanzanian government has not followed through on its mandates to make Kiswahili the language of secondary and higher education because of the country's "hidden agenda" to "safeguard the interests of the political elite, they were mainly populist pronouncements impressing on the Tanzanian masses a false sense of rapid development" (p. 6).

Currently, the linguistic attitudes of Tanzanians toward English, Kiswahili, and their other indigenous languages are not much different than in the 1980s. English, although spoken by just a minority of the country's citizens, is hailed as the language of education, technology, and business; one is truly not "educated" if he or she does not know English well. Indigenous languages, although widely used and respected, are downplayed, probably due to the unification message of Ujamaa, which promoted Kiswahili as the language of all Tanzanian citizens. Kiswahili is much respected and widely used in Tanzania, but it is often less preferred than English.

2.1.3 Uganda

The fate of Kiswahili was the worst in Uganda, primarily due to British colonialism and the harsh dictatorship of Idi Amin. The British favored one ethnic group, the Baganda, who readily embraced the English language and promoted its use in schools. The use of Luganda, the Baganda's ethnic tongue, brewed ethnic strife, so English seemed like a good alternative as a language of wider communication. With the coming of Idi Amin's brutal regime in the 1970's, Kiswahili was used extensively in the armed forces to create a medium of mutual intelligibility among the soldiers who came from different ethnic groups. Like in Kenya, Kiswahili was used as a lingua franca, but because the Amin regime was so oppressive, it became associated with thieves, brutes, and other nefarious characters. The language still holds that stigma today in the country.

Kiswahili began its rocky history in Uganda much later than in Kenya or Tanzania; it had reached Uganda via Arab traders during the 18th century, and by the mid-19th century, it had become firmly rooted in Uganda (Mukuthuria, 2006). Missionaries first began using Kiswahili to spread Christianity, but once they learned local languages, they opted to use them instead. They also developed a prejudice against Kiswahili for its association with Islam, which they considered heretical to Christian dogma. By the late nineteenth century, many of the kingdoms of Uganda, including the Bunyoro, Toro, and Busoga were growing and gaining strength. However, the most dominant kingdom was that of the Buganda, who had early on collaborated with the British and colonial rule. They had also embraced Western education eventually becoming the leading local administrators of the country. Their influence was so great, that their language, Luganda, had become a lingua franca in those regions they had previously ruled. Kiswahili was seen as a competitor and threat to their power, a sentiment still present today in Uganda.

This attitude was further reinforced with the Buganda Agreement of 1900 which recognized Luganda and English as official languages. Although Kiswahili was the official language of government between 1900-1912, this ruling was ignored. The Baganda were made administrators of other colonized regions of the country under the British, and this further spread and cemented their influence, power, and language which further demoted Kiswahili. From 1912-1924, Luganda replaced Kiswahili as the official language of the territory (Musinguzi, 2004).

English also became much more prominent under missionary influence; in fact, Mukuthuria (2006) asserts that missionaries linked baptism with ability to master basic literacy skills in English (p. 156). By 1920, the British oversaw education in Uganda. This was followed by the

Phelps-Stokes Commission which made English even more prominent. The Phelps-Stokes Commission, a missionary inspired and privately financed commission, called for partnership between missions and government (Nettelbeck, 1987). This had a direct effect on language policy in the region in that it cemented the role of English and vernacular languages in education, and it greatly diminished the role of Kiswahili. Even after the 1930 Inter-territorial meeting that authorized Kiswahili to be the language of education, biases against Kiswahili and sentiments favoring mother tongue and English stood firm, hindering the development of Kiswahili. The Baganda were very much against the development of the language, seeing it as a threat to their power and sovereignty (Whiteley, 1969; Mukuthuria 2006).

During the Second World War, Kiswahili was used by the British colonial forces to “unify, mobilize and propagate war propaganda among the soldiers and other British colonial subjects in East Africa and during this time, many Ugandan soldiers learned Kiswahili” (Mukuthuria, 2006, p. 156) During the Makerere Conference of 1944, local languages such as Luganda, Acholi, Lunyoro, Teso and Lugbara were given preference as regional languages, and English was given the role of lingua franca for the purpose of wider communication in the region. This dealt an even larger blow to Kiswahili. In 1948, Kiswahili was allowed to serve as a medium of instruction in the educational system of Uganda, although the Kabaka of Buganda ruled against it, and until 1952, it was one of the recognized vernacular languages of Ugandan schools and the official language of the armed forces . After realizing the great potential of Kiswahili as a unifying force in the country, the De Bunsen Committee banned Kiswahili from the languages being taught as vernaculars, which was followed by the King’s Commission of 1953 which also banned the use of Kiswahili and Luganda among the Ugandan Police, and promoted English as the only language to be used.

Kiswahili, however, was not yet extinct in Uganda. It was used to unite Ugandans for political purposes and for the cause of independence from the British. Milton Obote, Uganda's first president, and his Uganda Peoples Congress urged the use of Kiswahili to promote it as a national language. During this time, Kiswahili flourished in Northern and Eastern Uganda where it had no opposition (Mukuthuria, 2006). Uganda gained its independence from Britain in 1962, and from this time until 1971, Kiswahili was not included in post-independence language policy mandates, and English was adopted as the official language, somewhat by default.

In 1971, the Ugandan government was overthrown in a military coup under the leadership of Idi Amin. In 1973, after a national debate, eight out of twelve districts voted in favor of Luganda as a national language (Mukuthuria, 2006, p. 157). Idi Amin, however, declared Kiswahili a national language, but neither he nor his successors did anything to enforce the decree. Once Amin came to power, the strength and influence of the Baganda was acutely diminished. They were now a scorned people, especially by northern Ugandans, who supported the use of Kiswahili.

Generally, the post-independence linguistic ideology in Uganda was that no one language could be chosen as the national language due to tribalism and language prejudice of one kind or another (Mpuga, 2003; Mukuthuria, 2006). Luganda could not be selected due to the past domination of the Baganda; Kiswahili was shunned due to its association with the cruel regime of Idi Amin and his supporters from the North. These events and the resentment of Ugandans from other communities allowed English to be the official language.

In 1979, Tanzanian forces ousted Idi Amin, becoming an occupying force in Uganda, and this brought about mixed feelings regarding Kiswahili. "On one hand, many people made efforts to learn Kiswahili so that they could communicate with the occupation forces; on the other, the

brutality of the occupational forces was devastating to the image of Kiswahili. It was associated with dictatorship, abuse of human rights, thieves and looters” (Mukama, 1995 quoted in Mukuthuria, 2006, p. 158). When Milton Obote was reinstated as president, he encouraged the use of Kiswahili, but this was short-lived. Negative attitudes toward Kiswahili were strengthened up until 1987 when the National Resistance Movement (NRM) toppled the government` in another coup.

In 1985, Yoweri Museveni took over the leadership of the NRM, and Kiswahili was again declared the language of communication of the armed forces. While he prepared his rebel forces, he studied at the University of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania, and he used Kiswahili to organize these forces. The NRM’s language policy was embedded in the Ugandan White Paper of 1992, which provided a stronger role for Kiswahili in Uganda. According to the government, Kiswahili was promising because it has strong local and regional cultural base, and strengthening the use of the language would promote rapid growth and development, as well as foster unity within the country. Arguments against the use of Kiswahili were that it was not widely spoken, it was costly to teach, and it was a language of oppression and violation of human rights. However, Mukuthuria (2006) asserts that these arguments have no bearing seeing that the government spent a lot of time and money in promoting the language at all levels of education in the country, and they have well-trained personnel to address citizens’ current linguistic needs in Kiswahili. Also, Uganda’s neighbors, Kenya and Tanzania, have been using the language under no violation of human rights or brutality, and the rest of the former British colonies, considering the brutality and atrocities they endured historically, presently continue to use English (Mukuthuria, 2006, p. 159).

Kasozi (2000) cites several reasons why Kiswahili would be an acceptable national language in Uganda: 1) it is not the language of any one ethnic group, therefore its selection would not seem to favor one ethnic group over the others; 2) it is an international language spoken by many in East and Central Africa and it can link them with their neighbors; 3) it has a rich and diverse literature that can be used to promote widespread literacy; 4) it is a Bantu language and would be easy to learn since so many in the country speak Bantu languages, and it will take less time than English to become a mass language; and finally, 5) it is an indigenous African language that does not have a colonial legacy in Uganda.

Makerere University had been teaching Kiswahili since 1974, but starting in the mid-eighties, other universities followed suit such as Kakoba Teachers Training College (TTC) in 1986, Islamic University in 1998, and Kyambogo University in 2004. In 2002, Kiswahili became a compulsory subject in primary and secondary schools, but to date, this has not been enforced. In 2005, the Ugandan parliament declared Kiswahili a second official language

In 2009, the Ministry of Education in Uganda discussed revising the O-level curriculum, and ten subjects, including Kiswahili, were considered to be dropped from the list of compulsory subjects (Kibenge, 2010). The Ministry then made it clear that it was to be included on a list of optional subjects planned to be made compulsory in the future. In an article in the Ugandan newspaper, *The Independent*, Bob Katende (13 October 2009), writes about how the national language question has eluded Uganda. The responses to this article were quite interesting. Several postings were very much against Kiswahili, labeling it a foreign language that “did not take root”; “the language of killers,” and one that is associated with “punishment and brutality.” Fewer posts were in favor of Kiswahili citing that it was not the language of one ethnic group in the nation, therefore, showing favoritism toward one group, and that it could be used to unite

Uganda, and subsequently, strengthen the ties with neighboring countries that used the language. Most responses, however, favored using local ethnic languages.

In spite of the negative attitudes toward it, Kiswahili is now slated to be a compulsory in the new curricular reforms for 2012-13 according to Connie Kateba, director of the National Curriculum Development Centre. Kiswahili, then, will be a compulsory subject in primary and secondary schools (Baguma, *New Vision*, 20 July 2010). Recently, the East African Community Common Market was formed on July 1, 2010. This common market, comprised of the five East African countries of Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda, and Burundi, was created in order to do away with all barriers to trade between all countries, and “to enable the free movement of people, capital and services” and to “abolish all import duties” (Baguma, *New Vision*, 20 July 2010). The issue for Uganda, then, is its embracement of Kiswahili, which is spoken throughout this region. Analysts say that if Uganda is to gain from the long-term benefits of this Community, they must expedite the teaching of Kiswahili in schools from an early age (paragraph 9). The events of the next few years will reveal Uganda’s commitment toward this end.

2.1.4 United States

It is not precisely known when Kiswahili came to the United States. It is a possible that Kiswahili was introduced into the U.S. with the coming of enslaved Africans during the 18th century since the Portuguese, Spanish and the French were all involved in the procurement of enslaved Africans from East Africa, which contributed to the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade (Mazrui & Mazrui, 1998, p. 36). Much later, with the advent of the Black Power Movement in the 1960's, African Americans developed a greater awareness and appreciation of African culture, and in an attempt to return to their ancestral African roots, many chose to study

Kiswahili in a quest for a more authentic ethnolinguistic identity (Mazrui & Mazrui, 1998). It did not matter that Kiswahili may not have been the actual language of their forefathers; it was an indigenous African language, and it served as a greater marker of African identity than did English, a European language.

In the 1960s, Kiswahili was the second most widely spoken language on the African continent, behind Arabic; it was the lingua franca of Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda, all of which had recently gained their independence. Tanzania's first President, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, used the term 'Swahili' to refer to any person of African origin, thereby making the language an equivalent to trans-continental pan-African identity (Mazrui & Mazrui, 1998, p. 31), and it was also the medium of choice at the Sixth Pan-African Congress which convened in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania in 1974. It must also be remembered that Tanzania, along with Ghana, extended citizenship to African Americans during the 1960s and 1970s. This gesture, along with the social and political events in Africa and the desire of African Americans to rediscover their African roots, made Kiswahili an attractive language to learn.

The quest for civil rights and greater knowledge of their African identity also led African Americans to demand access to their African linguistic heritage in the American educational system. This led to the creation of African language programs in many colleges, universities, and some high schools. Today, African languages are widely taught on American college campuses, the most popular language studied being Kiswahili. Currently, there are several colleges and universities that offer Kiswahili as a course of study, and numerous undergraduate and graduate students are enrolled in Kiswahili language classes and take study tours to Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda. In Smitherman's (1999) African language study among African Americans, she found Kiswahili to be not only the most studied African language, but the one most preferred.

The initiation of Kwanzaa by Dr. Maulana Karenga in 1966 ushered in a new era of awareness of Kiswahili among African Americans. Kwanzaa, which is derived from the Kiswahili phrase, “matunda ya kwanza” meaning, “first fruits”, is a week-long observance, which celebrates African Americans’ connection to the African continent and their pan-African identity (Karenga, 1988). It was modeled after African harvest ceremonies, and the language used to celebrate the Kwanzaa principles, practices and artifacts, is drawn mainly from Kiswahili. Each day is designated by one of the Seven African Principles (The Nguzo Saba), which is practiced throughout that day for remembrance throughout the year. Over the past forty-four years in which the holiday has been in existence, its popularity has grown, and with it, the growing popularity of Kiswahili and African modes of thought, not only in the African American community, but in American society as a whole as witnessed by the television and radio broadcasts, church and civic programs, and merchandise offered during the time of Kwanzaa.

2.2 English

English was thought to have been introduced onto the African continent in the 1530s by William Hawkins the Elder as he passed through on his way to Brazil (Schmied, 1991, p. 6). English was introduced into East Africa in the mid-nineteenth century through missionaries. In fact, a large stone crucifix nearby the first mainland Catholic mission, established by the Holy Ghost Fathers in Bagamoyo, Tanzania declares English first arrived in East Africa precisely at this locale (author’s personal journey to Bagamoyo). Like Kiswahili, English also had differing fates in Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda, the effects of which are still evident today in the linguistic usage and language policies of the country.

Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda inherited English from their former colonial power, Great Britain. During the 1880s, the British occupied Kenya and Uganda and formed the Imperial British East African Company to develop trading opportunities in the region for the imperial government, which eventually led to the establishment of a formal colony in Kenya (Higgins, 2010). Originally occupied by the Germans, Tanzania (formerly Tanganyika) was handed over to the British after World War I. After the war, the Allies divided German East Africa into League of Nations mandates. Great Britain was given most of the area (now Tanzania), while Belgium received Rwanda and Burundi. Zanzibar became a protectorate of the British in 1890 and eventually became part of Tanzania in 1964.

Under the British colonial government in East Africa, an English-speaking superstructure was imposed with appropriate administrative, legal and educational substructures. The administrative, legal and educational language in the British African colonies, protectorates and dependencies was English, but to a certain extent, African languages were also used officially, and at times even encouraged at the lower levels. The relationship between English language expansion and British imperialism was not, however, a straightforward one. On the one hand, British colonial officers had to learn African languages before they went to Africa, and their subsequent promotion depended to some degree on passing African language tests (Abdulaziz, 1991). On the other hand, even non-British missions often started English classes either because they wanted to obtain special government grants that were only available for English-medium education or because they wanted to cater to Africans who wanted to “complete” their education.

English was also introduced and spread through East Africa through evangelical means. Along with their use of English, missionaries often renamed African languages and regrouped indigenous ethnic groups according to their uninformed ideas of who people were and what

languages they spoke. For example, not knowing that a certain language may not be intelligible to a neighboring ethnic group, they named both tongues the same language. This is precisely what happened in Uganda among the Runyakole and Rukiga ethnic groups.

2.3 Summary

The fate of Kiswahili and former colonial languages in East Africa have had differing histories, and subsequently, differing outcomes in the countries of Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda. After World War I, Britain became the colonial power in the region, and therefore, English became the dominant colonial language. However, its fate as well differed in each of these countries due to social, historical, and political factors which have shaped the linguistic attitudes of people from this region. With this sociohistorical and linguistic background now presented, I will now turn to the theoretical frameworks that shape my research project.

CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.0 Introduction

This chapter will discuss the theoretical frameworks associated with this study. These will include those concerning language attitudes, identity formation, transnationalism, the intersection of language and identity, and African immigrant religious institutions in the United States. The purpose of this review is to provide an understanding of the theoretical foundations that serve as a lens through which to view this work.

3.1 The Social Construction of Language

The first underlying theory to inform my work is that of Berger & Luckmann (1967), who define language as a system of vocal signs, “the most important sign system of human society” (p. 37). Human language is capable of objectivation, that is, it is readily seen in what humans do and produce, and it can extend beyond a face-to-face verbal interaction and be available for others to hear and understand as an expression of their shared world or community (p. 34). The communal acts of everyday life are maintained primarily by linguistic signification. Language shares this capacity with other sign systems, but its great variety and complexity make it more easily detached from the face-to-face situation than any other. “In this way, language is capable of becoming the objective repository of vast accumulations of meaning and experience, which it can preserve in time and transmit to following generations” (p. 37). This repository function is perhaps heightened in immigrant communities and, therefore, of direct relevance to this study.

But more than being *socially* constructed, as Berger & Luckmann (1967) point out, reality is also *sociolinguistically* constructed (Smitherman, 1991); “[it] is always filtered, apprehended, encoded, codified, and conveyed via some linguistic shape...which exists in a dialectical

relationship with social cognition and social behavior” (p. 43). While Smitherman (1991) does not assert that language is *the* determiner of thought, consciousness and behavior, she does contend that identity contributes to ideological formation, consciousness and class relations, and this ideology and consciousness are the products of what she calls the “sociolinguistic construction of reality” (p. 43). Within this reality, “language reflects a people’s culture and world view, and thus each group’s language is suited to the needs and habits of its users” (Smitherman, 1977, p. 196). To quote Fanon (1967), speaking means primarily “to assume a culture, to support the weight of a civilization (p. 18). Bucholtz and Hall (2005) claim that “among the many symbolic resources available for the cultural production of identity, language is the most flexible and pervasive”. These constructivist views make the study of language maintenance in immigrant communities a direct reflection of personal and cultural identity.

3.1.1 Language being more real

Language has the ability to make life “more real” to a person. People speak as they think, and the subjective meanings a speaker assigns to the words he or she speaks are shared with others with whom a person is speaking, and they are ultimately reflected back to the speaker himself, thus making what has been said more real to the speaker (Berger & Luckmann, 1967, p. 38). This reality is related to second language learning in that one’s first language, or “mother tongue,” contains the speaker’s reality and his or her personal meanings. Therefore, when a person learns a new language, he or she often has to retranslate into the original language in order for what is said in the new language to make any sense. As the reality of the new language becomes internalized, a language learner can dispense with translation. However, the “self-evident reality” carried by the subjective meanings of the second language never totally replaces those made by the first language (Berger & Luckmann, 1967, pp. 143-144). For immigrant

populations who continually use a language that is not their “mother tongue,” whatever meaning is conveyed by the words of the second or subsequent language is never quite as relevant or “real” to the speaker as those learned in the first language.

3.1.2 Language as a social stock of knowledge

Language contains what Berger & Luckmann (1967) call a “social stock of knowledge,” that is, a repository of knowledge, customs and history of a society in which an individual participates and experiences, and this contributes to their everyday lives (p. 41). Language itself establishes “fields” or “zones” of meaning, and they are organized through vocabulary, grammar and syntax. These fields of meaning then contain the biographical and historical experience of a person or group of people which can then be shared, maintained and built upon. This social stock of knowledge can be handed down through subsequent generations, making it accessible to individuals in their everyday lives. “Participation in the social stock of knowledge thus permits the ‘location’ of individuals in society and the ‘handling’ of them in the appropriate manner. This is not possible for one who does not participate in this knowledge, such as a foreigner”(Berger & Luckmann, 1967, p. 42). This social stock of knowledge provides a person who participates in it the ways of being and behaving the “routines” of everyday life and the events and experiences that are important to this society (p. 43). A person then is not ignorant of how to behave within this society; this social stock of knowledge allows them “know what to do” with regard to the people and events that comprise this society. In addition, this social stock of knowledge locates individuals in a society and outlines their navigation within it. In turn, an individual can then readily identify with a particular group that possesses this social stock of knowledge, already knows how to behave appropriately, and knows what is expected of him or her. An individual can also integrate his or her own knowledge with the whole social stock of

knowledge of the society in which they live (Berger & Luckmann, 1967, p. 43) Because the social stock of knowledge, as a whole, has its own “relevance structure,” it can be treated as a discreet entity.

3.2 Speech Communities

In 1962, Dell Hymes brought together the fields of ethnography, the description and analysis of culture and linguistics, and the study of language codes to create a new discipline the “ethnography of speaking.” This new discipline, now called “the ethnography of communication,” focuses on communicative behavior as one of the components of culture (Saville-Troike, 2003, p. 1). Specifically, it examines the way communication is patterned and organized through communicative events, as well as the way these events interact with other aspects of culture within a speech community (p. 2).

The term *speech community* is not one without contention. Hymes (1986) states that it is the speech community, and not language, which should be the basic unit for sociolinguistic classification and description (p. 43); it is a necessary term that assumes a social rather than a linguistic description (p. 54). Those who study language in communities must first begin with the social group and then take into consideration all the linguistic varieties used within it, rather than start with one particular language present. Although the speech community is the central point of most sociolinguistic research, and it denotes the boundaries from which researchers study such phenomena as language variation and change, manner of speaking, and language choice, it is a term that does not have a precise, agreed-upon definition, yet used extensively in the sociolinguistic literature (Patrick, 2003). Patrick notes that the conception of the speech community has shifted over the past few decades from a structuralist view that focuses on production and system, that is, actual linguistic features and their arrangement, to a view that

emphasizes the social evaluation of speech. Labov's (1972) definition of speech community exhibits a more structuralist view:

The speech community is defined by ... participation in a set of shared norms...[which] may be observed in overt types of evaluative behavior, and [in] the uniformity of abstract patterns of variation (Labov, 1972, pp. 120-121).

Patrick acknowledges that this definition has been quite influential in the creation of the methodology used in many empirical studies, however, he and other scholars in Caribbean sociolinguistics (Winford, 1988; LePage & Tabouret-Keller, 1985; Rickford, 1986) have challenged this narrow view and rejected the assumptions presented by it, asserting that it does not apply to post-colonial societies where creoles are often found, arguing that members of Creole speech communities do not agree on the “social evaluation salient linguistic features or variables – since they do not even agree on the evaluation of the ‘social goods’ which such linguistic displays are intended to ‘purchase’ for their users” (Patrick, 1998, p. 3). Instead, Patrick (1998) argues in favor of studying the complexity and variability of both the production of Caribbean creole speech and the goals and motivations of its speakers. In this way, Patrick claims “that such an approach might be able to tell us still more, not only about the nature of Caribbean speech communities, but also about this central object of sociolinguistic theory in general” (p. 3).

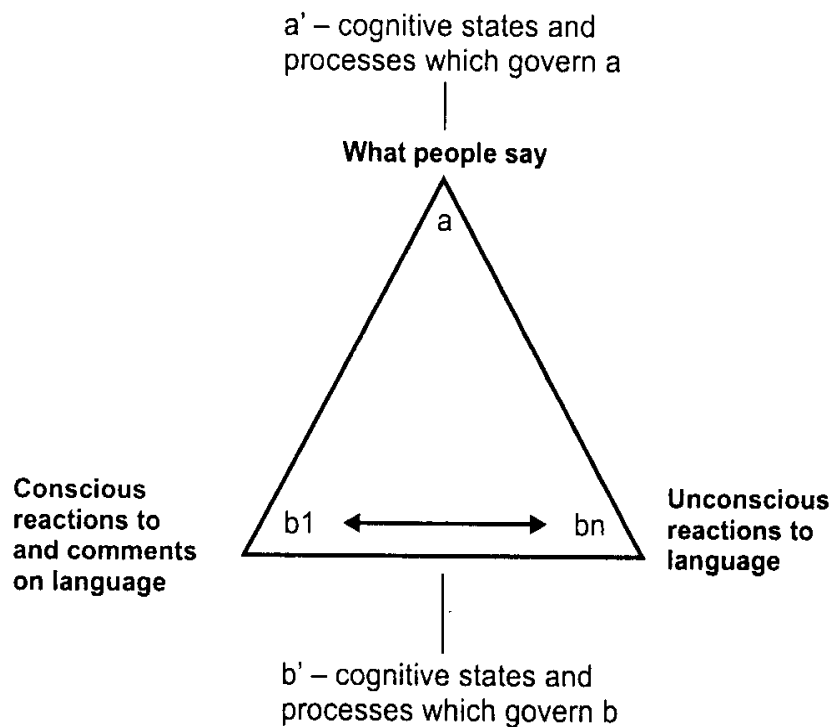
3.3 Folk Linguistics

In order to get a complete ethnography of language of a particular speech community, it is important to ascertain what members of a community (who are not linguists) know and think about language, a practice and study that Preston (2005) calls *folk linguistics*. Preston presents various reasons why linguists do folk linguistics. The one that applies to the current study is the *ethnography of language reason*:

Folk linguistics must be done if we want a complete ethnography of language of any group. If we do not know what nonlinguists believe about language, we lack full information about perhaps the most important element of their cultures. (Preston, 2005, p. 144)

A schematic representing where folk linguistic study fits within the more general picture is shown in Figure 1 (Preston, 2005, p. 149):

Figure 2. The position of folk linguistic study among general concerns



Preston explains the diagram in this fashion: The top of the triangle (*a*) represents what Hoenigswald called “what goes on” in language, with the *a'* denoting the cognitive, sociohistorical and other elements that explain the reasons why language is the way it is. The bottom of the triangle (*b1 – bn*) represents a continuum of consciousness of all linguistic (and language related) facts that are of any concern to the folk mind. The leftmost side (*b1*) is the area of concern to those who look at folk linguistics. The rightmost (*bn*) is often called the

domain of the ‘social psychology of language.’ Just as there are *a*’ explanations for language use, shape, distribution, and change, there are *b*’ explanations for both conscious and unconscious reactions to language, and the study of folk linguistics desires to uncover these, although, as in the use of so-called surface structures in the study of *a*’, one will have to look at the expressive evidence of folk linguistic commentary and reactions to do so (Preston, 2005, p. 150).

Linguistic folk belief can be discovered in various ways. Attitude surveys and participant-observer studies assist the researcher in obtaining linguistic folk belief, but casual interviews (in my case, group interviews) can uncover the breadth and depth of belief because the research subjects are “caught in the act” of reasoning about language. The structure of the conversation or interview can also be studied to uncover the backgrounds of the respondent’s linguistic folk beliefs (Preston, 1994, p. 327).

It is important for researchers not to ignore the linguistic beliefs of non-linguists, because without knowing how a population evaluates, classifies, and ranks language, and how these beliefs solve linguistic problems for them, language attitude study risks being an academic study that does not truly reflect actual linguistic beliefs, or it can fall into the category of “exaggerated speech caricatures”; therefore, evaluating a speech variety without an understanding of how it relates to the identity and status of a population will not only thwart efforts to discover a community’s language attitudes, but also the sources of these attitudes (Preston, 1994). Indeed, it is important to develop culturally relevant research questions and to as accurately as possible record and interpret how “the folk” answer them.

3.4 Pragmatics and Presupposition

The field of pragmatics also offers a way to theoretically situate my research project and analyze the findings. According to Levinson (1983), pragmatics is “the study of those relations between language and context that are *grammaticalized*, or encoded in the structure of a language.” (9, emphasis in original). However, Mey (2001) disagrees with this definition, saying that “a truly pragmatic consideration has to deal with the users in their social context,” and does not limit the definition to only those utterances using social contexts that are ‘grammaticalized’ (p. 6). Instead, Mey (2001) offers the following definition of pragmatics which I use for this study: “Pragmatics studies the use of language in human communication as determined by the conditions of society” (p. 6). The field of pragmatics is distinguished from sociolinguistics, anthropological linguistics, and the sociology of language in the following ways. While it overlaps with the field of sociolinguistics, pragmatics looks more at how social context affects meaning in language; sociolinguistics focuses on the way society influences language by studying cultural norms, expectations, and such social variables as age, education, socioeconomic class, gender, religion, etc. This is a much broader inclusion of societal variables than simply social context, which is used in pragmatics. Pragmatics is distinguished from the sociology of language in that the latter studies the effects of language on society. Anthropological linguistics examines the relation between language and culture, and subsequently, its relation to human biology, thought and cognition. This differs from linguistic anthropology, which studies humans through the languages that they use. This project follows more of a pragmatic linguistic inquiry in that it studies the social and historical factors that affect an immigrant or transnational population’s linguistic attitudes, and in turn, how these attitudes contribute to their ethnic and religious identities.

Conversational implicature is one of the most important concepts in pragmatics studies for two reasons: 1) it offers a theoretical framework of the “nature and power of pragmatic explanations of linguistic phenomena, and 2) provides an explicit account of how it is possible to mean more than what is actually said (i.e., more than what is literally expressed by the conventional sense of the linguistic expressions uttered (Levinson, 1983, p. 97).

A conversational implicature is, therefore, something which is implied in conversation, that is, something which is left implicit in actual language use (Mey, 2001). Pragmatics is interested in this phenomenon because it deals with a regularity that cannot be captured in a single syntactic or semantic ‘rule’, but has to be accounted for in different ways (Mey, 2001, p. 45). The key ideas of conversational implicature were proposed by Grice in his Cooperative Principle, which contains four basic maxims of conversation (cited in Levinson, 1983): Make your contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged.

The Maxim of Quality

Try to make your contribution one that is true, specifically:

- (i) do not say what you believe to be false
- (ii) do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence

The Maxim of Quantity

- (i) make your contribution as informative as is required
- (ii) do not make your contribution more informative than is required

The Maxim of Relevance

Make your contributions relevant

The Maxim of Manner

Be perspicuous, and specifically:

- (i) avoid obscurity
- (ii) avoid ambiguity
- (iii) be brief
- (iv) be orderly

An important property of implicatures within Grice's framework is that (except those under the maxim of Manner) they are "non-detachable"; that is, the implicature is attached to the semantic content of what is said, not to linguistic form, and therefore implicatures cannot be detached from an utterance simply by changing the words' grammatical shape of the utterance (Levinson, 1983, p. 116). However, there are implicatures that are "detachable"; meaning, they are attached to the form rather than the meaning of what is said, and these are called *presuppositions*. The original meaning of presupposition, which is different than that used in pragmatics, is "restricted to certain pragmatic inferences or assumptions that seem at least to be built into linguistic expressions and which can be isolated using specific linguistic tests" (Levinson, 1983. p. 168). The idea of presupposition was originally developed in a semantic environment; as such, it does not hold up to broader pragmatic expectations because semantic presuppositions deal with truth or falsity: they are defined as "holding" (that is, being true) even if the sentence containing the presupposition is false (Mey, 2001, p. 184). A semantic notion of presupposition merely links sentences together on the basis of what is true or false. Mey (2001) claims that a serious theory of pragmatic presuppositions goes beyond this, and it inquires into the ways an utterance is understood in the context of the language users' 'common ground'. In this way, "it is important not only to record what people say, but to figure out why they say things, and why they say them

the way they do” (pp. 186-187). In Caffi’s words, “pragmatic presuppositions not only concern knowledge, whether true or false: they concern expectations, desires, interests, claims, attitudes towards the world, fears, etc...” (Caffi, 1994 quoted in Mey, 2001, p. 186). Pragmatic presuppositions relate to my study in that I wish to ascertain the attitudes my study population has toward their indigenous African languages, as well as what they have to say regarding the use of these languages and the context in which they use them, namely, the American spiritual context.

3.5 Attitudes

If we are to study language attitudes, a discussion of the meaning of attitude is in order. Much of the work on attitude has been done in social psychology. Although there is no one concrete definition of this phenomenon, Baker (1992) describes attitude as “a hypothetical construct used to explain the direction and persistence of human behaviour” (p. 10). In more common language, Sarnoff (1970) defines attitude as “a disposition to react favourably or unfavourably to a class of objects” (quoted in Edwards, 1982, p. 20). Attitudes, however, cannot be directly observed because a person’s thoughts, processing system and feelings are hidden. Because attitudes are latent, they must be inferred from the direction and persistence of external behaviour. Attitudes, therefore, can be a convenient and efficient way of explaining consistent patterns of behaviour (Baker, 1992). However, not all scholars agree with this disposition, asserting that there is a weak link between attitude and predictable behavior. A person may well have strong attitudes toward something, but this may or may not cause them to act in a certain way (Baker, 1992; Edwards, 1982). Although there are disagreements about the generality and specificity of the term “attitude,” the working definition preferred here is by Ajzen (2005) which

states attitude is “a disposition to respond favourably or unfavourably to an object, person, institution or event” (p. 11).

3.5.1 Components of attitude

Baker (1992) offers an explanation of attitude, which is comprised of three components: thoughts (cognitive element); feelings (affective element), and predispositions to act (behavioral element) (p. 12). The cognitive component concerns thoughts and beliefs. A favorable attitude toward African languages might include a stated belief in the importance of continuity of these indigenous languages, their value in the transmission of African culture, and their use in primary school education. The affective component concerns feelings towards the attitude object (e.g., Kiswahili). The feeling may include love or hate of the language, a passion for Kiswahili poetry, or an anxiety about learning a European language, such as English.

The behavioral or conative component of attitude concerns predispositions to act. It is a behavioral intention or plan of action under defined contexts and circumstances. A person with a favorable attitude toward African languages might state they would teach their children their African mother tongue. A person with a favorable attitude toward bilingualism might indicate their readiness to enter adult language classes. This latter example illustrates the possibility of the action component often, but not always, being an indicator of external behavior. However, the relationship between attitudes and action is neither simple nor straightforward (Baker, 1992).

The cognitive and affective components, however, may not always be in sync with one another. A person may express favorable attitudes toward X- language education, but have covert negative feelings about such education. Irrational prejudices, deep-seated anxieties and fears may occasionally not agree with formally stated beliefs. In attitude measurement, formal statements are made expressing the cognitive component of attitudes, but these may only reflect

surface evaluations. It is doubtful whether deep-seated, private feelings, especially when incongruent with preferred public statements, are truly elicited in attitude measurement. Defense mechanisms and social desirability response sets tend to come in between stated and more covert attitudes. Attitude measurement may not always delve beneath the surface, and this relates attitude enquiry to the investigation of presupposition described previously; presuppositional elements in discourse often seem well outside the conscious control of the speaker.

3.5.2 Belief and opinion

Attitudes can also be related to an array of terms such as belief, concept, construct, and opinion, but it is possible to make distinctions between these terms (Baker, 1992, p. 13). There is sometimes confusion between belief and attitude, particularly in the field of language attitudes. *Attitude* includes *belief* as one of its components. Thus, a subject's response to 'Is a knowledge of Kiswahili important for your children, yes or no?' indicates a belief. To gauge attitude one would require further enquiry into the respondent's *feeling* about his expressed belief. Many 'attitude' questionnaires are, in fact, 'belief' questionnaires, at least in part (Edwards, 1982).

Opinion can be defined as an overt belief without an affective reaction. In comparison, attitudes, as defined by most scholars, contain affective reactions. Second, opinions are verbalized (although that realization may be internal), while attitudes may be latent, conveyed by non-verbal and subtle verbal processes. Third, opinion surveys and attitude surveys differ. Opinion surveys tend to locate community or group preferences and wishes, providing indicators of population viewpoints. Attitude surveys focus on the relationship of attitudes to a variety of other variables, seeking to understand human interactions and reactions. While tight definitions of both terms may be needed within the confines of social psychology or sociolinguistics, these two terms tend to be synonymous in everyday speech.

3.6 Language Attitudes

For the purposes of this study, 'language attitude' will be taken in the sense that Ryan et al. (1982) define it as “any affective, cognitive or behavioural index of evaluative reactions toward different language varieties or their speakers” (p. 7). Attitudes toward language are important because they can be crucial in language restoration, preservation, decay or death. If a community does not have a favorable attitude toward their language or other languages, they will not be amenable to using them (Baker, 1992). A survey of attitudes provides an indicator of current community thoughts and beliefs, preferences and desires. Although not without its drawbacks, the status, value and importance of a language is most often and mostly easily (though imperfectly) measured by attitudes to that language. Such attitudes may be measured at an individual level, or the common attitudes of a group or community may be elicited. In addition, attitude surveys do not just serve as opinion polls, but they may aid understanding of social processes (Baker, 1992). Bourdieu's general *theory of practice* is helpful when trying to ascertain language attitudes because in it “[h]e seeks to show that language itself is a social-historical phenomenon, and that linguistic theories which ignore the social-historical and practical character of language do so at its own peril” (Editor's note in Bourdieu, 1991, p. 4). This will be discussed in the next section.

3.6.1 Sociostructural factors that influence language attitudes

In studying language attitudes, one cannot ignore the historical, political, and cultural forces (here, simply called *sociostructural*) that helped form these attitudes. Because language attitudes do not emerge in “a sociostructural vacuum,” it is imperative to examine the past and investigate the social, political, and cultural forces operating within a nation or geographical region in order to fully understand how language attitudes develop (St. Clair, 1982; Bourhis, 1982). These

patterns of development may have surfaced in the form of social movements and, even when these events are now part of history, their influence remains. They are evident in the metaphors used in everyday speech, and they can be found implicitly stated in standardized tests, teacher training courses, and federal laws (St. Clair, 1982). Linguists interested in only how language operates as a formal system disregard the social contexts of language. In contrast, sociolinguists concentrate on the varieties of linguistic expression and how these are intrinsically related to the social contexts in which they are characteristically found (St. Clair, 1982). This has led many sociolinguists to emulate many of Labov's studies which document the patterns of language variation (e.g., Labov, 1972). These descriptive studies were later enhanced by interdisciplinary theoretical models which attempt to provide some insight into the social psychology of language attitudes (Giles & Powesland, 1975; Giles & St. Clair, 1979). St. Clair (1982), however, points out that one area of sociolinguistic research not fully covered in the literature is the role these sociostructural forces play in the creation of language attitudes (p. 164). However, if social history is to be helpful in understanding how such forces can influence language attitudes, these studies must go beyond a chronological review of past events. These facts must be related to a systematic framework of theoretical claims. St. Clair (1982) states that such a model can be found within Becker's (1973) sociology of deviance, saying that this framework is particularly relevant to the study of language attitudes because it relates social history and political movements to how people feel about the forms of language they associate with members of different social and economic groups (p. 164).

With regard to my study, I hope to demonstrate how sociostructural factors can explain how my respondents feel about particular languages, especially from the point of view of colonial history, which they find in their own countries in Africa. Given the societal makeup of my

research participants' adopted country, the United States, my work may also help to explain why they hold the attitudes they do toward various language varieties found in the U.S. (i.e., African American language patterns). Although an understanding of linguistic variety can be informative, St. Clair (1982) claims that it does not fully explain how some dialects come to be legitimated at the expense of others. For this insight, he says one must turn to some of the structural parallels between language and culture, "because it is through the process of political socialization that one can begin to see how social movements relate to historical attitudes toward language" (p. 165). This relates to my study in two ways. First, it relates to how each subject, whether from Tanzania, Uganda, or Kenya, views their indigenous languages and Kiswahili and what attitudes they have toward these languages. Second, it relates to how they view these languages, especially their use of Kiswahili here in the U.S. as transnationals; and third, it relates to how they view different dialects of English, including African American Language.⁴ For example, one of the participants in this study said that her exposure to white missionaries had biased her toward viewing more favorably the speech of white Americans, thus, connecting the sociohistorical background of East Africa to the reasons behind her own language attitudes.

3.6.2 Sociostructural factors and speech communities

According to Hymes (1986), language cannot be separated from how and why it is used. The ethnography of communication views language primarily as a socially situated cultural form, which embodies and expresses the culture itself (as cited in Saville-Troike, 2003, p. 3). The focus of the ethnography of communication is not language, but the *speech community*, and the way communication within it is patterned and organized as systems of communicative events (Hymes, 1986 cited in Saville-Troike, 2003, p. 2). The term *speech community* is a social

⁴ African American Language refers to the lexicon, as well as the phonological and syntactical speech patterns of the African American community, per Smitherman (1977, 2000).

description not a linguistic one, in that a social group may have various languages and linguistic varieties associated with it. “To the extent that speakers share knowledge of the communicative constraints and options governing a significant number of social situations, they can be said to be members of the same speech community” (Gumperz, 1964; Hymes, 1986 quoted in Gumperz, 1986, p. 16). Because this shared knowledge depends on the intensity of contact and on communication networks, speech community boundaries tend to coincide with social units, such as tribes, ethnic groups or religious communities.

As I have shown in the above survey, the views of speech community members toward various language varieties within their societies can be examined from several disciplinary perspectives. Within a more specifically sociological framework, the symbolic values of language are viewed within societal and situational contexts. According to Fishman (1971):

Language is not merely a carrier of content, whether latent or manifest. Language itself is content, a referent for loyalties and animosities, an indicator of social statuses and personal relationships, a marker of situations and topics as well as of the societal goals and the large-scale value-laden arenas of interaction that typify every speech community (Fishman, 1971 quoted in Ryan et al., 1982, p. 2)

Sociological studies (or studies in the “sociology of language”) tend to utilize the questionnaire or interview method to elicit attitudes. In contrast, from a sociolinguistic perspective, research following the lead of Labov (1966, 1972) has focused upon two main problems:

1) understanding the association between specific linguistic features (e.g. phonological variants, lexical patterns, and grammatical contrasts) and characteristics of the societal, social group, and situational contexts in which they occur; and 2) understanding the inferences listeners make about these associations.

From social psychological and communication perspectives, emphasis is upon the individual and his/her display of attitudes toward ingroup and outgroup members as elicited by language

and as reflected in its use. Most of the research conducted within social psychological or communication traditions has followed that of Lambert (1967) and has involved the elicitation of evaluative reactions toward speakers using contrasting language varieties. Attitudes toward particular varieties are then taken to be attitudes toward speakers of those varieties (Ryan et al., 1982, p. 2) The current study has utilized both a sociological and social psychological perspective in investigating the language attitudes of a transnational African group living in the United States, as well as taking St. Clair's view of sociostructural determinants to language attitudes, toward both the indigenous languages that they speak, the language they acquired and are expected to use on a daily basis in their adopted home (English), and toward a language variety they encounter here in the U.S. (African American Language).

3.7 Identity

There are many approaches to identity, which is often related to self. A sociological approach to self and identity assumes that there is a reciprocal relationship between the self and society (Stryker, 1980 cited in Stets & Burke, 2005). The self influences society through the actions of individuals, thereby creating groups, organizations, networks, and institutions.

Self and identity are complementary terms, but the main quality that separates self from identity is that the self is “a process and organization born of self-reflection, whereas identity is a tool (or strategy) which individuals or groups use to categorize themselves and present themselves to the outside world” (Owens, 2006, p. 206).

There are three key aspects of identity within contemporary social psychology—personal, social, and collective. Due to historical terminology, the theoretical development of personal identity—that is, identities attached to individuals—is predominantly the area of sociologists. However, the theoretical development of social and collective identity—that is, identities based

on group-level characteristics—is mainly the domain of psychologists, although sociologists also contribute to this aspect. (Owens, 2006). What differentiates personal identities from social and collective identities is that personal identities are attached to individuals (e.g., their traits, unique identifiers, personality characteristics) and are internalized by them. Alternatively, social identities are attached to groups while collective identities are attached to demographic categories. Moreover, the internalization of an identity is required by definition of personal identity, but not of social or collective identity. Social identity is “the individual’s knowledge that he belongs to certain social groups together with some emotional and value significance to him of his group membership” (Tajfel, 1972 quoted in Hogg, 2005, p. 462). Collective identity, in contrast, “is a distinctively group-level concept referring to the processes by which an action-oriented group comes to identity itself” (Owens, 2006, p. 227). In short, social identities are to individuals what collective identities are to groups.

3.8 Identity and Culture

Culture is defined as “a set of meanings, beliefs, and practices that guide the formation and maintenance of social institutions, the creation of social products, and the development of its members” (Triandis, 1996 quoted in Cross & Gore, 2005, pp. 536-537). Identity and culture have very important links, and scholars are currently revisiting the issues of social and cultural origins of self because they now realize that identity and the definition of self largely depend on cultural contexts (Cross & Gore, 2005). Linguistic practices reflect and often promote cultural orientations; therefore, the study of language is in itself a study of identity.

Identities, in most cases, especially ethnic identities, are socially constructed and not simply “given” (Bekker, 2001). Castells (1997) defines identity as “people’s source of meaning and experience which is constructed on the basis of a cultural attribute, or a related set of cultural

attributes, that is given priority over other sources of meaning” (p. 6). Although this identity construction utilizes people's history, geography, institutions and collective memory, these individuals, groups and societies “process all these materials, and rearrange their meaning, according to social determinations and cultural projects that are rooted in their social structure, and in their space/time framework” (Castells, 1997, p. 7). Given this explanation, Castells hypothesizes that “who constructs collective identity, and for what, largely determines the symbolic content of this identity, and its meaning for those identifying with it or placing themselves outside of it” (p. 7). Because he believes that the social construction of identity evolves within a context of power relationships, Castells defines three forms of identity building: legitimizing identity, resistance identity, and project identity. Resistance identity is “generated by those actors who are in positions/conditions devalued and/or stigmatized by the logic of domination, thus building trenches of resistance and survival on the basis of principles different from, or opposed to, those permeating the institutions of society” (p. 8). This type of identity-building project lends itself to the establishment of “communes” or “communities.” This collective resistance against social oppression is usually based on identities defined by history, geography, or genetics. This leads to what Castells calls “the exclusion of the excluders by the excluded.” (p. 9). My research subjects, however, although they have formed Kiswahili fellowships on the basis of perceived difference with American society and a feeling of exclusion and loneliness, do not exclude others from their midst, perhaps in part on the basis of their Christian belief and their desire for attracting others to it, a factor I will devote some attention to in this work.

3.9 Ethnicity

Ethnicity broadly refers to “an individual’s sense of self in terms of membership in a particular ethnic group” (Phinney et al., 2001, p. 496). Ethnicity, however, is defined in different ways across various disciplines. The definition used for the present study is one by Phinney et al. (2001) which “refers to subgroups within a larger context, such as a nation, that claim a common ancestry and share one or more of the following elements: culture, religion, language, kinship, and place of origin” (p. 496). For this study, my research participants represent a subgroup, namely African immigrants/transnationals, who share a common language and come from a common place of origin, East Africa. The larger context is the native-born American population. This definition of identity is similar to LePage and Tabouret-Keller’s (1985), in that several factors contribute to ethnicity and a shared sense of ethnic identity; these include a common language and culture, a common sense of origin and self-identification within the group, a sense of kinship, and common inheritances (as found in Garuba, 2001). Ethnic identity, in Africa, can be quite a different matter. Many of the “tribes” or what are now known as ethnic groups in Africa were ascribed their identities by outsiders—namely European explorers and missionaries—and they often altered the traditional ethnic categories that Africans themselves had constructed.

3.10 Language and Identity

Joseph (2004) claims that if we are to study language to its fullest and most meaningful extent, identity must also be considered because it is central to the meaning, operation, involvement and use of language; in other words, “the form and content of linguistic production are shaped, and frequently driven, by the imperatives of identity” (pp. 224-225). This linkage between language and ethnicity has been labeled “ethnolinguistic consciousness” (Fishman,

1997). Language and identity have long been linked due to the notion that speaking a particular language automatically made you part of particular group, thus marking one's identity (Garuba, 2001). However, Garuba points out that joining language and identity through ethnicity raises many complicated issues in Africa. He takes the position that, in Africa, there are both local and national identities, and these local identities are based, among other things, on actual language spoken, but national identities are based linguistically on a standardized version that is the basis of nationally recognized ethnic identities (p. 8). He goes on to say that these linguistically-based ethnic identities are "arbitrarily constructed," cementing the relationship between language and ethnicity, thus "perpetuating [the] myth of language as a strictly bounded phenomenon and ethnic groups as culturally homogenous" (Herbert, 1992 quoted in Garuba, 2001, p. 8). Garuba warns that ethnic identity based on the idea of a "common language," that is, one that is mutually intelligible among various groups and communities, is misleading and difficult to sustain due to variations between dialects of a particular language (p. 9).

Ethnic rivalries have pitted different groups against each other, even though they may share a common language and culture, but racial identities have different meanings for many Africans (Clark, 2008). Because most African immigrants come from countries with majority black populations, African identities are more closely tied to ethnicity than to race. Although Southern Africa has large Asian and European populations, and a few West African and East African nations have Arab and Asian populations, few African immigrants come from nations with majority non-black populations. According to Mazrui (2001), ethnicity, within the sub-Saharan context now has replaced the idea of "tribe" (p. 154). In addition, colonial regimes in Africa often created new "tribes" by splitting larger ones into smaller ones (e.g. the Batoro separation

from the Banyoro in Uganda), or by uniting ethnic groups which had been distinct (e.g. the creation of Yoruba identity from what had once been separate kingdoms) (p. 153).

Of course, the notion of ethnicity changes dramatically for African immigrants once they come to the United States. No longer is their ethnic group as distinctive as it was in their home countries, and most first generation African immigrants find that they “come into, or are forced into, an African identity instead of their ethnic or national identities” (Clark, 2008, p. 170). “In America, where ethnicity is conceived of in black and white, African immigrants have to contend with internally and externally imposed identities that can often leave them either embracing multiple identities or distancing themselves from an African-American identity and all of the baggage that comes with it” (Clark, 2008, p. 170). Many, in fact, do not claim African-American identity (Okome, 2002; Clark, 2008), even if they become US citizens. Instead, they claim an African or national identity, or they choose to hyphenate their identity.

Bourdieu (1984) claims that one’s identity seems to percolate through both the body and behavior of individuals, and language is just one part of the complex makeup of identity. “One cannot understand identity without looking at language, but one cannot understand identity by looking at language alone” (Bloomaert, 2008, p. 82). In fact, ethno-linguistic identity is usually packaged with other features; it always occurs with other aspects such as gender, religion, social class, or ethno-national belonging. Bloomaert makes a very interesting observation saying that the way we as researchers try to “emically” reflect the manner in which research subjects construct their reality regarding language may be the heart of what they are saying about language through the associations they report to us. “This includes the way in which language intimately ties into various other aspects of one’s perceived and inhabited being and behaviour, as well as the way in which language invokes, or indexes, a whole persona...” (p. 83). Bloomaert

goes on to say that language or ethnolinguistic belonging is often an attribute of identity, but this identity is “a language-ideological phenomenon in which institutionalized definitions and categories prevail, even if they make little sense from an empirical sociolinguistic viewpoint” (p. 84). For example, governments often define languages and their roles in society, and they define people as “speakers of X language.”

Religious identity is also an important marker for Africans. Mazrui (2001) states that Africa has a triple heritage of religion, that of indigenous, Islamic, and Christian faiths (p. 172). When Arabs came to the shores of Eastern Africa in the seventh century, they brought their religion with them and converted others. With the coming of Europeans to Africa, and their spreading of the Christianity, came a new identity as well, which contrasted with the already present African Muslim and traditional religious identities. However, religious and ethnic identity can and often will coincide. Mazrui (2001) states that “ethnicity and religion are the two most powerful primordial forces operating in Africa” and that they determine order and solidarity (p. 153). “Ethnicity defines the basic social order, and religion defines the basic sacred order. Ethnicity creates the solidarity of shared identity, while religion creates the solidarity of shared beliefs” (p. 154).

3.11 Language, Ethnicity, and Religion

According to Fishman (1997), “The most common ethnolinguistic theme within the religious realm is the one that refers to the vernacular as the spirit or the soul of the ethnonational collectivity, of its individual members, or of their traditional belief” (p. 15). Quite often, a language itself is said to have a “spirit” or “soul” of its own, although not referring explicitly to religion. These vernaculars can then be associated with one’s religion or faith, suggesting the notion of a person’s particular ethnic group having a direct link to supernatural forces. In this

way, “Spirit and soul are part of the affective, cognitive, and overt behavioral link between religion, language and ethnicity...” (Fishman, 1997, p. 15).

Religion’s link with ethnicity through language is not straightforward. In Africa, this link has been made via indigenous African languages. Islam, as well as Christianity, has used indigenous African languages in spreading its message, so identification with either religion does not necessarily make one identify with a particular ethnic group. This is exactly what we see with my study population, which is comprised of various ethnic groups from different nationalities, yet most have responded to the gospel of Christianity in their own indigenous African languages.

3.12 Transnationalism

Even though my study participants are truly immigrants, that is, they are nationals of one country or state that have moved permanently to another, they lead lives that meld their native land and their present homeland, the United States. While some may not regularly visit Kenya, Tanzania or Uganda, almost all are in contact with friends, family, and happenings back home on a regular basis. For this reason, I prefer to call this population “transmigrants,” that is, those who “migrate but still maintain and establish familial, economic, religious, political, or social relations in the state from which they moved, even as they also forge such relationships in a new state or states in which they settle” (Glick Schiller et al., 1992, p.1).

Previous scholarship on immigration has taken the view that immigrants uproot themselves from their homelands to settle in a new land, but scholars such as Glick Schiller (1999) study more closely the transnational networks of immigrants. She noticed that a significant number of immigrants settling in the United States, although they became well incorporated into American society, still maintained ties to their home countries. To this end, she and other scholars proposed a new model called “transnational migration” or “transnationalism” to study migration

across the borders of nation states. “Transnational migration is a pattern of migration in which persons, although they move across international borders and settle and establish social relations in a new state, maintain social connections within the polity from which they originated” (Glick Schiller, 1999, p. 96). This new paradigm highlights the networks that immigrants utilize across international boundaries. Even more important, “it posits that even though migrants invest socially, economically, and politically in their new society, they may continue to participate in the daily life of the society from which they emigrated, but which they did not abandon” (Glick Schiller, 1999, p. 94) This paradigm also challenges previous notions of society and nation-state being one and the same, offering instead a new concept of society:

It offers a new view that “incorporation of individuals into nation-states and the maintenance of transnational connections are not contradictory social processes...[M]igrant incorporation into a new land and transnational connections to a homeland or to dispersed networks of family, compatriots, or persons who share a religious or ethnic identity can occur at the same time and reinforce one another” (Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2007, p. 182).

Transnationalism also challenges previous notions of assimilation of immigrants through what Portes and DeWind (2007) call “an irreversible process of acculturation and integration” to the host country (p. 9). Instead, transnationalism presents immigrants’ continuous “back-and-forth movement”, allowing transmigrants to live in two cultures and enjoy the economic and political opportunities of both locales (p. 9). Although the terms “transnational” and “global” are often used interchangeably, it is important to distinguish the two terms. *Global* represents processes that are not confined to one nation state, but are occurring throughout the world. *Transnational*, on the other hand, refers to political, economic, social, and cultural processes that transcend the borders of any nation state, can be done or promoted by actors that are not states, but are shaped by the policies and practices of nation states (Glick Schiller, 1999, p. 96).

Transnational migrants are those who live their lives across international boundaries through what is known as *social fields*, that is “...a set of multiple interlocking networks of social relationships through which ideas, practices, and resources are unequally exchanged, organized, and transformed” (Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2007, p. 188). Within these social fields, transmigrants have differing *ways of being* and *ways of belonging*. *Ways of being* refers to “the actual social relations and practices that individuals engage in rather than to the identities associated with their actions” (p. 188). Social fields contain institutions, organizations, and experiences within their various levels that generate categories of identity that are ascribed to or chosen by individuals or groups. People can be part of social fields, but choose to identify or not with any cultural or political label within that field. In contrast, *ways of belonging* refers to “the practices that signal or enact an identity which demonstrates a conscious connection to a particular group” (Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2007, p. 189). More than symbolic, these actions are concrete such as wearing a distinctive piece of religious jewelry (a Christian cross), flying a national flag, or eating a particular cuisine. *Ways of belonging*, then, “combine action and an awareness of the kind of identity that action signifies” (p. 189).

This study is interested in East African transmigrants ways of belonging within their Swahili churches, and ultimately, their adopted homeland, the United States. Within this framework of social fields and ways of belonging, transnationalism is linked to identity. The concept of transnationalism itself challenges the nation-state idea of identity and broadens it to cover multiple nation-states, creating a new identity, a transnational one. “Transnational migrants often live in a country in which they do not claim citizenship and claim citizenship in a country in which they do not live” (Vertovec, 2007, p. 158-159). In fact, they may claim multiple membership in several nation states where they may be residents, part-time residents, or

absentees (Fitzgerald, 2000 cited in Vertovec, 2007, p. 159). For many migrants who have transnational lifestyles, “the country of origin becomes a source of identity and the country of residence a source of right” (Kastoryano, 2002 quoted in Vertovec, 2007, p. 159).

While there has been increasing interest in research regarding the transnational ties between immigrant diasporas and their respective home countries (Portes & DeWind, 2007), there is a significant difference between transmigrants and communities in diaspora, as well as the concept of transnationalism and the concept of diaspora. Dual citizenship represents the most visible aspect of this process, but its social, economic, and cultural manifestations are equally important. Presently, the term ‘diaspora’, derived from the Greek verb *diaspeiro*, meaning “dispersal,” has come to refer to any people’s dispersion from a particular place (Dufoix, 2008, p. 2). It also refers to “the organization of an ethnic, national, or religious community in one or more countries; a population spread over more than one territory; ...the idea of displacement and the maintenance of a connection with a real or imagined homeland” (Dufoix, 2008, p. 2). However, Glick Schiller (1999) contends that there is a significant difference between transmigrants and those peoples with a “diasporic tradition”. She claims that “transmigrants are people who claim and are claimed by two or more nation states, into which they are incorporated as social actors, one of which is widely acknowledged to be their state of origin”(p. 96). Diasporas, on the other hand, “are understood most usefully as dispersed populations who attribute their common identity, cultural beliefs and practices, language, or religion to myths of a common ancestry but whose sense of common heritage is not linked to a contemporary state” (p. 96). Transmigrants are of the here and now, actively engaged in life in one or more places, one of which is their place of origin, while diasporas are part of history. However, not all scholars agree with this stance. Safran (2004) believes that the term applies to “any ethnic or religious minority that is

dispersed and physically separated from its original homeland, regardless of the conditions leading to its dispersion, and regardless of presence or strength of the physical, cultural, or emotional links between the community and the home country” (p. 9). He furthers this explanation stating:

[diasporas are comprised of]special kinds of immigrants because they have retained a memory of a cultural connection with, and a general orientation toward their homelands; they have institutions reflecting something of a homeland culture and/or religion; they relate in some (symbolic or practical) way to their homeland; they harbour doubts about their full acceptance by the homeland, they are committed to their survival as a distinct community; and many have retained a myth of return (Safran, 2004, p. 10).

Kokot et al. (2004) go even further stating that the term cannot be usefully limited to any single type of community or historical situation. They acknowledge a deep connection to the ‘homeland’, whether that be a nation-state or set in a quasi-mythological distant past, but it is “maintained by reference to constructs of common language, history, culture, and religion” (p. 3). For this dissertation, the definition of diaspora put forth by Dufoix (2008) will be used.

3.12.1 Black transnationalism

This “new” African diaspora, comprised of recent immigrants from the Caribbean and Africa, is said to be distinguished from the native black diaspora because of their transnational orientation, that is, their kinship ties to nations, regions, ethnic and language groups outside the United States (Shaw-Taylor, 2007, p. 35). This group of immigrants live their lives very transnationally, keeping in touch on a regular basis with family and friends in their original countries by letters, phone and email, sending remittances home, and planning when they can return to visit, thus keeping their ethnic, religious, or national identities strong while living in the United States. They live a life of dual orientation or “bifocality” in their everyday lives through, among other things, family life strategies, sense of individual and collective belonging, collective

sociocultural practices, approaches to child-rearing and family life, and various modes of cultural reproduction (Vertovec, 2007).

Black transnational immigrants arriving in the United States often find an affront to their identity—they become “African” or “Black” (Hanchard, 2004), and they lose their identities as Nigerian, Jamaican, or Ugandan. For Olúfẹ́mi Táíwò (2003), becoming “Black” in the United States was to “enter a sphere where there is no differentiation, no distinction, and no variation”:

As soon as I arrived in the United States of America, I underwent a singular transformation: I BECAME BLACK!...as soon as I entered the United States, my otherwise complex, multidimensional, and rich human identity became completely reduced to a simple, one-dimensional, and impoverished nonhuman identity (Táíwò, 2003, p. 42)

This loss of identity can be very troubling to black immigrants, especially those from Africa, where they enjoy ethnic and religious differentiation, and a celebration of their distinctions. When given a choice, Afro-Caribbean and African immigrants tend to identify ethnically rather than racially, because they soon learn that being “black” in the United States is not solely a descriptor, but “a historical construct, the product of a sociogenesis” (Táíwò, 2003, p. 42). They also quickly learn that “the social location of blackness in America marks the bottom of the social hierarchy” (Pessar, 2003, p. 26). Noguera (2003) puts it this way:

The anguish and ambiguity they feel about being rendered invisible because of being lumped in with black Americans and thereby falling victim to all the stereotypes, discrimination, and abuse heaped upon this group are understandable. Given this history, it is not surprising that blacks—from Africa, the Caribbean, and elsewhere—would go out of their way to make it known that they were not one of ‘them’ (Noguera, 2003, p. 194).

The growing number of black transnational immigrants to the United States is contributing to the “unsettling and destabilizing of the meaning of blackness” and aiding the concept’s deconstruction” (Hintzen & Rahier, 2003, p. 2). This distancing from African Americans often causes problems and misunderstandings between black immigrants and native black Americans.

Black Americans, who have been “living black” all their lives, often do not understand and are often offended when black immigrants will not “enlist as foot soldiers in the race army” here in the U.S. and fight the good fight (Táiwò, 2003, p. 48). Black Americans then accuse these immigrants of “wanting to be white,” “wanting to ingratiate [themselves] with white folks,” or “being afraid to live [their] blackness,” or worse, “running away from [themselves]” (Táiwò, 2003, p. 48). The problem, Táiwò states, is that black immigrants cannot “live black” even if they wanted to because they simply did not know what that was before coming to the U.S. Instead of blaming black immigrants for distancing themselves from black Americans and “playing the ethnic card,” Pessar (2003) states that it would be better to condemn the racist system in the United States that “stacks the deck and forces newcomers to choose among ‘race,’ ‘ethnicity,’ and ‘exit’ in the first place (p. 26). This is crucial because, according to Táiwò (2003), many African immigrants knowingly or unknowingly “buy into” the typification of indigenous blacks by the dominant white population and use it as a way to condemn native blacks, adopting a superior attitude to them and avoiding contact with them. “Consequently, fully convinced of their superiority to native blacks, they have a hard time understanding why whites do not accept them, that is, African immigrants, as equals” (p. 48). They do not understand when the typifications and schemes work against them, and they themselves are typified and rejected. Some scholars, such as Noguera (2003), assert that African immigrants must begin to understand that race is a political and historical construct in the United States:

They can claim their individual ethnic and national identities, perform their collective indigenous subjectivities, but if they wish to live in the United States, they must at the very least recognize the ‘racial construction project’ that has gone on and continues to go on in this country, and decide for themselves how and where they stand” (Noguera, 2003, p. 200).

3.13 Summary

In summary, this research project is guided by what can be called the sociolinguistics of identity, which is defined as the study of language that “focuses on the ways in which people position or construct themselves and are positioned or constructed by others in socio-cultural situations through the instrumentality of language and with reference to all of those variables that are identity markers for each society in the speech of its members” (Omoniyi & White, 2006, p. 1). Specifically, like the goals of Omoniyi and White (2006), this project tries to establish the roles of language in the identity claims of specific communities of people. Linguistic identity is a “complex phenomenon that cannot be divorced from other phenomena such as language attitudes and ideologies, and linguistic power, while the relationships among them are becoming ever more complex in postmodern societies” (Jenkins, 2007, p. 199). Within multilingual contexts, “language choice and attitudes are inseparable from political arrangements, relations of power, language ideologies, and that interlocutors’ views of their own and others’ identities” (Joseph, 2004, p. 1). As the remainder of this theoretical and background review has shown, that relationship should be done within the sociohistorical contexts of the groups involved, and those factors also play a large role in the interpretation of the data for this work

CHAPTER 4: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

4.0 Introduction

This chapter will discuss the relevant literature associated with this study. It will include research concerning language attitudes in East Africa generally, and more specifically, the countries of Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda. The chapter concludes with a short review of language attitude studies of African immigrant populations in the United States. The purpose of this review is to provide an understanding of previous and current research in these areas into which the present study hopes to be situated.

4.1 Language Attitude Studies in East Africa

Since this research project investigates the language attitudes of African immigrants, and my premise is that their language attitudes have been shaped by the sociostructural forces (as per St. Clair, 1982) operating in their home countries of Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda, it is important to review the language attitude research from East Africa. Over the past 40 years, language attitude studies in Africa have been plentiful, but they have largely focused on ex-colonial languages in relation to indigenous African languages, and not solely African languages. Kioko and Muthwii (2003a) point out that there is practically no place in Africa where an imported foreign language has not been in competition with indigenous languages, and this situation has helped to establish a wide range of attitudes in the speakers of those languages. In addition, it provides an explanation why attitudes vary so much between different ethnic groups and why they change so quickly over time. In short, all African countries, whether they have chosen African or European languages as national, official, or media of instruction, claim to have done so to ensure national unity; however, they all seem to recognize the importance of African languages for the preservation of their cultural identity (Swilla, 1992, p. 511).

In West Africa, Akere (1982), Saah (1986), Adekunle (1995), and Adegbija (1994, 2000) all investigated language use and the linguistic attitudes associated with indigenous West African languages as well as the former colonial language, English. In Southern Africa, there have been numerous language attitude studies conducted. More recent studies include Pütz (1995), Bekker (2003), Thiba (2000), and Makalela (2005). Many of these studies focus on the implementation and/or effects of the South African language policy of 1996 and its implications for education.

4.1.1 Tanzania

Over the past 25 years, language attitude research in East Africa has blossomed. Schmied (1985) investigated attitudes toward English in Tanzania and tried to find ways to foster a more positive attitude toward the language because, according to this author, it related to the improvement of English teaching in the country. The study consisted of two language attitude tests—the first investigated the stereotyped notions different populations held about four world languages—English, Kiswahili, French and Arabic; the second investigated language beliefs regarding issues involving language use in Tanzania. The overall results of the two studies stated that there was no one uniform attitude towards English among Tanzanians, but stereotyped notions of language varied according to educational level, ethnicity, linguistic capability, and geographical region (Schmied, 1985, p. 248). Although English enjoyed very high prestige within the country, this prestige was not maintained when practical country-specific linguistic issues arose. Almost all informants agreed that “Kiswahili is as effective as English” as a means of communication, if not more so, in the Tanzanian context. Schmied (1985) also found that when a Tanzanian informant juxtaposed the two languages, the advantage was given to Kiswahili

due to national pride. Schmied's position and own attitude toward the Tanzanian language situation can be summed up well with this statement:

If the standard of English really is to be improved and a new limited additive bilingualism to be established among a minority, a new public (relative) attitude towards English must emerge. *In this way, the decline of English could be stopped and the attitude towards English could become more positive again* [emphasis added] (Schmied, 1985, p. 265)

Schmied may be pining for colonial times in East Africa. Given these previous statements, then Fishman's (1977) generalization might also apply to Tanzania:

Attitudinal resistance to English can be expected to weaken as younger generations successfully shed more and more of the puristic and exclusivistic ideologies that their parents and teachers formulated and espoused during the formative struggles for political and cultural independence (Fishman, 1977 quoted in Schmied, 1985, p. 266).

In Schmied's later study on language use and attitudes regarding English in Kenya, Tanzania, and Zambia, he concluded that English seemed more important, and thus had more support, in Kenya and Zambia than in Tanzania. He cited that this was the case because, based on a grammar test that was part of the research study, the English proficiency of Kenyans and Zambians was higher than Tanzanians. According to Schmied (1990), "The language repertoire of an individual is shaped by personal and educational language learning opportunities and necessities in the individual and national context" (p. 219). He also found that Kenyans and Zambians believe in the function of English as a link language, in contrast to Tanzanians, who "have the least contact with English and usually extensive competence in Kiswahili, and tend to agree much more or rather to agree much less than informants from the other nations in reference to the idea of English being a superior language system" (Schmied, 1990, p. 225). However, the greatest differences in the respondents' language attitudes of all three countries were seen in the questionnaire items dealing with language and identity. More Zambian respondents agreed that

English was “impersonal,” “lacking national identity,” and its use would “make Africans European minded” than did Kenyan and Tanzanian respondents; however, the arguments that “English was mentally foreign,” and its “decline could strengthen the nation” were not supported (p. 226). Finally, all respondents agreed more with arguments in favor of African languages than they agreed with arguments against English. So, according to Schmied’s (1990) study, we see more difference in how Zambians, Kenyans, and Tanzanians view English than they how they view their African indigenous languages.

Rubagumya (1989) also studied language attitudes towards English in Form I and Form IV students in Tanzania.⁵ The study was done to determine if negative attitudes towards English were the reason for the difficulty in introducing it as a medium of instruction. He found that English was viewed generally positively by the students, and it was used as a status symbol in the country; however, Kiswahili satisfied their communicative needs more efficiently.

Roy-Campbell’s study (1998) study on language attitudes in Zimbabwe and Tanzania traced the past colonial and present “global” constructs upon which Tanzanians’ and Zimbabweans’ linguistic attitudes have been shaped. Specifically, she compared their attitudes towards using indigenous African languages (Kiswahili in Tanzania, Shona/Ndebele in Zimbabwe) as media of instruction in secondary schools, acknowledging that although there has been increased interest in and concern for the survival and development of African languages in Africa, this surge of interest has met resistance for the use of these languages in the classroom. After a brief, historical review of the socio-political factors which frame present-day linguistic attitudes in both Tanzania and Zimbabwe, she examined these attitudes regarding use of African languages

⁵ Form I through Form IV are the first four years of secondary school in Tanzania and constitute the “O” Level. Selected students go on to Forms V and VI, which constitute the “A” Level. Dependent upon the National Form VI Exam, students can then enter the university.

in secondary schools and the reasons both for and against their use by students', parents, and political leaders. In short, Roy-Campbell found more positive attitudes toward using African languages in schools in Tanzania than in Zimbabwe. One reason for this, she cited, was that the speakers of both Shona and Ndebele would not accept each other's language as the medium of instruction, so English, the former colonial language, was an acceptable alternative. In Tanzania, however, Kiswahili was not at odds with any other African language, and since it had been historically been used as a unifier of the people, it was seen as a viable medium of instruction.

More recent language attitude studies in Eastern Africa include Mbori's (2008) study which investigates language and attitude to determine their contribution to Rwanda's post-conflict development, reconstruction, and reconciliation. Mbori argues that two African languages used in Rwanda, Kinyarwanda and Kiswahili, should be utilized for the country's post-conflict development, although both have advantages and disadvantages. While Kinyarwanda is the mother tongue of many people of this country, it has never been used as an intranational unifying force, and it still has divisive myths and conflicting identities associated with it. On the other hand, Kiswahili, a language used throughout East and Central Africa, could also be utilized to rebuild the nation. This is an interesting and unique study because, although it investigates Rwandans attitudes towards two former colonial languages (French and English), and two African languages (Kinyarwanda and Kiswahili), the author promotes use and further development of indigenous African languages for national redevelopment in East and Central Africa.

4.1.2 Kenya

In Kenya, there have been several studies conducted over the past 25 years. Sure (1989, 1991) investigated language attitudes towards English, primarily in Kenya. In his 1989 study,

while he takes into account African indigenous languages, his primary focus was on English. Among his Kenyan post-graduate students, he sought to assess the feelings of Kenyans who know and use English. His study was somewhat like the quantitative section of my study in that he asked informants to name all the languages they knew and in which order they were learned. In summary, Sure found that English was used and learned for practical purposes to achieve national unity and effective trade and diplomacy with other nations. Despite its colonial imposition, English was seen among his informants as a *Kenyan* language because so many have been educated locally with this medium. He also stated that there was “very little of American or English culture being transmitted through the language” (Sure, 1989, p. 58). Kenyans see the language as being “indigenized,” and no longer a vestige of Kenya’s colonial past. However, his informants were unanimous in agreeing that it was necessary for Kenyans to speak Kiswahili, for present and future generations (p. 60). They also seemed to agree with the main political reason for adopting it as the national language, that is, retaining it as a symbol of their African identity. They did not, however, see any conflict with the current roles of both English and Kiswahili. In a later study (1991), Sure examined the language attitudes of Kenyan primary and secondary school students regarding the declared official functions of both Kiswahili and English. His main findings were that there were generally positive attitudes toward both languages, and bilingualism was expected. Also, the quest to learn English was motivated by socioeconomic gains, and Kiswahili was primarily associated with symbols of nationhood and political independence. In addition, he found the functions these languages performed had determined the student’s perception of them, and had not influenced the attitudes toward the native speakers of these languages. Finally, secondary school students had greater integrative feelings towards Kiswahili than primary school students (Sure, 1991: p. 245).

Although an overwhelming majority of primary students disagreed that English should only be left for British and Americans, and that Kenyans should only speak Kiswahili, secondary school students displayed more loyalty toward Kiswahili. Most of them agreed that English was useful to them and should be learned by Kenyans for functions other than enjoying pop music, and they clearly demonstrated a loyalty to Kiswahili by overwhelmingly disagreeing with all negative statements about it. They also seemed to take a position of balanced bilingualism between both languages, with 90% agreeing that Kenyans should speak both languages, and the majority disagreeing that “English is working against Kiswahili” (Sure, 1991, p. 254). Sure (1991) sums up his study by stating that the students did not see the two languages in conflict, but rather “happily co-existing in a diglossic relationship with functions clearly delineated and clearly understood by the users” (p. 258). These results may lead us to question why we see the link between language and identity with informants of the first study (Schmied, 1989) so strongly. It is possible that as post-graduate students, these research participants were older and had more personal experience with the Kenyan independence movement, which influenced their attitudes toward Kiswahili and their perception of its relation to their identity.

In a more recent study, Kioko and Muthwii (2003b) found that both rural and urban Kenyan speakers of English preferred the standard Kenyan variety of English for use in the media and education as opposed to ethnically marked Kenyan English or native speaker (British, American, or Australian) English. The research participants, a representative sample comprised of five ethnic groups (Gikuyu, Luo, Luhya, Kalenjin, and Kikamba), did not see a great need for Kiswahili or ethnic languages in the workplace or in the public domain. The authors explain the reasons for this by stating that generally, the language used in the public domain is the product of historical language policies, and “...much of the actual identity of the language(s) used is a

product of the interaction of the ethnicity factor, the rural-urban dichotomy, and the attitudes that Kenyans have toward the languages within their repertoire” (Kioko & Muthwii, 2003b, p. 142). In fact, the respondents could easily distinguish ethnically and non-ethnically marked varieties of English. The majority of speakers found being identified with their ethnic languages when speaking English distasteful. Instead, they desired to fit in or be associated with a wider linguistic world than with their own ethnic languages (p. 142).

This is related to another study (Mutonya, 1997) where the language attitudes of educated Africans residing in the United States were examined toward different varieties of African English (West African, East African, and Black South African). Mutonya’s hypotheses were that respondents from various regions of Africa would have a more favorable attitude toward their own region’s variety of African English than others, and that weakly accented varieties would be more highly rated than heavily accented ones. Mutonya concluded that his respondents could positively identify regional as well as local varieties of African English, and that they were partial to their own regional variety. He explained that the judgments the respondents made were “based on the values drawn from their common cultural heritage and experience.” Finally, Mutonya found that East and West African raters judged the speakers of the highly accented varieties of African English favorably, which he says indicates solidarity with the distinct local varieties (Mutonya, 1997, p. 65). The respondents’ general dislike of the weakly accented variety of English agrees with the findings of Kioko and Muthwii’s (2003b) study. Mutonya (1997) concluded that this dislike was due to this variety’s association with its former colonial powers and institutions.

Githinji (2003) also conducted a study on language attitudes in Kenya, which investigated the attitudes of the people of Nairobi towards Sheng and its speakers.⁶ In this study, Githinji concluded that people's attitudes were not only influenced by sociolinguistic variables of age, sex, and status, but also the function(s) this language served in Kenyan society. Although Githinji's study did not specifically involve Kiswahili and English, it is an example of language attitude research more recently conducted in Kenya.

4.1.3 Uganda

The past ten to fifteen years has seen an increased interest in and publication of studies regarding language and language attitudes in Uganda. Most of this research focuses on language within the educational setting (Byakutaga & Musinguizi, 2000; Fisher, 2000; Kagaba, 2000; Sprenger-Tasch, 2003). Miner (1998) examined discursive constructions of Kiswahili speakers in Ugandan popular media. He found that the negative attitudes towards Kiswahili and its speakers reflected the country's very rocky and controversial relationship with the language and how English and all things Western were viewed in an inordinately positive light. Kagaba (2000) acknowledged Kiswahili's stigma but asserted that the language could and should be used in Ugandan schools. Sprenger-Tasch's (2003) study delves even further into the medium of instruction debate in Uganda's educational system. She found that attitudes toward indigenous African languages and English as media of instruction were particularly influenced by ethnic origin and personal background. English as a medium of instruction remains unchallenged, but this preference for English is based on colonial ideas of linguistic superiority and desire for economic and educational advancement, not because respondents felt it was an intrinsically more favorable language to use. Many respondents felt it was possible to utilize an African language

⁶ Sheng is a linguistic variety spoken in the urban areas of Kenya that contains both Kiswahili and English lexical items.

for classroom instruction, but they feared loss of educational significance and ability to learn English should an African language be promoted. With regard to African languages, all informants said they wanted their children to learn their mother tongue and Kiswahili. This was evidenced even among the Baganda, Uganda's largest ethnic group, although they comprise only approximately 17.0% of the population (CIA, 2010). Respondents, including the Baganda, were not as loyal towards learning Luganda, the ethnic language of the Baganda, as they were toward learning other ethnic community languages, English, and Kiswahili; nationwide only 40.4% wanted their children to learn Luganda. As media of instruction, the majority of respondents preferred mother tongue instruction at the lower primary level, but favored English at the upper primary through university level. Kiswahili, however, seems to be growing in popularity among Ugandans; Sprenger-Tasch (2003) suggests that a number of Ugandans may feel that it should be used as a medium of instruction, as it will surely be an alternative to Luganda, which is a highly controversial prospect in Uganda. Although a significant number in Sprenger-Tasch's study believed that Kiswahili should be used as a medium of national communication, Katende (2009) found that there is still very strong opposition to using Kiswahili due to its past association with the dictatorship of Idi Amin.

Fisher (2000) focused on Ugandan English, its status, and the ambivalence many Ugandans have towards its use as a lingua franca in the country. Many Ugandans view the language as a "foreign influence" and feel it is a vestige from its colonial past which impedes authentic Ugandan expression; they feel alienated and frustrated with its use because they believe that is just cannot "say" what is culturally appropriate at important events such as weddings, funerals and baptisms (61). This is akin to what Mulokozi (2000) found in Tanzania; however, in contrast, Fisher claims that English is no longer a foreign language in the country, stating, "The

fact that English in Uganda is now divorced from its genetic roots, has developed a life of its own, and is therefore ‘indigenous,’ is not widely understood” (Fisher, 2000, p. 58). He provides evidence of this through a discussion of the syntactic and phonological features of Ugandan English and those of other varieties spoken throughout the African continent. Although Fisher claims that English has been divorced from its European roots, many Ugandans do not feel this way.

One area of language study in Uganda that is becoming more recognized is that of its own indigenous languages and their use as media of communication. One such study is that of Byakutaga and Musinguzi (2000). In it, they discuss how Runyakitara, the name given to four mutually intelligible Bantu dialects of western and southern Uganda, is being promoted by local cultural groups in the country to foster a sense of belonging and pride in their own language and culture. Protestant missionaries in the nineteenth century who came to western Uganda, believed the local language, Runyoro, was comprised of several different mutually intelligible dialects (Rutooro, Runyankore, Rukiga, Runyakyaka, Rugagya, and Rugangaizi). Although they were mutually intelligible, they were not identical. In 1952, the name of the language was changed to “Runyoro-Rutooro,” and then during the 1960s, the name “Rutara” was decided upon to represent the whole dialect group of the region because it was located in the former Kitara kingdom (Ladefoged, Glick & Criper, 1971). In 1990, the Department of Languages at Makerere University began to develop and teach indigenous Ugandan languages, and it introduced Runyoro-Rutooro-Runyankore-Rukiga as a degree subject called “Runyakitara”. This type of elevation and promotion of indigenous Ugandan languages is what many in the country believe to be a waste of time and effort. Proponents of this view often point to Runyakitara as an example of how Ugandans are made “inferior” in knowledge and development (Muvumba,

1998) and that the country's time and resources could be better spent on strengthening curricula in English education.

4.2 African Immigrant Communities in the United States

While there are numerous studies of language maintenance and language attitudes of immigrants to the United States, there is a small but growing number that focus on African immigrant/ transnational communities (Yakoubou, 1994; Mutonya, 1997; Reynolds, 1997; Rouchdy, 2001; Eze 2002; Githiora, 2008), and there are fewer studies that investigate use of and attitudes toward indigenous African languages (Yakoubou, 1994; Mucherah, 2008). This study seeks to address this gap in the sociolinguistic literature while relating it to a salient concept, identity.

4.3 Transnationalism and Religion

As immigrants come to America and make new lives for themselves, they also bring their religion with them, often while keeping ties to their places of origin. While most scholars have put emphasis on transnationals' economic, political, or sociocultural aspects, Levitt & Glick Schiller (2007) contend that they have only recently begun to focus attention to the aspect of religion in transnational migration. "Transnational migrants often use religion to create alternative geographies that may fall within national boundaries, transcend but coexist with them, or create new spaces that, for some individuals, are more meaningful and inspire stronger loyalties than politically-defined terrains" (p. 206). While transnationalism is not a new phenomenon, the frequency and ease with which transmigrants maintain contact with family, friends, and even their religious institutions at home and in the United States is what is novel (Ebaugh & Chafetz, 2000, p. 457). Many of these new immigrants are Christian, but they express their faith in languages and customs that are very different from Protestants and

Catholics of European ancestry in America (Ebaugh & Chafetz, 2000). The religious bodies that these immigrants establish also offer opportunities for transnational networking through sharing of news, support, prayers, and personal narratives that, shared publicly, provides testimonies of their personal faith and sources of encouragement for other members (Agbali, 2008a, p. 115).

Researchers of immigrant communities have found that religion is often central to immigrants' sense of identity, playing a critical role in identity construction, meaning making, and value formation (Ebaugh & Chafetz, 2000; Levitt, 2003). "Religious institutions serve as focal points for ethnic gatherings, celebrations, and re-creations of ethnic language and customs, as well as obtaining assistance with the practical issues of finding jobs, housing, schooling, and immigration papers" (Ebaugh & Chafetz, 2000, p. 15). In short, for many immigrants, moving to a new country and being separated from family, language, and community leads them to search for meaning and stability in their new homeland, and participation in religious organizations often fills the psychological and spiritual void; it also creates a sense of belonging and community for them, and America's tradition of religious freedom allows and encourages immigrants to form their own religious bodies that meet their unique sociocultural and linguistic needs (Hirschman, 2007).

4.4 Why Immigrant Churches are Formed in America

A major reason that immigrants establish or join immigrant religious congregations is to "enjoy the companionship of others who share their ethnic background," and seek social networks within which they can feel comfortable as they struggle to adapt to their new homeland (Ebaugh & Chafetz, 2000, p. 385). In Ebaugh and Chafetz's (2000) study on immigrant churches in the Houston area, they found that the majority of the institutions they investigated were established by populations that shared one language and ethnicity. In addition to practicing

their faith, these immigrants sought to worship with those who shared the customs, values, and languages from their homelands, and they purposely developed social networks with those of similar background with whom they could easily communicate and feel comfortable. “Language commonality was central to the development of such networks, to the reproduction of customs in a new and different socio-cultural setting, and to bring a feeling of personal comfort” (p. 417).

Religion is also one way immigrants maintain their ethnicity while living in a foreign land. According to Ebaugh & Chafetz (2000), immigrant religious institutions develop structures and practices that help their members maintain and reproduce their ethnic identities, customs, and traditional religious practices while assisting them to adapt to a new community (p. 447). “The major ways by which congregations reproduce ethnicity are: 1) by physically reproducing aspects of home-country religious institutions; 2) by incorporating ethnic practices and holidays into formal religious ceremonies; 3) through domestic religious practices; and 4) through congregationally related social activities” (p. 385). However, there are some scholars and members of the clergy who disagree with this stance, stating that their religious bodies’ main goal is propagation and maintenance of the faith, not ethnic identity (Biney, 2007; Wakin, 2004).

While religion serves as a source of encouragement for immigrants as they adapt to life in a new country, and it can also support their traditional beliefs and patterns such as intergenerational obligations, respect for elders, and gender roles, which are often threatened as immigrants adapt to the “seemingly amoral culture” (Hirschman, 2007, p. 397). If immigrants cannot find a house of worship that practices their faith and traditions, preferably in their native language, they often establish one of their own, working with other immigrants from their home country, region or ethnic group. In this way, they recreate a faith community that reflects their cultural ways of worship. These places of worship also assist new immigrants with basic needs

such as employment and housing, often offering language classes and assistance in navigating American bureaucracy. Religious leaders and fellow members of congregations also provide counseling on issues such as culture shock, handling their American-born children, and offering youth religious, cultural, and educational programming and support (Min, 1992 cited in Hirschman, 2007). In addition to providing immigrants with religious training, as well as ethnic, cultural, and linguistic reinforcement and refuge, they offer new immigrants some sense of self-identity, a bridge to their entrance and adjustment to the host society (Kwakyenuako, 2006). Immigrants also utilize their own religious bodies to learn to assimilate into American society. In short, “Immigrant religious institutions provide the physical and social spaces in which those who share the same traditions, customs, and languages can reproduce many aspects of their native culture for themselves and attempt to pass them on to their children” (Ebaugh & Chafetz, 2000, p. 385).

4.5 Language and Immigrant Churches

Language is very important in immigrant congregations as it is used to maintain their culture and pass it on to the next generation (Ebaugh & Chafetz, 2000, p. 385). Ebaugh and Chafetz (2000) note that the use of native languages in immigrant religious institutions serve two purposes: 1) to allow immigrant congregants to understand their religious rituals and doctrine; and 2) to make them feel comfortable within the church, and therefore, more committed to the congregation (p. 417). Although native languages can make parishioners more comfortable, they may also lead to conflicts. In fact, during focus groups with clerical and lay leaders in immigrant congregations in Houston, conflicts regarding language was one of the central concerns (Ebaugh & Chafetz, 2000, p. 409). Differences in native language or dialects of the same language often caused segregation among the membership, as well as a basis for tensions between first and

second-generations. However, despite the conflicts that can arise from linguistic differences, “the use of an old-country language provides a comfort zone for immigrants that enhances their sense of well-being and congregational commitment” (p. 409).

4.6 African Immigrant Churches in America

African immigrants living transnationally in the United States also bridge the gap between home and here through religion, and they too, often establish religious groups or fellowships in order to worship in their unique cultural ways and in a language that they know and is more satisfying to their spiritual experiences. The transnational nature of many African immigrant churches in America dispels the myth that these immigrants totally cut off ties from their homelands and fully integrate into the host society. Most African immigrant churches are rooted locally but maintain ties to their countries of origin through cell phones and, more recently, the Internet, which has become crucial to maintenance of their diasporic identity (Adogame, 2007). Moreover, many members of African religious communities do not see migrating to Western countries as an “end in itself”; they believe that this important decision was made through “divine design” and not by human efforts or coincidence. (Adogame, 2007, p. 26). They often believe that they are part of the “oppressed and downtrodden” of the world, charged with the mission of bringing spiritual renewal and “true faith” to the “cultured despisers of the faith in the West” (Olagoke, 2002). The research participants of the present study also expressed these sentiments.

4.7 African Immigrant Religion and Identity

John Mbiti, theologian and scholar of African religion and philosophy, has said that “Africans are notoriously religious” (Mbiti, 1970, p. 1). It defines and informs their “social relations,

identity, consciousness, and the ordering of their institutional paradigms” (Agbali, 2008b, p. 77).

In discussing the link between identity and religion, Biney (2007) states:

Identity, particularly group identity, is both an ingredient in and a product of community life. This life largely depends on their identification with certain cultural symbols, beliefs, and ideas, language, and practices that they consider to be historically or mythically linked to their existence and prosperity. Most of these constitute a basis for, and vehicle for communicating their spirituality (Biney, 2007, p. 272).

This seems to be especially true for African immigrants in America who create their own places of worship. Immigrants in many cases become more religious in their adopted homelands than they were before they left their countries of origin because religion is an important mold; it helps them “maintain their self-identity, achieve communal acceptance, and incorporation into the civic community” (Akinade, 2007, p. 96).

Even though Africans are quite religious, and modern Christianity has become more prevalent among immigrants from the developing world, we know very little about the religious aspects of the recent African diaspora in the United States. “Despite unprecedented awareness of the importance of new immigrant cultures in contemporary America, modern scholarship has failed to properly document, describe, and analyze the religious activities of African immigrant communities in the United States” (Olupona, 2007, p. 27). Olupona offers an explanation as to why this is so:

Given the social and economic problems facing African American communities are longstanding and overwhelming, it is not surprising that minimal attention is paid to problems affecting newly arrived African immigrant communities, which are often considered mere extensions of African American communities (Olupona, 2007, p. 27).

In an effort to combat this lack of research, Olupona initiated The African Immigrant Religious Communities Project. Since 2000, this ongoing project has been mapping and conducting in-depth ethnographic study of African-led religious communities in several major U.S cities,

including New York, Washington, D.C., Chicago, Los Angeles, Houston, Atlanta, the San Francisco Bay area, and Miami. The five types of religious traditions and expressions that his project studies are 1) African Pentecostal and charismatic churches, 2) African Initiated Churches (AICs), 3) specialized African ministries within “mainline” U.S. denominations, 4) African Islamic traditions, and 5) African Indigenous Religion (Olupona, 2007, p. 31). A brief discussion of each type will be provided below. In his research, Olupona (2007) has found that faith-based African immigrant organizations not only serve as sites for worship, but also for the social construction of ethnic identity (pp. 31-32).

4.8 Types of African Immigrant Religious Traditions in the United States

African Pentecostal and charismatic churches are the largest type of African immigrant religious group. They are “primarily evangelical, born-again Pentecostal sects that emphasize holiness, fervent prayer, charismatic revival, proximate salvation, speaking in tongues, baptism of the Holy Spirit, faith healing, visions, and divine revelations” (Olupona, 2007, p. 31). The next group, African Initiated Churches (AICs), are indigenous spiritual churches founded by African prophetic and visionary leaders. They frequently borrow from mainstream European Christian sects, often fusing Christian beliefs and practices with African cultural traditions. One of their distinguishing traits is their white *sultana* robes that symbolize purity. They emphasize African worldviews, utilizing African languages in their services. The third type of African immigrant church is that formed under a specialized African, ethnic, or national ministries by mainline U.S. Christian denominations, mainly of European descent. Olupona (2007) points out that many African immigrants, after emigrating to the United States, often switch their religious denomination affiliations by joining the culturally relevant and dynamic Pentecostal churches. “American denominations responded by creating special outreach ministries that catered to

particular ethnic and national immigrants” (Olupona, 2007, p. 31). The fourth type, the African Islamic tradition, is quite diverse, including such groups as Sufi-oriented Mourides from Senegal to more mainstream Islamic sects from East Africa. These groups share the goal of providing mutual aid, cultural renewal, and connectedness. The fifth group, African Indigenous Religion, according to Olupona (2007), “is the most problematic in that it represents mostly a priestly class of West African babalawos (diviners) whose clientele, derived largely from outside the African immigrant community, includes African Americans, European Americans, and Latinos” (p. 32). My study’s population comes from the first and third groups that Olupona has defined.

It is difficult to say exactly how many African immigrant churches or fellowships exist in the United States, but they are increasing in number as witnessed by their growth and presence in many American cities. Some of the African-based denominations that have affiliated congregations within the United States include Yoruban Aladura churches the Brotherhood of the Cross and Star, Celestial Church of Christ, Cherubim and Seraphim, Christ Apostolic Church; the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, the Presbyterian Church of Ghana, and the Redeemed Christian Church of God (Nigerian), and the United African Presbyterian Church (Daniels, 2007; Agbali, 2008a). The national origin of congregations reflects the immigration pattern of Africans to the United States, with most coming from Nigeria, Ghana, Ethiopia, Senegal, and Eritrea.

4.9 Why African Immigrant Churches are Established

African immigrant church congregations are formed in the United States for some of the same reasons as other immigrant groups form them: to gain a connection to their homeland, speak their native languages, enjoy special native foods, and to sing, praise and worship in their native, familiar ways (Olupona & Gemignani, 2007). They also want a place to “feel at home” and be accepted; to understand and to be understood. In short, they want to recreate the feeling of

community and intimacy they had back home in Africa in their churches and communities (Dorsey, 2000). Of the several factors that have contributed to the rapid increase of African immigrant churches in America, linguistic and cultural issues have been some of the most important; they reflect their desire to worship in their mother tongues and to do so in the manner of their native countries in Africa. “This is consistent with examples from the early Church where new converts articulated Christianity in their own culture. One may therefore see this development in the United States and Canada as a gradual break from colonial into authentic African expression of Christianity” (Kwakyee-Nuako, 2006, p. 123).

African immigrants come to America already set to exercise and practice their faith. Some of the ways they do this is through very spirited praise and worship and singing hymns in their indigenous African tongues. Their services often include ethnic markers such as flags and clothing styles. They also make reference to cultural beliefs and values (e.g., respect for elders, unselfishness) that church members suggest are defining attributes of their community (Olupona & Gemignani, 2007, p. 4). African immigrants also form congregations because they do not find the rigor, discipline, commitment, or adherence to biblical principles in American churches. “Churches in the home country are more likely to enforce traditional norms concerning church seating, appropriate dress, marriage within the faith, opposition to divorce, and child discipline” (Dorsey, 2000, p. 313).

African immigrants acculturate to the United States, but they do not seem to assimilate. John Arthur (2000) states, “Acculturated but not assimilated, the Africans engage the host society selectively, confining their activities to carefully constructed zones, mainly educational and economic, that are vital for their survival in this country” (p. 3). Schumann’s Acculturation Model (1978, 1986) also speaks to their situation. For Schumann (1986), acculturation means

“the social and psychological integration of the learner with the target language (TL) group” (p. 379). Most African immigrants to the United States are already proficient in the target language (English) when they arrive, however, Schumann’s model has some key elements that are relevant to my research population’s situation and echo some of Arthur’s (2000) findings; namely, 1) they appear to have a relatively high degree of enclosure in the United States through their church fellowships, 2) they appear to be a fairly cohesive group, and 3) they do not intend to stay in the United States permanently and have a specified length of residence in the United States, even if it is decades-long. However, they intend to return to their home countries in Africa one day.

African immigrant parents often want their children to continue in their native cultures while living in the United States, but even when these parents limit their children’s contact with American culture to these areas, particularly education, they find substandard public schools in many U.S. large urban areas where their children are “exposed to apathy, high dropout rates, large class sizes, and institutional forms of segregation and inequality” (Olupona, 2007, p. 35). To combat these ills, African immigrants find the remedy in establishing religious schools or Sunday school programs in their ethnic churches, “...all [in] an attempt to develop a separate identity quite different from those of the African American and Caucasian community in an effort to protect their children from the stereotypes and racism present in American society (Olupona, 2007, p. 35). In this way, African immigrants “use this ‘space’ acquired through their religious activities to reconnect with their roots and latch onto the opportunities and challenges that they face in their new world” (Kwakyenuako, 2006, p. 123). This desire of African immigrants not to assimilate is especially keen towards not wanting to be considered “African American.” “The fear of these groups is that their assimilation into American culture will constitute assimilation solely into African American culture, which will result in a lower

socioeconomic status for their children because of racist attitudes toward this group”(Olupona, 2007, p. 35). This contributes to tensions between African Americans and African immigrants. Olupona adds that many second-generation African immigrants strongly oppose cultural markers such as the adoption of “Black English” or “Black Dialect,” rap music, and certain types of dress and style that are associated with this group, although this is in opposition to what Clark (2008) and Githiora (2008) have found within the African immigrant community. In addition,

[M]any children of African immigrants feel a divided loyalty to two cultures as they grow up. They are exposed to the negative opinions voiced by their parents about American blacks and to the apparently more favorable responses of whites to African immigrants, while at the same time they realize that their identifying characteristics link them with African Americans (Olupona, 2007, p. 36).

I would add that the emigrating generation may also feel this divided loyalty as well.

4.10 Ethnicity and African Immigrant Churches

African immigrant churches exhibit clustering according to national and even ethnic lines. Agbali (2008a) found this to be true in St. Louis, where he conducted ethnographic research on African immigrant religious bodies. For example, at Jesus House and the United African Presbyterian Church (UAPC), he found that most members came from the same ethnic area of Africa where the leaders originated; Nigerians, specifically Yoruba, were prominent in Jesus House, and Kenyans, mostly Gikuyu, comprised the majority of members at UAPC. This demographic mirrored the density of African immigrant populations in the St. Louis area. This was also found in Biney’s (2007) study within the Presbyterian Church of Ghana in New York, where the majority of the members (85%) are of the Akan linguistic group, which comprise 50 percent of the Ghanaian population.

4.11 The Impact of African Immigrant Churches in the United States

Aside from creating culturally relevant spiritual space for themselves, African immigrants in the United States are contributing to the religious landscape of America and truly believe that they are ushering in a new day of spiritual renewal. Churches from the Southern Hemisphere and the developing world are moving their mission and their theological message North to developed nations. In regard to African churches in Europe, Gerrie ter Haar explains (Haar, 1998)

Just as European missionaries once believed in their divine task of evangelizing what they called the dark continent, African church leaders in Europe today are convinced of Africa's mission to bring the gospel back to those who originally provided it. Thus, many African Christians who have recently migrated to Europe, generally to find work, consider that God has given them a unique opportunity to spread the good news among those who have gone astray (Haar, 1998, p. 2).

There have been similar accounts of African churches in the United States bringing a more rigorous, spirit-filled gospel (Lieblich and McCann, 2002; *Christian Century*, 1997; Wakin, 2004). "For years American missionaries brought Christianity to Africa. Now African Christians say they want to export their own brand of ecstatic worship and moral discipline to the United States, a country they believe has lost its fervor" (Lieblich and McCann, 2002). In the eyes of some African Christians, Americans have become "slack," and "too comfortable," forgetting the very lessons they taught Africans about Christianity. Now African Christians believe they are here to fill the spiritual void and to get Americans "back on track." They are bringing new languages, new ways of worship, and new ways of relating to one another to churches in the United States and Canada. In short, they are bringing an "African 'soul' to America" (Arthur, 2000, p. 3). In Biney's study (2007), it was found that many of the Ghanaian parishioners of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana in New York (PCGNY) felt the theology and ethical values of most mainstream American churches had been "adulterated," so they felt it was

important to avoid attending these American churches. This same sentiment is felt among other African immigrants as well. Many are baffled by the social issues that are at the center of church life in America. “Issues on abortion and sexuality that polarized denominations in North America confounded some of the immigrants who felt the church should help people to confront and deal appropriately with sin and not glorify it” (Kwakyenuako, 2006, p. 126).

Even though many African immigrant churches begin as “ethnic” churches, serving the needs of immigrant populations, they eventually cast a wider net to include all nationalities, especially those of the host country. Moses Biney, the pastor of PCGNY asserts, “These churches don’t start as a way of evangelizing or proselytizing. They start as a way of forming communities and dealing with new conditions. Then they begin to focus on other people,” (Wakin, 2004).

However, other African pastors do not agree, saying that their primary mission is preaching the gospel, not creating ethnic or national communities. Rev. Eddie Okyere, pastor of the Miracle Church of Christ in Brooklyn, New York, who is Ghanaian, states, “When I was called, God didn’t tell me to make it an African church” (Wakin, 2004). However, for all the claims that African immigrant churches are established for spiritual reasons, their services have a decidedly “African” flavor to them, and through their styles of worship, rituals, food, and language, my study has found that they do in fact serve in the preservation of ethnic identity.

4.12 African Immigrant Churches and Language

One of the reasons that immigrants in the United States decide to establish immigrant congregations is so that they can worship in their mother tongues and feel comfortable worshipping in a culturally relevant setting, and this is no different for African immigrant churches establishing their own sites of worship. While there are a growing number of African immigrant churches across the United States that conduct services in many African languages

such as Kiswahili, Twi, Ga, and Amharic, Nigerian churches that have had the greatest success in establishing churches in America (*Christian Century*, 1997) seemingly have the greatest sensitivity when it comes to utilizing African languages in church services. Dorsey (2000) found that in a Nigerian church in Houston, one research participant stated that the linguistic problems that divide Nigerians in their home country also separate them in various settings in the U.S. (p. 304). Such groups often prefer to use English, so that one Nigerian language and/or ethnic group will not seem to be favored.

My study population from East Africa is quite different. While the congregations that I visited are indeed multi-ethnic, and each ethnic group has its own language, the use of Kiswahili, a lingua franca of the region (Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda), did not cause contention. Since the parishioners in the congregations I studied were primarily from Tanzania, they had a greater affinity and appreciation for Kiswahili due to the sociohistorical background of the country, as outlined previously.

4.13 Similar Studies

The study of immigrant religious institutions in America has grown tremendously over the past ten years. “While most case studies of immigrant religious institutions mention conflicts created by language policies in multilingual congregations, few focus on language as a central issue” (Ebaugh & Chafetz, 2000, p. 409).⁷ Among the more recent studies of African immigrant religious groups in America (Kwakye-Nuako, 2006; Nida, 2007; Biney, 2007; Agbali, 2008a; Agbali 2008b), including the ongoing work of Olupona (2007), there is some mention of how language is part of the identity construction of African immigrants, but these studies do not focus on language as a central theme. This study hopes to contribute to this literature and expand the

⁷ Ebaugh & Chafetz (2000) offer Chai (1998) and Yang (1998) as exceptions.

knowledge we have about African immigrant churches in the United States from a linguistic perspective.

4.14 Summary

Over the past 25 years, research on language use and language attitudes have blossomed in East Africa, with the realization that African languages, not the former colonial European languages, will play an even larger role in significant and lasting unification and development in the East African region. With increasing numbers, African immigrants are coming to the United States and establishing Christian sites of worship and various religious organizations that utilize their indigenous languages and celebrate their culturally relevant religious beliefs and styles of worship. These churches and Christian fellowships are formed to create a sense of belonging, maintain their culture(s), provide a culturally-relevant and disciplined spiritual setting, and to preserve their ethnic identities. This study seeks to understand how the linguistic attitudes of East African Christian immigrants in the United States help construct both their ethnic and religious identities. In the following chapter, I will outline the methodology used to study this relationship.

CHAPTER 5: METHODOLOGY

5.0 Introduction

This chapter will describe the research methodology and procedures used in this study. It describes the research perspective, research design, the study's setting and environment, and data collection procedures and analysis.

5.1 Research Perspective

This research study methodology was guided by the ethnography of communication developed by Hymes (1964) which draws upon the disciplines of sociology, anthropology, and natural-language philosophy to study communicative behavior and its role in everyday, social life (Saville-Troike, 2003, p. 1). One of the primary aims of the ethnography of communication approach is to guide the collection and analysis of descriptive data about the ways in which social meaning is conveyed. This is true for the present study which seeks to investigate the social meaning associated with the various languages used in an East African Christian community in the United States, and in what follows I will outline the details.

5.2 Research Design

This research project used a mixed-method design of both qualitative and quantitative research methods which were then triangulated to arrive at the conclusions. The qualitative methods employed were participant observation and focus group discussions; the quantitative method was written questionnaire. Quantitative measures are often used to determine the reliability of qualitative observation and to further test the validity of generalizations which may be made on the basis of a very limited sample (Saville-Troike, 2003, p. 96). Because this study proposed to investigate the way language attitudes contribute to the ethnic and religious identity construction of East African immigrants, it was necessary not only to ask direct questions

regarding respondents' language use within the spiritual realm, but also necessary to observe their actual language practices within the appropriate setting and to compare the answers they gave to these questions in both public and private spheres, thus necessitating an ethnographic approach. "Indeed it is the very essence of the [ethnographic] approach to ensure, comparison and contrast between what people say and what people do in a given context and across contexts in order to arrive at a fuller representation of what is going on" (Hornberger, 1994 quoted in Dornyei, 2007, p. 133).

A mixed methods study is broadly defined as one "in which the investigator collects and analyzes data, integrates the findings, and draws inferences using both qualitative and quantitative approaches or methods in a single study or program of inquiry, in which the key concept in this definition is integration" (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2009, p. 286). The term *mixed methods* is also used to denote the academic field or discipline of studying and presenting the philosophical, theoretical, technical, and practical issues and strategies for such integration (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2009, p. 284). Tashakkori and Creswell (2007) concluded that various studies are considered "mixed" because they utilize qualitative and quantitative approaches in one or more of the following ways, which are relevant to the present study (cited in Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2009):

- 1) two types of research questions (with qualitative and quantitative approaches)
- 2) two types of data collection procedures (e.g. focus groups and surveys)
- 3) two types of data (e.g. numerical and textual)
- 4) two types of data analysis (statistical and thematic)

Researchers often use mixed methods for the purposes of completeness and corroboration or confirmation. Using mixed methods, researchers can obtain a more complete picture of the phenomenon being studied, as well as assess the credibility of inferences obtained from only one approach.

In accordance with the pragmatic foundation of mixed methods research, the mixing process is centered around the purpose of the investigation, that is, the research topic or question. Brannen (2005) adds another reason for mixed methods: the growing desire of social researchers to link micro- and macro-level analyses (cited in Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2009, p. 284). This is exactly the aim of this particular study—to gain insight into what the individual thinks regarding language as well as the thoughts of the speech community to which he or she belongs.

Another dimension of mixed methods designs is the type of implementation process used: parallel, sequential, or conversion. Parallel mixed designs are ones in which there are at least two interconnected strands; one with qualitative questions and data collection and analysis techniques and the other with quantitative questions and data collection analysis techniques. Data may be collected simultaneously or with some time lag. Analysis is performed independently in each strand, although one strand may also influence the other. Inferences made on the basis of the results from each strand are integrated to form meta-inferences at the end of the study. (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2009, p. 289).

Between-strategies mixed methods data collection refers to research in which qualitative and quantitative data are gathered using multiple modes of collection (e.g. interview, observation, focus group). This use of different data collection strategies has also been called intermethod mixing (Johnson & Turner, 2003) or data triangulation/methodological triangulation (e.g. Denzin, 1989; Patton 2002). Between-strategies mixed methods data collection may be associated with any of the sequential or parallel research designs mentioned previously.

Using structured (quantitative) questionnaires together with open-ended (qualitative) items is a popular technique in the literature. This combination allows for the strengths of each strategy to be combined in a complementary manner with the strengths of the other (Johnson & Turner,

2003). Both strategies are good for measuring attitudes and other constructs of interest. Quantitative questionnaires can be used to inexpensively generate large numbers of responses that produce information across a broad range of topics. Data gathered using qualitative interviews are based on a relatively small number of participants, who generate in-depth information in response to queries and probes from the interview protocol about particular areas of interest (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2009). This study utilized quantitative questionnaires to obtain information regarding linguistic, educational, and spiritual background, current language use, religious participation and affiliations, feelings toward particular languages, and African and Christian identities. Qualitative group interviews and participant observation were used to obtain in-depth information regarding feelings about the use of particular languages and the establishment of Kiswahili-language fellowships and churches.

5.3 Research Questions

The primary research question this study sought to answer was: *How do the linguistic attitudes of an African immigrant group contribute to its members' ethnic and religious identity construction?* The other questions used to answer this overarching question were:

- 1) What are the linguistic repertoires (knowledge, skills, aptitudes) and actual speech events of transnational East Africans?
- 2) What are the linguistic attitudes of transnational East Africans toward their indigenous languages (including Kiswahili) and English?
- 3) What claims does this immigrant group make in regards to their use of Kiswahili within their spiritual and lives?
- 4) What desires or pressures prompt East African transnationals to establish Kiswahili-language churches and fellowships in the United States?

5.4 Setting and Environment

5.4.1 The field sites, data collection, and quality

I conducted participant observation at the annual conferences of Tanzanians in Touch in the United States (TITUS)^{*}, a Tanzanian Christian organization based in the U.S. Annual conferences were held in Illinois (2006), Georgia (2007), and North Carolina (2008). I also attended the monthly worship services of a Kiswahili church fellowship in Michigan for eight months. However, the bulk of my data collection (videotaping, focus groups, questionnaire distribution) was conducted from over a five-month period. These research venues were found through a “snowball” technique. I found the TITUS organization’s website through an internet search of Swahili churches in the United States, and after an inquiry to TITUS’ Communications Director (Dada Hope), I was invited to attend the annual conference in 2006. Remembering my initial inquiry of finding a Swahili church fellowship in the Midwest, Dada Hope directed me to St. Mark’s Swahili Fellowship* in Michigan. I was also directed to this venue through personal contacts in the Swahili-speaking community in Michigan. Through my involvement in the TITUS conferences, I was invited to attend the TITUS Women’s Conference* in Georgia. After securing permission to conduct research from all three organizations (TITUS, St. Mark’s Swahili Fellowship, and TITUS Women), I submitted my plan to the Institutional Review Board of Michigan State University and was granted permission to conduct Human Subjects research.

The population used for this study was East African from the countries of Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda. Only those over the age of 18 were eligible to participate. The population was a sample of convenience, that is, those who attended the annual TITUS conferences or Swahili

* All names have been changed to pseudonyms.

worship services. Only those individuals who wished to participate in the focus groups and/or complete written questionnaires were included in the study population.

5.4.2 Participant observation

Participant observation and videotaping were conducted at three sites: St. Marks' Swahili Fellowship in Michigan, praise/worship services and workshops during the 2008 TITUS Conference held in North Carolina, and the TITUS Women's Conference.

5.4.2.1 St. Mark's Lutheran Church—Michigan

St. Mark's Lutheran Church is a large, predominantly-white American, English-speaking Lutheran church in a small city in Michigan. Its membership is approximately 300. The Swahili Fellowship, created as an outreach to the East African, Kiswahili-speaking community, is part of this larger congregation. It was originally established to unite East Africans in the northern Midwest, but according to one member, it became more of a social gathering instead of a spiritual meeting. A few of the members of this original group then organized East Africans living in Michigan and Indiana to create a community to help each other spiritually and materially. It was also a venue through which they could pass on and maintain the culture and language of this transnational group to their children growing up in America.

I was a participant observer at the monthly Swahili service for eight months; however, only three services May, June, and July 2008 were videotaped and analyzed for content. Services began at 4 pm, usually the last Sunday of the month; it was later changed to the third Sunday of the month. It was not uncommon to have services rescheduled due to other events going on at the church. Since the Swahili service was only an "outreach" of the church, it had to yield its time and venue to accommodate the larger congregation's schedule. This site was

chosen as one of convenience because it exhibited the constructs this project was studying. It was also helpful that I had a personal connection with one of the members.

5.4.2.2 Participants

There are approximately 20 regular members of the Swahili fellowship at St. Mark's, although the number of service participants varies from month to month. There are several key members of the fellowship: Dr. George Mwanamini and his wife Anna; Pastor Stephen and his wife, Beatrice; Rev. Wilbert Olongo and his wife, Mama O; Sis. Dora, Brother Joseph, and Sis. Mary. Dr. George, an engineer by trade, turned his life toward full-time evangelism and the development of an outreach ministry, not only to the East African community in his locale, but also to the entire Midwestern region in which he lives; this marked the birth of St. Mark's Swahili Fellowship. Rev. Wilbert, Mama O, Pastor Stephen, and Sis. Beatrice are all from Uganda; Brother Joseph was born in Uganda, but was raised and educated in Tanzania. The rest of the membership is from Tanzania. Rev. Wilbert and Pastor Stephen are ordained ministers in their own countries. Sis. Dora and Sis. Mary are students pursuing graduate and undergraduate degrees, respectively, in the U.S., while Bro. Joseph works in a local establishment and owns a small communications business. During most of my research period, the primary leader of the fellowship, Dr. Besha, was away on church business in Tanzania, and his wife, who is originally from Kenya, attended the fellowship services in his absence. Dr. George handled the organizational functions of the fellowship each month until Dr. Besha's return.

5.4.2.3 General description of worship services

Services were advertised to begin at 4 pm, but typically began at 4:30 pm. Dr. George usually opened the service with a greeting, and then played a Swahili video or CD. This was followed by a time of praise and worship in Swahili, led by a song leader. People accompanied the

singing and worship shaking tambourines and maracas. The song leader, on most occasions, was Sis. Beatrice, Pastor Stephen's wife. The words to each song, usually prepared by Sis. Beatrice, were projected in Swahili onto a screen. After singing, the worship leader or the sermon speaker for that Sunday asked for the Prayer of Confession—the prayer asking God's forgiveness of sin—to be read from a red book located in every pew, in English, and then everyone would recite the Apostle's Creed in unison, again in English. This was followed by more praise and worship using Swahili songs. The sermon would be given by the worship leader or the minister from Uganda, Rev. Wilbert. After the sermon ended, the worship leader summarized the sermon, and then called for the offering to be taken. A Swahili CD would be played during this time, often related to the day's sermon topic. People again clapped, shook tambourines, maracas, or just danced in place in the aisle. After each song, *vigelgele*⁸ was expressed, usually by the women. Then prayer requests were taken, and prayers were offered for these requests or "prayer points." Individuals often came to the altar for prayer and for the laying on of hands while congregants stretched their arms toward the individuals at the altar. Rev. Wilbert or Pastor Stephen usually gave the benediction and dismissed everyone to fellowship hall where the communal evening meal was served. This meal, called "swallowship," was a time of sharing food and one another's company. As one of the pastors explained, you are to "swallow as much as you can." At the end of the service, one person usually sang a hymn as parishioners dismissed to the fellowship hall.

During the three months the services were videotaped, the use of Swahili increased. This may have been due to my presence as a researcher, as well as the members' full knowledge of my research topic. After the May service, Brother Joseph, asked me specifically if I was getting

⁸ *Vigelegele* is an ululation of joy in East Africa.

the data I truly needed. He admitted, “You are doing research on Swahili, and here we are not speaking much Swahili.”

5.4.2.4 TITUS Annual Conference—North Carolina

TITUS (Tanzanians in Touch in the United States) is an organization that serves to unite Tanzanian Christians in the United States. Although it is mainly comprised of Tanzanians, anyone who is from East Africa or speaks Kiswahili is welcome to attend their functions. TITUS was originally founded to create a Christian community for Tanzanians in the United States. These African transnationals found that American churches did not meet their spiritual or material needs, so they formed their own culturally relevant, Kiswahili fellowships. Unfortunately, these fellowships were “dysfunctional” or “fragmented,” (per focus group conversation) so in 2001, they banded together to create a national network, “to exchange information, encourage one another, and build one another spiritually.” An interim board was set up which was mandated to write a constitution, create a structure for this new organization, and create a website. The four major goals of this organization are to: 1) find all Tanzanians who come into the United States, 2) connect with them in their localities, 3) train leaders of for the TITUS organization, and 4) evangelize in the United States and promote networking within the Tanzanian community. Most members of TITUS also belong to American, English-speaking churches. TITUS meets annually at different locations, but it is common for this organization to convene meetings and mini-conferences throughout the year in various locales, usually in the South. After attending two conferences, it was decided that the 2008 conference would be a suitable research venue.

5.4.2.5 Participants

There are many people associated with the TITUS organization, and their conference attracts various numbers of people each year. During my research period, approximately 75-100 people attended the annual conferences in 2006 and 2007; the 2008 conference attracted far fewer participants. TITUS is comprised of many small “delegations” from all parts of the United States including Illinois, Ohio, Michigan, Missouri, Texas, California, Alabama, North Carolina, Georgia, and Missouri. During my period of research, I became acquainted with Dada Hope (Sis. Hope), who is the Communications and Networking Chair, her sibling, Sis. Abigail and her husband, Ephraim Nallua, who were the organizers of the 2008 TITUS Conference. Many of the members of TITUS are highly educated, having obtained or in the process of obtaining advanced degrees in the United States.

The 2008 TITUS Conference was held in June in North Carolina. It had a different format than in years past in that it served as a leadership training institute for church leaders. While it included periods of praise and worship, most of the conference was in workshop format. These workshops were held in two locales: a local Christian evangelism and leadership institute (Christian Leadership Institute of North Carolina), and the business offices of the conference organizers, Ephraim and Abigail Nallua. Students from the Christian Leadership Institute, many of whom were from various parts of the United States, Africa, the Caribbean and Latin America, were invited to participate in the TITUS conference workshops. In fact, the first day’s workshops were held at the Institute, and all the students participated.

The morning praise and worship service for the second day of the conference was the only session videotaped. It was conducted in both English and Kiswahili; the singing was done primarily in Kiswahili, but all prayers were in English. This may have been the case because the

students from the Christian Leadership Institute had been invited, and most of them, except one woman from Rwanda, did not know Kiswahili.

5.4.2.6 TITUS Women's Conference—Georgia

The TITUS Women's Conference convened in Georgia over the Labor Day holiday. The idea for this conference took root at the 2008 TITUS Conference in North Carolina, two months prior. Sis. Abigail and Dada Hope were the primary organizers. The conference's purpose was to bring together the women of TITUS and their guests for a time of Christian fellowship and biblical teaching that pertained to women and families. Because of the unique nature of this conference and the topics that were to be covered, this research site was added as soon as the conference was announced, which was only 1 month after the annual 2008 TITUS Conference.

5.4.2.7 Participants

There were approximately 50 participants in the TITUS Women's Conference who came from various states in the U.S. including Minnesota, Alabama, Illinois, North Carolina, Texas, Missouri, and Georgia. Several of the Women's Conference participants had attended the 2008 TITUS Conference. The conference organizers were Dada Hope and her sister, Sis. Abigail.. Other guest speakers included Mimi Michele from Georgia, Mama Abdi from Missouri, Mama Sofia from Illinois, and Sis. Lydia and Pastor Ellie from Texas.

The TITUS Women's Conference was held in a secluded, wooded retreat center in southern Georgia. It was an ideal locale with hotel-like accommodations, dining facilities, and spacious, private meeting rooms to accommodate the workshops and praise and worship services. Approximately 50 women and 5 men participated in the conference; three of the men were pastors or evangelists, married to conference participants, and two were musicians.

This women's conference echoed and highlighted the struggles East African immigrants have in serving the Lord in the United States. It focused on the cultural and spiritual differences between the two regions and how these cultural differences make it difficult to engage in Christian service "in a foreign land." One of these struggles was language. The conference also emphasized the cultural problems within the East African community, not just from an East African culture/American culture dichotomy, with East African culture being "tainted" by American influence, but also the clash between what is considered traditional African culture and Christian mores. In short, the workshops and times of praise and worship demonstrated how African women truly believe that they have been called "for such a time as this" to bring spiritual renewal to America without losing their African identity in the process.

The goals of the conference were to encourage East African Christian women living in the United States as they sought to live a godly life and to instruct them how to do this as they serve God while living in a culturally and spiritually different place than they have been accustomed. The name of the conference, "The Balanced Woman Conference," and the workshop titles exhibit what attitudes they had regarding spirituality and life in the United States. The conference announcement, bilingual in Swahili and English, follows:

Kina mama wote wasichana hadi wazee, walio olewa na wasio olewa,
mnakaribishwa kwenye mkutano wa neno la Mungu
utakaofanyika (tarehe) (mji), Georgia.

Huu ni mkutano wa pekee unaowaunganisha kinamama/kinadada wote, ukiwa
na mafundisho ya pekee ya neno la Mungu na maisha kiujumla. Tutakuwa na
watumishi mbalimbali, muda maalum wa maombi, shuhuda, wakati mzuri
wakufahamiana na kufundishana.

1. Mimi Michele na Lila Manawe

Wataendesha workshop maalum ya akina dada. Kinadada na wasichana wote msikose
mafundisho haya.

- Topic from relationships, purity and abstinence

2. Mtumishi wa Mungu Mrs. S. Kibundu na Pastor Ellie Mkima pamoja na
watumishi wengine wataendesha mafundisho maalum kwa ajili ya akina mama.
Baadhi ya mafundisho haya ni:

- Women and Multi-tasking in American Lifestyle
- How to Serve God in the Foreign Land

- Health Issues and Self-Image
- Raising them (Children) Right

Mnakaribishwa sana na Mungu awabariki
 Kwa maelekezo zaidi wasiliana na:
 xxx-xxx-xxxx
 xxx-xxx-xxxx Visit: www.xxxxxxx

Translation:

Women and girls, young or old, whether married or unmarried, are invited to this conference of the Word of God which will take place (date) (city), Georgia. This is a unique conference that connects women and girls with the special teachings of the Word of God and your entire life. We will have various servants of God speaking, a special time of prayer, witnessing and a good time of fellowship and teaching.

1. Mimi Michele and Lila Manawe
 They will conduct a special workshop for young women. Young women and girls don't miss this workshop.
 Topic from relationships, purity and abstinence
2. Servants of God, Mrs. S. Kibundu and Pastor Ellie Mkima together with other servants will conduct special workshops for all women. Some of these workshops are:
 - Women and Multi-tasking in American Lifestyle
 - How to Serve God in the Foreign Land
 - Health Issues and Self-Image
 - Raising them (Children) Right

Everyone is welcome and God bless you
 For further information contact:
 (xxx) xxx-xxxxx
 Visit: xxxxx.net

A second email, in English, was sent as a follow-up with accommodation prices and information.

The language used in the first email is interesting. The announcement invites all women, young and old, married or single, to attend the conference. It demarcates which workshops are for each age group, with relationship issues, purity and abstinence relegated to the younger women, and issues such as balancing life and raising children are reserved for the older women, who are assumed to be married and have children. This is in keeping with their spiritual values. The language used in the initial email also reveals their views on cultural issues. Most of the announcement is written in Kiswahili, but the workshop titles are all in English. It is possible

that these topics have neither a counterpart in Swahili, nor do the women believe that these issues are a concern within their home cultures. The workshop titles indicate that there is a distinct American lifestyle, and women need assistance to live in it. It also assumes that women's health is not as it should be, and that bodily self-image is a concern, possibly because they are now living in a predominantly white, Anglo-Saxon country where they are an ethnic and linguistic minority. Spiritual issues come into the forefront with the workshop entitled, "Serving God in the Foreign Land," indicating that there may be hindrances or challenges in engaging in Christian service in America. Finally, the workshop on raising children was telling since the presupposition here is that there is a problem in raising children in America and/or that they are not being raised correctly. The two workshops on health issues and raising children were conducted simultaneously with the ones on relationships, abstinence and purity. The later workshops on life balance and serving God in a foreign land were conducted with all women, younger and older, present. All of the workshops were video- or audiotaped, and then analyzed via content analysis and discourse analysis. However, the audiotape of the health workshop, which was the only one conducted totally in Swahili, was unusable for analysis.

The first workshop was aimed at the younger women and the unmarried. The topic of this workshop was "Relationships, Purity and Abstinence," and its purpose was to teach and explain to the younger, unmarried women the value of sexual purity and abstinence, and how godly relationships with men should be conducted. The first speaker was Mimi Michele, an accomplished singer, dancer, and actress who turned her life to the Lord and began a ministry for young girls and teens in 2003. Although Michele has appeared on Broadway and several television shows, she is probably best known for her appearance on a popular TV sitcom that revolved around the friendship of four African American women. When she ultimately objected

to the content of the storyline for her character, Michele was dismissed from the television show and blackballed from the industry. It was then that she received inspiration from God to use her talents to minister to young women and teens in the area of purity and abstinence, a way to channel much of the hurt and disappointment of her own life that resulted from not living a godly life. Although the focus of Michele's ministry is young girls and teens, her work now includes ministering to single women and married couples.

Michele is an African American woman, and this was the second time she had presented at a TITUS conference. The year before, she presented on the same topic, but to the whole conference body. Michele uses many African American speech patterns, and she is quite graphic in her descriptions of sexual relationships. Knowing that discussions of sexual matters and body parts/functions are not typical of East African culture, I asked one of the organizers of the 2007 conference about her presentation. Dada Hope confessed that she did not know Michele would be so graphic, and she had chosen the speaker on the basis of the presentation topic. It was surprising that they asked Michele return a second time; however, since this was a women's conference, it was probably a more suitable venue for this type of discussion. Although Michele's presentation was not nearly as graphic as it was in 2007, it did touch upon the same themes. Actually, Michele provides a valuable service to the women of TITUS—she speaks on topics that East African women would otherwise find uncomfortable discussing. In fact, it is not uncommon for an East African woman not to know much about sex or marital relations until right before her wedding. These things are normally explained by a paternal aunt, or during the bridal shower or “kitchen party.”

5.5 Focus Group Discussion

Focus group discussions or group interviews are important to research in ethnography of communication because they can allow researchers to see and hear the beliefs, values and ideologies which inform people's behavior and their reasons behind it. These accounts can also be compared to other data about linguistic or other cultural practices to discover agreements or contradictions to people's behavior and how they get around them (Wei & Moyer, 2008, p. 257). In this study, focus groups were conducted at both the 2008 TITUS Conference and St. Mark's Lutheran Church. Ten conference participants agreed to participate in the focus group discussion at the TITUS Conference which lasted 33 minutes. Eighteen church members from St. Mark's volunteered to participate in a focus group that lasted 1.5 hours. The questions used for the focus group are as follows:

Origins of the Church:

1. How and why was this particular church/fellowship established?
Probe: What were some of the aims/goals of the founders?

Reasons for Attending this Church/Fellowship:

2. Why is it important for you to attend this particular church/fellowship?
Probe: Tell me about some of the benefits of attendance/membership.

Language Issues

3. Why is Swahili used in this church/fellowship service?
Probe: Is using Swahili in worship services important to you? Why?
Probe: Is there something about Swahili that seems more "Christian-like" to you than English?
4. Aside from language, what makes this church/fellowship different than participating in an American, English-speaking church/fellowship?
Probe: What specific acts of worship, church activities, or parishioner behaviors make it different?

Impact of the Church

5. What impact or influence do you see, or would like to see, this church/fellowship having in the United States?
Probe: What influences do you see this fellowship having locally or nationally?

6. What impact do you see, or would like to see, this church/fellowship have in your home countries or communities?

Summary

7. Is there anything else you would like to say about this church/fellowship?
Probe: What would you like others to know about this church/fellowship?

These questions elicited responses that further clarified the participants' feelings and attitudes regarding language and identity within a Kiswahili-speaking church fellowship.

5.6 Research Instruments

Two research instruments were constructed for this study. The first instrument was the protocol for the focus group (see Appendix A). This protocol was adapted from the Maximizing Adolescent Academic eXcellence (MAAX) GEARUP program focus group protocol used at the Yale University Consultation Center, which provides community-based services. I also utilized some aspects of the focus group protocol used by Martin (2001) in her doctoral dissertation study which examined the church as a racial socialization agent within the African American community, specifically, examining the relationship between racial socialization practices and racial identity attitudes among adolescents and their parents. The focus group for the present study was conducted in English; however, participants were free to use either English or Kiswahili to respond to any question. This was done to not only ensure that the participants were using a language with which they felt comfortable, but also to use a language as an application of the community's sociolinguistic description (Hymes, 1986).

The second instrument was a 104 item questionnaire that was designed to capture the sociolinguistic profile of the respondents (see Appendix B). It asked biographical information of the participants and quantifiable data on language abilities, practices, and attitudes to ascertain who, when, and where the different languages of the members of this speech community are spoken and the attitudes they hold toward them (Wei & Moyer, 2008). This questionnaire was

also devised to provide completeness and corroboration with the qualitative data obtained. The sociolinguistic profile was also helpful in explaining bilingual language behavior post hoc. One of the reasons for asking the questions about sociolinguistic background of the participants was to find out how proficient members of this speech community were in the languages they speak, whether there were some languages that were dominant, and what their language preferences were. To obtain this information, the questionnaire contained items that probed language history, language choice, language dominance, and language attitude (Wei & Moyer, 2008)

The questionnaire was available in both English and Kiswahili; however, only one person requested a questionnaire in Kiswahili, which was not returned. The questionnaire consisted of five parts. Part 1 (Items #1-22) asked demographic information regarding family, educational and linguistic backgrounds. This information was gathered because, due to the historic backgrounds of East Africans, it was felt that personal information, linguistic repertoires, and educational backgrounds played a role in shaping language attitudes. This is in line with the premise of St. Clair (1982) that sociostructural factors shape language attitudes. Part 2 (Items #23-28) asked questions about living in the United States and citizenship status. While this query may seem invasive, these questions were asked in light of Arthur's (2000) study which draws the conclusion that African immigrants, although willing to become permanent residents, are generally reluctant to become citizens of the United States. Part 3 (Items #29-40) asked questions regarding religious affiliation and language use within their spiritual lives; Part 4 (Items #41-47) queried church membership, attendance and activity in their home countries in East Africa and in the United States. Part 5 (Items #48-104) asked personal thoughts and feelings about language and personal identity. Parts 1-4 were comprised of fill-in open-ended statements, open-ended questions, Yes-No questions, and multiple choice questions. The items in Part 5

were a series of statements followed by a 5-point Likert scale ranging from *Strongly Agree* (1) to *Strongly Disagree* (5)

Several sources were used to construct Part 5 of the research instrument which was created by modeling and adapting a few previously tested research instruments that explored multicultural ethnic identity, Afrocentric identity, and Christian identity. These instruments were the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (Phinney, 1992), the African Self-Consciousness Scale (Baldwin & Bell, 1985), the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, & Chavous, 1998), and a religious variable questionnaire developed by King (1967). I incorporated items concerning ethnic identity and modeled Part 5 of my instrument after the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) (Phinney, 1992) which “measures ethnic identity based on factors that are common across groups” (p. 1). In this way, Phinney explains, it can be used with all ethnic groups.

The MEIM consists of 14 items assessing three aspects of ethnic identity: positive ethnic attitudes and sense of belonging, ethnic identity achievement, and ethnic behaviors or practices (Sellers et al., 1998, p. 164). Also included in the measure are six items which assess other-group orientation. The items were rated on a 4-point scale from *Strongly Agree* to *Strongly Disagree*. The overall reliability coefficient (Cronbach’s alpha) of the 14-item Ethnic Identity scale was .81 for the high school sample and .90 for the college sample. The 6-item scale for other-group orientation had a reliability measure of .71 for high school students and .74 for college students. The overall reliability for all scales and subscales was consistently higher for the college sample than for the high school sample. Although Phinney’s instrument was used with American high school and college students from various ethnically diverse schools, I believed I could use this study as a model and background for my own instrument with adults

over 18 years of age. Although my research participants were all from East Africa, they came from various ethnic groups. This study did not directly ask the respondent's ethnic identity due to sensitivity of the subject in East African society. Instead, my study used their collective African identity as the ethnic identity variable to be measured; for this reason, I felt that Phinney's instrument was an appropriate model for my own study. However, Phinney states that language, while an indicator of ethnic identity, has differing "salience" with various groups, if at all, and was not included in the MEIM. Even though Phinney did not include language as an aspect in her measure for this reason, my instrument attempts to find a connection between language and ethnic identity within an immigrant population.

I also utilized Baldwin & Bell's (1985) African Self-Consciousness (ASC) scale, which works within the framework of an Africentric paradigm. The goal of Baldwin and Bell's research was to construct a "culturally specific psychological instrument for African Americans" (p. 62).

Baldwin and Bell's African Self-Consciousness Scale (1985):

...proposes that the Black personality comprises a complex bio-psychical structure...and a major psychological component of the Black personality structure [which] represents a core system called 'African Self-Consciousness.' This core component of the Black personality represents the conscious level of expression of the 'oneness of being' communal phenomenology which characterizes the fundamental self-extension orientation of African people" (Baldwin & Bell, 1985, p. 62).

I reviewed this scale for my instrument, and although I did not use items from the scale directly, I incorporated the themes of identity and thoughts about belonging to the black community.

Even though the ASC was originally constructed for the assessment of African Americans, I used aspects of the scale to construct my instrument because it dealt with attitudes and behaviors critical to African Self-Consciousness.

The African Self-Consciousness Scale is a 42-item personality questionnaire designed to assess the Black personality construct of African Self-Consciousness (Baldwin & Bell, 1985, p. 63). The items are also rated in terms of four competency dimensions and six expressive dimensions believed to be relevant to important aspects of African American life and survival requirements. The four competency dimensions covered by the 42 items are:

- 1) awareness/recognition of one's African identity and heritage;
- 2) general ideological and activity priorities placed on Black survival, liberation and proactive/affirmative development;
- 3) specific activity priorities placed on self-knowledge and self-affirmation, i.e. Africentric values, customs, institutions, etc.;
- 4) a posture of resolute resistance toward "anti-black" forces, and threats to Black survival in general.

The six manifest dimensions cover the areas of education, family, religion, cultural activities, interpersonal relations, and political orientation (Baldwin & Bell, 1985, p. 63). Questionnaire responses were made on an 8-point Likert scale. The reliability of the ASC was obtained using the test-retest method over a six-week period, producing a reliability estimate using a Pearson product-moment coefficient of $r(107) = .90$, $p < .001$. An estimate of internal validity of the ASC Scale produced a positive coefficient of $r(48) = .70$, $p < .001$.

Finally, I used Sellers et al. (1998) Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (MMRI) to create the statements regarding African identity in Part 5 of my research instrument. The MMRI "provides a conceptual framework for understanding both the significance of race in the self-concepts of African Americans and the qualitative meanings they attribute to being members of that racial category" (Sellers et al., 1998, p. 19). I felt that I could adapt items from this measure because I wanted to investigate the significance of *African identity* and the qualitative meanings that East African transnationals attributed to that ethnic category.

Sellers et al. (1998) point out that historically, there have been two approaches to the study of ethnic/racial identity of African Americans. Early research conceptualized African American racial identity within the context of this population's stigmatized status in American society, with little regard for the role of culture (Clark & Clark, 1939; R. Horowitz, 1939 cited in Sellers et al., 1998, p. 19). It also focused primarily on the universal aspects of group identity, using African Americans as a specific example. Gaines and Reed (1994, 1995) refer to this research tradition as the *mainstream approach* to racial/ethnic identity, which focuses on the significance of race or ethnicity in individual lives. However, in the late 1960's another group of psychologists, primarily African American, began to redefine African American racial identity with particular emphasis on the uniqueness of their oppression and cultural experiences. This research constitutes what Gaines and Reed (1994, 1995) refer to as the *underground or Afrocentric perspective* which emphasizes the historical and cultural factors associated with African American experiences in the United States as well as the specificity of African American racial identity. The focus of this research has been on providing a description of what it means to be Black. In other words, the underground approach has provided identity profiles regarding individuals' attitudes and beliefs associated with their membership in the Black race (Sellers et al., 1998, p. 21). Phinney's (1992) model focuses on the importance individuals place in their racial and ethnic group membership, and de-emphasizes the unique history and experiences associated with each group in favor of promoting a generic model that emphasizes the similarities across ethnic groups so that comparisons can be made, clearly representing the mainstream approach. In contrast, Baldwin & Bell's (1985) African Self-Consciousness Scale, which emphasizes the unique history and cultural facets of African American life, would represent the Afrocentric or underground approach. In an effort to synthesize the strengths of

these two approaches, the MMRI was created to obtain a more comprehensive understanding of African American racial identity (Sellers et al., 1998, p. 18). However, the conceptualization of the MMRI is more consistent with the Afrocentric approach, and is concerned with African Americans' attitudes and beliefs associated with their membership in the Black racial category (Sellers et al., 1998, p. 34).

The MMRI proposes four dimensions of racial identity that deal with the significance and the qualitative meaning of race in the self-concepts of African Americans. These four dimensions are: racial salience, the centrality of identity, the regard in which the person holds the group associated with the identity, and the ideology associated with the identity, with "racial salience and centrality [referring] to the significance that individuals attach to race in defining themselves; while racial regard and ideology refer to the individuals' perceptions of what it means to be Black" (Sellers et al., 1998, p. 24).

To operationalize the MMRI, the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI) was developed by Sellers et al. (1998). The MIBI is comprised of 3 scales that measure the centrality, ideology, and regard dimensions. The Ideology Scale consists of 4 subscales (Nationalist, Assimilation, Minority, and Humanist), and the Regard Scale consists of 2 subscales (Private Regard and Public Regard). Preliminary analyses suggested that the MIBI was a valid and reliable measure of the MMRI (Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, & Smith, 1997). The Centrality and Ideology Scales yielded alpha coefficients from .70 to .79. The internal validity of the Private Regard subscale and Public Regard subscale measured .60 and .20, respectively. However, after revisions to the Regard scale, both scales became internally consistent, with the Private Regard alpha coefficient = .78 and the Public Regard subscale alpha coefficient=.78 (Sellers et al., 1998, p. 31). Although the four ideologies delineated by the

MMRI are based specifically on extensive study of the unique cultural and historical experiences of African Americans, I felt that the concepts this instrument measures were similar to what I sought to measure within the East African population of my study, with some adaptation of items. “To what extent the MMRI can serve as a meta-framework for studying other group identities is open to debate, and it is imperative that any application of the MMRI to other groups be done after careful assessment of the model’s compatibility with the historical and cultural experiences of the group in question” (Sellers et al., 1998, p. 35). Since I had conducted such a survey, I felt comfortable utilizing aspects of this scale.

For my instrument, I used two items from the MIBI Centrality Scale (Items #48 and #49); two items from the Regard Scale (Items #50 and #51), which included one from each subscale (Private Regard and Public Regard); and two items from the Ideology Scale (Items #52 and #53) which included one from the Humanist Subscale and one from the Nationalist Subscale. All references to “Black” were changed to “African” to accommodate the research population of my study. No items were used from the Assimilation or Oppressed Minority Subscales because they were not relevant to the present study.

The second section of Part 5 comprised statements regarding Christian identity. For this section, I used six items from a scale developed by King (1967) that tested the null-hypothesis that “religion is unidimensional” (p. 173). This measure was used with a sample of Methodist congregants in the United States. These six items were taken from a 121-item questionnaire that queried several aspects of individual belief and congregational involvement. Using factor and cluster analyses, sixteen factors and twelve clusters of interest were obtained (King, 1967, p. 173) The agreements between the analyses led to the conclusions that the unidimensional view of the religious variable could be rejected, and that nine dimensions were found to be of interest for

further study. These nine dimensions were: 1) credal assent and personal commitment; 2) participation in congregational activities; 3) personal religious experience; 4) personal ties in the congregation; 5) commitment to intellectual search despite doubt; 6) openness to religious growth; 7) dogmatism and extrinsic orientation; 8) financial behavior and attitude; and 9) talking and reading about religion (King, 1967, pp. 180-184). For my instrument, I used three items from credal assent and personal commitment (Items #54, 55, 59), one item from personal religious experience (Item #58, but changed it to read “Christ”), and one item I created (#57). There were no validity or reliability coefficients reported for King’s questionnaire. King (1967) explains that factor and cluster analyses do not test hypotheses; they simply put data into a form which can be compared to a theoretical model. Since there was not an accepted mathematical procedure for making such a comparison, it was made by the researcher, using his best judgment, maximum objectivity, and familiarity with the data (p. 175).

5.7 Coding of Quantitative Data

The data from the written questionnaire was coded in the following way. Each question on the instrument was given a designator consisting of a word that signified what the question was asking and a number that corresponded to the question number on the survey. For those questionnaire items that elicited more than one answer (e.g. Item #16 which asks the language(s) of instruction in primary school—laninst16), a second number was added to the designator (e.g. language of instruction—laninst161, laninst162). Items 48-104 were simply listed by question number on the data sheet, and the respondent’s answer from the 5-item Likert scale was recorded. Rubrics (scoring tools) were constructed to code the quantitative data for each questionnaire item. However, several rubrics were used throughout the data set. These rubrics

included: the Binary Rubric (Yes=1, No=0); the Universal Locations Rubric; Universal Language Rubric, and the Universal Denominations Rubric (see Appendix C).

Items 13 and 15 were coded differently than other items because the responses were given in rank order. These questionnaire items primarily used the Universal Language Rubric. For Item #13, the responses were put in rank order, followed by the accompanying information about that particular language (how learned, age learned, etc.). Then, the second ranked language was listed and all accompanying information given, and so on. For Item #15, languages were also ranked, (in many instances, not the same rankings as in Item #13), and then each environment where a language was used was also ranked. For example, for Respondent #2, the best known language was listed as Kiswahili, and she used it primarily at home, with friends, during praise and worship, and sharing the gospel; however, for Bible study and personal prayer time, English was listed as the most used language. Therefore, if a person listed one language as being known best, that particular language may not be the one used most often in different environments. All quantitative data was recorded into Excel spreadsheets and uploaded into Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) for statistical analysis.

The next three sections of Part 5 focused on language—the respondent’s first language (Items #60-66), Kiswahili (Items #67-73), and English (Items #74-80). These items were included to get an idea of how respondents felt about their ability to express themselves in each language and how they felt about its use in the business, educational and religious arenas. The next two sections of Part 5 combined variables with respect to location. Items #81-92 referred to the respondent’s living in his or her country of origin in Africa. Items #81-83 paired African identity and language (first language, Kiswahili, and English); Items #84-86 paired Christian identity and language; Items #87-89 paired closeness to God and language; and Items #90-92

paired sharing Christ and language. Items #93-104 repeated these same items, but referred to the respondent's living in the United States. It was thought that the respondents' attitudes toward language and identity may be different due to locale.

A pilot test was conducted for the written questionnaire. Five questionnaires were sent via email to a participant who agreed to distribute them to willing participants in the African community in Columbus, Georgia; only two questionnaires were completed and returned; however, one of the respondents was not from the East African community and did not speak Kiswahili. These two respondents said that it seemed that many questions were repeated, especially in Parts 3 and 5, but upon closer examination, they admitted that there were slight differences in each question. Measures were taken (highlighting, bolding, capitalizing, italicizing) to ensure that each question was clearly marked to distinguish it from others. The questionnaire was later distributed to participants at the research venues.

Questionnaires (64) were distributed to parishioners and conference participants at all three research sites. A pastor, who was attending 2008 TITUS Conference, offered to take questionnaires back to his congregation in Washington, D.C. and to distribute them to his parishioners. This created another research venue, albeit, one that I did not personally visit. The questionnaires were distributed as follows:

Table 5. Distribution of Written Questionnaires

<u>Location</u>	<u>Distributed</u>	<u>Returned</u>
Michigan	31	13
North Carolina	12	5
Georgia ⁹	11	11
Washington, DC	10	5
TOTAL	64	33

5.8 Data Analysis and Interpretation

The qualitative data were analyzed in the following way. I transcribed the focus groups in their entirety; I then recorded the content of the videotapes from the St. Mark’s services, the annual TITUS Conference, and the TITUS Women’s Conference. I fully transcribed verbatim those parts of the videotapes that pertained to language, culture, or identity. I then translated those parts of the focus groups and video in Kiswahili to English in order to analyze them. Next, I reviewed the focus group transcripts and preliminarily coded them for recurring themes, especially as they related to language, culture, or identity using the coding system below that I personally devised:

- | | |
|---|--------------------|
| LR/SE=Language repertoire/speech event | Id=Identity issues |
| LA-ind=Language attitude-indigenous | U=Unity |
| LA-Eng=Language attitude-English | |
| LA-Kisw=Language attitude-Kiswahili | |
| Cl=Claim of language use | |
| D/P=Desire or pressure to establish Kiswahili-language fellowship | |
| AA=African American relations | |
| Cul=Cultural issues | |
| Sp=Spiritual issues | |
| B=Belonging | |
| Lone=Loneliness | |

⁹ This site was added in July because the originally proposed site (an independent Swahili church) had to be scrapped. After consulting with the pastor and receiving his permission to conduct the study at his congregation, the church elders decided that the congregation should not participate.

Next, I reviewed the video content transcripts and preliminarily coded them for broad themes using the coding system above. I especially noted those linguistic exchanges or statements that pertained to language, identity, culture, spiritual matters, any subject that the participants talked about at length, or anything that I thought could answer the research questions. I also noted shifts in language use, songs, or musical videos that were used in the services. Greater attention was given to those parts that had been transcribed verbatim since they contained important linguistic data.

After preliminary coding the focus group transcripts and video content, I made qualitative analysis notes for each focus group, workshop and sermon videotaped, highlighting the most noteworthy parts and listing the recurring themes. For the videos, I also noted the strength of each video in relation to how it demonstrated one of the recurring themes or answered the research questions. From the codings of the focus group transcripts, video content, qualitative analysis notes, and memos, I selected the most common recurring themes throughout that seemed to answer the research questions, and I included them in the final analysis, utilizing associated quotes or scenarios.

Participant observation was conducted at all three research sites. I attended church services at the Swahili Fellowship of St. Mark's for eight months, however, only three monthly services were videotaped; I attended three annual TITUS conferences, but only a morning praise and worship session from the 2008 conference was videotaped. Finally, I attended the TITUS Women's Conference, where all of the workshops were video or audiotaped. Copious notes were taken during the church services, conference sermons, and workshops. These notes were reviewed shortly after each session, and the researcher's impressions of each session or sermon

were recorded in the form of memos. All notes and memos were typed and kept in a notebook for analysis.

All participant observation notes, video and audiotape note/transcripts, and focus group transcripts were then each qualitatively analyzed. The focus group transcripts were summarized by content and theme. The videos recorded at St. Mark's, the 2008 TITUS Conference, and the 2008 TITUS Women's Conference were analyzed for content, recurring themes, and the strengths of each video in regard to answering the research questions were recorded in analytical notes. All of these analytical notes and transcripts were then coded for recurring themes. The most prominent recurring themes were noted and the quotes that most poignantly explained each theme were included in the final write-up.

5.8.1 Artifacts

Several artifacts from the research sites were collected and analyzed. These items included distributed sermon notes, service programs, workshop handouts, and email correspondence regarding fellowship services, activities, and announcements.

5.8.2 Statistical Analysis

The data from the questionnaires was put into Microsoft Excel, uploaded into Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS), and then analyzed.

5.9 Researcher Identity

Researcher identity is crucial to the research outcomes of a project (Wei and Moyer, 2008; Dornyei, 2007). Collecting data in situations in which the researcher takes part requires ethnographers to include data on their own behavior in relation to others, as well as analysis of their role in the interactions of a community as well as the actions of others (Saville-Troike, 2003, p. 98). The linguistic competence, age group, education level, disciplinary background,

and attitude towards bilingualism of the researcher, as well as any ideological leanings can also influence the research (Wei, 2000 cited in Wei & Moyer, 2008, p. 75). I am an African American female trained in several languages, and I have a keen interest in linguistic issues, especially in situations where inequality of language or issues of identity are concerned. I first became interested in African languages, particularly Kiswahili, as an English Teaching Fellow in Namibia, where I worked with several professors from East Africa who strongly encouraged me to learn the language because of its widespread use in Africa. Unfortunately, an untimely accident shortened my stay in Namibia, and I returned home to the United States for medical treatment. I never forgot my colleagues' admonition to study Kiswahili, so when the opportunity presented itself to study the language and culture in the form of a fellowship that entailed living in Tanzania for several months, I applied and was fortunately awarded the fellowship.

Being an African American female who is conversant in Kiswahili presented an interesting dynamic for this research project. My language training had taken place both in the United States (by East African professors) and study abroad in Tanzania, spending seven months at the University of Dar es Salaam, taking graduate courses in sociolinguistics and advanced Kiswahili language and literature. I also lived in a student dorm with Tanzanian women, and I was able to live as they lived and ask them cultural and linguistic questions. My roommate and hall mates graciously answered my questions and shared insights into their culture. In addition, I traveled to several areas in Tanzania and Kenya. I later returned to Tanzania for further language training and travel a few more times after that. Although I am from the United States, and Kiswahili is not my first language, I do resemble Tanzanians, especially those from Zanzibar, as I have been told. Within the East African community here and abroad, I use my Swahili name, Neema. I have had several encounters during my travels in East Africa where the question posed to me

was not, “Where are you from?” but “Why can’t you speak Kiswahili correctly?” or “Why do you have an accent?” Even when clearly explaining that I was an African American, and that Kiswahili was not my first language, many still did not believe me, asking me if my relatives were from Tanzania or India. This presented an interesting situation when speaking with participants for this dissertation research project. Many assumed, at first glance, that I was East African, but once I began to speak, they were rather perplexed by my accent. It was also a plus that I had actually traveled in East Africa, and I could relate to what many respondents were saying about life back home because I had lived in the areas they came from or was acquainted with them. This carried a lot of cultural capital with them

My experience as an African American living in a race-conscious society has made me acutely aware of the issues of language and identity. My identity as an African American, with higher education, who speaks an African language, also gives me a certain perspective. I am interested in agency for people of color, especially as it pertains to language. As a competent speaker of both Standard American English and African American Language, I am well aware of the prestige of the one and the stigma of the other; I personally understand the issues surrounding identity when it comes to language as I have lived this dichotomy my entire life in the United States.

From a spiritual standpoint, I fit in to the East African Christian community easily. As a practicing Christian familiar with the African American style of worship and church organization, I was neither surprised by nor uncomfortable with East African worship practices, which include call and response, and expressive singing, swaying, and dancing. In fact, I believe some of the members of the Swahili fellowships I had visited had borrowed from the African American community as evidenced by certain phrases, service order, dress, and style of worship.

Even though at times I did not completely understand everything that a pastor or workshop leader would say in Kiswahili, I was familiar enough with the language and the Bible that I could get the gist of what they were saying and then find what they were referring to in the Bible—first in my English, then in my Kiswahili translations.

5.10 Gaining Access

I was able to gain access to the East African community rather readily because I spoke Kiswahili and had studied and traveled in East Africa. My contacts from East Africa at my university also assisted me. My identity as an African American who speaks an African language and has worked and studied in Africa afforded me some background and entrée into East African worlds. Because I was a person who looked East African, and was a Christian, it was not difficult to blend in. However, I was still an outsider, and I often felt nervous within the Swahili fellowships and conferences because I worried about “fitting in.” Everyone was very friendly and accepting of me, but still, I was concerned about behaving in culturally appropriate ways and being able to express myself correctly in Kiswahili. Any blunders that I made seemed readily forgiven. Many members of the East African community who I met seemed curious and pleased that an African American would be interested in interacting with them in their linguistic and cultural space.

5.11 Bias and Error

One area of potential error is the fact that I, as the researcher, was not a member of the East African community by birth. Although I was welcomed into their cultural space, I could not assume that I fully knew the mores and ways of being of this population. To check my perceptions, counter any bias or error, and to challenge my interpretations, I employed member

checking with individuals of the East African community in the U.S. who were not part of the research population.

5.12 Validity

Validity is defined as “the best available approximation to the truth of a given proposition, inference or conclusion,” and it includes four types of validity: conclusion validity, internal validity, construct validity, and external validity (Trochim, 2006). Because this study employed mixed methods, the research design offered a more comprehensive way of legitimizing findings than either the qualitative or quantitative approaches could offer alone. By utilizing triangulation, the argument for validity for mixed methods research can combine the validity evidence offered by the qualitative and quantitative components separately (Dornyei, 2007, pp. 62-63).

5.13 Trustworthiness

Trustworthiness was achieved through the triangulation of data. “Triangulation is a qualitative process that tests the consistency of findings garnered through different methods and sources of data, including field notes, artifacts, and transcripts” (Calabrese, 2006, p. 60). Triangulation leads the researcher to make claims for the data’s credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). I addressed all four of these constructs by prolonged engagement in the field, persistent observation, and triangulation (credibility); thick description of the research venues and the associated linguistic exchanges (transferability); and auditing and keeping an audit trail (dependability and confirmability).

5.14 Summary

This chapter first situated my work within the framework of the methods of the ethnography of communication (Hymes, 1964). A mixed method research design was used to investigate how

the language attitudes of African transnationals residing in the United States help shape their ethnic and religious identities. I began the chapter with a presentation of my research perspective and design. After a discussion of my ethnographic fieldwork and identity as a researcher, the methodological discussion centered around a detailed explanation of my data collection and analysis. The chapter concluded with a discussion of bias and error, validity, and trustworthiness of my research findings. The next chapter will discuss the qualitative results of this study.

CHAPTER 6: PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF QUALITATIVE DATA-FOCUS GROUPS AND WORSHIP SERVICES

6.0 Introduction

This study sought to investigate how the linguistic attitudes of an African immigrant population contribute to their ethnic and religious identity construction. To realize this objective, an analysis of language use and language attitudes was undertaken through various means. This chapter presents and analyzes qualitative data collected at both the 2008 TITUS Conference and the Swahili Fellowship of St. Mark's Lutheran Church.

6.1 Focus Group Conversations: Discourse Analysis

Focus groups were conducted at both the 2008 TITUS Conference and at St. Mark's Lutheran Church in June 2008. Ten conference participants agreed to participate in the focus group discussion which lasted 33 minutes; eighteen church members from St. Mark's volunteered to participate in a focus group that lasted 1.5 hours. The focus group questions elicited responses that further clarified the participants' feelings and attitudes regarding language and identity within a Swahili-speaking church fellowship. There were certain recurring themes across the responses of both focus groups. Each of these themes is presented below with elaborations quoted verbatim from the respondents. Although the questions for both groups were initially identical, the St. Mark's group brought up the issue of relations with African Americans. I then probed with follow-up questions to elicit greater responses to get a better idea of their attitudes toward language and identity with regard to African Americans. As indicated previously, the audiotaped focus groups were transcribed in their entirety, categorized into several broad themes, and then subjected to content analyses using several approaches as outlined in the methodology section of this work.

6.1.1 Stranger in a Strange Land: Creating community to alleviate alienation

East African church congregations, as well as smaller Christian fellowship groups, often begin as small gatherings in people's homes. Esther, a participant in the TITUS Conference, spoke of the Swahili fellowship she and her fellow Kenyans established in Georgia. It too started as a small endeavor, having meetings every couple weeks in her home to cook African food, pray, and fellowship together. They had grown so much over the past year, that they had to find a larger venue. Esther explained why she created the fellowship:

Esther: I guess...it..it started as a personal interest. I wanted some people around me....I wanted to sing in Swahili...and I wanted to praise and worship (*um-hmmm from Nallua*) in my natural way of doing it. And I appreciate their...uh, you know their uh, their ability to be able to go to an American church and pray and all that, but there was still something missing. (*Nallua ---ummm*) We used to sing in our language, and dancing and jumping, you know (*giggle*)...that is a different kind of worship, and that's what I was missing. So what I did was call my friends, and each of them that I called felt the same way.

This observation suggests that the main reason this group of East African immigrants created this organization was due to differences with American culture, specifically with regard to cultural practices and language in religious worship. In short, as immigrants, they do not get what they need spiritually or socially from American fellowships due to such cultural and linguistic differences.

Individualism is one aspect of American life that is in direct contrast to East African communal culture. The "busyness" of American life was also a sore point for them, and it contributed to their personal feeling of loneliness and alienation in American society. Language, specifically Swahili, helps to combat alienation and create a sense of belonging. Pastor Ellie's comment reflects how the loneliness of an immigrant takes on a particular linguistic flavor:

Ellie: I can feel more encouragement when somebody speak to my native language and...uh, that one of the reasons I remember

that when I started a group of Swahili speaking back it was also helping each other. Some people come in this country, they don't know anybody... We have come to conclusion that this is a very lonely place, if you don't know anybody because of individualism is going on in this country, everybody is busy with their own things, so when you come to this country and you don't know anybody, it's really lonely because, I mean, just go work, or school, come home. But when you know there is a church somewhere, speaks your language, that people from your country, it's more of encouraging, and that is, again as I said, you feel like you're at home in America... (*laughs, as if this is an improbable thing*).

George Mwanamini, a founder and current leader of the Swahili Fellowship at St. Marks, explained how his group was established:

Dr. George: Basically we...we thought, um...after realizing there were a couple of a few from East Africa, and Swahili-speaking for that matter...we just been looking for an avenue where we can come together, first and foremost, worship God is the main purpose, and then in that process, um...current atmosphere whereby we can, you know, establish families and also learn Swahili and um...create a group which can help each other in so many different ways...we're all from very far and uh, in this instance, establish a community where we can care for each other and reach out...and, in that sense, learn about our culture for those people, who for some reason, they...they either they come and grew up in the U.S., and therefore, don't know much of what's already happening back home, so this becomes then an avenue where we really can get into all these different things, especially the language also because um...they're some who left home, and they've been here long enough to ponder they don't really know much about Swahili, so the idea is just that we are here to find an avenue where we can be able to accomplish those things.

And um...yeah, so we've seen other different ethnic ministry which I organized here one to reach out to people, you know, from India and Pakistan, and people who are Muslims, and then we have another ministry to people from Latin America, and uh, the Hispanics, and so the key was, "Ok, so how about Swahili? So, that's how from there we came up with this idea, and the church was very supportive, and...here we are.

There was an intentionality to creating this kind of group and using Swahili; other African Christian immigrants in the Midwest were using their indigenous languages in their services, so this group decided they would do the same. Although this group uses Swahili, it

“accommodates” people who don’t know the language well, but since some (Ugandans in particular) come from the same geographic area, they want to network and help each other; however, they are primarily trying to attract “anybody speaking Swahili.”

Dr. George: And...and also there is an intentional effort to...create a group where you can use Swahili ...because there are a couple different fellowships like this ...who, some from Sudan, they use their own language... even from Nigeria...from whatever...so it was just, for some reason, there was nothing really in Swahili. For example, in Cleveland, Ohio...there’s even a larger group than here, and they use Swahili. And *they* [emphasis his] use Swahili...really Swahili—no English at all But here we are trying to accommodate to some people, so they kind of pick up Swahili, to kind of mix certain things with English, but...but the whole idea is to, again, be intentional and to attract certain people and anybody speaking Swahili... and of course they are coming from the same geographic area, similar cultures, so to say and to create that, uh, that network for some reason and be able to help each other.

Aside from a sense of community and belonging, the use of Swahili in their fellowship is also a vehicle with which to maintain their culture, feel comfort, and allay the feelings of alienation in America. Dr. George’s wife, Anna, put it this way:

Anna: Um...for me, I would say, using Swahili, first of all, it uh... keeps my culture back home. We use Swahili in services, so using Swahili here, it gives me more comfortability, number one...and in terms of hearing the word of the Lord, and also um...it...makes me feel like I’m continuing with my cultures that I was born with...and so we...since we are very far, and you feel like you are not lonely, or uh...most of our relative are back home, and so when we fellowship together, we meet together, we use the Swahili, you feel at least you are homekind...

George: Um-hmmm (*agreeing*)

Anna:...not very much lonely so far from our country.

Sis. Beatrice, Pastor Stephen’s wife, explained it this way:

Sis. Beatrice: And too, for myself also, I feel that the African fellowship is a community that God has brought to me so that I don’t feel like a stranger in America. We have very good friends who are white, and they are very good—you’d think we knew each other 1,001 years ago—but every time you’re in a foreign land, you sometimes feel, ‘I’m a foreigner here,’ but when I get to know Dora and Mary and Ndoni, I always say that Dr.

Mwanamini enters my house and then remembers to knock. (*Everyone laughs*). So you know, having that kind of freedom, whereby you have somebody just coming in freely, yeah, you stop feeling like you're in a foreign country.

I have been having my friend for two weeks, the one who just got off today, I stopped reading news on the internet because, it's like, she was in the house, and I felt we were in Uganda. You know, we talked our language, we shared everything from back home, so this extends farther from the spiritual benefits; for me, it's creating a community and making me feel a sense of belonging. (*others mm-hmmm knowingly*).

Priscilla was a young woman who had recently begun attending the Swahili fellowship. Her father, Louis Wema, had recently passed away and his memorial service was conducted at St. Mark's during the Swahili worship service. She explained that one reason she likes this fellowship is because she feels comfort being with fellow Christians from back home who speak her language with whom she can share her life:

Priscilla: You know, I'm very new to this, to this church, of course this being my second time here, and my first, I would say, my first...ah...I didn't have expectations—I don't like that word either, but what I was looking for is just have that ...the comfort. Not that I'm lacking it while I'm here, or not having that around my fellow brothers and sisters in Christ, but...it's just that, there is a different comfort that you get when you have a lot of people who have come from the same country, and you know, speak the same language and somehow understand you better than the other person, or something like that. That I was longing for and ah...to share my life, because I haven't met none of them... that...much, so to share our life like, we are as Pastor said, or Dr. said, we share back home...we share everything...we share. Of course, there are some of us, I know, that don't share... there are people there who don't share but we have been raised, most of us, to share our emotions and things like that. So, that was my first one... I just wanted to share my life and my dad, his life and ah... to everyone.

6.1.2 Child of God, Son/Daughter of Africa: Language, identity and culture

Language, specifically Swahili, is central to the identity of my research participants because it is a vehicle through which they can understand and be understood; it is a way for them to express their true selves and inner most being. Pastor Ellie explained it this way:

Pastor Ellie: I believe also that the point is that also that you...and again, we go to identity...you feel good when you identify...you meet together, with a group of people who you identify each other from where you're coming from, your roots...or the language.

Speaking of identity, there are so many things, even knowing that this person knows my pain, knows my fears, knows my success, because we know where we coming from...we know each other. Not necessarily that we know each from our original countries, it's just that we have something that we can relate to each other. So, that's the things that, I mean, make us all... We like going to fellowship all together in our churches and speaking on language...sometime you can...the language too. I feel maybe I can express myself better to in my language than speaking in English for to really understand.

There was also a fear from one respondent, Lucas, that if East African immigrants did not maintain Swahili, they would be in danger of losing their identity:

Lucas: And for this reason actually many people here in U.S. from Tanzania, Kenya coastal Swahili, they are able to maintain their identity...because if not, people would be gone, speaking different language and not even thinking about where they are coming from originally, but now, they are able to keep it and maintain it.

Language is also a part of unity for these East African immigrants. Originally used as an instrument of mobilization for the independence movement in Tanzania, it was later used during Ujamaa to unite the country's citizens and to discourage bitter ethnic divisions. It was also used in Kenya, but as a language of wider communication. Lucas explained that this desire for unity is so deep in a Tanzanian, that person would be reluctant to tell you exactly where he/she is from or his/her ethnic group. He went on to explain that the language has been introduced here in the US to maintain that unity with East Africans, which is an icon of solidarity. It is also a vehicle through which culture is passed on and maintained in their families, especially with children who are growing up in America:

Lucas: Actually, it's a unity. Now, it's introduced here to keep that Unity in Swahili, and people feel...they can sense, they can taste... and they would like share, even the kids who are grown up...who are

growing up to adapt that, even if they grow, they are born here, they are raised here...but at least to have sense...to adapt that sense...and to be able...at least...they might go away and talk to grandma or grandpa, whoever...and when they talk to those people, at least they have a little bit...they have an identity and they have unity...and that is what will make us united. That's the reason, actually, why we have this uh, organizations, keeping this language...yes.

Esther, from Kenya, expressed that Swahili is important in her native country, but really as a language of wider communication:

Esther: So Swahili is...like our national language, and English is our official language. And then everybody else has their own languages, tribal languages...but Swahili is very important for us. We don't speak as good Swahili as them (*grinning, pointing to the Tanzanians in the group*).

Cultural issues were paramount for this group, and they expressed several times during the group interview just how significant this issue is for them, especially within church. Sis. Dora explained:

Sis. Dora: When we are here [in America], in this different culture from our own, sometimes you go at church, it's not that you don't get it there, but at least you...you feel, um like getting more when you hear people of your own culture, when for instance like examples, or let's say we are praying for someone, ok, whoever you want to pray for, someone says, 'I'm praying for my aunt,' or 'I'm praying for a certain relative,' that is an extended nature...an extended family nature that Africans may have, that may not be the case here in this culture, that's just an example.

So generally...the fact that the culture here is different from our own, there are some things that are quite unique for here, that when we go to church, we feel like we are...we are missing it, although we understand it, but really don't get the real that you would be getting when you have, um...a group of people from your own culture.

Language also plays a part:

Sis. Dora: You go to church, and um...a preacher's saying something Or then they give an example, and you just don't understand it, like sometimes based on the culture, again back to the culture, they would say something that would be fun maybe for Americans, but, um...first of all, maybe I didn't pick it, or even if I heard it, I just did not know what was fun about it...but everyone else understood, and they're

laughing, and um.. I can't laugh because I just did not understand that, so I'm missing... I heard that (*inaudible*) already, and sometimes it can even bring you to think, you know, 'Oh my God, I don't know when I'll come to understand well this English ...whatever,' and then you are already...um... lost or a long way from...from there. So that's one thing too.

Clearly, we see not only a frustration with not understanding culture, but also the notion that she could not understand English. Dr. George shared insight regarding the linguistic situation from his own country, Tanzania, which shapes his view of language and culture:

Dr. George: So when you come to Swahili, I mean, the key for you, Neema, is that um...is knowing one language is a disadvantage that, if you grew up with it, that's fine. But some of us, we learn English in school, but we have Swahili, which really is more common...so we have English there, and we have Swahili, we can go back to another level, our ethnic languages, so even when I go home, and I hear a sermon in my own mother tongue, it gets even sweeter, because it's one level down, whereby now you can even know better.

So the whole idea is that um...um...as Pastor Stephen was saying, the fact that indeed...it's... it's just how comfortable with the language you are. That's what makes the difference, and that's why for example, somebody who grew up here, for them, Swahili would not be comfortable. Why? They are not part of that culture; they don't know the language that much, they know English more than Swahili. So for them, English would be more comfortable than Swahili. But for most of us, we're here, we grown up *there* [emphasis his]...we came *here* [emphasis his] so regardless of the fact that we try to speak just as part of the culture here, but still we...our...part of us is still *there* [emphasis his]. And it will never be 100% American—no. So, there is certain things while we're here, but hey, the other part of us is still there. And that's why we enjoy when we're here, some of those Swahili praise and worship songs...the meaning is always straight...I don't have to struggle...what did I mean? What did I say? You know exactly.

6.1.3 *Then Sings My Soul*: Language and spirituality

There is a direct correlation between language and spirituality, namely Christianity, for these East African transnationals. Even though this next example demonstrates that Mama Upendo, a participant at the TITUS conference, believed that every Christian is “one body through Christ,”

language and culture play a part of “knowing” someone and the ability to express one’s “true” self:

Mama Upendo: I believe that we Christians, we are relatives...especially when we come to Christ...we are one body. But, you know, uh, that is spiritually speaking, that we are one body through Christ...but then... I was, you know ...I...I felt something when they came [after my mother died], and I’m still remembering that. I felt happiness and joy when they came and they saying Swahili, “Pole mama,” and they were wearing their khanga, you know...and I say, “Oh...” it reminded me back home...that these are my people, they know exactly...this is how we used to do.

And uh, encourage me more, until I said to my friends that, why don’t we start the church here? (*others agreeing*)... because we need to be together, and especially when you are a stranger in a culture like this, you cannot...you have your own stuff you need to tell somebody you know better, ‘cause you need to trust the person you tell something of your own. I cannot just tell somebody I don’t know is a stranger, the thing with I have a burden with, especially spiritually speaking. So, I will find a good Christian of my own, you know, country, and I say,” My sister, I know you’re my sister. Hold my hand...I have this problem. I know you’re not going to, uh...you’re not going to, to tell anybody. Not only that,...you’ll take as it is yours.

And I’ll tell you because we are of the same category; we are sailing in the same boat, so I feel like... we are all together coming in a strange country, and I’m comfortable with you, more than just telling somebody who doesn’t know my feelings. So I believe that there... the person who has come to Tanzania and that speaks the same language, they experience the same thing; they’re foreigner, I’m foreigner...so it’s better to talk to a foreigner so that understand you. Somebody who is not a foreigner will not understand you clearly as the one who is coming from Tanzania as you come to (*pointing to me*)...so I feel like it is a comfortable thing to be together with your people.

There was quite a discussion regarding how “spiritual” and “Christian-like” Swahili was for them. One person spoke of feeling that there was more “power” and “anointing” when she spoke in Swahili, saying that the presence of God was more apparent in her native tongue, Swahili, than in English:

Ellie: And you talk of spirituality, I feel there is more power when I pray in my language....(*others agreeing*)

Nallua: That's right...

Ellie: ... and when I worship in my language...I feel even a...I feel more *anointing* (emphasis hers) (*laughs*) Mungu za shuka zaidi kuliko kwamba na...Kiingereza. (God is down deeper than with...English). That's when I feel that I'm expressing the truth; the inner...

Esther: Umm...

Ellie: ...you know...ndani kabisa kwa Mungu (completely inside God), so, ukiomba Swahili (if you pray in Swahili) in.. in your native language, you...

Esther: Yeah...

Ellie: ...you feel that anointing, that presence of God more than English... though we get used to the English. I...I do pray a lot in English...compared to Swahili, but I get into...you say, you groaning (*everyone laughs*)

Nallua: (*chuckling*) ...you groan in Swahili!

Ellie: Yes! And when I get to the point where I really have to groan and intercede, when I'm talking of intercession where I'm standing on the gap for somebody or for something, I have to go to pande Swahili (the Swahili side) for me to feel, "Ok, God has said it now." (*laughs heartily*) Or He is talking to me face-to-face...now, yeah. (*laughs*)

It is evident that although spiritual matters were considered first when creating this community, language was a large part of the reason for establishing a Swahili fellowship. Pastor Stephen echoes these sentiments, but adds and elaborates on the linguistic connection to the expression of their spirituality:

Pastor Stephen:...we are all Christians, but the expression of our spirituality *here* [emphasis his], of the American and us African, is very different, especially East Africans; we are very expressive, and we have a language that is unique to us and that will bring us together, and we express ourselves just like at home, and you feel at home; and in so doing, the children, those that have got children that were born here, would actually end up because they are singing the praise songs, and the worship songs in Swahili, they would end up learning the language; not because they were taking a class and taught, but they would...basically by immersion, and we have seen that stuff happening. Some of them that came here not speaking Swahili now they start picking some words and saying...saying some Swahili words. My kids now, um...have picked some few Swahili words...when you speak, they understand you, the only thing is that they may have not reached a level whereby they can speak it.

When asked if there was something more “Christian-like” about Swahili, the interview participants gave a definite affirmative response, which segued into a very interesting dialogue regarding language and spirituality:

Pastor Stephen: When...when...when I sing...’*then sings my soul.... my savior God to thee*’...and then I go sing the same song in Swahili, (*singing*) ‘Roho yangu, naimwe imbie...’ it turns me from... you know when I sing it in English, I have to interpretate it to myself. But when I sing it in Swahili, I immerse myself in the meaning, just (*inaudible*). I’m not like trying to look for the words to express myself...I’m just singing it out of my heart and immersing myself in the meaning of that song. And eh...you know, it’s...it’s going to be very hard because... language and cultures go together, and, so it would be very hard for me to...you know, *kupiga kigelele*¹⁰ when I’m singing English songs. Yes, you cannot...there is no way you are going to detach *kigelele* from an African worship. I’m excited...wooooo! (*makes noise*) ..to me, it just comes (*some people are giggling in acknowledgement*), but you can’t do that when you’re doing that in English, so you find that you have to hold back a little bit simply because that this is an English thing. But if it was a Swahili thing...aaaahh. You see, you bust out! You bust out...(*others laughing with him in agreement*).

So, Swahili in church...because it’s a language that I’m not interpreting... I’m not interpreting English, and then I get the meaning, then go back, fighting between (*Dr. George laughs knowingly*), I’m just singing and *swoosh!* (*thrusts hand forward*) No, it gives more meaning...it releases my spirit far easily than if I’m saying something in English. Plus, you know, I’m conscious...am I pronouncing the words well? Or ah...is the guy...if...if...like the guy next, if his pronunciation is different from mine, let alone tunagongana hapa (we are fighting with each other here). Lakini Swahili, bwana, Nipo hivyo (But Swahili, man, I’m right with it). (*Others laugh knowingly*) He’s on the same page.

His wife Beatrice, also a Ugandan, explained further:

Beatrice: I also think that um...having been exposed to Swahili... during my early days of my Christianity, just when I ...when I became a Christian, there are certain languages...certain words that I learned that...that I don’t find in English...I...I have to seek them out; something similar to what he said (*motioning to Pastor Stephen*). But, for example, ‘Ninakusihi Mungu,’ you know, this is like, ‘I *besech* [emphasis hers] you Lord.’ But you know,

¹⁰ Kigelele (singular) and vigelele (plural) are ululation(s) of joy.

when I say ‘Ninakusihi Mungu,’ I know the emotion that goes with ‘Ninakusihi Mungu,’ rather than ‘I beseech you’... you know...it doesn’t come naturally.

Yeah, so I think, there is a way the Swahili adjusts within me and my emotions and everything, so it gives me the ability to express myself fully... than when I’m trying to seek, ok, if...if...if I want to ‘beseech you Lord’— what is the word? You know...it’s not a word that comes so easily.

6.1.4 Choose this Day Whom You Shall Serve: Differences in African and American church congregations and spirituality

There are many differences that this group of East African Christians see between their African churches and the American congregations where they actually worship. Many of these differences lie in culture, and some deal with language. They do not see the caring and communal fellowship in American congregations that East African churches have, so they recreate it for themselves within their East African Christian groups and churches. They are also very frustrated with the American preoccupation with time and money that seems to seep into the church. This quote by Pastor Stephen readily captures the frustrations and challenges the East Africans have with American churches, which he links to language:

Pastor Stephen: The English man and the English language is formal, almost. They may try to be informal, but most of the time, I think it’s formal. And we tend not to be formal because, eh...we want more to connect heart-to-heart, with the Lord helping us, than to gather. We’re not here to...to come together under the roof and get away...we want to know ‘Who is Joseph? (*motioning to Joseph*) What goes on in Joseph’s life?’ What are the struggles that he is going on, so it becomes very informal. That’s why we finish, and we come down here and go for fellowship.

And in Africa, where there is food, formality goes away. In Africa, there is no formality with food. Does that mean that we wait until, uh...until the ladies eat? No, no! If you’re hungry, you say, ‘Mama, bwana sisi hatujali, mimi nashiba kabisa!’ (Mama, we men don’t care—we are completely stuffed!) No no...So, we...we want to be informal so you get your plate, another one gets the other plate, and as you are going into that typical African joke, one cracks open. And he says, ‘I’m going through this...’ which would not happen in a

typical, formal English-type environment, whereby, you know what...
...play your cards very close to your chest...man it...struggle with
it...if you show any weaknesses, you're not man enough, or you're
not this kind enough, but in Africa, the more you share yourself with
other people, the more you're man enough, because you're man enough
will raise up an alarm when...when there is a bigger animal attacking him.

Pastor Stephen: Actually, in African typical conditions, if you ever go
through a situation and you say, 'I'll man it...' basically, you are telling
other people, 'Get out of my life.' That's why, if it's building a house,
you tell people. And they come and help you, you know, kutwanga udongo
na kujenga nyumba (to carry the mud and to build the house). If it's burying
you, the whole village comes to bury the dead. Not two, two, three people
and a hired company...how can a hired company carry the coffin of...
of...(people laugh knowingly)?

So we bring that even in our worship...that we bring the whole community
as it is in Africa. And the way we do it, that we come here and not watch the
clock...but to feel, when the Spirit disperse, we go home. But as long as the
Spirit is still there, and people have things to pray about, like you hear in our
worship, people are free to say, "Can you pray for this for me?" And what
happens in the (*chuckles*) formal fellowship, it can't happen, because if you
raise up your hand, and you ask somebody to pray for you, you are weak.
Maybe you should go see the pastor, or there is a telephone line, they say,
'Call free,' and you call in there, and you are free to give your name or not to
give your name...

And we've seen it happen here, where our American brothers suffer with
spiritual issues that could be solved by one night of fellowship like here,
and it's solved. But because they can't speak about it, it is them. We don't
want to encourage that. Even with the children that have been grown up here,
we want them to know that as an African, you share your heart. If somebody
makes a ministry, I tell them to tell so...somebody says he's lying, that's their
trouble...it's between them and God. But when you come into the sanctuary,
like here, it is now, 'I want to help you, you are my brother. You are going
through...through faith, I'm in pain too.'

When asked what makes their fellowship different than an American English-speaking
church fellowship, members of the Swahili Fellowship said it was "the people themselves."
They create these fellowships to "mimic the reality back home." Dr. George explained it this
way:

Dr. George: Well, what makes it different, one, is the people themselves. Yeah, because the way we...that's the kind of intimacy we're trying to create...to mimic the reality back home. Because sometimes we come to America and we become more Americans than Americans themselves...so we lose it. Okay...so if we really have to be a typical Swahili fellowship, the way we want it... you see, because back home, we care for each other...honestly. You know, back home...it's not an issue of... here it's credit and what is in your pocket, period. Other than that, if you don't have those two, you are on the streets. But back home, no. I mean, homelessness is not...unless you're crazy, there are those guys who sleep on the streets, but if you are...just because you don't have money...no. Even if you have no family, people will be there for you...

Because here, the typical American worship is like, hey, we're starting like this and I'm here for one hour, and if you're late, 'Oh no, I have to go. I've got...' But for us, we want to come worship God and spend time with him because with God, you're not in a hurry with him, you know...and especially when you've got people, you need to bless yourself, being around people, because the key is...this now like we're talking. When you go home, you feel relaxed.

So we want to bring that sense of, just you come and all of the sudden it's over, and you're running away—uh-uh. That's what we mean by the fellowship part. And for us, this is very important because you get time to...to dig out all these...pressure for all the week and all the things we can relax and...so that's it...but that's the real commodity when you come to the typical American worship, because there, everything's time; one to two...by two, I'm out of here. Because people start going out even if it's not two, even if there's food or whatever...they're so much time-conscious. And we tell people, we don't that.

Another member, Joseph, then explained in Swahili about his trials with American churches in the U.S., which then lead into a very interesting discussion of how difficult it is for them to find an American church, of any ethnicity, in which they feel comfortable, but this group seemed to express more problems with the African American churches due to language; while style of worship can be tolerated, language is again at the center of their concerns:

Joseph: Kingine kuongezea katika...kama mimi mfano nilivyokuja hapa Marekani. Walivyokuwa wanaendesha misa kule nyumbani, ilikuwa ni tofauti kabisa na wanavyoendesha hapa. Nimekuja kuanza ku-learn hapa kufatilia hivi hapa wanavyofanya, kule nyumbani kuna choir, huku hamna choir, yaani vitu vingi unavikosa sasa unakuwa

unajaribu kuji-establish huku. Halafu sasa ukitoka hapa unakutana na rafiki yako anakuambia tena unaenda kwa weusi, unakutana tena na watu weusi, ambo wano ya kwao tena tofauti. Kwa hivyo unakuta mtu anaongea kama alivyosema anaongea kabla hajamaliza kulitafsiri lile neno kwa Swahili ina maaana gani lishaingia jingine.

Tunapokaa hapa, sasa tunaweza kubadilika kuchanganya lugha tunaweza kuongea Kiingereza zaidi ya Swahili, na sasa, inakuwa ni confusion kwa sababu ndiyo maana hata nilivyokutana na hivyo wakasema wanaianzisha ikawa yaani kama vile ni nzuri kwa sababu bado tunajaribu ku-keep hiyo culture yetu na ni nzuri kwa sababu kama tukiamua kuongea siri, na kubadilisha tu lugha... no (*laughs*)-- si lazima niongee Kiingereza. Au nitafute maneno la msamiati la Kiingereza ninaweza kubadilisha tu lugha tayari ongee la neno. Kwa hivyo, ndo kitu kimojawapo ambacho kinavutia nani hii misa ya Swahili inakuwa free inakuwa mnaweza kuongea maneno mnayotaka na ulivyosema yanasaidia yaani misa ya kule mtu anaenda kanisani anajua kabisa leo, No, I'm going to the church nitaenjoy huko kuna choir huku nikenda kanisa la wazungu hata wengine wananishangaa, unaandaje kanisa hilo la wazungu?

Kwa hivyo ndo nilivyo ndo tulivyo watu wameshanambia Wamerikani hapa, wanambia, "How you go to that church?" Lakini ndo hivyo sasa wao wanajaribu kunivutia kwenye culture yao lakini bado siyo hata hiyo culture yao, haijafikia ambayo mimi niliyotokea kukulia niko hapa na najua natakiwa ku-adjust najitahidi hizi zilokuwapo hapa kwako...najitahidi kufanya na ile ya nyumbani... naikosa.

Joseph: Another thing to add to that....like me, for example, when I arrived here in the United States...the way they did service back home, it was totally different than the way they do it here. I am beginning to learn the way they do it here...back home there is a choir, here there is no choir, so you miss many of those things now as you are trying to establish yourself here. Then now if you come from here you meet your friend and he is telling you again you go to a black church, you go there and again it's different. So you find someone speaking like the way he said, he speaks before he has not finished translating this word in Swahili and it has a different meaning now.

*When we live here, we can change and mix the language; we can speak English more than Swahili, and now it's confusion because the real meaning even the way I found and this way they say they begin it, so it happened, that is to say like that is good because later we try to keep our culture and it's good because like if we decide to tell a secret, and to change the language...no (*laughs*)—it's not necessary I speak English.*

Or if I go to look up the words in English vocabulary I can change only the language already I say the word.

So, one of the things that attracts someone to this Swahili service is that you're free, and you can say the words the way you want, and like you said, these words help the service there; a person goes to church knowing definitely today, 'No, I'm going to the church, I will enjoy it, and there's a choir.' Here if I go to a white church even some are surprised at me, 'How do you go to that white church?' So, some Americans here ask me, 'How you go to that church?' I am here and I know that I will need to adjust. I do my best with these things here in your country...I do my best to do those things we do back home...I miss it.

This led into a long discussion of the frustrations and differences they see between the African and American churches. The things they find offensive are individualism, time-consciousness, political correctness, smoking, alcohol consumption, and provocative dress. They are also opposed to not calling what they consider sin for what it is, not making church members adhere to biblical standards, and the lack of boldness or courage of pastors to actually preach what the Bible says; they believe that money is at the root of these spiritual problems in the church. Mary, a woman who attended the Swahili fellowship from time to time, put it this way:

Mary: Hebu napenda kuongelea kitu kidogo tu. Manaake megusa si nyingi Sana, kwa habari ya kusifu na kuabudu...Kama vile mwili, unahitaji lishe ili uweze kuwa na kinga nzuri, vilevile hata roho pia inahitaji Neno. Ili uwe kiroho, lazima upata kile chakula kinochostahili roho yako, uweze kukua inavyotakiwa. Hasa nimejaribu kutembea kushop kama alivyosema katika makanisa mbalimbali hapa Marekani, nimekuta kweli ya Mungu haihubiriwi. Kwa nini nasema kweli ya Mungu haihubiriwi? Wachungaji wengi hawatimizi ya Mungu. Wengi mahubiri yao yana-base katika sadaka, lakini hawangalii kitu kinachoitwa utakatifu.

Na nikagundua kitu kimoja ya kwamba, inakuwa kama dhambi inanochewa Katika kanisa. Hawana ule muda wa kukemea dhambi kwa ajili ya woga kupoteza waumini wao. Lakini, tuangalia kwamba mbinguni kinachoingia, ni kileni ambacho kitakatifu. Sasa, kama unaandaa kundi ili uweze kufika mbinguni lazima uliandae katika njia ufanya nini kinatakiwa. Hasa kwamba ibada ya Swahili, inaweza ikawa na wimbo kwa sababu mbalimbali kutoka

nyumbani ambayo unainjia kweli wao watalipe angalau watalishe ili roho yangu na nafsi yangu harezekatubika kule njia inotakia.

Mary: So I just want to talk about only one thing. The issues of praise and worship are not dealt with very much. Just as you need to feed your own body good things, likewise your spirit needs to be fed with the Word. In order to be spiritual, you must get that food which your spirit needs and desires. I have tried especially to go and shop around like he said, visiting various churches here in America, and I find really that God's Word is not preached. Why do I say that really God Word is not preached? Many pastors are focused on the offerings and contributions, and they don't see this mission to which they are called as holy.

And one thing I found was that sin is being accepted and encouraged in the church. There is no time that sin is rebuked due to their fear of losing parishioners. But, if we look at who will enter into Heaven, it will be those who are holy. So if you're going to prepare your flock (church) so that they can get to Heaven, you must prepare them the way they should go. And that's what this Swahili fellowship is trying to do because you have various people coming from home (East Africa) and they are looking for a true place to worship; at least their souls will be fed and they will be directed in the way they should go.

Pastor Stephen readily agreed and added:

Pastor Stephen: ...your someone doesn't have to be politically right in Africa. We separate the someone from politics...from social norms...uh-uh. In Africa, it is the Bible, the Bible says...it's not, 'We have to accommodate'—no, we don't accommodate. We only accommodate what the Bible says we should accommodate. But *here*, somebody will not be free...the preacher will not be free to stand in the pulpit and speak about a vice that is in the congregation that is very much aware is there. You know, you cannot put a smoking point on the church—for who? Yet here, you find they say, ah, they say ah... 'No smoking,' or whatever, but they have a point somewhere there for smokers. And you find places where they go to smoke, then they come in; they go to smoke, then they come in.

Pastor Stephen: You know, you cannot come to church back home with your back (*claps*) even some or whatever whatever...you can't come with your back open, or the skirt up to this way (*motions up thigh*). The preacher would say, "You know what? Don't sit this one here—sit this one at the back... And that's clear. There is a dressing code, kwa kina dada au kina wavulana (for each girl and each boy)...everybody knows how to do things. It's not because we are, you know, undermine —no—but when we come to fellowship, we come to fellowship. We don't want anybody to pick something else that

would take them from the focus...focusing on the Father. So you find somebody coming to preach, and instead of calling the spade a spade, *amsaidia mutu* (he helps someone) to get out of the trouble.

He then goes on to contrast what he gets spiritually from the Swahili fellowship:

Pastor Stephen: But when you come here, and the preacher says it the way you know it, you say, 'Ok, at least I can fit in this hole until I go again next month.' And that dose keeps you going...that dose keeps you going. And to me, that's why I grow. In the church where I...I don't take notes. I don't write notes because basically, the thing is shallow. The thing is shallow because you have to keep it to a level whereby everybody is inclusive. You don't dare isolate somebody. How can a pastor prepare a message that is multicultural, multi-this, multi-that, multi-everything—no. The Bible is the Word of God...*Litumia kama alivo...lakini* (You use it like a medicine...but) they don't dare do that. So when I come here and somebody is preaching, then I start noting those things because they are going to help me. And above that now at the end of the service, there's a memory verse for me; there's a memory verse for me.

Another sore point for members of the Swahili Fellowship is American pastors' seeming lack of caring for their parishioners in addition to non-adherence to biblical principles:

Dr. George: And the other thing is also is that here we have a lot of pastors who are what you call 'harried'...who look at the whole pastoring office as an occupation. But for anybody to be effective in the church, it must be a calling. If you're just there for paycheck, then that paycheck will swing...I mean, I was just telling that because each time...because in any church you go, especially if you're *harried*, there will always be those guys who really control the church like this (*motions tightening fist*)...so as you get in, you have so much room to negotiate with those guys. They say, "You can't do that...you can't do that." No...even what to preach, what to expose...because how can you ever dare?! You are the senior pastor, you've got people in your church who are sinning together, not married—you know that's fornication. But you can't even condemn them...you can't even be bold enough to say...Pastor Stephen: ...to speak about it....

Dr. George: ...but most people they are not preaching against sin. Because the problem when you are preaching against sin, it's not only because of the watch part they live like they said, but also there are some people there who don't want that, and soon you may lose your job. So for most people, their paycheck is more important than anything else. So they're harried, but they don't need to report to God, they report to their paycheck.

Pastor Stephen then made the point that science has overtaken the American church, and instead of relying on Bible knowledge and faith, the church “sensitizes things” and “analyzes things” through the scientific method; there is very little faith involved. He cited the reasons he believes that Americans are losing faith. Through the members and leaders of this fellowship and the prayer clinic they have established, they are trying to get Americans to see how Africans are living the Christian life through true faith:

Pastor Stephen: There is something in the American church whereby science has overtaken faith. I’m a student of science...I’m a science educator...and I love science, but science can never replace my faith. So when you say something, and it’s in the Bible, and somebody has to go and bring in the philosophy and bring in the psychology of it, to dissect it, and then process it, and then look for evidence before you go believe it, that is now becoming very common in the American church (*long pause*). Yet where we’re coming from, it is faith...

So we want our fellowship to bring back the American church to the roots of faith...the Bible kind of faith. Whereby if you have cancer, before you count how many days left, you can go before the Lord and say, “I have known you as a healer before, and I know you can heal me of this disease. When they say you don’t have a job, before you go and drink your poison saying this is the end of my life, I don’t want to suffer, you can go into the Word and find out there was somebody who ever lost everything and yet God turned that story around. God is a God of testimonies, and instead, you could look around and go back and say, ‘God is there, and He is taking interest in my life.’

Pastor Stephen explained that the way this Swahili fellowship was trying to “bring back the American church to the roots of faith” was through their newly established “prayer clinic” located in the downtown area of their city. They were also encouraging Americans to visit Africa and see not only how Africans lived, but also how they practiced the Christian faith.

Pastor Stephen: Kwa hiyo (therefore), we are trying to help them, and at the same, they go to the Bible, the God of the Bible, who cares not what you put on...in what oil you...how you put gel in your hair or not, what you want is a heart that is contrite. Americans are

fighting to make their hearts contrite because it's filled with human wisdom and physical material things.

6.1.5 Babel and its Discontents: The World vs. American English

Ephraim Nallua, the organizer for the 2008 TITUS Conference, explained that lack of ability to communicate in American English was a major frustration for African immigrants. Most African immigrants are familiar with British English, and the American English lexicon and intonation are difficult for them to master, initially. Many were leaders in their churches in Africa, but when they came to the United States, they could not express themselves “perfectly” in English, and they lost their ability to serve in church leadership or participate in various church functions. Many Americans associate this lack of linguistic ability with ignorance. For most immigrants, English is a second language, but for those from Africa, it may be a third or fourth language. He explained that immigrants feel intimidated when they cannot express their thoughts, and so this impedes their serving in ministry. In order to continue to carry out what they feel to be their spiritual goals, they organize with those who speak their language so they can continue serving in the ministry.

Nallua: There's one more thing which comes to my mind, especially for Christians we interact with around the country. They have been leaders where they come from. There is very minimum opportunities... I don't know, I'm not speaking for everybody, but the American, typical American church, when somebody cannot express themselves perfectly in English, they associate that with ignorance. They fail to know that, for these people, English is their third language, or second language, and I'll say for Tanzanians, you...you've been there, you've seen that English was not really emphasized since when we got our independence. So...[Tanzanian] kids go on, you know, study whatever they studied in Swahili, and for the first time they're exposed to English when they are in the secondary school. Now, people feel very intimidated if they cannot really communicate their thoughts, and when they go to church, they cannot serve because they cannot communicate, so...ministry-wise they feel *rusting* [emphasis his] when they attend American churches, because they don't have opportunity to serve.

And I know many, many ministers, once they got to the U.S., they could no longer continue to serve, and they were very active ministers back at home. So, how do they actualize that, and continue to serve the Lord? They have to, you know, bring together people who can understand the language...you know, so that is a *major* thing [emphasis his], I would say (inaudible) people maybe to serve the kids, but they cannot communicate...the English that the kids can understand...

Neema: Right....

Nallua: ...or there are people who are intercessors, and they cannot go together the group because of the stereotyping or because of what is going on.

6.1.6 In Spirit and In Truth: Freedom of expression in worship

For members of the Swahili Fellowship at St. Mark's Lutheran Church, once they find a church that "fits," it may not be what they truly want, and they believe that they lose their freedom of expression. When they are not free to express themselves, they feel that they are losing their entire freedom, which I interpret to be a part of themselves, their identity. Anna, Dr. George's wife, explained it this way.

Anna: Na mara nyingi nakuta kwamba (And many times I find that)... kama hii a ku kuenda kanisa (like this going to church), kwa nini tunaishia kwa kanisa ya watu waupe (why do we end up going to a white church), instead kuenda watu weusi (going to a black church), au kuangalia (or looking) for instance, our churches back home the way we praise the Lord when we come here..ah, the black American churches, they are kind of different *more* compared to the white American system churches. So we end up, we're shopping around, (*people laugh knowingly*) and then you find one church, 'Oh, this one is close to what I was doing at home' ..ok.. Now when you enter inside, you find yourself maybe you're the only black in that church. But all you care is that's what I used to praise at home, it's close, if it is not very exact, but close to what I was doing home, and you end up going to that church, regardless whether you're the only one black, or whatever it is.

Now...circumstances attracts surroundings. Now, you are in *that* church [emphasis hers], and so you have to start adjusting yourself to their surroundings, how they're like, and it's kind of a little bit you have to lose your freedom...because you have to adjust according to the many people that you find already existing there...I'll give

you and...

Neema: Freedom of expression...

Anna: ...yes...expression and everything. Now I'll give you an example. When we came ourselves, at this church for instance, we were the only black before the other family joined us, and so I used to wear African every time. And then slowly, digestion started... and slowly...and then more added...then slowly...eventually, I have to count maybe once a month I wear once, but before it used to be often. Those are surroundings, you know?

Anna: And then, comfortability...I mean, I'll tell you, my husband loves to cheer up. There's this one song...(*others knowingly laugh*) when he sings in the church, he will let it go (*she does kigelegele*). Now, look around....how many people are going to turn their heads to look at me (*everyone laughs*). It's almost the whole church...It's like, 'Oh, who is that? Those are *they*.' [emphasis hers] But you don't feel comfortable I'm always next to him, and so I'm like, 'Oh my God....'

And then one lady one time, it was like, 'Oh, next time you want to do that, let me know please so that I can close my ears.' (*everyone laughs*) But that's a good friend of ours with whom we always talk and he was teasing him, but the things is that...myself, I would love to do that, every time when we do Swahili, I do every time. But when we're at our normal church, I don't do that. But my husband does that because they know him already. For me, I just contain. I feel the excitement, I wish I could do it right now, and this is the right place to start it, but now you just contain it because of the surroundings, you know?

Anna seems to lose her freedom of expression, and ultimately, this contributes to the erosion of her identity; however, her husband freely and intentionally displays his unique African way of worship in this American church because he is trying to show them to worship in "spirit and truth," and this freedom includes his unique religious cultural expression.

6.1.7 The Ties that Bind...And Those That Don't: Relations with African Americans

There were several instances during the St. Mark's focus group that parishioners expressed frustration in their relationships with African Americans. After Anna had expressed that attending an African American church was more different than attending a white church, I probed further. The following were the primary frustrations expressed.

6.1.7.1 Language

One concern was with the fact that African American speech patterns are very difficult for these East African immigrants to understand; they said that it hampers their comprehension, so they prefer speaking and listening to white Americans. They view African American speech as sub-standard, quite similarly to how most of American society views it:

Dr. George: The other...the other thing also, if you're in the U.S., it depend what kind of environment you're in. For example, say, if you go to African American church, whereby even the English, the way they pronounce...it's kind of involve.. it get a lot of slang in it, to the point where you have to work so hard just to hear...and there are times even when someone can talk to you, you don't get a damn thing out of it (*others laughing*).

This preceded a long discussion regarding the differences between white American and black American churches; primarily, they preferred white churches, due to the white missionary influence in their home countries, and they were more accustomed to white American or British English. Anna had mentioned how differently she perceived African American church services, so I asked her to elaborate further. Her elaborations included linguistic considerations, but this question also led to a long discussion about relationships between Africans and African Americans:

Anna: (*long pause*) Um...We went to the few [African American churches]...we didn't go very much, but the way they do their services, it's a bit different. I would say maybe because most of our churches back home, they were introduced by missionaries...and missionaries, most of them who came, say, to Africa are white people. And so they embedded their type of traditions or system or style, kind of they took that style of the white American that they do into our African churches. So, even if we added some things here and there, here and there, but systematically, the style it goes that way more, it depends on the person where they came from, but most of the people who came the beginners of the churches back home are the white people. So that's why the style here of black American, I think even yourself, if you go to African American, if you go to the, uh, what now...white American? (*hesitant*) (*People laugh knowingly*) so I don't say something wrong...
Neema: Hamna shida, hamna shida...(no problem, no problem)

Anna: Yes...so, um...you find yourself...like, when you go there, the style is kind of different. And...um...that's the same thing when for us...I would say.

For Sis. Dora, language *is* the stumbling block:

Sis. Dora: For me, in addition to that, I think there comes back the language factor. Really, if I compare a white and an African American, if they speak, or if they...even I'm watching a movie, there's a very big difference in my understanding. I tend to understand white Americans better than the African Americans. But for me, I would be very easy for me to go to ah, white rather than a black American church for that reason.

6.1.7.2 Relationships/Misunderstandings

The parishioners went into a long discussion regarding their frustrations with African Americans which included being accepted, misunderstandings between both groups, language, and frustrations *for* black Americans, primarily due to what Dr. George perceives as a lack of motivation for taking advantage of educational opportunities:

Dr. George: Because back home, when I see this color (*hits to back of hand*), it's my brother, it's my sister. But when I came to U.S., when I landed at (city), that's where I came first...then I met a lot of...I was so excited! And then I'd see their poked smile, with their eyes up, and I'd say, 'Oh yeah!' But then you meet the same guy who was smiling at you today, tomorrow it's like you never met before. (*others mm-hmm in agreement*) Everyone, what's going on? (*people laughing knowingly*) No, no... honestly, I struggled with that *big time* [emphasis his] and there's a time when my brother Dr. Mjumbe just invited us to a conference, and we were just wondering...and it just happened...there was one professor... actually it was a lady. And we were actually discussing that and she was really kind enough to tell me why...because this other thing, I don't know why...It's so easy for an African to make friendship with a white, than an African American.

Another member: Mmm-hmm (*in agreement*)

Dr. George: ...I'm a guy who looks for people...but I had to come to a point which I had to slow down...because you try...you try and get frustrated, you try get frustrated. You try to share something, but it just (*whoosh sound*). And then there is, of course, the fact that, you know, people from here, they don't even embrace us ...because a guy like me—I'm always majority, I'm not minority. That's who I am from Tanzania, so I can confront anybody. I don't care if you have money, if you got degrees, you got whatever...

That inferiority complex is not in me *at all* [emphasis his]...but a lot of people here, they still have that...I don't know why.

So the key is now they look at this guy who came here, they grab everything from us because when people from Africa when they come to school here for those who don't mess up, they do study hard, they do well, they get nice jobs, and that creates that atmosphere of people hating us, because first of all, we come and take their positions, which they didn't want that position anyway because nobody, really... you know... And secondly, some people they look at the slavery which put into the position where they are...so by the time the servanthood was on, neither me or I don't know who in my rank down there...but still they look at it as one part of the servanthood, so they grin, grin or whatever, so now all the calamity on them is because of me (*others laugh knowingly*). So when they look at me, they say, 'Oh...this is the guy... get out of here.' So, this kind of stuff.

Then I...I...so I start digging into it, because I've been to South Central Los Angeles, I've been to Cleveland, Southside Chicago, in so many different areas just to...to...talk. Even here in (city)... the same struggle, but like I do now mentoring of African American high school students in (city), so I'm around so many from this environment and I see this trouble but...the self-esteem is too...is too low and I say, 'You're in America...' I mean, why...this is the only country in the world with all kinds of resources, man. There's no single country...you travel West Europe, you name it, there is no single country on earth which got the opportunity like here in America. But the problem here is that people don't take advantage of that. And of course there's struggles—fine, but some people don't raise to the occasion to take full advantage. School is there...high school...all the way to college, but... anyway, those are the issues.

Joseph then explained a rather interesting incident he had with black coworkers at his place of employment:

Joseph: Halafu kuse kuongezea kwa pointi huyu, sijajua swali vizuri kuongezea pointi ya huyu. Hawa African American walioko hapa, yaani ukijaribu ku-associated now, ukijaribu hata kuwa nao, wao ndo wao wanaku-push away siyo kwamba sisi ni who push away, lakini wao ndiyo wanaku-push away.

Others: Mmmm...

Anna: Lugha na ongea...

Joseph: Wao ndiyo wanaku-push away. Anyway, wanatabia kwamba, kitu nenda kazini, naweza nikakabeba lunchi. Kichwa cha samaki—sawa—

kichwa kichwa cha samaki nikikiweka hapa. Mzungu hutamuona hata mara moja na anakuja anashangaa atakuuliza, “What is that?”-- that’s it. Black American atakuja atakuangalia atasema, “Ewww. What the hell is that?” Na anaongea (*Everyone laughs*)...chakula cha mtu unakidharau samaki...Yaani mtu akikupikia samaki, ni chakula muhimu sana, umeona? Sasa, wewe ukiniambia “Ewww.” Kuangalia na wewe unachokula, mimi kwangu ninakiweka chini zaidi sana sitaki kuonyesha hiyo side part ilivyo. Siku nyingine unakuwa na hasira mtu unamwonyesha? Mimi siyo tatizo langu, ni tatizo la kwako, hiyo ndiyo culture nyingine, natafuta kwa ongea. Kwa hiyo unajikuta unabakia kusema kwamba nikibishana na mjinga...unaonekana mjinga, lakini unapoteza muda wangu kwa hiyo hunyamaza unazidi kujiongezea ile negative. Siku nyingine nitakuona tu napita tu, naenda zangu. Sasa wazungu, hawana (*facial expression*) ficha wao. Hata kama hawana ficha wao, kuonyeshea hawawezi kuja kushangaa ya chakula. Sasa hizo tabia huko mtaani zipo—haina hassle.

Joseph: So, just to add on to your point, I really don’t know the question you’re asking well, but these African Americans that live here, if you try and associate with them, if you even try with them, they are the ones that try and push you away, we are not the ones who push away, they are the ones that push away.

Others: Mmmmm...

Anna: Their speech....

Joseph: They are the ones that really push you away. Anyway, they behave like...well, at work. I was taking my lunch to work...fish heads...ok. So I put the fish head here (places hands on table). A white person sees it just once, he comes over, he’s surprised, and he’ll ask, ‘What is that?’—that’s it. A black American will come and look at me and say, ‘Ewww. What the hell is that?’ (Joseph does this imitating the black person, gestures and intonation). And he talks about a person’s food he despises –fish. And if a person has cooked fish it’s special food, you see? And now you’re telling me, ‘Ewww’? So he’s looking at what you’re eating...for me, I just put it down lower because I didn’t want anyone else to see it. Another day you have anger toward that person who talked about you—but it’s not my problem, it’s your problem, and I’m not going to argue with this clown. If I see you another day, I’m just going to pass and go my way. Now white people have no facial expressions. So if they have no expression, they cannot come and be surprised at the food. So, this is the way they [white people] act—there’s no hassle.

Dr. George then expressed his own frustration with African Americans:

Dr. George: And to add on that, the beauty with white people, they don’t um...seek to connect with anybody...I mean even if you want

to invade their space, they don't even bring in and accept you outright, they tend to monitor, to know you better who you are, but once they accept you into their space, you really feel you're welcome, (*others signify in agreement*) you know, which is a difference there. So there's no second guessing, unless you do something stupid. But, eh... with my brothers here, it's so tough to get in, because they're all closed like that, I mean, you have no way to penetrate...even if it means to helping somebody. I mean, for example, there are cases whereby you are trying to appeal to somebody ...it is his problem. Like, for example, we provide scholarships, and we wanted to encourage them, and I'm here, "This is my card, *call me* [emphasis his] so I can help you." But...they don't, and you wonder, "What's going on?" You know you're here to help. Somebody's in trouble—he doesn't know calculus. And it's ok, I can help you to...go to college. It's...it's...it's really terrible...yeah. So the key is simply, for me, it's really a struggle. I haven't given up at all. I mean...especially I hate when I hear on Detroit, one out of four graduate high school. I mean, I cry out. With all these resources, and...oh my goodness...So you see there, it's struggle... we really still struggle with...but...I don't know...I have no answer there.

6.1.8 *A Rock in a Weary Land; A Beacon on a Hill: The Impact of Swahili Christian fellowships*

Participants in both focus groups see their Christian fellowships and churches having an impact not only in the East African immigrant community, but also upon American society. With regard to African immigrants, the members of TITUS said that they had seen a lot lives changed because they reached out to African immigrants and gave them moral and physical support. They said that many come to this country and feel alone and isolated, but once they know there is a Christian brother or sister from their own country or culture, these respondents suggest that they feel safer and more secure. Nallua lamented that Americans simply do not understand the challenges that immigrants face:

Nallua: I would say...I'll start first by saying that um...we have seen many lives that were at the verge of um...being disappointed, discouraged, you know, even committing suicide. Once they know that there is people like them...who have gone through the pain that they are going through. You know, for here if I tell you that I don't have a social security number, you might not really know what I mean, but if I tell a Kenyan or a Tanzanian, they know exactly what I mean. I mean, I don't have a job, I cannot have a job, I cannot go to school,

I have to...you know, it means *A LOT* [emphasis his]. But to somebody else, they'll say, 'Just give me a... You can go find another...' WHAT? What do you mean that I can go and get a number? They don't know what that means.

So on impact, I've seen a very big impact...once we go to people who have just come here and they think they're alone in the whole state. And we reach out and we tell them, "You are not on your own. You've got a lot of brothers and sisters surrounding you. Just go to that certain brother." And then they find there's a fellowship or there is a group, and they get connected and they feel very safe. It's like a fish in a small pond, and you drop that fish in a place, you know, where there are other fish...and they feel that now I am at home.

And the moment I realized that there are other Christians around me, Tanzanians or Kenyans or East Africans, I felt very comfortable. Just knowing that at midnight, I can just take up the phone, and I pray with somebody over the phone; or I tell them whatever... I know that in the United States that when it is past 9, you cannot call somebody's home...but we used these days, we call each other at midnight—past midnight! Early in the morning...I sleep with my cell phone because I know somebody can call; my number is on the website...because sometimes people land from Tanzania they don't know where to go, they just know the website, xxxx.com...but they call us.... midnight, and they say, 'Are you there?' And I say, 'Yes!' and we start encouraging them. So the impact has been enormous.

Swahili is also an evangelistic tool within the East African community for those who are not Christian, and especially for those who are Christians, but have come to America and become discouraged. With the arrival of several ministers from East Africa who speak Swahili, these newcomers can come and worship in their own language and become encouraged, not only in their spiritual lives, but their personal lives as well:

Pastor Ellie:... but then once they come to church...they speak Swahili, they're willing to go there and read for themselves ..and get back to Christ and get encouraged to continue to serve God...yes. And some ministers have come to America, who will be preaching in Swahili and English, we have been to invite them to our churches and be able to be used by God in church because life in this country using the Swahili language...the church for life in this country.

Lucas: And people get to understand the Gospel better because they hear it in their own language. That helps a lot.

In addition to helping other African immigrants, the TITUS focus group participants said that East African Christians can have a positive impact on American society by sharing how to be united and to care for one another. Esther, from Kenya explained:

Esther: I've been thinking...recently I've been thinking more about the impact that our group can have on this society... because I feel that we have something that we don't pass by anywhere in this country. And I've been thinking that eventually, God will help us to be able to go out to Americans, and minister to them...and show us...and kind of share what we have...because we have something that I know that I did not get in American society...part of it being that unitedness... caring about each other. You know, I'm hoping that at one time we will be the people to go up there and be the missionaries... Yeah, I'm really feeling that....

Nallua: ...and...and teach people that "true love," and not plastic smiles....

Esther: Oh yes.....

Nallua:that "customer service" type of, you know. Somebody they go to Wal-Mart, they smile, and you buy...but once you finished buying, you come back, 'No, I think I got a wrong thing...', and the face changes (*laughs*) (*imitating clerk*) 'Didn't you read the policies?!' (*laughs harder*) You know, that's what really fascinates us is...you know, there is that outside expression which is not real deep from the heart, and that is really missing even in a Christian aspect too.

Language also plays a part in encouraging and forming solidarity with other African immigrants.

Ellie explained:

Pastor Ellie: And not only talking about Tanzania and Kenya, we find that even in uniting ourselves with Congo, Rwanda, Burundi, Kenya, Uganda—simply because...even though somebody from Congo does not speak fluent Swahili, but there are...he can throw three, four words in Swahili, we get to get close, even in the workplaces, whereby you find "Oh, you are my brother, you're my sister...so, those kind of things, the language...if they didn't find anybody to encourage them, they'd sleep.

For the members of the Swahili Fellowship of St. Mark's, the primary impact they would like to see is individual spiritual renewal and church revival take place in their community. Their

Swahili worship service allows people to freely express themselves and allow the Holy Spirit to move within them to heal people and their communities. It is also an avenue where they can counsel other African immigrants with the challenge of adjusting to life in America. This harkens back to “bearing one another’s burdens,” which is so common in their communal culture. They believe it is an avenue for “true worship” in America, where they believe this is lacking. Rev. Wilbert, who is from Uganda, explained:

Rev. Wilbert: Well, I think we want to see...um...we want to see individual renewal...church revival take place, and of course, this is through the emphasis on the Holy Spirit movement wherefore this worship here, this Swahili worship, allows for free expression which is based on Scripture which says where the Holy Spirit is there is freedom, there is liberty.

And I believe the African, you know, spirituality embraces the Holy Spirit whereby as you worship, as you express yourself in the music, the songs that are sung, you are free to express yourself. That’s why the *bigelegele* [vigelegele] thing comes in freely, you know? Because you are free, and you are not bothered about who is around you, who is watching you. You are concerned with your expression to your God, you know? So we want to see that happen. I think already we have noticed that. There is already what we call the “prayer clinic,” which was started last week.

The “prayer clinic,” which opened in July 2008, is a place where the members of the St. Mark’s fellowship (and anyone else who cares to join them) can pray for the local community and its leaders, and the spiritual awakening of all American churches all over the country.

Dr. George explained:

Dr. George: And it’s open to people to come and be prayed for, be ministered to, and others who would like us to pray for such people are welcome from different churches. It is interdenominational. It’s for all, you know, Christian people, those who are Christ’s followers, and uh... they are willing to see God release His power into people, healing people, setting people free, and you know, helping people to overcome, some of their, say things like, uh, addictions...for example, alcohol abuse, pornography as Stephen has been saying...you know, having breakthrough with those things. We want to see those things.

So we believe this worship service, this fellowship, it's targeting that kind of impact, and it can also be a way of reaching out to our brothers and sisters from Africa...counseling...and offering counseling services to them and encouraging people and, you know, seeking to cry with them when they are in problem, and um, listening to their stories... So second, I mean, allowing them to be open so that we can...we can bear the burden they are carrying.

One impact the St. Mark's fellowship would like to see is a lasting spiritual one in their communities and countries back home. They would like to share and recreate the spiritual gains they have obtained here in the United States. Priscilla described the impact she would like to see in her home country, Tanzania:

Priscilla: The impact I was looking to see is ah, we take back what we've earned *here*, from education, from the purpose of coming to United States, from knowing the culture here. So, what I was ah...there were, of course, things that you will take and things that we wanted, but would like to see us knowing and having the knowledge that we know right now, and all that, you know, the good and bad take that back home, and you know, teach that and maybe have a fellowship like helping people back home. You know, in so many ways, being spiritually, but at the same time, helping materially, you know, there we can, so I'm looking forward to seeing this ministry being manifested and grow to a point that, you know, it's known back home that we are giving back now...that from everything that we know here, we're taking back either books or pencils to schools and education to our kids and our grandkids, and knowing that America exists, and it is a land of a dream, or you know, and take it there and maybe bring America to Tanzania in a way...in a spiritual way.

For Sis. Beatrice, the impact she would like to see is within her own family—for her children to identify with the African community and not lose that identity; for her, the fellowship creates a feeling of “home” and helps her not feel like a stranger in a foreign land, making her feel a sense of belonging. She also mentions freedom to speak and behave freely in worship, and have others able to behave the same way:

Beatrice: I think one of the things I really desire is to have my children to identify with the African community. We go to a white church...I think that's a wrong term, but we go to a church where it's mostly white people...

Dr. George: (*laughs*) Now we're getting politically correct...

Beatrice: ...there are only about three couples...and sometimes it feels like they get lost, and want to become like the white people, speak like the white people, behave like the white children...but when they come in here, in our fellowship, I want them to know this is how a child in the African community behaves; this is how you speak to an adult, this is how you stand before an adult, and so I don't want them to lose that identity, and I see this...this is the place where they will be able to enrich that identity...first of all because they are exposed to the Africans, and then they are able to interact with the Africans.

Sis. Dora then made a very interesting point in that she would like to see more of a linguistic impact *within* the Swahili fellowship; she said that through this service, she and the congregation hope that the children, along with "non-typical Swahili speakers," will learn the language completely so that (she believes) everyone would be "more comfortable to express themselves," instead of "accommodating" others by using English:

Sis. Dora: I think to add that, that the same kids and the other non-typical Swahili-speakers that are trying to learn Swahili through the service, we are hoping that we would like to see them at some point being able to speak Swahili completely, so that when maybe there is something...because I know that there are some people graduating, for instance, and they want some preacher to come and preach at their graduation, they tend to say, 'Oh, we asked Pastor Stephen to come and preach,' but to come and preach,' but let's say, Rev. Wilbert is there but because he doesn't speak completely Swahili, people feel like, 'Oh, maybe we don't want mix English here.' So that's something that otherwise it wouldn't be that way.

So if we get them to speak complete Swahili...and again, I say that it's still different, the fact that we are Africans, even if we mix English in our service, it's still is different than going to an African church, but if it was more Swahili, I believe we would be more comfortable to express ourselves. Sometimes we want to say something, but when you think about English...the fact that maybe he's preaching and he's using English to accommodate other people just for that purpose, maybe I just won't say it, or something like that. So more of the Swahili learners, if they get at some point...get to know more of the Swahili, that would be helpful. We are looking forward to that.

What is so interesting about these comments regarding the differences between African and American churches/faith, is that while they find so much that is wrong and needs to be changed, they actually found a spiritual intimacy and spiritual maturity here in America. Priscilla said this about how her faith was strengthened here in the U.S.:

Priscilla: And, there are good things that are here that are not back Home...spiritually, you know, would be the first thing, and God... knowing God the way we know...and I'm now gonna say that all of us who come from home knew God, or knew much of God and His work until we got here. Of course, just speaking for myself, yes, I was saved and I became born-again back home, but my knowledge of God *here*, [emphasis hers] it was manifested here in a Christian, American church.

Dr. George then added that, although he was a minister's son, and he grew up in a Christian household, he too did not grow in his faith until he came to America:

Dr. George:...for example in my case, ok...I mean all of us have gained more insight here about God here in America, even myself, I'd say I come to America to meet God. Ok, my father was a pastor, a Baptist pastor, ok so I lived in a Christian family, go to church, and the guy exposed me to all kinds of extremes...these crusades...every November...I mean, huge...so you see with your own eyes... people start speaking tongues, and people being healed, people with demons kind of falling off and being assisted, you see on those, but for some reason, it doesn't connect with your soul, you don't even get pumped up.

And also we have seen, the time you are sick and you go to a witchdoctor, they use this Koran, and you see all kind of stuff...people taking some demons using a different...so you see all those extremes, and you say, "What's going on here?" And...but when I came here, that's when finally I just get like a spark—pop! And even now...you're a Christian, fine. But I'm talking about that next level, that intimacy with Jesus whereby you can say, 'Yeah, this is my body.' You know, He is right here with me. That's the thing which even myself...it was 1996 when I really met God really. And from there, you know, commit to learn and read the Bible daily, and this kind of stuff.

So that's the kind of a thing...so now once you get into this, you find one other thing which will be crucial for all of us and to encourage that. You say, 'You know what? Look at how God is using you...but look back home. It is not economically stable like here. So how about planting

a church in a village where you're from? Helping them, you know...I mean give sacrificial...I mean like send \$100 a month. If God can allow, how about starting a church home, sending some money to start, planting churches back home. I say, 'God, I thank you so much. You really blessed me, and also I want to plant something for you. And only you be glorified. I don't want them to say, 'Oh, it was Dr. Mwanamini, or it was Pastor Stephen...' Stop! Don't say that! Just look at the sky and praise Him, not me. I'm just a humble vessel being used. Those kind of stuff, whereby anything we do, we just cut off our names... anywhere.

6.2 Summary of Focus Groups

The African transnationals who participated in the focus groups said they create Swahili fellowships because, as Christian immigrants, they do not get what they need from their local churches due to cultural differences. The main element they miss is the culturally relevant fellowship they experience back home. Perhaps much of the discontent they express stems from the fact that they are from communal cultures, while American culture is very individualistic, and this alienates and discourages this population. They are also perplexed because, as Christians, they find that Christian spiritual practices in the United States are often very different than those in Africa; however, even within American culture, Americans themselves complain of the same lack of spiritual values that East Africans see in American society, and Americans often suffer for it. The difference seems to be that this immigrant population wants to make a change for themselves via Swahili worship groups, and for their concept of Christianity, through ministerial outreach to Americans. Sharing one another's burdens and caring for one another are things that this immigrant group misses in American society, even within their own American Christian churches. This apparent lack of caring within American church congregations is yet another reason this population creates Swahili fellowships, and it is one aspect of their religious culture they would like to foster within American churches through African missionary activity. One aspect of the "American personality" that also disturbs East Africans is the dichotomy

between the expression Americans have on their faces versus what is really in their hearts, and this is perceived as deceptive.

There is a strong link for this population between language, culture and spirituality. They associate the presence and anointing of God with their native languages because they can better understand what they are saying to God and can be assured that God hears them. They also associate knowing a person intimately with language, as seen in Pastor Ellie's comments. When another person speaks their language, they believe "they know who I am." It is interesting how Mama Upendo said she had her "own stuff to tell," but it had to be in *her* language and with a person she knew; even in spiritual matters, she said she would find a "good Christian of [her] own, from [her] country" because the U.S. is a "strange country." She seems more comfortable expressing the most personal issues, including spiritual ones, with her own people, which echoes what Anna expressed in the Michigan focus group.

This population has positive feelings toward their indigenous languages, specifically Swahili, and they identify with others who speak them; it alleviates their personal loneliness and it provides a sense of belonging which counters the collective alienation they experience in American society, providing a "sense of home" for them. These African immigrants may not know someone personally from their home countries, but they "know" them through language, which signifies a certain culture or way of life, and they find this encouraging. Unity, in addition to identity, is another function of Swahili. It is an "icon of solidarity" and a language of wider communication in their countries; when they come to the United States, it is a way to identify with one another as East African. Swahili is used as an evangelistic tool with East Africans, especially with those who do not know the gospel, and for those who have fallen away from the faith. It is also used to encourage others as they struggle with the hardships of being an

immigrant in America. In addition, it is a bond of solidarity with Africans from other parts of the Continent; as long as someone can speak a little Swahili, that establishes a bond. The language also gives East African pastors/church workers a vehicle through which to carry out their ministry in the United States.

The participants stated they were also very frustrated by the stereotyping and labeling as “ignorant” they experience because they do not know American English “perfectly.” Very often, Americans can be very intolerant of what is perceived to be “non-American” accents or lack of knowledge or fluency in English, and they do associate this with ignorance, especially in reference to an immigrant. Because of this, it is often difficult for African Christian immigrants to participate in American church services or participate in Christian activities as they did in their home countries due to the language barrier.

The relationship of this population with African Americans seems to be somewhat tenuous, however, they express a desire and willingness to have better relations with them, even after some disappointing experiences. It appears that language variety is at the crux of the problem. This group of East Africans expressed that they simply could not understand African American Language and preferred to speak or listen to white American speech. This even extended to the spiritual arena with them preferring to attend white American churches due to this linguistic issue. In addition, the way transnational Africans and African Americans understood each other, for better or for worse, also hampered positive relations. The research participants’ attitudes toward this language variety may also affect their attitudes toward the people, but St. Clair (1982) notes that it may be the other way around. Dr. George’s comments on the perceived lack of motivation of African American high school students may be a case in point, one that Smitherman (2000) addresses in her work. Also, because they cannot understand African

American Language, but can understand another American who happens to be white, this may cause this population to assume that the speech of black Americans is substandard, or worse, their intellectual capabilities or their motivations to seek educational pursuits, are substandard as well.

As for the impact that this population's Christian fellowships will have on the United States or their home countries, participants cited examples of how their organizations have helped African immigrants in the U.S. so far, and how they intend to reach out to American society. These groups have been a source of encouragement, information, and resources for African immigrants, especially those newly arrived who know no one or cannot express themselves fully to an American due to linguistic or cultural barriers.

6.3 Worship Services: Content Analysis

6.3.1 TITUS Conference—North Carolina

The small industrial park complex was deserted, except for a few parked cars. At 8:30 am it was already 84 degrees on its way to 92. The complex was just a short block from the motel where most of us attending the TITUS Conference were staying. People arrived in their Sunday best this Saturday morning to Suite 1441B, the business location of Ephraim and Abigail Nallua. The offices of this medical supply establishment would serve as our seminar room, worship sanctuary and dining area where we would take our mid-day meal of chicken, rice with mchuzi, goat, pilau, cookies and fruit, along with various soft drinks.

We came from various parts of the United States—Georgia, North Carolina, Texas, Missouri—and the Christian Leadership Institute across town. Sister Abigail warmly greeted each of us as we walked through the door with “Bwana Asifiwe!” as she shook each of our hands. We sat, where we could, in the cramped front office as Nallua first turned on the AC and

then prepared the other rooms for the conference. Sister Abigail sat at the front desk making small talk with each of her guests, fielding cell phone calls from participants who were on their way, those bringing food and drinks, or those who were simply lost. Her warm, gentle spirit radiated throughout the room, making the half hour we waited seem like only a few minutes.

Once things were ready, we were led through a maze of short hallways, finally reaching a small room; the chairs were arranged in rows; a wooden lectern perched atop a long metal table would serve as the podium where the speaker would deliver the message. A video camera and tri-pod were set up at the back of the room.

Nallua took out his guitar from the case, strung it over his shoulder, readied his fingers over the strings, and began strumming a few chords. “I want everyone to stand up and we are going to sing some simple songs which are known by everybody. The first song is, ‘This is the Day that the Lord has Made. We all know that one, right?’” After a warm-up with this song, Nallua asked everyone to turn to “Vitenzi #15” (Hymn #15) in the Swahili hymnals that were placed on each chair. He began singing “Cha Kutumaini Sina” (My Hope is Built on Nothing Less). The lyrics and music were quite different than the English version, but the sentiments were the same—hope and steadfast assurance in Jesus Christ. The melody rose in four-part harmony as congregants raised their voices to the Lord, some with arms lifted and eyes closed in fervent worship. A few of us were not familiar with the Swahili version of this hymn, but we clapped and swayed to the music, studying the hymnal and trying to pick up the lyrics. A Rwandese woman from the Christian Leadership Institute, familiar with Swahili, held the hymnal for her classmate, a young African American woman who was not familiar with the language, pointing out the words we were singing.

As the hymn wound down, Nallua slowed the pace and began singing, “Hallelujah” then “Lord we love you,” then “Lord, we worship you.” After singing these verses in English, he began singing them in Swahili: “Hallelujah”... “Twakupenda”... “Twakwabudu.” People began singing fervently with eyes closed, lifting their hands in prayer. “Lord, we bless you! We bless you! We magnify your name! We bless you, Lord Jesus!” After a few minutes, Nallua concluded praise and worship and offered a prayer in English, thanking God for this day, our time of worship, and asking that our lives be changed for a greater understanding of His word.

Nallua then called for introductions. He first welcomed the Sudanese Delegation who were not able to attend yesterday’s workshops, but praise God, they were able to be with us today. He then asked for “just a word” from the delegations from Georgia, Texas, and Missouri. They gladly obliged:

Praise the Lord! I first want to give honor and praise to the Lord for allowing me to be here I am Mama Upendo, and I’m coming from Atlanta. I had once heard the bishop give a seminar in Kinondoni in Dar es Salaam, and when I heard that he will be coming here, I said, ‘This man... I must go to hear him so I can go on with the faith of God.’ I am so thankful for being invited here today. Thank you, and God bless you.

Praise be to God! I am so excited to be here, amen? (Amen!) I am Pastor Ellie from Texas. I am so excited about what God is doing in this place, and I didn’t want to miss it. I remember hearing the bishop preach when I was a little girl growing up in Morogoro, and he was a young man preaching the gospel. When I walked in and saw the man of God, I said, ‘Wait...this man is still young!’ ...Blessings.

Praise God! I am Lucas from Dallas, and I really love God. And it really touches my heart that we are together, just like Peter and John were together. Praise God!

After a brief introduction of the speaker, we were now ready to begin the morning’s instruction from Bishop Mathias Muteka.

The morning praise and worship service of the second day of the conference was the only session videotaped. It was conducted in both English and Swahili; the singing was done primarily in Swahili, but all prayers were in English. This may have been the case because a delegation from the local Christian Leadership Institute had been invited, and many of these guests did not know Swahili. The earlier workshop sessions had been conducted at the Institute the day before.

Bishop Muteka, the conference workshop facilitator, is a very accomplished man. With advanced degrees from seminaries in both Kenya and the United States, he is currently the senior pastor of a very large church in Tanzania (1800 members) and a high ranking official within the Tanzanian Assemblies of God Church. Bishop Muteka was asked to come to the United States to conduct these workshops for core spiritual leaders of Swahili-speaking Christian groups. His vision is to train pastors in all 50 states. Specifically, his plan is to have at least one well-trained pastor, either male or female, in each state, who will then train others. This will be done with the support of the Assemblies of God Church of America and Tanzania, and pastors who go through the training will attain credentials in both countries. Bishop Muteka explained further:

Bishop Muteka: And that's not only in America, but for all countries where Swahili-speaking peoples are found, whether it be in Europe, or Asia, or whatever. And that's why, for me, it is a very great opportunity to meet you all. And I hope someday, in the near future, my vision and my dream will be realized.

We see that the bishop puts great emphasis on reaching out and training Swahili-speaking people all over the world so that they can preach the gospel to all nations. The bishop reviewed the layout of the leadership training, summarizing what had been done in the previous day's workshop, "Understanding Spiritual Leadership." Today's session would focus on the qualities, qualifications, important principles, and practices regarding spiritual leadership. The format,

after each lesson, would be small group discussions and activities presented to the whole group. After a word of prayer, he instructed, “Open your heart, tighten your seatbelt, and let us fly!”

6.3.2 St. Mark’s Lutheran Church—Michigan

The May service was a memorial for Priscilla’s father, Hubert Wema. In addition to the regular fellowship members, Mr. Wema’s two daughters, son, American daughter-in-law and grandchildren, along with several friends and their families, attended the memorial. This service was largely bilingual since there were many more people present who did not speak Swahili. There was also much more explanation of how the service was conducted and the meanings behind the songs and prayers employed. There seemed to be a marked reluctance on the part of the parishioners to really express themselves during praise and worship, which may have been due to the presence of more Americans who did not speak Swahili, and the use of English, both of which may have stifled expression. This goes back to Pastor’s Stephen’s comment about the English language and its formality:

Pastor Stephen: The English man and the English language is formal, almost. They may try to be informal, but most of the time, I think it’s formal. And we tend not to be formal because, eh...we want more to connect heart-to-heart, with the Lord helping us, than to gather.

This reluctance may have also been due to the presence of a video camera. Many times the worship leader had to tell the people to “rejoice” and to “be happy” and to express their worship to the Lord.

After remarks and remembrances about the deceased from his two daughters, Dorota and Priscilla, Rev. Wilbert gave his sermon about trials and temptation, emphasizing that you can overcome them because “the joy of the Lord is your strength.” Afterward, prayer requests were taken, and he reminded everyone that God was there to help them, especially in their unique circumstances as African immigrants.

The June service was conducted more in Swahili, but there was still some reluctance on the part of the parishioners to express themselves. The only non-Swahili speaker present was my husband. Dr. George encouraged the parishioners several times to express themselves by dancing. He also reminded the congregation to keep Priscilla in their prayers as she was still grieving the loss of her father. There were more Swahili CD's played which Dr. George explained the meanings of in English. A new song leader was present in this service—Mary, from Tanzania—and she apologized for the grammatical errors in the lyrics shown on the screen behind her. This was the first time there was any mention of grammatical errors in Swahili within the service. Mary used much more Swahili than the other song leaders, Sis. Beatrice and her husband, Pastor Stephen. She also explained (in both English and Swahili) the meaning of one of the songs she led:

Mary: It is a worship song, alleluia? So you better worship God with all your strength. Open up your mouth. Lift your eyes unto Jesus. Don't look at your neighbor—what is he doing? is he looking at me? Don't just observe the way he is opening up his mouth. Just lift up your eyes unto God, amen? And God is going to minister unto you in a mighty and different way that you have never seen in your life, amen? What God wants from you is just to open your heart, alleluia. Na macho yako, unapoangalia msalaba wa Kristo, kwa hiyo, utapokali twambia Kristo karibu moyoni wangu, amen? Utamkaribisha Yesu. (And your eyes, when you witness the burial of Christ, then you are asking Christ to come into your heart, amen? You are welcoming Christ.)

After the Prayer of Confession and the Apostle's Creed, Dr. George asked for testimonies. Several children eagerly participated. Giving their testimonies in English, they earnestly spoke of how God had blessed them throughout the last month—their parents' safe travels to and from East Africa; getting good grades during the school year; receiving wisdom in relations with siblings in the absence of a parent. After a couple more Swahili songs, there were more Bible readings in English. Since it was Father's Day, Rev. Wilbert began his sermon by focusing on

fathers. He then continued with the theme from last month's message about trials and temptations; this sermon would focus on *overcoming* them. He spoke about certain temptations and vices such as stealing and alcohol abuse, but he emphasized that there was hope in God if you confess your sin and come back to God because there is forgiveness. After the sermon, Dr. George summarized the message, giving an example from his own life of how he overcame a certain trial. After this, the offering was taken, followed by prayer requests. Pastor Stephen began asking for these first in English, then switched to Swahili, then back to English. The actual prayers for these requests were offered in English. The announcement regarding a different time and venue for next month's service was given, and then everyone was dismissed to the fellowship hall for "swallowship."

July's service was the last to be videotaped, and it proved to be the most revealing in terms of language use. This service had been rescheduled due to a time and venue conflict with the larger church congregation. The weather was very bad, and this last-minute upheaval of plans made for an uncomfortable atmosphere at the beginning of the service. Three levels of language use were observed; people conversing in English, people conversing in Swahili, and then no one conversing with a few of the older parishioners who knew neither language well because they spoke other indigenous African languages, such as Kinyakyusa.

Pastor Stephen opened the service in Swahili with a welcome, then a translation in English. This was the first time the welcome was done in Swahili. He then conducted opening prayer in English. Dr. George again mentioned "growing the fellowship"; the charge for next month was to invite friends, "whatever race they are." He made an interesting comment about outreach, saying that although he still wanted to reach out to Swahili speakers, this service was not just for their group alone—it was for everyone in the community. A psalm was then read responsively

in English, but the parishioners had trouble doing this, and Dr. George became upset. It is possible that having everyone read in English was burdensome to the congregants since it was not their first language. It is one thing to read silently as someone else reads, but it is another to read aloud.

After the responsive reading, there was a very interesting exchange about the song lyrics written on the screen, which were grammatically incorrect. As usual, Sis. Beatrice had prepared the overhead transparencies, which contained the lyrics to the Swahili hymns that were sung during the service. After two songs were shown with grammatical errors, she gave a thought provoking explanation of how songs, language, and cultural practices can be passed on to the youth who may not know them. Sis. Beatrice then closed her portion with a word of prayer in English. Rev. Wilbert then came to lead the Prayer of Confession, and afterward the Apostle's Creed, both in English. There was another Swahili song, more Scripture reading, and then another Swahili CD. Dr. George explained the meaning of the songs just sung (in both Swahili and English), and then related it to the day's sermon, "What to Do When You Don't Know What to Do." He related the Bible readings to it; he then distributed a handout with the Bible passage on it and sermon notes in English. This sermon was a continuation of Rev. Wilbert's sermon from the June service, which examined the reasons some people recover from trials and tribulations and others do not. He later gave a bilingual explanation of his sermon's scriptural passage and closed his sermon in bilingual prayer. Then Pastor Stephen came up front, thanking Dr. George for his sermon, summarizing it in English, but also summarizing it in Swahili. However, his long summation revealed some of the pressures and trials he was experiencing in the U.S. as an African immigrant. After Pastor Stephen's long elaboration on Dr. George's sermon, Dr. George elaborated even further.

After the sermon, the offering was about to be taken, but the young ladies who collect the offering did not understand Swahili, and they missed their cue from Pastor Stephen. Finally, he had to tell them in English to bring the offering baskets. Before the offering was collected, he offered a prayer in Swahili, then closed in English. This prayer highlighted again the problems faced by being a foreigner in America. This was the first time someone actually prayed in Swahili since the research project began. Although this prayer was bilingual, it was *begun* in Swahili.

After the offering was collected, Pastor Stephen asked for “prayer points” from congregation, but before he received them, he gave a long encouragement in both Swahili and English for the congregation to pray and bring their requests to the Lord. His own prayer points were telling: he mentioned the challenges of being a black man in America. Many children participated in the prayer points, providing them in English. There were prayers for safe travel of members and their families to and from Africa, prayers for the growth of Dr. George’s outreach ministry, as well as the new ministries and churches being planted in East Africa by their members. Once all the prayer requests had been offered, Pastor Stephen then prayed for each of them in English. Rev. Wilbert then came to give the benediction in English and dismissed everyone to “swallowship.”

This July service, more than any other I had attended at this research venue, seemed to be the most bilingual, not only in song, but also in prayer. However, most prayers and Bible readings were still given in English. After the period of research collection, the Swahili fellowship began having interpreters and Bible readings in both English and Swahili.

Also in this July service, there was also more sharing of emotion—the struggles of an African immigrant in the United States; being a black man in America. The same themes seen in the

focus groups came to light in the sermons and the elaborations to them. And again, more Swahili was used. The differences in Swahili knowledge between the Tanzanians and Ugandans was also made even more evident in the incident involving the song lyrics written incorrectly on the screen. This marks the power Swahili has within the cultural and spiritual lives of this East African immigrant population; although it may not be a language a segment of that population knows well, it serves a purpose in their cultural and spiritual lives. It was also evident that the children in the service did not know Swahili very well; more of an effort was made by whomever was talking to use both languages and explain what they had said in Swahili to the children, in order for them to learn the language.

6.3.3 Recurring themes from St. Mark's

6.3.3.1 Bilingual nature of services

Although these services were advertised to be “Swahili worship services,” they were all bilingual, with over 50% of the service in English. The internet invitation to these services was also in English. However, over the 8 months that I engaged in participant observation at this site, there was an increase in the use of Swahili. Swahili was always used in hymns and other spiritual songs, but the increase was noted in explanations and elaborations of songs, Bible readings, and sermons. Swahili was used in actual prayer only in the July service during the prayer given by Pastor Stephen before the offering, but it was then finished in English:

Pastor Stephen: Mungu Baba, tunakushukuru na tunainua jina lako, jina la Yesu Kristo.(Father God, we thank you and lift up your name, the name of Jesus Christ.) Bwana Yesu (Dear Lord) your sacrifice that was given over for us to be saved... to be saved, to have hope, this O Lord God, the fellowship of this month, even as we bring your gifts to you, Lord God, we say thank you; thank you that you fight our battles, thank you that you give us hope for tomorrow, and thank you that you can allow us to sleep as you go an extra mile to walk on our behalf.

Communication between parishioners was conducted in both Swahili and English, but more Swahili was used among parishioners as time went on. Children were usually spoken to in English. In fact, it is doubtful that the children actually knew or used very much Swahili. Even though some of them may have been born in East Africa, their knowledge of the language seemed slight. This was especially evident in the July worship service when Pastor Stephen, before he gave the prayer for the offering, had asked the girls to come forward with the offering plates and baskets; they continued conversing with each other as if they had not heard him. It was not until he requested they come up to the front of the sanctuary *in English* that they retrieved the offering baskets and plates:

Pastor Stephen: Na nitaomba Tumaini na Leah kuletea vitu vya matoleo. Na nitaomba naomba tujiandae kumwabudu Mungu na utajiri wetu. Na Mungu atajiri Haitupa kwa atajiri...haitupa atajiri. And many people think God has given us a few of the things—no. The Lord has given us ALL the things that we need. I would ask Tumaini and Leah to please come up to the front.

Translation

Pastor Stephen: (And I would ask Tumaini and Leah to bring the plates for the offering. And I also pray that we prepare ourselves to worship God with our riches. And God is rich. He does not reject anyone for not being rich.) And many people think God has given us a *few* of the things—no. The Lord has given us ALL the things that we need. I would ask Tumaini and Leah to come up to the front.

The videos and music played before and during the services all related to the sermon topic for the month. They were generally songs about God’s goodness, His ability to guide, heal, and protect believers, and how one can have “victory in Jesus”, that is, an ability to overcome life’s problems while under the protection of Jesus Christ. An interesting aspect of these videos is that they depicted life in East Africa through dress, scenery, and locales. One quite notable video that was shown was by Esther Wahome from Kenya. Her song, “Kuna Dawa,” (There is a

Cure), is a song about the healing power in the blood of Jesus Christ. Many of the scenes are from a native Maasai village, where people are in traditional dress (as is she) interspersed with scenes from a large city, probably Nairobi, where people are wearing both traditional and Western clothing. The chorus of this song, which contains its primary message, is shown below:

Kuna Dawa

Kuna dawa, kuna dawa
Dawa ni Yesu
Mpokee leo
Kuna dawa
Naitangaza dawa
Halleluya
Dawa, dawa, dawa (3x)

There is medicine/ a cure, there is a cure
This cure is Jesus
Receive Him today
There is a cure
I'm announcing this remedy
Hallelujah
A cure, a cure, a cure

In one scene, Wahome is standing in front of a mud hut, in traditional Maasai dress, motioning upward, demonstrating to a man standing outside of the hut where this “dawa” (medicine/cure) comes from. There are also scenes of Maasai men dancing while holding their spears, and in a hospital where a man is dying in bed, and Wahome is the nurse singing about this “dawa.” She is also seen singing in the streets of the city with schoolchildren, opening her Bible at a construction site with workmen, and singing about the healing blood of Jesus. The video concludes with Wahome in each of three scenes: the man in the hospital, holding a Bible, cured of his ailment; the men at the worksite holding the Bible and nodding their heads in agreement, and a woman in the Maasai village holding a Bible to her heart with Wahome at her side.

Code-mixing and code-switching was quite evident in the worship services at St. Mark's. For example, in the June service, Pastor Stephen was invited up front to ask for prayer requests. He stated:

Pastor Stephen: Bwana asifiwe. Ah, I think at this time we... Nashukuru Mungu kwa kwamba nafasi hii; siku nyingine to fellowship...kwa hiyo, nitaomba tu kabla kuna sababu yoyote... jambo la kuomba, let us bring it. If it's not there, we'll thank God because we won't have all these things to pray about.

Translation

Pastor Stephen: Praise the Lord. Ah, I think at this time we...I thank God for this opportunity, another day to fellowship...therefore, I will pray before there is any reason to at all...if there's something to pray about let us bring it. If it's not there, we'll thank God because we won't have all these things to pray about.

Here, he began with the usual greeting in Swahili, then switched to English. He then decided to use Swahili, and later mixed it with English. In July, Pastor Stephen opened the service in Swahili, and then repeated what he said in English:

Pastor Stephen: Namshukuru Bwana kurudi tena, na tunawakaribisha kwa fellowship yetu mwezi huu; namshukuru Mungu kwamba kwetu, na naona ni muda mrefu tangu sisi kwao fellowship lakini mwezi tu, kwa hiyo...hata hivyo, namshukuru Mungu...tunamshukuru Mungu kwa watu tupo, wema na haitupa haya (inaudible) unspoken.

For the kids, I'm just saying that you are welcome again to the fellowship, and we thank God that He has given us another opportunity to come fellowship together; it may look like it's a long time since we are here, just a month...and we are grateful to God that we are alive, and we have another opportunity to come into His presence. Let us stand up and support Him.

Here we see a concerted effort to use Swahili in the service in order for the children to be exposed to it so that they will acquire the language. Dr. George also made more effort to use

Swahili in his elaborations on sermons and songs during the research period. Later in the July service, after the Gospel had been read in English, he greeted the audience:

Dr. George: Wapendwa, hamjambo? (Beloved, how are you?)

Members: Hatujambo! (We are fine!)

Dr. George: Kabla ya kuja naendelea na habari ya leo. Ninamkumbusha tu...(Before coming and continuing with the topics for today, I just want to introduce..) just to focus our attention because we're talking today about "What to do, when you don't know what to do.

He went on to say that the way we would focus our attention would be to listen to a song (in Swahili) that expressed the goodness of God. The song was, "Yu Mwema" ("He is Good"):

Yu Mwema

Yu mwema, yu mwema, yu mwema maishani mwangu
Anilinda, ametuza, yu mwema, maishani mwangu.

He is good, He is good, He is good in my life
He has protected me, He has cared for me, He is good
in my life

After the song, Dr. George explained:

Dr. George: Wapendwa, Mungu ni mwema. Ungpungua yetu na utapokali Neno, Mungu ni mwema...uh...you find that, just that revelation of knowledge, that God is good, and His love endures forever, is everything.

Dr. George: Beloved, God is good. If you were to decrease what we are and grab a hold of the Word, God is good...uh...you find that, just that revelation of knowledge, that God is god, and His love endures forever, is everything.

This song was connected to the topic of his sermon for the day, "What to Do When You Don't Know What to Do." Later in the sermon, he referenced the Bible passage, 2 Chronicles 20, which describes how King Jehoshaphat defeated the armies of Moab and Ammon through prayer and fasting. Dr. George urged the congregation to do the same when faced with personal struggles:

Dr. George: For we have no power to face this vast army that is attacking us. So our response is, “God, you know what? I don’t think I can handle this. I don’t think I can handle this; whatever you’re struggling with. And the key is that we don’t know if we can handle this, and also we don’t know what to do, but our eyes are above. Hungani cha kufanya? Kujua cha kufanya ... huwezi. Najua cha kufanya...macho yetu ni...(pointing upward) kwako. (You don’t know what to do? To know what to do....you can’t. I know what to do...my eyes are....(pointing upward) toward You.) That’s the immunity. You are humbling yourself to God...so you know what, this is not my problem, it is yours. Kwa mimi nitakaa kuanza kutafakari kujua cha kufanya ...(For me, I sit and start thinking what to do). Most of the time when we go into depression it is when we face a problem beyond what we can bear. And the problem is that we are smart enough that we can solve. And you know for sure this can’t happen.

6.3.3.2 *Self-expression*

There seemed to be a marked reluctance on the part of the parishioners at St. Mark’s to fully express themselves during worship. Repeatedly, the worship leader had to remind parishioners to sing with feeling and worship the Lord strongly with their voices, instruments, and bodies. This reluctance may have been due to the presence of my video camera; or, it could have been due to the use of English, a language that they do not find conducive to their spiritual expression, a sentiment that was also expressed in the St. Mark’s focus group. Examples from the May service illustrate this point. One of the songs led by Sis. Beatrice during the early part of the service was “Moyo Wangu Tulia” (“My Heart Rests in the Lord”). The words below were projected onto the screen:

Moyo Wangu Tulia

Moyo wangu tulia
Tulia kwa Bwana
Meme yange nywerera
Nywerera nga ku Yesu

My heart rests
Rests in the Lord

My soul is happy
Happy in Jesus

The children shook tambourines and small drums; several members were clapping as they sang.

In the middle of the song, Dr. George suddenly rushed down to the front of the sanctuary, waving both arms in the air:

Dr. George: Stop! Stop! Stop! Stop! Stop! (*He is a little agitated because he thinks parishioners are not singing with the reverence and feeling they need to*). “Wapendwa! Tunaimba kwa furaha. Ni kwa nani? Kwa Bwana. (Beloved, we are singing with joy! And it is for whom? For the Lord.) Sing with joy! Sing with feeling! Please...Beatrice.

Sis. Beatrice resumed the song, and we sang it no differently than the first time.

At another point in the service, Dr. George had to remind parishioners again that they were to express themselves. After the sermon, Dr. George thanked Rev. Wilbert for his message, and explained that during the offering, a Swahili hymn would be played that reflected the sermon’s message—there is victory in Jesus, and in Him there is all joy. He told the young ladies to get the offering baskets. They went toward the altar, bowed, and then retrieved the offering baskets from behind the altar. Dr. George then instructed everyone to stand up as the song was being played. As it began, he exclaimed, “We rejoice!” People began shaking the tambourines and maracas; some were clapping to the music. Pastor Stephen began to dance in place, while others simply stood with their arms folded. Dr. George repeated the words of the song, appealing to the parishioners to express themselves; “Wapendwa, tunafuraha!” (“Beloved, we rejoice!”) Few heeded his calls.

At the June service, Dr. George tried to get the congregation to express themselves through dance. Near the beginning of the worship service, a Swahili worship song, “Vaa Jina Safi la Yesu” (Wear the Pure Name of Jesus), was played. Dr. George explained that the song was about “getting rid of your own junk and wearing the beautiful name of Jesus.” As the song was

played, a few people listened attentively, softly clapping to the music while seated. Dr. George then suddenly started clapping and moving around the sanctuary, encouraging others to join in. “Let’s stand up!” Everyone stood up, and the children excitedly jumped up and down. Dr. George began dancing as the music played, encouraging everyone to do the same. “If you feel like dancing, dance!” Others just swayed a bit while continuing to clap to the music. As the chorus of the song was sung, Dr. George translated the lyrics in English: “Take off the old, put on the new!” He continued to dance in front of the sanctuary, as the children were still shaking the tambourines and maracas; the adults quietly clapped and swayed to the music in place. The song ended, the parishioners applauded, and everyone took their seats.

Probably the most startling example of lack of self-expression occurred during the July service. Dr. George asked me to read Psalm 27 and have everyone else read it responsively. I began, and there was complete silence after the first verse. Dr. George explained, again, that this passage was to be read responsively. I started again, but the parishioners did not read it well, reciting at different speeds. Dr. George admonished them:

Dr. George: Guys, guys...you can’t even read now? Are you reading or you tattling now....oh man....I wish you would know the...we used this Psalm in the morning during our prayer, ok? And it’s something which we really prayed about. So I wanted to make sure...

Pastor Stephen: I would ask that Neema reads a full verse; when she reads one, we read two; she reads three, we read four... like that.

Dr. George: Ok, so we alternate. You all read the even number of the verses, and Neema will read the odd numbers...1,3,5,7...and you all read 2,4,6,8. That is simple enough. Please---read as if you passed eighth grade, ok? Because...ok, page what?

Neema: 392

Dr. George: Ok, 392.

I began again, and the parishioners still read unevenly, seemingly unsure of the words.

Could this lack of ability to read the passage be due to their being uncomfortable with English in the worship service? Most of the members already know English and use it on a daily basis, but somehow they could not read responsively, especially after the service was begun in Swahili. Even the music CD, played at the beginning of the service, was in Swahili.. It may be that all this code-switching affected parishioners' expression of themselves as well as the whole worship experience. In addition, I think the presence of non-Swahili speakers also hindered expression. Understandably, the presence of an American who did not speak Swahili could hinder expression, but what about a Ugandan? Their style of worship is similar to those of others in East Africa, but I think their use of English, and their possible lack of competence in Swahili, may have affected how others responded in worship and as well as how freely the others wished to express themselves. This is akin to the comment Sis. Dora gave during the St. Mark's focus group:

Sis. Dora: ...the fact that we are Africans, even if we mix English in our service, it's still is different than going to an African church, but if it was more Swahili, I believe we would be more comfortable to express ourselves. Sometimes we want to say something, but when you think about English...the fact that maybe he's preaching and he's using English to accommodate other people just for that purpose, maybe I just won't say it, or something like that.

6.3.3.3 Problems with Swahili

There were some problems with the production and comprehension of written and spoken Swahili within the congregation. Ugandan parishioners, whose knowledge of the language varied with each speaker, often had the most problems. For example, Rev. Wilbert, who gave many of the sermons each month, had very limited knowledge of Swahili. Although he opened each sermon with "Bwana asifue" (Praise the Lord!), his rendition was incorrect. He readily admitted

to his limited language knowledge. For example, after opening the sermon for the May service in English with prayer, he said:

Rev. Wilbert: Bwana asifue. I don't have a lot of Swahili to speak, (*chuckling from audience*) but ah....but I will try to quickly summarize what I'm trying to say in English...those of you who know Swahili, and they don't know English, maybe you can help them. For those who know English, you can hear the same message in Swahili.

He then went on to explain that his sermon would focus on trials and temptations. He explained that when we face trials, we often wonder where God is and why this is happening to us:

Rev. Wilbert: Where is God when we face trials? Is God really there? Is He attending to us? Does he listen to our complaints? Does He see us? We sang in this Swahili song...we sang...uh, what you said...God who sees? (*motions to screen behind him*)

Pastor Stephen: Ameniona.

Rev. Wilbert: Yes, ameona. Yes, He's a God who sees.

It appears that Rev. Wilbert did not know Swahili well enough to remember the word or phrase for "He sees me" (ameniona). During the June service, Rev. Wilbert continued his message on trials and temptations. When he concluded, he stressed that even when we commit a sin, we can confess it and be forgiven:

Rev. Wilbert: His hands are always open to receive us, ok?
His hands are always open. When we started this service, we had that moment of confession. That's why we say, 'Mean it,' when you confess, you know? Let it not just be words from mdomo (*motioning to mouth*). (*People chuckle*).
But let it be from your heart, you see?

Dr. George: Be real!

Rev. Wilbert: Let it be real...a real person, you know? And God will honor that.

Rev. Wilbert now used a Swahili word (mdomo, meaning 'mouth') to explain his point. People chuckled because they knew that his knowledge of Swahili was limited, but he used the language, if even just a word, in his sermon.

Most times, since there were no hymnals or songbooks in Swahili, the words of the songs sung in the service were projected onto a screen for all to read and follow. This was also a way for those who did not know Swahili, especially the children, to begin to learn it. The song leader, Beatrice, was a Ugandan, and she was responsible for preparing the overhead transparencies. A few times during the May – July services, the grammatical or spelling errors on the screen caused confusion for the parishioners. During the May service, after Beatrice had led two songs, Dr. George announced, almost as if to explain the errors, “By the way, our sister Beatrice is from Uganda, and she’s doing a good job.” He may have stated this to indicate that he was both pleased with her leading the songs, but also with her use of Swahili, even if it was at times, ungrammatical.

During the June service, Sis. Beatrice was not present to lead praise and worship, and Mary, a Tanzanian, led the singing. The first song was “Karibu Yesu Moyoni Mwangu” (Welcome Jesus into My Heart), but it was written “Karibu Yesu Moyo Wangu.” Mary began praise and worship by first apologizing for the errors on the overhead transparency, which had been used in previous services. This was the first time someone explicitly mentioned grammatical errors and corrected them.

The problem with ungrammatical Swahili became even more apparent during the July service, which totally confused several parishioners. One of the songs led by Sis. Beatrice was “Bwana Ainuliwe” (“The Lord is Lifted Up”). The words below were written on the screen behind her:

Bwana Ainuliwe

Bwana wa majeshi leo
Ainuliwe
Ninamwimbiye Bwana
Ninamuinua Bwana
Ninamutamaini Bwana
Ninamukyezeya Bwana

The Lord is Lifted Up

The Lord of the army is lifted up today
I sing to the Lord
I lift up the Lord
I have hope in the Lord
I dance to the Lord

Sis. Beatrice asked the congregation about the song:

Sis. Beatrice: He is the Lord of? Right—the army.

In order to have answered her question, you had to have understood what was written on the screen in Swahili. She then related the song to the Bible passages that were read that day. She started the song as a call and response, and others joined in. After singing the first verse twice, the audience seemed to get lost, mumbling the words. Dr. George then went up to the screen.

Dr. George: Stop! Stop! Stop! Stop! Stop! Wanaimba kama...
anokusoma mashido, wapendo. (You are all singing
like...this must be wrong, beloved.)

Pastor Stephen: Maneno yameandikwa mabaya. (The words are written wrong).

Beatrice: Is it?

Pastor Stephen suggested that everyone may have a different way of singing it, so he began singing the song again in a different way, thinking this would resolve the issue. However, Joseph was still looking intently at the screen, seeming a bit puzzled. They began the song again, but everyone continued stumbling over the words and eventually faded out. Beatrice continued:

Beatrice: I want you to focus on the last line of the song which says,
'Ninamcheze a Bwana', huh? (I dance for the Lord) How many
know how to dance to the Lord?

Joseph: Where does it say, 'Nachezea?'

Beatrice: Uh? Wanasema 'wachezea.' (*sings*) Namchezea a Bwana,
Namchezea a Yesu,' (*doing dancing movements as she sings*)

Dr. George: (*goes up to screen*) Wapi? (Where?)

Beatrice: Hiyo (*pointing to screen*) (There)
There is obviously a grammatical error in the words, and Dr.

*George and Pastor Stephen shove each other jokingly over this.
It should say, 'ninamchezea.'*

Dr. George then came up to me to explain that Beatrice had written –kye- for –ch-, making the reading of this word unrecognizable to Joseph, who was totally confused. Once the song was over, Dr. George and Joseph amused themselves over the grammatical error.

The next song was “Umestahili” (“You are Deserving”):

Umestahili

Umestahili wewe Bwana (3X)
Kupokea utukufu

You are deserving, Lord (3X)
To receive the glory

Again, the lyrics to the song were written incorrectly; ‘Umestahili’ was spelled ‘Umesitahili.’

Upon seeing the error, Dr. George corrected it saying, “Umestahili bwana, ya kweli.” (‘It should be umestahili, really.’) It seemed no matter how many problems the Ugandan parishioners had with Swahili grammar, they felt a deliberate need and desire to use the language in worship services, and the rest of the congregation seemed patient in correcting them and encouraging its use. This linguistic situation is directly related to what Sis. Dora expressed in the focus group as one of the impacts she would like to see within the Swahili Fellowship:

Sis. Dora: I think to add that, that the same kids and the other non-typical Swahili-speakers that are trying to learn Swahili through the service, we are hoping that we would like to see them at some point being able to speak Swahili completely....

6.3.3.4 Sermons and prayer elaborations

The sermons given at St. Mark’s, as well as the prayer elaborations presented, offer a compelling portrait of the struggles of African immigrants/transnationals here in the U.S., as well as an idea of their language attitudes. This was seen in several sermons. In May, Pastor Stephen

asked for prayer requests from the congregation so that the church leaders, Dr. George, Pastor Stephen, and Reverend Wilbert, could “lay hands” on them in prayer:

Pastor Stephen: Some of us have got relatives and friends that depend on you in Africa. And the economy here and that back home is not any good, so you do not send what you said you will send them, and it’s causing trouble. Habari ya maji, ya umeme, na nini.. (issues about water, about electricity, and what)...but you don’t have the money. You don’t have to go to another human being to tell them your story or hire your story so that they laugh at you when you can go before the Lord and say, ‘Father almighty! How about me?’

The Bible says that this poor man trusted in the Lord; the poor person trusts in the Lord. The rich trust in their wealth, but for me and you who are poor, especially poor in the spirit, we trust in the Lord because we know in due time, He lifts you up.

So anybody can ask you how come, even when the situation is contrary, you keep smiling; you keep joyful? It is because the joy of the Lord is your strength.

This clearly explains some of the struggles African immigrants have when they come to the United States. They must support themselves as well as contribute to family finances back home, but this is not always easy or possible, and it can cause problems within the family. Even the sermon titles express these hardships (“Overcoming Trials and Temptations,” “What to Do When You Don’t Know What to Do”) and offer practical biblical teaching to assist them in their struggle to adapt to life in a new country.

During the July service, after Dr. George had given the sermon, Pastor Stephen elaborated on it using examples from his own life, saying that when he has troubles, he brings them to God:

Pastor Stephen: Huku kwenye historia zangu...kama nina ushuhuda wowote...kama ninamshuhudia, kwenye historia zangu kwamba Mungu hili na hili na hili. (Here is my story...as I testify to anyone... as I tell this story of mine to God, this and this and this.) Those are the bullets...those are the bullets I bring in this situation. Ninamwambia Mungu nilifanya hili; nilifanyia hili...na hili nyingine... na punga hili nyingine...(And I pray to God that I did this...and I did

this...and this other thing...and this other...) Now on these four that I have now, na hili ni kwako (and this one is yours) (*motioning up to ceiling*) Lakini kama (But if)...now, as a human being...kama binadamu, unakaa (as a human being, you sit) (*goes up to altar and sits*). La kwanza... unajita mimi ni Mwaafrika...la pili huko ni huge nini; (First...you say I am an African...the second is huge...) unanza...you start building all these discouragements around you.

Bwana, kama mama amenikimbia. (Man, say if my wife leaves me. Na sijui (and I don't know) I end up. I am not going to sit in my house and start thinking about how my wife has left me with three kids. If I prayed about it, I come in the house, and I continue with life. Namwachega...(I shave). Because you're going to die...you'll die in the thing. Many people die early. Even if the problem not going to kill you, you will kill yourself. (*puts arm around head*) Ooooh! Oooohh! (*runs around altar*) Uliwaona watu... 'Nani ni wangu?!' (You've seen these people; 'Who's there for me?') There's a problem among us hasia kwamba (even if) if you go before God...umshaomba,...no, no, no...kama umshaomba, "Ooooh!" tena. (you have just prayed...no, no, no...like you have just prayed, "Ooooh!" again.)

Everyone is calling you—"Oh, hello Stephen, how are you?" 'I'm not fine...the doctor says I have only three days...'
No! What you don't know is that when you tell somebody like that, anamwambia yule na yule na yule (he tells this one and that one and that one)...pretty soon the whole of (*the city*) wanajua na sasa, wanaingia nyumba (they all know, and now they come in to your house) (*runs to the front altar*) 'Oh Stephen, I'm so sorry... only siku tatu (only three days)...wataku-remind (they will remind you)... the doctor said it, unalijua (you know it)...You don't need so many other people ku-remind.

Kwa hiyo mimi hapa mimi najua ni mugeni...(So, I know that here I'm a foreigner), first of all, mimi ni mugeni duniani (first of all, I'm a foreigner in the world)...mimi ni mugeni Umerikani (I'm a foreigner in the U.S.). Kwa nini nimeshamwambia Mungu anajua mimi ni mugeni hapa (Why have I just told God...he already knows I'm a foreigner here). Whatever happens about me, I'm a citizen of heaven—deal with it, according to the grace that you've given me.

In these elaborations, he mentioned that he is an African, linking that to "discouragements."

Later in his story, he said that he is a foreigner in the world, he is a foreigner in America, but he

is a “citizen of heaven,” so whatever trials Pastor Stephen faces in the United States, God can and will “deal with it.” It seems that he was expressing his frustration about being a “foreigner” in the U.S., or possibly, being African makes him a “foreigner” all over the world. Again, this theme of being a “foreigner”, as well as being saved from the vices present in America, was echoed later in another prayer he gave before the offering:

Pastor Stephen: Mungu Baba, tunakushukuru na tunainua jina lako, jina la Yesu Kristo (Father God, we thank you and we lift up your name, the name of Jesus Christ). Bwana Yesu (Lord Jesus), your sacrifice that was given over for us to be saved... to be saved, to have hope, this O Lord God, the fellowship of this month, even as we bring our gifts to you, Lord God, we say thank you; thank you that you fight our battles, thank you that you give us hope for tomorrow, and thank you that you can allow us to sleep as you go an extra mile to walk on our behalf. What a mighty God we serve! We thank you, Lord God, that in a foreign land, you have sustained us up to now. You have not allowed sickness and disease to kill us; you have not allowed, O mighty God, to go hungry and to beg bread; you have not allowed any of our children to go into prostitution or drug abuse, but have taken care of us, and have given all our relatives and friends back home hope, that as we are here, we will see them again.

Thank you for today; thank you for tomorrow. We pray this and ask you to accept our offering, and use it for the expansion of your kingdom, in Jesus’ name we pray, amen.

This is a very telling prayer, not only for the reference to being a foreigner, but also for the thanks he is giving to God in guarding the health and welfare of the parishioners, and that their children have not succumbed to the vices they may see in this country. It is noteworthy that he feels a need to mention this. Pastor Stephen then repeated the sentiment of being oppressed as a black man in the United States before asking for prayer requests from the whole congregation:

Pastor Stephen: Kama mimi, nahitaji. (Like me, I have a need). If I have a need in life, and I know that Wilbert has the solution to my problem...if I don’t go to Wilbert and say, ‘Wilbert, this is my problem, help me out,’ first of all, he will not know that I have a problem. That’s on a human level. But the only way the Lord knows you trust Him is when you go through Him with your problem.

So God is not looking for people who trust Him; He is looking for an opportunity to show Himself strong on behalf of them that trust Him. He's not looking for people that trust Him because kwako Mungu (your God) ...if you... kama mtu umno matumaini—(even if a person does not have hope) He will remain God.

Na kama mimi ni mweusi, eh? (And like me, I'm Black, eh?)
Kama mzungu anapita mahali na ananiangalia (If a white person Passes by and he looks at me) and he doesn't care about me, or thinks about me otherwise...mimi ni mweusi, bwana. (I'm black, man).
If you think about me differently or whatever, I'm a black man.
That's it...that does not change me. The same thing to God--if you trust Him or you don't trust Him, it does not change Him.

So it is you...you are doing yourself a disfavor...Mungu anasema kwamba mimi ni Bwana wako (God says that 'I am your God,') and He is bigger than my issues. Why don't I go and throw them in His lap and I go to sleep. You go take it to God, and you go to sleep. And then God knows that you've trusted Him; you have dared to trust Him. So He has to show Himself to be God, by dealing with what you trusted Him. That's the whole essence of prayer.

It is possible that Pastor Stephen has had difficulty in the U.S. with racism or oppression due to his being an African, but it is clear that he, like many other African Christian immigrants, looks to God to overcome these problems. Another prayer, below, also expresses these sentiments:

Pastor Stephen: Mungu Baba, tunakushukuru na tunainua jina lako, jina la Yesu Kristo. (Father God, we thank you and we lift your name, the name of Jesus Christ). Bwana Yesu (Lord Jesus); your sacrifice that was given over for us to be saved...to be saved, to have hope, this O Lord God, the fellowship of this month, even as we bring our gifts to you, Lord God, we say thank you; thank you that you fight our battles, thank you that you give us hope for tomorrow, and thank you that you can allow us to sleep as you go an extra mile to walk on our behalf.

What a mighty God we serve! We thank you, Lord God, that in a foreign land, you have sustained us up to now. You have not allowed sickness and disease to kill us; you have not allowed, O mighty God, to go hungry and to beg bread; you have not allowed any of our children to go into prostitution or drug abuse, but have taken care of us, and have given all our relatives and friends back home hope, that as we are here, we will see them again.

Thank you for today; thank you for tomorrow. We pray this and ask you to accept our offering, and use it for the expansion of your kingdom, in Jesus' name we pray, amen.

6.3.3.5 Desires to Grow the Fellowship

This congregation desired to enlarge its membership, and this was expressed several times during the research period. When Pastor Stephen came up to lead prayer during the May memorial service, he expressed his wish to see the fellowship grow:

Pastor Stephen: Bwana asifiwe! (Praise the Lord!) We are in the house of the Lord, amen? One thing that I desire all the time is that, we have so many Swahili speakers in Michigan, and with our fellowship, we don't fill up this building as of now, but soon we shall be filling it up. And one thing that is contagious is the joy of the Lord. Despite the situation and the circumstances, let us be joyful, so that when people that are going through issues with their heads bowed down, they hear that with you and your circumstances, your head is up, and you can rejoice...Naweza kudumu (I can praise you) in the middle of the crisis, then everybody will say, 'I want what you have.' And that's when we become witnesses for Christ.

During the July service, Dr. George repeated this desire to see the fellowship grow:

Dr. George: We all know why we're here. And if you know why we're here then we should wish other people to join us, whoever he is, whoever we know. So the key that what are we doing here to increase the fellowship, okay? We can only do that by spreading the word, by what is going on in this Swahili service, and to be out there to say, 'You know what? Let's go, let's go; let's test it and see how good it is. Because unless we share, it will be the same people to meet here every Sunday. And I know for sure you wouldn't like that to happen. You'd like it to spread out so that other people see what we enjoy here.

He then made the appeal to everyone to invite people for next month's barbecue. He made a special appeal to the children to invite their friends, regardless of race or ethnicity. They must not think of this service as "just for them" (East Africans); they must think of spreading and sharing Christ with others right where they live.

Clearly, this fellowship was not created just for the purpose of celebrating and maintaining the language and identity of the East African parishioners; there is also a desire to share Christ with the local American community as evidenced by these quotes and the establishment of the “prayer clinic.” This was also seen during the time of prayer at the end of the July service when Pastor Stephen prayed for Dr. George and his local ministry; he asked that doors would open, and his ministry would grow and blossom all over the city, the state, and throughout the United States, and that all the glory come back to God.

As can be seen from the excerpts, this East African fellowship, although it strongly desires to hold onto its East African identity and language, does so with the intention of reaching out not only to those of their own transnational/immigrant community, but also to their adopted American local communities and country. They believe that they indeed have something that they do not find here in America, and they would like to share it, and this is in keeping with their African communal customs.

6.4 Summary of Content Analysis of Worship Services

The worship services of the TITUS Conference and St. Mark’s Swahili Fellowship confirmed the reasons for the establishment of African immigrant churches and religious organizations, highlighted the needs and frustrations of this transnational population, and revealed the complex linguistic relationship that exists among its members. Times of praise and worship and subsequent religious instruction demonstrated the commitment this immigrant population has for its spiritual goals within the Swahili-speaking community worldwide, and its desire to share this commitment and spread the gospel within their adopted host countries. These services also highlighted the frustrations and struggles African immigrants have in the United States; these include lack of financial resources, health problems, difficulties with immigration, racism, and

coping with the financial and material problems of their loved ones in their home countries. They use their faith as committed Christians to help them cope with the burdens they face. Finally, the complex relationship between African indigenous languages and English are played out during their worship services. Both Swahili and English figure into their times of worship, and although some members of the East African community may not know Swahili well, they continue to use it as well as they can, although at times the usage can be confusing to others.

The issues of language and identity, particularly the relationship between language and ethnic or religious identity, is a very complex phenomenon which can be influenced by gender. In the next chapter, I will present the qualitative data associated with the TITUS Women's Conference and analyze this relationship within a gendered space.

CHAPTER 7: PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF QUALITATIVE DATA, VIDEO OF CONFERENCE WORKSHOP—CONTENT ANALYSIS

7.0 Introduction TITUS Women’s Conference—Georgia

The TITUS Women’s Conference was held shortly after the 2008 TITUS Conference. Its purpose was to bring together East African Christian women and their guests for a time of fellowship and biblical teaching as it pertained to women and families. The goals of the conference were to encourage East African Christian women to live a godly life and pursue evangelism efforts while living in the United States.

The conference’s theme was “The Balanced Woman Conference,” and the workshop titles included *Relationships, Purity and Abstinence* (for the younger women), *Raising Christian Children in a Foreign Land*, *Women and Multi-tasking in the American Lifestyle*, *Health Issues and Self-Image*, and *How to Serve God in a Foreign Land*. Within these workshops and the periods of praise and worship, this group’s views on language, identity, and spirituality were evident. The following is a narrative, ethnographic account of what I observed, following the “ethnography of communication” of Gumperz and Hymes (1986). This conference was quite lively and interactive, which conveyed the participants’ feelings and attitudes toward language, identity, and spirituality; for this reason, I have included the speech, behavior, and responses of the audience to the conference presenters in the text. The chapter concludes with a summary and brief explanation of the theoretical frameworks I use as a lens through which to view the data. I will touch upon each of the frameworks, but will not pursue an exhaustive theoretical analysis, which is beyond the scope of this dissertation project.

7.1 *Shulamite Sisters: Relationships, Purity and Abstinence*

Mimi Michele uses many African American speech patterns in her presentations, which helps her to get her point across to the populations she serves, primarily African American youth. She did the same with the young women of TITUS. Michele began her talk by explaining that she had been celibate for eight years and that she had had so much peace. She explained that when you are abstinent, you let God take care of you, and “you are a very well kept woman”:

Michele: So this gentleman...he tried to holla at a sistah... (*giggles from audience*) and he had to come correct because he had not been around a lot of woman who had been kept. And I just don't take any mess; I mean, God is not a god of confusion.

Michele also discussed issues of language, culture and identity. It was interesting because as an African American woman, invited to present at a predominantly East African conference, she made the cultural connection between both groups. Aside from her work on purity and abstinence, Michele also counsels teens on appearance and professional image. She explained that at one time she was counseling a young woman, whose last name was “Robinson,” on her penmanship. Michele explained that when you have an African or Afro-centric last name, you will automatically be judged by American society:

Michele: You gotta come correct, because if it's Amy Fisher...Amy Fisher could look worse than Laquita, but because of the name, they judge you. And you guys probably know that better than anyone because you all have African names. And because we're African American, we have our names too; this is who we are.

She also explained how skin tone/body structure affects how you are perceived:

Michele: So you're dark...people, we're gonna have to deal with this...this is America—welcome! I don't like this, but it's the truth.

Another young woman she was counseling, who was dark skinned, and had a tongue ring and a gap in her teeth, worked at a local mall. When Michele asked the young woman if she wore the

tongue ring at work, she said she did not because it was “against the rules.” Michele explained to her that her tongue ring was unprofessional, and it would not be accepted in a business setting.

When it came to the gap in the teeth, Michele had this to say:

Michele: And with her, and y’all might help me with this, I told her there was a certain tribe, or maybe even several tribes, that are known for the gap (*motions to teeth*). Even Denzel Washington had a gap ‘cause I want our young people to know who they are...you guys probably have different issues because...you’re African...you know who you are—hello—but these babies here don’t. I said, ‘Honey, I don’t mean no harm, but you already have a beautiful gap in your teeth. Did you know that Denzel had one?’ And she was like, ‘Denzel Washington?’

And I said, ‘Yeah.’ In one of his first movies he played African, and it worked well for him. Then they told him to close the gap so he could get more work...so he wouldn’t look as...you know what I mean?

But our children here don’t know that; they don’t know who they are. So many people go to cosmetics and this and that, they’re like...they think this is how they’re born, and I’m like—no. We are born with wide noses and gaps...we are straight from Africa—don’t get it twisted...like your hair isn’t just tightly twisted—no—they’re getting their chemical treatments...but if we go back to the original, we’d look like we just came off the...the...the country; what are you talking about?

Michele clearly articulates a loss of identity among African Americans. However, her own compromise with American dominant culture is shown in her next statements regarding the young women she was counseling:

Michele: But the thing is, it’s a bit much. By the time they dealin’ with your name, then they got to look at this gap, and you got a tongue ring? She didn’t know...nobody had ever told her...she didn’t look in the mirror... she didn’t know. So come on, baby, you already got things that are naturally there...don’t bring even more...they could probably excuse the gap...but to see a ball hanging in there? Come on, boo....

Michele then went on to talk about one of her pet peeves regarding young women’s grooming—black nail polish. But as much as she has extolled the virtues of being “dark,” “African” or “African American,” she seems to denigrate it in the next breath:

Michele: And so what is up with this black nail polish? What is goin' on here? (*Yeah, right...*) I said, I don't mean any harm, but that's negativity; that's darkness. There are a thousand colors you could pick; what's up with this black? Don't you know this is witchcraft, gothic, darkness? That's pretty much what the black nail polish means. I mean, the average person doesn't choose black...in the middle of summer? Black?! And you know what she said? Just blew me away—'because it goes with everything.' But I said, 'Baby, white would go...even a nice French manicure... maybe a nice light mauve...that would go with everything, especially in the summer.'

This passage sets up an interesting dialectic between her previous statements on African names, physical features, language, and identity on one hand, and using the color “black” for adornment purposes on the other. Being “dark” is fine for skin tone, but a dark or black nail polish is associated with “witchcraft” and “gothic.” A “dark” identity has now taken on a negative connotation. And the audience, comprised of East African women, agreed.

Michele continued speaking about her personal background at length, discussing her current projects. She encouraged the women to listen to the voice of God and to do what He has called them to do, “to plant seeds.” She opened the floor for questions regarding relationships, their work for the Lord, or entrepreneurial concerns, but no one had any. The young women were quite shy. Finally, after three attempts to elicit questions, Michele asked the women what they were trying to accomplish at the moment. Several women reported projects they were developing here in the U.S. for Kiswahili-speaking audiences. Mama Abdi resided in Missouri and was the head of a ministry for girls in her native Tanzania and an author of children's books. Lila Manawe, who resided in California, owned a cleaning business with her husband, who was releasing a new gospel CD. Another young woman, living in Minnesota, said she wanted to write devotional books in the form of desk calendars for children in Kiswahili; she explained that these things were not found in Tanzania, and she wanted to make them available to the children of her home country. The various projects mentioned demonstrate how these East African

women are busy with Christian ministry work in the United States. This may be one reason they convene these conferences—to encourage each other while they are here and to maintain their cultural heritage.

After Michele finished her presentation, the women applauded, showing their praise and thanks the East African way, through vigelegele; she responded quite amused, “Girl, how you do that?” Pastor Ellie, who had been in the audience, made a few remarks, saying that she was thankful for Michele’s ministry because so many of the topics she covered were not talked about in church, and so many young people needed to know these things. Actually, Michele provides a valuable service to the women of TITUS—she speaks on topics that East African women would otherwise find uncomfortable discussing. In fact, it is not uncommon for an East African woman not to know much about “wifely duties” until right before her wedding. These things are normally explained by a paternal aunt, or during the bridal shower or “kitchen party.” Pastor Ellie then called Mama Abdi to come and lay hands on Michele; other women stretched their arms toward her or went up and touched her as Mama Abdi, and other women in the room, prayed for her in English.

Mama Abdi came forward to speak to the young women on their gifts and how they could be used for God’s purpose. She highlighted the challenges of doing God’s work in America:

Mama Abdi: Now, coming from Africa, Tanzania, we are facing the same challenges being in this land. I’m going to talk from that perspective, just to encourage you. It is for a reason and a purpose that God has brought us here. It is a land of opportunity, that is very true; but then if you don’t hook yourself with God and the plans He has for your life, you’ll just end up messed up and say, ‘Ok, there is nothing that works for me here.’ So you just end up going with what is going on in this world, trying to balance it and it never balance, because you just confuse yourself somewhere.

But I want to tell you that God is so faithful. God is able; God knows you by your name; He has called you for a purpose. He has the husband

somewhere, He has the green card ready, He has the citizenship... whatever He wants. It's not what *you* want; it's what *He* has for you. And that is the most important. You never know where God wants you next, amen?

But if you block yourself and say (*puts book in front of face*) 'Ok, I'm in America, this is the end!' (*people giggle*); just put that thing down (*puts book down from face*), and see what God has beyond you, amen? It has been a big challenge which God told us to move over here; it was very hard. And yet when we came, He said this is not just the end. So we don't know where He's gonna send us next. We don't know when and how, but then we are kind of ready.....It is so stressful when you fight against God's purpose; there is no grace ...praise the name of Jesus. (*others, 'Amen.'*)

Mama Abdi clearly expressed the despair that East African immigrant/transnational women feel when they are here in the U.S., but she assured the audience that God could help them to achieve their purpose. She then cited a passage in the Bible to augment her point, but English was a problem. She told them she was going to read from the book of Job, but later realized she had made a mistake:

Mama Abdi: Nilisema kitabu gani? (What book did I say?)

Others answer: Job

Mama Abdi: I can't say it...it's Jonah. (*Everyone giggles*)

She read Jonah 2:10 in English, but the audience became confused. She then read from verse 1 in order to convey the whole meaning of the passage, Jonah 2:1-10. Briefly, the Book of Jonah tells the story of the Jewish prophet, Jonah, who flees from God's instruction to tell a foreign nation about God's forgiveness and restoration if they repent of their sinful lifestyle. Jonah refuses to go at first, and he is swallowed up by a great fish where he remains for three days and nights. Mama Abdi used this passage to relate the women's feelings of hopelessness to those of Jonah and to encourage them to seek God in these situations, as Jonah had.

Mama Abdi later shared examples from the lives of both Esther and Jonah, biblical characters who were used by God in a foreign land. She explained that God has a particular call for your life and that each person individually has a special task, but again, language issues are a part of the struggle:

Mama Abdi: Whatever it is in life, you are not called to be someone else; you are called to be yourself. So we can do what God has for *us*, because it's not about us, it's about His grace working for us. So I want to challenge you; I want to encourage you; with all the challenges we have from different culture, different language, different English...I get so messed up with the spellings up here instead of the spellings in British that we're so used to... with everything...and yet, God still has a purpose, amen? You can make it, you can do it, you can make a difference (*someone in background saying, 'Amen.'*)

But it's all in the attitude—what we think, what you think of yourself. And I want to tell you, God designed you very specific, very special; you are not the last creation of God...God has created you so specially, so special, so unique, amen? Just accept yourself the way you are... give yourself wholly to the Lord... and see what He can do. I know that better things are yet to come for us.

Mama Abdi echoes the sentiments of Africans who, like her, have come to America to do ministry work, but feel frustrated and discouraged, especially with language issues.

After Mama Abdi had finished, Pastor Ellie came up to explain, first in English, then in Kiswahili, that they would now join the “mothers” in the other room; to be ministered to by them and to pray with them. This is in keeping with their culture and spiritual beliefs. She said:

Pastor Ellie: Kwa hiyo, tunaenda kule, si ndiyo? Tunaenda kwa mama na minister huyo.

Pastor Ellie: So, we are going over there, right? We are going to the mothers' room and the ministers there.

Everyone got up to go to the other room. The younger woman conversed with each other in both English and Kiswahili. One of the participant's daughters, Juliana, came into the room, and the

other young ladies were happy and surprised to see her. They hugged and admired each other's outfits. Juliana explained that her mother came and picked her up from the university so they could attend the conference together. Although she was born in Tanzania and came to the United States as a child, Juliana sounded typically African American as she conversed with the other young ladies in English. Here, we see the presence of African American speech patterns among members of this African group, if only phonological:

- Nellia: Hey! How you doing? Did you know you were coming?
Julianna: Naw, I just found out yesterday...my mom came and got me and picked me up from school, and she said, 'Let's go...'
(they hug)
Nancy: ...I like your shoes...*(she comes up to her to greet Julianna; they hug)*
Julianna: ...Thanks...Hi...
Nancy: How are you?
Julianna: Fine...I'm good, I'm good....
Nellia: So, are going back tomorrow and then straight to school, or what...
Julianna: No, we don't have school on Monday...Labor Day.
Nellia: Oh yeah...You should stop and see me...*(looking at my video recorder)*, What is it they're taping? I don't know...
Julianna: ...*(shrugs, humming 'I don't know')*.

7.2 Train Up a Child the Way He Should Go: Raising Christian Children in a Foreign Land

The next workshop of the TITUS Women's Conference focused on raising children abroad in the Christian faith. The session began with praise and worship in the conference room. The band, consisting of two young women (Nellia and Rehema) and two young men (Richard and John) were all relatives, originally from Tanzania. This small band provided musical accompaniment at previous TITUS conferences, and they were asked to do so for this one. Nellia and Rehema are the lead singers, and Richard and John also sing and play electric keyboard and electrified drums. Nellia and Richard exhibited phonological African American speech patterns. Richard, however, seemed to pronounce English more clearly and more "natively" than the other members of the band.

The first song was, “There is None Like You,” sung in English. There were about 12 people in the room; they sang and swayed to the music. After this first song, Richard asked everyone to give the Lord a “hand praise” (clapping). Nellia, led into the next song:

Nellia: It’s a good thing to be in the house of the Lord.
We gon’ go to the worship, and we’re gonna sing the song
that says, ‘This is the day that the Lord has made. I will
rejoice and be glad in it.’

They went on with the song, with Richard leading vocals and the young women singing in harmony as back-up. The audience members sang, clapped, and swayed to the music. Rehema switched the song into Kiswahili, and the audience seemed to sing more strongly, and the band seemed to sing with more confidence. A couple of the women expressed their enthusiasm through vigelegele. After a few bars, Rehema switched the song back to English. They sang a few more bars, then moved into the next song, “Mambo Sawa Sawa” (Things are Already Better), a very popular song in East Africa, usually sung at festive gatherings, particularly religious gatherings. The last verse of the song is sung in English:

Mambo Sawa Sawa

Mambo sawa sawa
Mambo sawa sawa
Yesu akiwa enzini
Mambo sawa sawa
mambo sawa sawa
mambo sawa.sawa

Sitaogopa mambo yoyote
Nina Yesu moyoni
Amehakikisha
Mambo yote sawa
Mambo sawa sawa.

Sina hofu kamwe
Maishani mwangu
Mambo yote yatendeka

Wema kwangu mimi
Ninayeamini
Mambo sawa sawa

Things are getting better,
Things are getting better,
When the Lord is on the throne,
Things are getting better
Things are getting better
Things are already better now.

Translation

Things are getting better
Things are getting better
When the Lord is on the throne
Things are getting better
Things are getting better
Things are getting better.

I will not fear anything at all
I have Jesus in my heart
He has assured me
Everything is fine
Things are getting better.

I do not have a fear at all
In my life
All things happen
For my good
As I have faith that
Things are getting better.

Things are getting better
Things are getting better
When the Lord is on the throne
Things are getting better
Things are getting better
Things are already better now.

After the first verse of “Mambo Sawa Sawa,” Rehema exclaimed, “Sing with me!” and continued the song in Kiswahili. Richard then switched it back to English. He continued to lead the song into another key, still singing in English. The band finally wound down and closed.

After finishing, Richard told the audience to “Shout to the Lord!” He ended by slowing things down and saying, “Thank you, Jesus.”

Richard then asked everyone to “give the Lord something” before they went into the next song; everyone was to lift their hands in praise to God as they sang the next song, because “God deserves all the glory and praise.” The band began to sing, “You Deserve the Glory” in English. As they sang, Richard peppered the song with, “You are great! There is no one else like you!” After the first verse, Nellia switched to the Kiswahili version of this song. They sang a few more verses and then ended . As they wound down, the music was still playing, and Rehema prayed in English, “We thank you, Lord! We worship you, O God, and we magnify your name!” The singers were loudly crying and praying in unison as the audience also lifted their hands in worship.

Rehema then began the first verse of “Bless the Lord, O My Soul,” (singing, “He has done great things”). Sis. Abigail, one of the conference organizers and sibling of Dada Hope, came to the front of the room, dressed in a beige striped kaftan and matching headscarf, singing and raising holy hands (that is, lifting her hands in worship to God) with the singers. They continued singing, and then switched to the Kiswahili version of the song. The singers ended their medley with applause; they took their seats, and Sis. Abigail introduced the next speaker, Mama Sofia.

The “mtumishi wa Mungu,” (servant of God) Mama Sofia, a Tanzanian, came to the podium to begin her talk. She greeted everyone in the name of Jesus in English, and she brought greetings from the ladies from her fellowship in Peoria, IL. She based her presentation on Proverbs 22:6 which states: “Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old, he will not depart from it.”

She began her talk saying that women were privileged to be able to give birth, and for this reason, God gave them primary responsibility for training children. She noted that the United States has a lot of spiritual resources—books, videos, CD’s—all of which should be used to teach children when “they are in a foreign land.” She then quoted Deuteronomy 6:1-2, a biblical passage which commanded the Israelites to observe God’s statutes and teachings while living in a foreign land—the land He will give them to possess. Relating this Scripture to her own life, Mama Sofia explained why after living in Australia for many years, she insisted her children return home to Africa:

Mama Sofia: You know, when the kids got back to Africa, they wanted to come to United States straight away, and I said, ‘No. You have to go to Africa. You have to see your people. If you go to United States, you won’t know. You are small now, you are fourteen, fifteen, sixteen...No, you have to experience what they are going through. I pray you can know the burden they are going through.’ So, I put this down in the book [notebook], that when we go home, we stay for a little bit and see our friends, go to our church, and then we go to America...and I was so shocked how God can answer. When my husband said, ‘Let us go to America. I said, ‘No, we have to go to Tanzania first to see our friend, and then after that, we will go to America.’ Because I just wanted them to wipe away the mind of all the European and see the reality in there, how people they’re going through (*Right! Yes!*).

So we went home, and we lived in there one year, two year...(*some giggling*). It was hard in the beginning, even to school (*even more giggling*)...there, you get the kiboko (rod) when you miss. The young one comes running home, ‘I’m not going to that school because they hit.’

...And then it was so hard because, you know, African life and the families., they depend...they need the help; many people, they need the help. And they [her children] start coming to me so hard, and they say, ‘Mommy, I think we are tired. How can we do? We want to go to America.’ And then I just looked at them, and I said to myself, ‘I am the one who encouraged them to come to Tanzania and then go to America.’ I said, ‘Where is your journal? You forgot to

remind God?'...Oh, I am telling you, it did not take long. So they started to remind God, and sure enough, God was there. He showed up in a marvelous way. We didn't struggle; it was just, 'come.'

Clearly, Mama Sofia did not want her children to forget where they came from; she wanted them to see the real hardships of their people in Africa. She also wanted to “wipe away all the mind of the European.” In essence, she did not want them to lose their identity.

In addition to the contrasts she made between East African and American society, Mama Sofia also challenged the notions and representations of mothers within her traditional African society with what her Christian values teach her:

Mama Sofia: Mother, you are very important before God. Don't let down yourself. We know like, eh, Africa...they look down on mother. Mother, they look like, eh...just homemaking—no. You are more than that. You are expensive mother. Without mother, the house is... *(makes flip-flop hand motion, which signals things are not right)* quiet; when Mother is there, the house is warm, isn't it kids? Even Mom...when she is home, it's often 'Hey, do this and this...,' but when she is not there, the house is quiet. We are tough, but the house is warm when we are there. And God loves Mother.'

Mama Sofia summarized her talk by saying that mothers were very important and that everyone should be praying for them. All Christian women have the key to raising children correctly “in the foreign land” by speaking and planting the Word of God in them. She ended her talk and closed in prayer.

Sis Abigail then came to the podium, thanking Mama Sofia for her presentation. She asked all women who did not have children to stand, and all those who had children to stand with those who did not, so that they could have a special prayer with them. She said the devil was attacking families and children. She asked for prayer for those who did not have husbands, that God would give them good husbands, and for those who didn't yet have children, that God would

bless them and their future children, to empower and enable them to train them in the way these children should go in the Lord:

Sis. Abigail:... I want you to pray for your kids, for her kids, because God is going to do something special. For we are representing Tanzania, we are representing Georgia, we are representing the women of God, wherever they are, praise God!

I ask for the women who have kids to stand and pray with those women who do not; I ask that you touch her, even her womb, if she lets you, as you pray for this future child, whenever he/she comes, because that's where the devil starts attacking. (*Women formed small groups, hugging each other, touching each other, rocking gently in prayer*).

Sis Abigail was in front, hugging Rehema, a newlywed, while she prayed for everyone. She then began speaking in tongues, (“Oh, in the name of Jesus, [tongues]”)¹¹ Others were praying in English as she prayed in both tongues and English. Sis. Abigail was now holding Rehema, caressing her arms and rocking with her back and forth. Sis. Abigail began groaning in prayer, “Pray for the kids of America! The devil is taking them!” She continued praying, and finally gently letting go of Rehema and taking her seat.

It is worth noting that no one was praying in Kiswahili, but in English and tongues. While there was very little Kiswahili spoken by the presenter (who was from East Africa) or the audience, there were plenty of presuppositions concerning raising kids the “right” way—Africa had the right way to teach Christian values, and any country that had European culture or descendants did not. However, much of what Mama Sofia presented regarding childrearing was related to identity; she did not want her children to forget that they were African, and that their

¹¹ “Speaking in tongues” is a practice in which a person speaks to God in a “heavenly language” that is unintelligible to other people. Although this practice is quite common in the Christian community, some churches frown upon it unless there is an “interpreter” who can share with the rest of the congregation what is being said to God and received from Him through the person who is speaking (I Corinthians 14).

people had a different way of life than what they had become accustomed to outside of Africa. This session also emphasized this group's belief in how busy Satan is in America, destroying its children. To combat this evil, the women saw it as their duty as godly women to pray not only for East African women and children, but also for American women and children in order to save them from the ills of their own society. Although they acknowledge that America has many spiritual resources, they believe that America's children are still perishing.

7.3 Where are the Mothers of Zion?: *Relationships Between Older and Younger Women*

This session, led by Lila Manawe, focused on the relationship between younger and older women in the church. Lila had been a presenter at the 2006 TITUS Conference, where she spoke on the importance of marriage and the marital roles of men and women. This session began with praise and worship with the band. The first song, "Mambo Sawasawa," was a song they had performed before the previous workshop. It was sung first in English, then in Kiswahili. The audience was swaying, clapping, and singing with the music; some women expressed their enthusiasm through vigelegele. While singing, Rehema exclaimed, "Mcheze tu! Mambo sawa sawa, jamani!" ('Just dance for Him! Things are just fine, hey!') Once the song ended, Lila came up to the podium to speak. She asked the musicians to play something as she got her microphone situated; something calming that would help the audience prepare for the message. The band played a slower song, and the audience members sat quietly praying at their seats.

Lila began her talk by posing two questions to the audience, "Where are the Mothers of Zion? Where are the wailing women?" She used Titus 2:3-5 as her Scripture basis. The Book of Titus is the Apostle Paul's letter to Titus, a young Greek man, advising him on his responsibility of supervising the churches on the island of Crete. Lila explained the importance of her topic: "The church today is in shambles because women have failed to discern their

position in God.” She said that women often think they are mature in Christ, but often, they are not. Christian women are called to birth and nurture other women, but because of spiritual immaturity, women often fail to do this or are not successful when they do. Although Lila was from Tanzania, she too, exhibited many African American phonological speech patterns and phrases used in the African American community:

Lila: ...like the woman of God was sharing with us yesterday, to be honest with ourselves, because God knows where I am, ok? If I make you think that I’m all that and a bag of chips, and really I’m not, it’s not helping me.

One aspect of these East African Christian groups is there is little distinction between denominations within the fellowship; the important fact is that you are a Bible-believing Christian striving to follow Jesus’ teachings. Lila emphasizes this in the following excerpt, in which she explains the background of the Book of Titus:

Lila: ...and so Paul went on to prison, and when he got out of prison, that’s when he wrote the Book of Titus. He was writing back to the young man [Titus], giving him more instructions as to what he should be doing with the churches over there. And there’s a lot of really neat things in the book, and amongst them in Chapter 2, the qualities of a sound church, amen? It’s not the qualities of a sound women’s fellowship; it’s the qualities of a sound church. And when I’m talking about church, I’m not talking about the Lutheran church, and I’m not talking about the Assemblies of God, I’m not talking about the Pentecostal, I’m not even talking about the Methodist; I’m talking about the body of Christ...collectively.

This sentiment was echoed in other speakers’ presentations and also in the way the focus groups talked about their Christian fellowships. I believe this is one way that East African Christian immigrant groups unite and become strong—focusing on God’s Word and the spiritual truths they all share. It is also plausible that culture and ethnic origin trumps denominational affiliation, in this case, while they are living outside of their respective home countries.

Lila continued her talk saying that Christian women often make insignificant things the focus of their ministries when training younger, less mature women, instead of focusing on more important spiritual issues. Lila gave examples of how mature Christian women should do this, even within their traditional East African cultural practices:

Lila: You know, I've been to those kitchen parties...you know, bridal showers...whatever you want to call them... good instrument, good purpose, BUT...things like this happen, where you find imbalance sometimes, not all the time, but you find people teaching how to love your husband... in the details...*(some women giggling)*, ok? Like in and out... and you have single people in the crowd. Now I am found guilty because there are times when I sit there as a woman of God, as a woman who fears God, and I...I fear to say anything about it because maybe I'm just invited to come to the party, and it's not my party...so I just sit there saying, 'O God...' *(wringing her hands)* through the demonstrations and all that, 'O God...'

But you know, that's a door we're opening up to the enemy. It's a door, because when you're teaching that single person that has no agenda of getting married in the next 6 months, 1 year, whatever...the details of what goes on in the bedroom... what do you think? I mean, they get out of there and they're like, wondering...it sparks a thought pattern. And you can look at me like, 'I don't know what you're talkin' about,' but you know...you *know* what I'm talkin' about. *(giggling from audience)*. So...so...it's like ..you cringe.

But I want to challenge us as women of God, to stand our ground, you know... that's my point. If I'm in that place, and I know...ok, I can't control this, it's not my situation, but to have the courage to rise up and say, 'Can I say something? I don't think this is appropriate. You know, can we excuse the single ladies?'... you know? And if I really feel I cannot do that, to get up and leave.

But you know, we find ourselves sitting and taking company... laughin' at the jokes...participating...and we have these younger women there that we are to be an example to; you know, we don't take the responsibility.

Lila then spoke of an experience she had with a particular “kitchen party”—her own:

Lila: The last week... Thursday night it was...my wedding was on a Saturday...they took me to the kitchen party. Now at home, back then it was still moderate, and it was done by the church...the church women, so it was regulated. We didn't have 'kibao kata' or anything like that. But, you know, they were teaching me responsibilities of marriage and where I was going...*(lots of giggling from ladies)*.

So they sat me down and I could see the women of God sweating...and I'm thinking, 'Why are they sweating? Why don't they just get to the point?' So, you know, with wisdom, they went around the bushes, and well eventually they said what they had to say to prepare me for Saturday... it was like a 3-hour session...ok, young people? Three hours...teaching and teaching and teaching.

I really thought I knew what I was getting into, but when I got to the place where I sat down with these older women and they actually opened the book before me, you know...not just 'kibao kata' and you go... No—they actually took the Word of God and actually showed me the responsibility that I was happen to be getting into in two days...I said, 'Lord, I don't know if I'm ready.' Anyway, the Lord has helped me but I'm saying that we should not go to the other extreme where it's like, 'Don't say nuthin' until the day she's married!'

Again, we find a member of the East African community using African American speech patterns as she describes a traditional East African event.

Lila then shifted her attention to the things that make American life ungodly, namely, the equality of women to men in America, and how that "equality" can hinder a godly home:

Lila: Praise God, we are in the United States of A. (*'Amen' from some of the women*)...we are equal...politically correct, men and women. When we get married, shoot...he can go in the kitchen, you know...I'm busy.

The Bible talks about the older women teaching the younger women to be homemakers. I have tried to read this Bible, cover to cover...I make a habit of doing that at least once a year...I have not yet found a place where that tells someone to teach the men to become homemakers. (*'Amen' from audience*). I'm not saying that it's a sin for the

men to cook, or it's a sin to give the babies a shower; I'm not saying that, but I'm saying that the Bible is very discreet

as to older women teaching the younger women to be homemakers.

She added that these older women should be homemakers themselves before they go out and teach younger women to do the same, because that can cause confusion in the body of Christ, and not paying attention to the home can lead to quarrels and fights that ultimately lead to divorce and the dissolution of families:

Lila: Now in this United States of A., we have a challenge. We are working hard to make the 'American nightmare'... whoops, sorry...the American Dream,' ah, you know, come true. We call it the 'American Dream' but it becomes the 'American Nightmare.' You know, when you're not walking with God and not being what God has called you to be but running with the Joneses, and trying to catch up with the next-door neighbors, and the education... and the car... and the RV...it becomes a nightmare because you cannot keep your home...and then you're gonna go out and try and train other ladies to, you know, keep their home?

You know, spirits are transferable. I don't care how much I tell you...the spirit that is in me is transferred into you. So if I'm a messy, crappy person—you're gonna catch it. And that's why it's important when you have somebody teaching you, when you have somebody imparting into your life, you need to know their history.

She closed her talk by admonishing the women to stand up and be women of God:

Lila: And it's time we wake up as the body of Christ; we wake up as women of God...we rise up—rise up to the calling that God has called us to be.

7.4 Musical Segue

Juliana now joined Rehema, Nellia and the musicians, singing Swahili worship songs. Some of the ladies had left the room, but a few remained to participate in praise and worship. They sang, clapped, and swaying to the music; some did vigelegele as they sang:

Mungu u mwema, umetenda mema, roho yangu imtukuze Bwana!

After a few minutes into the song, Rehema shouted, “Cheza!” (Dance!) After a few more verses, they began singing the song in English:

God you are good, you have done good, oh my soul praise the Lord!

As they sang in English, the singers seemed a bit unsure of the lyrics. After a few verses, they went back to singing in Kiswahili, more sure of the words, singing with more feeling and adding harmony.

They segued next into “He Has Done Great Things.” Again, they began the song in Kiswahili, then switched to English; however, the last verse was sung in Kiswahili:

Ametenda maajabuu.
Ametenda maajabuu
Amendtenda maajabuu
Sikuni jina lake.

He has done great things,
He has done great things
He has done great things,
Sifuni jina lake. (Praise His holy name)

The singers then transitioned into “Falling in Love with Jesus,” a song written and made popular by South African musician, Jonathan Butler. Juliana and Richard alternated the lead vocals.

Next, they transitioned into the next song, “Nasema Asante.” (I Say Thank You):

Nasema asante, kwa Mungu wangu
Nasema asante, kwa wema wako;
Kwa maana fadhili zako zadumu,
Milele na milele, amina.

I say thank you, for my Lord God,
I say thank you, for your goodness;
Because your blessing endure,
Forever and ever, Amen.

They concluded the song, and Rehema began to pray,

Rehema: Thank you, Jesus. There is none like you,
Jesus. We give you glory and we give you honor,
Lord. We give you praise because you deserve the
glory and honor; we exalt you, Jesus...
We acknowledge you, Lord, this evening, Lord...
we welcome you in this place Lord, we invite your
presence this evening, Lord; thank you Jesus...because
there's no one like you, Jesus, there is no one like you...
thank you, Father.

Richard then segued into the next song, “Asante” (Thank You) in Kiswahili, the others following his lead:

Asante, nasema, asante ewe Mungu wangu (3X)
Wewe ni Alpha na Omega (3X)
Ewe Mungu wangu.

Thank you, I say, thank you, O my God (3X)
You are Alpha and Omega (3X)
O my God

At the conclusion of the song, Nellia prayed:

Alpha na Omega, Jesus...we give you glory and honor...
thank you, Jesus.

Rehema then lead the group in prayer in English, with music softly playing in the background, as the next speaker, Sis. Lydia, came to the podium.

7.5 Surviving and Thriving in Canaanland: Living a Balanced Life in America

This session examined how to live a balanced life in American society. In the conference announcement, this workshop was originally entitled, “Women and Multi-tasking in American Lifestyle.” Just from the workshop title, we have the presupposition that life is not “balanced” in

the United States. The speaker was Sis. Lydia, a Ghanaian, who has a ministry in Texas. She did not speak Kiswahili, so her entire presentation was in English. Although she is not from East Africa, she is from the African continent, and her workshop topic was applicable to any African Christian who has emigrated to the United States.

Sis. Lydia began her presentation with a calming song affirming and thanking the Lord for His presence. She began singing, “There is None Like You,” asking everyone to sing along with her. After the song, she greeted everyone in the name of Jesus, explaining that this conference “is not just about women from Tanzania, but it’s about women all across the world.” She admitted that she did not find the workshop topic very pleasing, because “it’s not really about the American system, but the ‘world’ system, and ‘God’s system.’” This is the first time we see a distinction between what is referred to as the “American system” and the “world system;” however, later on in her talk, and throughout the rest of the conference, the two concepts became conflated.

Continuing with her presentation, Sis. Lydia explained that the world offers nothing but problems—insomnia, tiredness, worry, anxiety, family problems, feelings of failure, worthlessness, lack of energy, and a host of other negative things; if we are not being guided by God’s ways, we will fall victim to this life in the world. She asserted that only God can cause us to have energy and live a balanced life even within this “world system”; unfortunately, no matter how hard we try to live within the world’s ways, without God, it is worthless. Sis Lydia, like other conference presenters, exhibits African American speech patterns. Sis Lydia made sure that these women knew that they were special:

Sis. Lydia: It is very possible to live as Christian women the way that God wants us to live. And I want us to...and this just dropped in mah spirit ...I just want us to know that we ought to be proud that we are

women. You see, the world has pushed us so much, we want to compete with the men—we cannot. Accept your place. Because mah Bible tells me that He said that His strength is perfected in my weakness; so can you imagine what God can do with us women if we allow Him to take us *all*?

I said it yesterday and I'll keep on sayin' it 'til Jesus comes...I said I believe God and thank Him that I am a woman. I am so, so, so grateful that He made me a woman...because I'll tell you, I know I've got strength... I'm not a scientist or a biologist, but the little that I have read, we have been wired differently than the men, that's why we can juggle so many things at the same time. Isn't it wonderful? Isn't it unique? (*'Amens' from audience.*) So why do you let the world demean you, to make you think you are nobody, to think that the man is better? They got their place. Find who you are and live it to its fullest. (*'Amens' from audience.*)

She then reiterated this fact:

Sis. Lydia: So get that you are special, and God has designed you for such a time like this, to make you special; to show forth His glory through your life. Stop let people pushing you down. Stop it! And stop pushing yourself down. You are special! There is nothing that you cannot achieve in this life...with the help of the Holy Spirit. In yourself, remember you can't do it.

It is possible that she, like Mama Sofia and Mama Abdi, were trying to counter the negative rhetoric and ideology surrounding women in their African traditional cultures, as well as the “Superwoman” rhetoric found in America.

Sis. Lydia then presented the woman depicted in Proverbs 31 as the model for all women, saying that every woman can achieve this with the help of the Holy Spirit. Proverbs 31 is a collection of teachings King Lemuel of Arabia received from his mother, which outlines the characteristics of a good wife. Sis. Lydia reiterated that marriage and motherhood is a ministry, and women are too busy with their lives today to have a relationship with God, and this is an

example of an unbalanced life. She stressed that many women do not emulate the behavior of the woman depicted in Proverbs 31, and this creates imbalance in their lives; they are so busy, that things like cooking and housekeeping get tossed aside, and this can cause confusion in the home:

Sis. Lydia: She is diligent; she's is a good cook!
We are blessed to be Africans...you understand what I'm saying...so we are taught. But not every cook is a cook—trust me.

...A good cook! Cook home meals...I mean healthy meals for your family...plan. All the chat that is going on in the world system—the world expects us to do that. Once in a while, yes, we can take them to the McDonald's and the...what are they?...the McDonald's and the Chic-Fila's...you know, kids are kids...those of us who have younger children. But at the end of the day, instill into the child, a home cooked meal. Cook, cook, cook...This makes you a balanced woman. It's true that you are busy, but plan.

Sis. Lydia reiterates the points made by Lila Manawe in the previous workshop. From this excerpt, we see Sis. Lydia's presupposition that Africans know how to cook, but other women are not taught to cook, especially American women. This seems to be part of their African Christian identity.

With regard to spirituality, Sis. Lydia presents presuppositions. She pointed out that Africans have a spiritual base that white Americans do not have. For this reason, spending time with the Lord in prayer and Bible study is very important; it is the cornerstone of her life:

Sis. Lydia: I tell people that as Africans, we all come from somewhere. Mmm-hmm...all of us are coming from somewhere. I don't know about the Caucasians here, I'm talking down, down to us now. (*'Yes! Yes!' from audience; giggling too*) We got stuff going on back home that only prayer can conquer. They are not happy about you being here—it's a fact—the demons. But they don't know how He is taking you step by step with God's help to make it...in this system... in this world system. So if you don't pray, the Nigerians will

say 'Na wahalla'¹², and you know what will happen to you. (*Lots of laughter from audience*). True or false?

...I know where I'm coming from...I know where I'm coming from. Isaiah says that if you come from where the seat of Satan is, you will not sleep or relax. I know where I'm coming from...and as Christian women it is time that we arose and set that balance in our spiritual life.

It is interesting that she did not mention black Americans. Here, we see a clear distinction of Africans as spiritual and white Americans as non-spiritual. She also highlights the struggles back home for African immigrants that only prayer can mediate. And when she said, "in this system...in this world system," it seems that she is conflating the "world system" with the American cultural system. We later see that she indeed conflates the two:

Sis. Lydia: Let me tell you, in this system....that's what I'm supposed to address, right?...the American system, the American lifestyle....the world system. We are overshadowed with 'stuff.' And so the desire is to want it. Baby, if you can't afford it, don't go into the credit business, you know? Because the world system says, 'Come and get, and pay later'...and you be a slave forever."

Sis. Lydia also emphasized our need to reach out to others to help them in their need, but she warns that we must be careful "in this system." Again, there is labeling of the "system," which is actually American culture, that must be feared. This "system" even affects American speech habits. She emphasized that the virtuous Proverbs 31 woman is not aggressive, and we need to take care not to become like this due to this American system, stressing that with Christ, we will not be caught up with its ills:

Sis. Lydia: At your workplace, you need to be aggressive to achieve, but not aggressive that you become demeaning or obnoxious. See, because it's a very fast system that we live in over here, and it can be very overwhelming. Sometimes when they talk I wonder if they even swallow saliva.

¹² *Na wahalla* =troubles

(imitates how Americans talk non-stop). I say, ‘Easy...take it easy...take your time.’ That is the system...am I lying? This is the system we are in. So if you don’t take care, you’ll be caught up with that aggressiveness, you understand? You’ll be caught up with it. But then with Christ, having a balance, we will be able to be competent, but it wouldn’t be obnoxious; it wouldn’t be competitive. God hates competition, but God loves complementing.

Richard, the keyboardist, began playing as Sis. Lydia concluded her talk. She invited everyone to begin to pray as she sang, “A Charge to Keep.” Only a couple people in the audience knew the song. She prayed saying the Lord has charged us to do His will with His help. She asked all to pray lifting up holy hands, asking the Lord for help in whatever they are doing in His service:

Sis. Lydia: Holy Spirit, do a work. Build up, Holy Spirit, in our lives.

The women quietly prayed at their seats as Sis. Lydia began praying in tongues. After a few minutes of prayer, the session ended.

7.6 For Such a Time as This: African Women Serving God in a Foreign Land

The last workshop of the conference, “Serving God in a Foreign Land,” was presented by Pastor Ellie Mkima. Originally from Tanzania, Pastor Ellie spent much of her teenage years in Botswana, where her parents worked in ministry. As a young woman, she assisted her mother’s ministry in Namibia. Currently, Pastor Ellie is a minister in an Assemblies of God Church in Texas.

Pastor Ellie has been an active member within TITUS, and she is often asked to lead prayer and present sermons at various TITUS meetings. In this workshop, she explained why East African Christians have been called to do the Lord’s work in the United States, and she highlighted the struggles and frustrations this transnational population has as they adjust to living in American society, living a godly life, and serving the Lord in America. Pastor Ellie speaks

readily and convincingly regarding African identity—and the fact it must be preserved at all costs.

Pastor Ellie began her workshop by asking the audience, “Why should we serve God?” She explained that there are many reasons why we serve God, but mainly it is because of who He is and that He has called us to “good works,” which will be rewarded:

Pastor Ellie: (*reading from the Bible*) It says, ‘For we are His workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good *works* [emphasis hers]. Amen. Unto good what? Good works. Not bad works...not struggling, you know? Good works. When it’s good, it’s good. There is nothing you can dilute about good...it’s good *works*. So as women of God, we are in the foreign land, but God has created us to do the good works. We’re His vessels. There’s no diluting.

...and we continue serving God because at the end of the day, we know there will be a reward. The Bible says, ‘Whatsoever you’re doing, all your work is not in vain; God will reward you.’ Some of them we are still seeing here in this world. We have successful marriages, we have successful kids...even though they go to these public schools, they don’t find themselves involved in this kind of lifestyle here, they keep on focusing—those are the benefits of being a child of God. And we don’t have to take it for granted...praise be to God.

Clearly, we see a presupposition that America’s public school system is bad, and there are certain ills associated with it. This reiterates what African immigrant parents believe about American society and how they wish to have their children distinguished from American children (see Olupona, 2007: 35). She then explained why East Africans are here in the US engaged in ministry:

Pastor Ellie: Let’s cooperate with the Word of God and see what the Word of God is saying... Ephesians 2...how to serve God in a foreign land... We have been called from our countries, from our villages...some of us we didn’t know we were going to be in America one day, not because our parents were so rich, not because maybe our parents knew it all, or maybe our government was rich government, or we found favor to that

visa man—no—because God had ordained us to be in this place for such a time as this, amen. (*Amen. Yes!*)

Pastor Ellie’s comments somehow “flip the script” when it comes to missionary work in foreign countries; it is usually Europeans and white Americans who are “called” to spread the Good News of the gospel, particularly in “distant heathen lands” such as is often thought about Africa, but here *Africans* are being called to a “distant heathen land”—the United States. Although Pastor Ellie says that God has called these women to serve in a foreign land, she readily admits one will find difficulties here due to cultural differences; however, God will always see you through and give you the grace to handle it:

Pastor Ellie: Now I’m an ordained minister and I’m serving God...and when I look back, I don’t regret even one day why I’m serving God. Even in a foreign land, it’s been so much trials as a single woman...so many trials in this country. But you know what? God has been faithful in my life. The devil has raised from one end then the other, but God has been faithful in my life.

When African Christians come to the United States, culture shock is inescapable. Pastor Ellie described this experience within her African community:

Pastor Ellie: There is so many temptation. There is so many culture shock in this country. You come, you see things, you’re like ‘Wow!’

I remember one mama came, and the other young lady says, ‘Mama, let’s go to the movies.’ And mama says, ‘I see movies here all day here, I don’t need to go to the movie theater.’ (*Yeah*). She said, ‘In this country, I see movies every day, outside of the TV. I don’t need to go to the movie theater,’ amen?

That’s a culture shock So we come to this country, and we find things in our life where we’re like ‘Wow!’ (*Yes, yes*) That’s why God has called us to minister here. We’re in an environment whereby according to our culture, according to our background, it’s not the way we have been brought up. But you know what? That’s where God has called us to minister.

Pastor Ellie also elaborated as to why African Christians have been called spiritually to United States; it is due to the deteriorating culture. She continued:

Pastor Ellie: That's why we are called into ministry, even far away from home. Some of us come here, we don't have those opportunities that we had back home, because maybe back home we were so much fluent in the language, we could express ourselves around our own, be able to serve God. We come here, we find we are mistreated. Back home, we could knock door to door, and we could minister to people. But here, you cannot even knock even to your neighbor's door because you may see a gun or a dog; so you never go that far. So even the environment itself is different.

You find yourself sitting down at home; 'I cannot do much,' because what you were doing home was door-to-door evangelism, you cannot do it here. What you were doing home is maybe were crusades, singing....there are no crusades in America, albeit conferences like this. You come and you start sitting down... 'I cannot do much.' But we are here for the good work, praise be to God...praise be to God, even in the foreign land.

In discussing the challenges of doing ministry work in America, Pastor Ellie highlights one area—linguistic issues. She also has presuppositions about evangelism efforts in America of which she may not be aware; she must not know that Americans indeed go door to door in an effort to spread the gospel (e.g. Jehovah's Witnesses and Mormons). However, she states that it is linguistic and cultural issues that keep East African Christians from doing the needed ministry work in this country. To combat this, she encouraged the women to get involved with the things Americans do in the ministry, such as handing out tracts.

In order to do God's work in the ministry, Pastor Ellie explained you need the grace of God to succeed, and in explaining this, she code-switches between English and Kiswahili:

Pastor Ellie: We need the grace of God to be able to stand on our gap. I thank God for this sister here when

she was leading the intercession, she said, ‘We need to stand on our gap’. Katika zama yetu. Tumulia Mungu. (In our gap, we cry out to God).

Nasema, (I say) even if anything goes wrong, it’s not even the pastor’s wife; if anything goes wrong, it’s not even the sister who sings in the choir; it’s your own fault... what is happening in the church. Amen.

Without the grace of God, you cannot do the work of the ministry, especially in this environment. In this kind of environment, there is a busy life, there is children. You know what? I thank God, I am not married yet, and I don’t have children, but just working under the women of God who have families, children, and they work two jobs... I’ve seen how much they struggle; how much they go through, in a way that when they come in at the end of the day you wonder, ‘When are they going to have time to serve God?’ So in this kind of environment, you need the wisdom, you need the grace of God to be able to stand in your gap, and still be able to help your community, your family, your marriage, and your people at work...you should be able to stand in the gap, and at same time, be able to stand as a virtuous woman with noble characters. Amen.

Pastor Ellie continued repeating the phrase, “this kind of environment,” as if we already knew what that meant. She also mentioned the challenge and disappointment of those who were active in ministry in their home countries in East Africa, but now do not see an opportunity to work here in the United States:

Pastor Ellie: Things may not look so pleasing to overcoming to stand and minister before God, but guess what? You’ve been called by His grace; the grace of God will carry you through—even in this environment—whereby you don’t see doors opening for you to minister. Some of us were big ministers back home, but we come up here and we can’t see the door to minister.

Even in a foreign land, even when you cannot go door to door to knock to evangelize...still, we can stand in our gap. Some of us have come up here and we cannot even do what God has called to do back home, because the environment is not so inviting...maybe sometimes because of the language barrier

and the teachers we cannot minister...some of us go to those mega-churches, and the pastor does not know you exist...but still you need to serve God in that country. *(Yes! Yes, sistah!)* You need to serve God in that country.

...For such a time as this, God has called us for a purpose; for such a time as this here in America.

She reminded and encouraged the women that they were in the right place at the right time: in America, in a particular church, in a particular neighborhood.

Living the Christian life and upholding its ideals, especially “purity” (chastity), Pastor Ellie said were challenging in America, and many young women in her Texas congregation continually ask her how to live in purity. Echoing the message of Mimi Michele, Pastor Ellie explained that the “environment” invites this type of behavior:

Pastor Ellie: Yes, it is very possible to live in purity. If I live it, you can live it...*(Yes, yes...)* Even in a foreign land whereby some things...you cannot even...you have to stay with man because the bills are so much, so before you get married, you stay with a man as wife. No, I refuse that! *(Yes! Clapping...)* I’m not gonna stay with no man! As a woman I’ll work my own work and provide my own bills. And the man who comes to me...he’s not coming just to...no, you don’t play with me *(waving her finger back and forth)*. I know where God has taken me from.

Probably the most often used biblical example that the presenters of the TITUS Women’s Conference offered for serving God in a foreign land was the book of Esther. Briefly, this book tells the story of Esther, a young Jewish woman, who becomes queen in a foreign land (Persia). She ultimately risks her life to save her people (the Jews) when they are threatened with genocide. Even when things become dire, she never forsakes her cultural heritage. Workshop presenters quoted the book and presented Esther as an example several times during the conference. Pastor Ellie did the same:

Pastor Ellie: How do we serve God in the foreign land even when the environment is not inviting? How do we stay faithful to God amongst culture shock? We look at Esther 4:12—Esther thinks not of herself, but of her people. She is a good example of a woman of God in a foreign land.

Pastor Ellie also compared African and American Christianity. She said that the permissive environment in the U.S. seeps into the church realm and dilutes the Word of God, and American Christians do not rely on God or speak the truth as they should. She explained that back home, people really depended on God for everything, where there are no credit cards or health insurance—just God. However, being “in this environment here,” does not absolve an African Christian woman from doing what she is supposed to do, according to God’s Word:

Pastor Ellie: A woman of character, you need to be a holy woman; a woman of God is called to be holy before God, regardless of what people say about the environment here. Yes, sometimes you are trapping...you are placed in a place whereby you can’t even speak the truth...the situation is so bad, intense...but you know what? (*Speak the truth!*), the voice of God will help you.

Pastor Ellie, however, did acknowledge that Africans often change once they come to the United States, and this includes their ministry work. In short, the men change, the women get busy and neglect their home duties, and everyone does not stand up for what they know is right:

Pastor Ellie: We often grow cold in our ministry once we Get to U.S.; commit yourselves back to God, and He will restore your joy and ministry. We are often afraid of working with other women for fear of offending them; offend for the sake of the gospel!

Pastor Ellie explained that another godly trait a woman has is a devotional spirit, and this spirit will conquer the challenges African Christian immigrants face in the United States. She used the biblical story of Hannah, an infertile woman who pleads with God for a child and ultimately gives birth to the prophet, Samuel, as the basis for her argument:

Pastor Ellie: This story of Hannah we all know. And who was praying this prayer (*others answer 'Hannah'*)... things have not been coming through the way you want in America...the green card's not coming through...you are out of status with your family...you don't know how to get back to the status, but you want to do the right thing...there is no way you can do the right thing...you are struggling...your kids have gone to school now, they've finished high school, they don't go to college because of the status...they look at you, but you don't know what is going on. They say, 'Mama, I want to go to college,'...the woman (*referring to Hannah*) stood at the gap. 'God, if you bless me...The Bible says that God heard Hannah's prayer.

Pastor Ellie also demonstrated how the communal nature of true Christian living is being challenged and degraded by American individualism. She said that Christian women often do not encourage other women to live a holy life in a foreign land:

Pastor Ellie: We often don't inspire other women in the church because we don't want to deal with others' problems or have problems with them—this is not right. When we separate ourselves from others (*especially in church*) we will get separation from others in our lives. Guard against separation.

American individualism is contrary to African communal nature as well:

Pastor Ellie: ...and this is how separation begins. You have one checking account now... he wants his own checking account; separations begins. You don't even share your finances together anymore—separation begins. And this ego of this life we live here, we are in foreign land—I've got my finances from my job; you have your job too—you're not going to take my money to pay bills. (*That's the spirit... Mmm-hmmm*).

...And for those who got married from the pool from Africa, thank God for that, because you know what? We identify with what we come from. If we need to send money to my mother, or send money to his mother, we identify our problem...our needs.

I remember when I was talking with my uncle, and my aunt was saying, 'You need to get married. And it doesn't

matter if maybe an American man.’ And my uncle said, “Oooh. You say it doesn’t matter, but it matters. If she gets married to an African man, I don’t care which country, that’s ok...because we identify each other. And we don’t want you to stop sending money here. *(Everyone laughs)*.”

This excerpt is about much more than getting married; it is about identity and preserving it so as to preserve not only the culture, but to flourish living the Christian life.

Again, individualism and separation are not in line with African culture, and according to Pastor Ellie, it’s not in line with Christianity either; however, the American lifestyle cannot be blamed for this problem. She explained the fallacy of conflating the “world system” with the “American system,” as Sis. Lydia had done previously:

Pastor Ellie: A foolish woman breaks her house with her own hands. *(Yes...praise God...)*...Separation starts from out there, from outside...before you realize it, it’s in your own house.... starts separating your kids, starts separating yourself...your husband...you are no longer walking one way, you are going in different directions, and you start accusing him, ‘You are being like an American!’ No, it’s not American lifestyle, it’s your own problem. There is no American life-style when it comes to the kingdom of God *(Thank you! Yes! Yes!)* There is no American’s godly life period. *(Thank you, Jesus!)*. Stand in the gap as a woman of God.

As I said again, as I was leaving the inspiration topic, if you’re not interested on somebody, you’re not going to do anything for the person...because you are not interested. There are people here, I can confess, this is the sixth, seventh time I’ve come to this type of meeting, I’ve never even asked their number. We meet, I leave—never even called them—nothing. I’m guilt—because I’m not too interested... Now if I’m interested, I’ll take Mama Katenda’s phone number and I’ll call her. That’s what we do; we come to this meeting and we leave. Individualism—it’s killing us. *(Yeah...that’s right)*.

This is precisely the spirit that the North Carolina and Michigan focus group talked about and wanted to discourage in their Kiswahili fellowships.

Pastor Ellie echoed the theme of divinely-prescribed marital roles presented previously by Lila Manawe and Sis. Lydia. She said that a godly woman enacts stewardship, meaning she manages and looks to the domestic concerns of the family, the church, and kingdom of God. However, this is challenging in America, where she believes biblical truth is often stifled:

Pastor Ellie: How do you inspire other people? How do you present yourself before people as a woman of God... whereby in this foreign land where we talk of ‘Christianity, Christianity?’ We can’t stand for the truth anymore. We say, ‘Because of America...’ –no. There is no America in heaven. (*That’s right*). There is only holiness and purity (*Amen*). There is no America in heaven; there is no compromising.

What are you going to say before God as a woman of God? The young people are perishing because we do not stand at the gap and pray for them and talk to them. Yes, we may be discouraged because the environment we are in, they can answer you anything, but that does not stop you standing as a steward of God...If it’s true speak it, as long as it is lining with the word of God. If it’s lining with the word of God, speak it! I know we’re running from the culture whereby we cannot speak things the way we see it...we try to go corner corner (*waves hand in diagonal fashion*)...speak it to save the soul of somebody else. (*Amen!*)

Again, she reiterated the challenge of living a godly life in America:

Pastor Ellie: When we tolerate sin around us, we give up our authority and place as leaders, and the devil will take advantage of that.

...You know, sometimes we allow these things. And once we allow them, we give up our... (*someone says, ‘authority’*) authority. We give up our place as leaders. And the devil take advantage of that if we just tolerate stuff. Sometimes you say, ‘Oh, in America things are so tough, sometimes we have to preach a ‘compromising gospel’...who told you there is such a thing as a ‘compromising gospel’? There is no such thing as a ‘compromising gospel’; there’s a Good News—that’s the gospel of Jesus Christ. White is white, black is black....sin is sin.

Pastor Ellie also expressed frustration over how she had been treated in America as an African, but she explained that a woman of God possesses character and self-esteem, which a woman receives from God's unique call on her life:

Pastor Ellie: God, He did not call me just for low stuff—no. And you know I'm not going to put myself in low self—'Oh, you know me, I'm from Africa...'—no! I'm created of God, I'm a child of God. *(Yes!)*

So what if I'm from Africa—do you know where you come from?! You are not maybe from America, you! We are all strangers in this land, so let's treat each other with respect. *(Yes!)*

Being a Christian and serving God in a foreign land can also mean having disagreements with people from your own ethnic community, and there are often quarrels or differences with others from one's home country regarding cultural issues that do not adhere to Christian values or custom. Pastor Ellie has experienced this. She recounted an incident where she attended a "kitchen party" (bridal shower) with women from her church, and beer was served. She was asked to pray, but she refused to pray for them at the shower because of the presence of alcohol. This situation repeated itself at a funeral, where beer was again served. The deceased's family said that having beer was their custom since they were from Bukoba, Tanzania. Pastor Ellie explained that they were to have the "custom from heaven," and not consume alcohol. These are just a few of the struggles she has had within her own community, but this did not deter her from godly living:

Pastor Ellie: And whenever I hear people talk about me, in my own community, I don't even argue with them—I prove them wrong. I'm like this...this is how I live my life...what I'm talking, that's what I am; what you see is what you get. And I thank God for that because it gives me respect in my community.

And I'm not even marching Tanzanian's issues. One time God spoke to me—I was not to attend anything with Tanzanians. And they used to say, 'Oh, she thinks she's from South Africa because she's from Botswana'... They talked a lot about me...and they really rebuked me on that. I started saying, 'These are my own people; I need to help them. They need my help.' And God redirected me. Then, I started attending these Tanzanian functions... So I started attending their gatherings... baby shower, whatever—and I find I bring healing to those who are wounded.

Serving God in a foreign land can be difficult, and Pastor Ellie concluded her presentation with these words of encouragement:

Pastor Ellie: As you serve God in a foreign land, may God be your strength, your refuge, your shield, your shelter, your strong arm. Blessings.

7.7 Summary of the TITUS Women's Conference

The TITUS Women's Conference was organized for the purpose of encouraging and instructing East African Christian women residing in the United States to live a godly life. The workshops presented highlighted the trials and challenges that this immigrant population faces as they establish themselves in a "foreign land," but the workshop discussions and times of praise and worship also demonstrated their views on language, ethnic identity, and how they contribute to their overall identity as African Christian immigrants, from a female perspective.

Within this gendered space of the TITUS Women's Conference, the issues surrounding language use and language choice were illuminating. Unlike the Kiswahili fellowship of St. Mark's, there was a concerted effort to balance praise and worship bilingually between English and Kiswahili. Songs and hymns often began in one language, and switched back and forth with regularity. However, the attendees' singing in Kiswahili was usually stronger and more enthusiastically sung in harmony.

Kiswahili, although not the primary language used in the conference, was utilized during praise and worship (singing), explanations of religious terms, and clarifications of subject matter. It was also used in the e-mail announcement of the TITUS Women's Conference and its program of workshops. Only one person presented a workshop completely in Kiswahili, but unfortunately, this workshop was not recorded due to technical difficulty. It is worth noting that two workshop presenters did not speak Kiswahili (Mimi Michele and Sis. Lydia). Kiswahili was also used to reference cultural concepts, as we see in Mama Sofia's talk when she spoke of the "kiboko" (rod), and during Lila Manawe's talk when she referenced the wedding night ("kibao kata" or cutting of the hymen). It was also used in spiritual explanations, such as in Pastor Ellie's workshop where she spoke of "standing in our gap" (katika zama yetu). Praise and worship was the only domain in which Kiswahili was used in almost equal proportion to English. No Kiswahili was used during prayer, as this was solely the domain of English and "tongues."

Although English was the primary language of the conference, it presented problems for some participants; they seemed uncomfortable with the language and it seemed to hinder their communication and self-expression, as evidenced in Mama Abdi's presentation and during the musical segue after Lila Manawe's talk. It was also referenced during Pastor Ellie's workshop when she spoke of the problems East African Christians have trying to evangelize in the United States.

A third language or linguistic variety was also utilized during this conference, African American Language (AAL) (Smitherman, 1977; Rickford & Rickford, 2000). These speech patterns included deletion of final consonants (with=*wit*, talking=*talkin*, laughing=*laughin*, saying=*sayin*), contraction of *going to* rendered as *gon*, a diphthong being changed to a monophthong (I=*Ah*, my=*mah*), copula deletion (*We gon go to the worship*), and double negation

(Don't say nuthin). It also included lack of do-support (*Girl, how you do that?*), and idiomatic phrases (*all that and a bag of chips*). Clearly the TITUS Women understood AAL, and several speakers used it during their presentations or musical performances (Mimi Michele, Lila Manawe, Sis. Lydia, Juliana, Nellia, and Richard). The reason for this may be that a large segment of this conference population resides in the southern United States, and they are more exposed to African American speech patterns, and in identifying with other African-descended people, they take on their linguistic practices. However, many of the aforementioned features of AAL are also found in the southern white American speech. This is attributed to the social history of this region and the linguistic borrowings and additions that have occurred between white and black Americans during the past 400 years. In fact, scholars such as Erik Thomas and Guy Bailey have directly linked black influence to white southern speech (Rickford & Rickford, 2000, p. 100). In any case, I found that this group of East African transnational women did use more features of AAL than I had expected; they understood this linguistic variety, and they seemed to welcome it in their space.

Finally, issues of identity were evident. These participants' language use and choice reveal some connection to their ethnic and religious identities. English was used extensively during the conference, but it did not play a role in their identity, and it seemed to be used for "instrumental" purposes only—to work, go to school, or evangelize, but never to be embraced on its own. This can be seen from Mama Abdi's comments about English, as well as Pastor Ellie's explanations of how lack of knowledge of English can be a barrier to evangelism. Concerns over identity were also raised by Mama Sofia who, after living in Australia for many years, insisted her children return home to Africa for a while before living in the United States. Mama Sofia did not want her children to forget where they came from; she wanted them to connect with

hardships, struggles, and lifestyle of their people in Africa. In essence, she did not want them to lose their identity. Kiswahili seemed to contribute more heavily than English to their ethnic and religious identities, as seen by their use of certain words or phrases to refer to something they were all familiar with culturally (“kiboko,” “kibao kata”) and the rephrasing of certain religious terminology (“stand in our gap” = “katika zama yetu”), as well as the enthusiasm shown during praise and worship segments in Kiswahili (musical segues between speakers).

Theoretically, the frameworks presented in Chapter 3 can be used as a lens to filter the data presented in this chapter. Kiswahili seems to hold the “social stock of knowledge” (Berger & Luckmann, 1967) for the majority of this group of East African Christian women, and they use it to further explain or reiterate cultural or religious concepts to themselves. This reality, as Smitherman (1991) states, has taken on a linguistic shape. Pragmatics also informs this work in that social context affects meaning in what the conference presenters said in their workshops and how attendees understood it. For example, Sis. Lydia’s statement, “So if you don’t pray, the Nigerian’s will say, ‘Na wahalla’ (troubles), and you know what will happen to you,” assumes that the audience shares her social stock of knowledge, and they will all know implicitly what this means and what will happen if they do not pray. In addition, Pastor Ellie’s continued repetition of the phrase, “this type of environment,” also assumes we share her social contextual view and comprehension of its use. These are examples of presuppositions, which were found throughout the TITUS Women’s Conference presentations. And finally, we cannot understand this group’s linguistic attitudes without understanding what they know and think about the languages they are using, in this case, Kiswahili and English. The comments about “different English,” and “language barriers,” as well as the use of Kiswahili to explain cultural and spiritual

aspects of their lives, give us a window into their thoughts about language and their attitudes toward different varieties, which is precisely what folk linguistics tries to do.

Although not explicitly stated, African American Language seemed to contribute to their ethnic and religious identities as well. We see this in their comprehension and use of African American speech patterns, such as in Mimi Michele's presentation, the singers' introductions to their songs and additions to what they are singing, or conversations with other young people their age. It was also seen in explanations of certain cultural events (Lila Manawe and "kitchen parties"), and their identities as Christian women (the beginning of Sis. Lydia's talk). All of these instances contribute to ethnic and religious identity.

The comments of the TITUS Women regarding linguistic issues reveal the attitudes they have toward various language varieties, and these attitudes can be ascertained through direct means, such as a language questionnaire. The responses of this research population to a language questionnaire, including the TITUS Women, will be the focus of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 8: QUANTITATIVE DATA ANALYSIS

8.0 Introduction

This chapter will present the quantitative data analysis that supplements my qualitative data and forms a part of the triangulation of my research methods. Sixty-four written questionnaires were distributed; thirty-four were completed and returned. Out of this thirty-four, thirty-two were used in the final analysis. Some respondents answered all questions, and some did not; therefore, the data presented below refer to overall percentages. Items #13 and #15 were separated from the rest of the data for ease of analysis. For a complete listing of all questionnaire responses, by percentage, please refer to Appendix D.

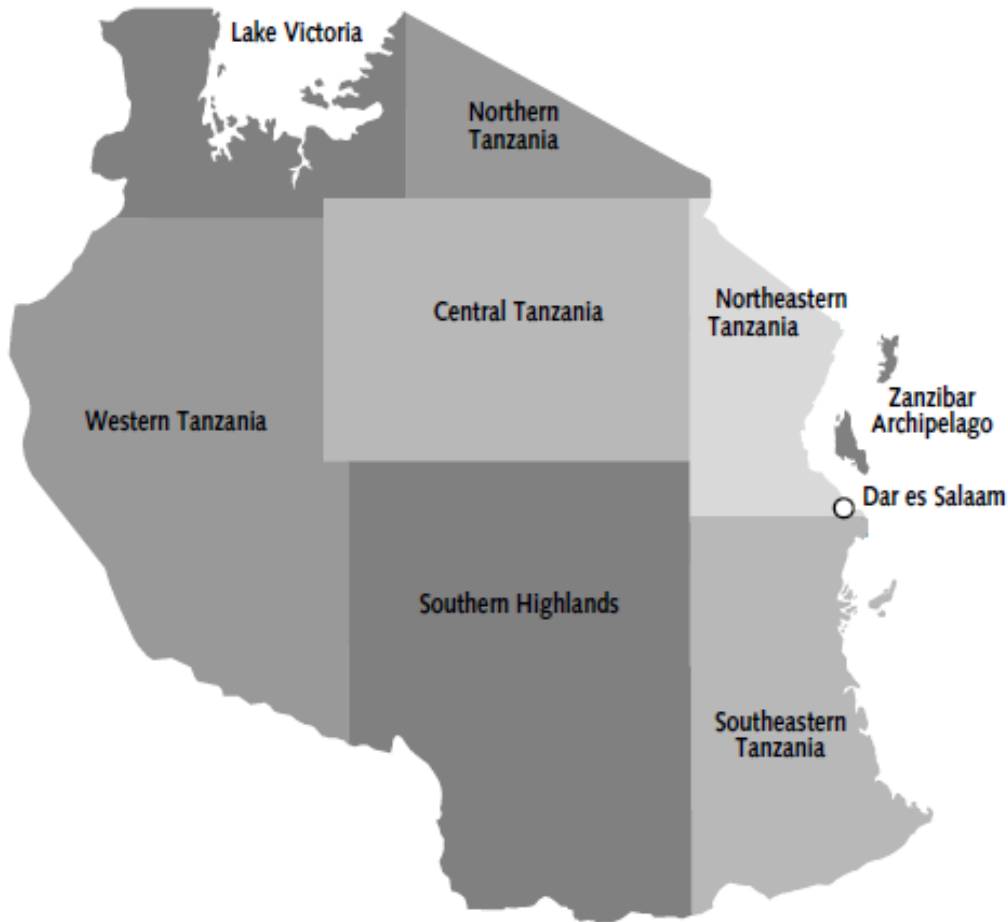
8.1 Questionnaire Parts 1-4: Demographic, Linguistic, Religious Information

Parts 1-4 of the questionnaire yielded the following general results (see Table 6): The majority of respondents (81.2%) were from Tanzania, primarily from the Southern Highlands (see Fig. 2); their average age was 40 years old. Most of the respondents were female. The majority (75.8%) held a bachelor's degree or higher and were proficient in English, which is in line with current immigration statistics. Of those who held baccalaureate degrees, the vast majority (81.8%) were conferred by African universities. Most respondents were not U.S. citizens (96.9%) and they eventually planned to return to their home countries in Africa. Most respondents had practiced the Christian faith for some time before coming to the United States, and they regularly attended an American, English-language church.

Table 6. Demographic Information of Research Participants

	%	M (years)
Home Country		
Tanzania	81.2	
Uganda	12.5	
Kenya	6.9	
Age		40
Gender		
Male	40.6	
Female	59.4	
Education		
Primary School	6.9	
High School	17.2	
Bachelor's degree or above	75.8	
Religious Affiliation		
Christian	90.6	
Other	9.4	
Time in U.S.		6
Citizenship		
Citizen	3.1	
Permanent Resident	29.0	
Non-citizen	67.9	

Figure 3. Regional Map of Tanzania



Source: Lonely Planet—Tanzania, 2008.

Respondents' primary schooling generally coincided with their birthplace, with the exception of one person who had spent some primary school years in the United States. The majority (over 90%) had attended public, secular primary schools in Africa. The language of instruction in primary schools was predominantly Kiswahili (46.7%), but over a third (36.7%) reported both English and Kiswahili as media of instruction. Respondents from Kenya and Uganda reported the indigenous languages of their countries as languages of instruction (Alur, Kikuyu, and Luganda).

Most respondents attended secondary school in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania; Dar es Salaam, Northern Tanzania and Uganda were also locales of attendance. The majority of these schools were public, secular schools. The language of instruction in secondary school was primarily English (72.4%), with 27.6% respondents reporting a combination of both English and Kiswahili used.

The range of time respondents had lived in the United States was 2 months to 22 years; the average time was 6 years. A little more than half (53.3%) had come to the United States for educational purposes; others came to join or accompany a spouse, to pursue career or economic opportunities, or to visit. The majority of respondents had attended church in their home country in Africa (90.6%), belonging to various Christian denominations; the Pentecostal, Lutheran and Assemblies of God churches were the most represented.

In the United States, the primary reasons that this population attended their Kiswahili fellowships was due to language, communication, and ease of understanding (39.3%) and fellowship with other East Africans (17.9%). Other reasons cited were the style of worship being like home in Africa, feeling at home or belonging, and feeling more anointed or closer to God (each 7.1%). Members of these fellowships traveled a half-hour or less, or approximately 10 miles, to attend these services. This group represents a wide variety of Christian denominations, although Lutheran was the most prevalent among this population because some of the research was conducted at a Lutheran church. Contrary to the literature, the Pentecostal church did not have large representation among my research participants, although the largest and fastest growing African immigrant church in America is of the Pentecostal denomination. No respondents attended a black or predominantly black American church in the United States;

they attended white or predominantly white churches, with some attending mixed-race congregations.

8.2 Questionnaire Part 5: Personal Thoughts

Part 5 of the questionnaire yielded the following results: African and Christian identity was very important for this group, and the vast majority (over 90%) reported having a strong sense of belonging to African people and taking pride in being African, so much so, that they believe it is important to expose their children to this identity through African arts and literature. They believe that Christ is a living reality, and they center their lives on Christ and His teachings. Linguistically, although proficient in English, respondents reported less positive feelings for and proficiency in English. They also did not feel any more Christian using a particular language, but they did feel closer to God using their first language or Kiswahili. Location influenced the linkage between language and ethnic and religious identity in that they felt “more African” utilizing their indigenous languages in Africa than in the United States, but did not feel “more Christian” using any particular language in either locale. However, respondents reported feeling “closer to God” using their L1, Kiswahili, and English in the American context, with utilization of their L1 yielding the most intimate feelings of closeness. In sharing Christ with others, that is, talking to other people about the identity and mission of Jesus Christ, a majority believed that African indigenous languages, including Kiswahili, could and should be used for this purpose in both their home countries in Africa and the United States.

The research participants of this study possess a large repertoire of languages (34 languages) and employ them in various sectors of their lives. A little more than half of the respondents (51.6%) reported Kiswahili being their first language, but only a third (33.3%) reported their spouse’s first language was Kiswahili. For questionnaire items #13 and 15, respondents were

asked to list the languages they knew best in rank order; however, many did not do this and listed the languages they acquired in rank order, regardless of how well they knew them.

Kiswahili, then English were listed as the languages best known by research participants; the majority reported being able to speak, write, and understand both languages well. Only four participants (12.5%) indicated some deficiency in the language, listing their ability to speak, write, or understand the language as “fair” or “poor.” Of these four respondents, two were Ugandan, one was Kenyan, and one was Tanzanian from the Southern Highlands. In fact, the Tanzanian respondent indicated she was most proficient in her mother tongue, Kibena, compared to either Kiswahili or English. With regard to English, ten respondents (31.2%) reported some deficiency in English; among these ten, six individuals indicated their English abilities were “fair” or “poor” in all three skills. Nine of these ten respondents were Tanzanian, and one was Kenyan. Kiswahili was also listed first being used at home and with friends, and English was used as a second language.

In this population’s spiritual lives, Kiswahili figured prominently. The majority reported being introduced to the Christian faith, personally led to Christ, and accepting Jesus as their personal Lord and Savior through Kiswahili, although they presently use an English Bible most often. In addition, Kiswahili was listed first being used in praise and worship services, Bible study, personal prayer time, and sharing the gospel.

8.3 Summary of Quantitative Data

The quantitative data analysis revealed that my study population is a multilingual, highly educated group of African transnationals who have resided in the United States for a number of years. They are mostly married, middle-aged mothers and fathers who have come to the U.S. to pursue educational and economic opportunities. Although they have been here for some time

and plan to reside in the United States for years to come, they fully intend to return to their countries of origin to live permanently one day. They spent their primary school years being taught in their indigenous African languages (including Kiswahili) up until secondary school, where the language of instruction was primarily English which continued through post-secondary education. Most have college and university degrees from African universities, and those with graduate degrees obtained them primarily in the United States. For those participants who were currently students, most are pursuing further education at the baccalaureate or graduate level.

The overwhelming majority of respondents are steadfast Christians who came to the United States already practicing their faith; once here, they have continued to do so, albeit in somewhat different surroundings. However, they have now begun to incorporate their native indigenous languages, primarily Kiswahili, into the practice and propagation of their faith here in the United States. The main reason this group of East African immigrants attends Kiswahili church services is due to linguistic issues—to better understand what is going on in services and to ease communication with other parishioners. Another important reason is to fellowship with other East Africans.

It was also found that this population uses African languages, especially Kiswahili, not only as the language of their church services, but also in their home lives and with members of their community. English was the language used second to Kiswahili, along with a host of African indigenous languages. These languages were used not only in church, but also in other aspects of their spiritual lives such as personal prayer time, Bible study, and sharing the gospel.

CHAPTER 9: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS, LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY, AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

9.0 Summary of Findings

This study investigated how the linguistic attitudes of an East African immigrant group contributed to their ethnic and religious identity construction, as they establish and maintain sites of worship in which the language of worship is Kiswahili. This was achieved by ascertaining their linguistic repertoires, attitudes toward their indigenous African languages (including Kiswahili), and by investigating the desires and pressures that prompt them to establish Kiswahili-language fellowships in the United States. The results of this study found that the research population possessed a large repertoire of languages (34) in which they had differing proficiencies, and these included English, Kiswahili, and a myriad of indigenous tongues of their countries of origin. Study participants claimed they used many of these languages in various sectors of their daily lives, but the study focused primarily on English and Kiswahili. It investigated actual language usage and claims of use in participants' spiritual lives, mainly during church services and activities in which the language of service was advertised to be Kiswahili. Indeed, Kiswahili was utilized, but English was also often used, sometimes to accommodate those who lacked knowledge or proficiency in Kiswahili; therefore, most religious services were bilingual. A few participants, mostly Ugandans who lacked proficiency in Kiswahili, still participated in these Kiswahili services to fellowship with other East African Christians and to worship in culturally relevant ways. Although half of the Ugandans participants claimed "fair" or "poor" skills in Kiswahili, all Ugandan parishioners enthusiastically supported and participated in these services.

The study found that the attitudes toward English, Kiswahili, and other indigenous African languages were positive. Their attitudes toward Kiswahili and indigenous African languages were so positive that a majority of respondents felt they could be employed in their spiritual lives in the United States and could also be used to share Christ and spread the gospel in their adopted homeland. I believe my research participants felt this way because of their great desire to connect with other East African immigrants and to share the gospel with them. In addition, this population also desired to share the gospel, their unique African ways of life, and their tenets of spirituality with Americans, in order to help enrich American Christian lives in the United States.

The study concluded that the main reasons that this population established Kiswahili-language Christian churches and fellowships was to combat the alienation they experience in American society and to connect with other East Africans, especially Christians. This includes, to a large extent, using East African languages, which allow them to express themselves more freely and to also understand sermons and biblical teachings presented in worship services. Ease of communication, feeling they cannot get what they need from American churches, and desires to recreate linguistically and culturally relevant worship experiences encourage East African transnationals to establish Kiswahili churches and fellowships. They also establish these fellowships because of the lack of welcome and warmth they experience in the American churches in which worship. They seek to “know and be known,” and they feel they can best do this within a religious body that utilizes a language that they readily understand and associate with their deep spiritual feelings and association with God. In addition, they often do not find the rigor or adherence to biblical principles they expect in American churches, so they establish their own Christian organizations to alleviate this problem. This transnational immigrant group resides in the United States, often for many years, but maintains connections with their home

countries, to which they often travel to visit family members, conduct church business, or participate in joint projects with African church congregations. In turn, family, friends, and parishioners from home churches regularly come and visit them in the United States. To this end, they have established vibrant Christian ministries, primarily aimed at practicing their faith in culturally relevant ways that are familiar to them, in addition to being engaged in American, English-speaking church congregations.

9.1 Conclusions

There are several conclusions that can be made from this study. First, per St. Clair (1982), the language attitudes of my research populations were shaped by the sociostructural forces in their home countries, and they brought these attitudes with them when they emigrated to the United States. The political, social (mainly religious), and economic events that shaped the linguistic policies of Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda influenced the language use and attitudes of immigrants from these countries toward English and indigenous African languages, including Kiswahili. Although mostly proficient in English, research participants had less positive feelings and *reported* proficiency in English. They had a high regard for their own indigenous ethnic community languages and Kiswahili; however, contrary to prevailing language attitudes fostered in Uganda, Ugandan research participants held very positive attitudes toward Kiswahili, *even if they were not proficient in the language*. Second, Kiswahili was a strong marker of African identity for my research participants, regardless of where they were born or raised, and they are not likely to cease using it in the American context. In fact, many see increased opportunities in utilizing the language with fellow African immigrants in order to spread the gospel message. Third, it was found that language attitudes contributed more to my study population's ethnic identity than religious identity; the use of an African language made them feel "more African"

than using English, but they did not feel “more Christian” using any particular language. However, they did feel “closer to God” using their mother tongues (L1s). This may be the case because their first languages are African linguistic varieties, and these languages hold their “reality” and “social stock of knowledge” (Berger & Luckmann, 1967); using their indigenous languages only confirms this reality and relationship with their Creator. Finally, location influenced the linkage between language and ethnic and religious identity in that they felt “more African” utilizing their indigenous languages in Africa than in the United States, but they did not feel “more Christian” using any particular language in either locale. However, respondents reported feeling “closer to God” using their indigenous African languages, Kiswahili, and English in the American context, with utilization of their L1 yielding the most intimate feelings of closeness (Fishman, 1997).

9.2 Limitations of the Study

The limitations of the study were its small sample size and lack of diversity in research subjects. We cannot extrapolate the findings of this study to the entire Kenyan, Tanzanian, or Ugandan transnational community, or to the entire East African immigrant population in the United States, because the sample comprised just a small fraction of these groups. In addition, the study population was a sample of convenience, and not all members of the East African transnational community had the opportunity to participate in the study. The research participants were primarily from one country, Tanzania, so the sociostructural forces of that country, as well as the linguistic attitudes they fostered in its citizens, were privileged over those of Kenya or Uganda. Therefore, the findings of this study cannot apply directly to members of the immigrant or transnational communities of Kenya or Uganda in the United States because they were not well represented. In addition, it is difficult to *directly* pinpoint the reasons behind

the respondents' favorable attitudes toward Kiswahili due to the dialectical relationship between linguistic identity and nationalism. Did respondents, especially those from Tanzania, look favorably upon the language because it represented their true linguistic identity or their national/regional pride? The present study could not ascertain this, and further study would be needed.

9.3 Suggestions for Future Research

This study possesses many implications for future research. First, expanding the African nationality and language composite of the study would broaden our knowledge of African immigrant populations in the United States and the linguistic repertoires and attitudes they bring with them. It would allow us to gain a clearer understanding of the relationship between language and identity among African immigrants and transnationals in the United States, which at present, is a lesser studied population. It would afford us an opportunity to see the nuances within regions and the differences between regions of African immigrants with regard to language and identity. Second, delving more deeply into African immigrant women's views would allow us to further probe language and identity's gendered female space, which may yield results quite different than that of men, since women are the usual primary caregivers of the family unit. It would also give voice to female immigrant concerns. Furthermore, this research would afford us a closer look into the challenges African immigrant women and their families encounter as they transition and maintain their African identities, creating new lives for themselves in their adopted homeland, the United States, while maintaining ties with their home countries and cultures. Finally, it would be illuminating to examine the second generation's attitudes toward language and identity, since they have been raised with the African mores of their parents within the American cultural context. It would be interesting to see how proficient

this generation is in their parents' indigenous language(s), what attitudes they have toward these varieties as well as ex-colonial European languages, and how and if utilizing any of these languages impact their own ethnic and religious identities.

This study found the main reasons East African Christian immigrants in America establish Kiswahili-language Christian churches and fellowships were to combat the alienation they feel in American society, connect with other East Africans, especially Christians, and to worship in culturally relevant and spiritually sound ways. This includes, to a large extent, using an African language, Kiswahili. Utilizing Kiswahili allows them to express themselves more freely, understand sermons and biblical teachings more readily, and to be understood as human beings more thoroughly. Given the vibrancy and success of these Kiswahili churches and East African Christian fellowships, like many African initiated churches and organizations, they will be here for some time to come, changing and enriching the spiritual and linguistic landscape of the United States.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

FOCUS GROUP PROTOCOL

Language and Identity in East Africa and its Diaspora
Kiswahili Language Congregations in the United States
Focus Group Protocol

Interview Instructions:

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this group discussion about language use in East African Church Congregations, namely, those that use Kiswahili in worship services. My name is _____, and I am _____ (define role with the project). The purpose of the interview is to learn more about your reasons for attending Kiswahili-language services and your participation in East African Church congregations in the United States. I am interested in hearing about your experiences with this particular congregation, and your thoughts on its influence both here and your countries of origin. There are no right or wrong answers, so please feel free to express yourself honestly and openly in English or Kiswahili.

Your responses to the interview questions are strictly confidential, and your name will not be used in any reporting of the data; however, quotations from the interview may be used in the final draft of the project summary. The information will be audio or videotaped so that we have an accurate record of the information you will provide. You may request that I turn off the tape recorder or video camera at any time during the interview and talk “off the record.” You may also choose not to answer an interview question if you feel uncomfortable.

Does anyone have any questions at this time? (*answer any questions they may have*).
Ok, let’s begin the interview.

Origins of the Church:

1. How and why was this particular church/fellowship established?
Probe: What were some of the aims/goals of the founders?

Reasons for Attending this Church/Fellowship:

2. Why is it important for you to attend this particular church/fellowship?
Probe: Tell me about some of the benefits of attendance/membership.

Language Issues

3. Why is Kiswahili used in this church/fellowship service?
Probe: Is using Kiswahili in worship services important to you? Why?
Probe: Is there something about Kiswahili that seems more “Christian-like” to you than English?

4. Aside from language, what makes this church/fellowship different than participating in an American, English-speaking church/fellowship?
Probe: What specific acts of worship, church activities, or parishioner behaviors make it different?

Impact of the Church

5. What impact or influence do you see, or would like to see, this church/fellowship having in the United States?
Probe: What influences do you see this fellowship having locally or nationally?
6. What impact do you see, or would like to see, this church/fellowship have in your home countries or communities?

Summary

7. Is there anything else you would like to say about this church/fellowship?
Probe: What would you like others to know about this church/fellowship?

APPENDIX B

LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY QUESTIONNAIRE

Language and Identity Questionnaire

ID Number _____

Directions: Please answer the following questions in the spaces provided or beneath each question. Feel free to answer honestly. There are no right or wrong answers. If you feel uncomfortable answering any question, or if a question does not pertain to you, simply leave it blank and go on to the next one. If you need more space to write, feel free to use the back of the page or attach another sheet.

Part 1: Background Information

1. Today's date: _____

2. My age is: _____

3. My gender is: (*circle one*): Male Female

4. My occupation is: _____

5. I was born in:
 City/village _____ District/state _____ Country _____

6. I was raised in:
 City/village _____ District/state _____ Country _____

7. I am: (*circle one*) Married Widowed Divorced Never Married

8. I have _____ (*insert number*) children.

Please list their genders and ages below.

*****If never married, go to Question #12 ******

9. My spouse was born in:
 City/village _____ District/state _____ Country _____.

10. My spouse was raised in:
 City/village _____ District/state _____ Country _____.

11. My spouse's first language is _____.

12. My *first* language is _____.

13. In the table below, a) list the languages you know in rank order (*best one known first*), b) circle how well you think you know them, c) write in at what age you learned them, and d) how you learned them (ex. at home, school, with friends/neighbors, living in another country, etc.).

Language	Speak	Write	Understand	Age	How learned?
	Well Fair Poor	Well Fair Poor	Well Fair Poor		
	Well Fair Poor	Well Fair Poor	Well Fair Poor		
	Well Fair Poor	Well Fair Poor	Well Fair Poor		
	Well Fair Poor	Well Fair Poor	Well Fair Poor		
	Well Fair Poor	Well Fair Poor	Well Fair Poor		

14. Of all the languages that I know, I use _____ the most often now.
(write in which language)

15. In the table below, a) list the languages you know in rank order (*best one known first*), and b) check where/when you use these languages (*check all that apply*).

Language	At home	With friends	Praise and worship services	Bible Study	Personal prayer time	Sharing the Gospel

16. I attended **primary school** in:
City/village _____ District/state _____ Country _____.

a) It was a (*circle one*) public school private school.

b) It was a (*circle one*) religious school secular school.

c) The language(s) of instruction was/were _____.

17. I attended **secondary school** in:
City/village_____ District/state_____ Country_____.

- a) It was a (*circle one*) public school private school.
- b) It was a (*circle one*) religious school secular school.
- c) The language(s) of instruction was/were_____.

18. I attended **college** in:
City/village_____ District/state_____ Country_____.

- a) It was a (*circle one*) public school private school.
- b) It was a (*circle one*) religious school secular school.
- c) The language(s) of instruction was/were_____.

19. I attended **university** in:
City/village_____ District/state_____ Country_____.

- a) It was a (*circle one*) public school private school.
- b) It was a (*circle one*) religious school secular school.
- c) The language(s) of instruction was/were_____.

20. I attended **graduate school** in:
City/village_____ District/state_____ Country_____.

- a) It was a (*circle one*) public school private school.
- b) It was a (*circle one*) religious school secular school.
- c) The language(s) of instruction was/were_____.

21. The highest level of education I have attained is:

- a) primary school
- b) high school diploma
- c) college/university degree (B.A./B.S.)
- d) master's degree (M.A./M.S.)
- e) doctoral or professional degree (Ph.D., M.D.,J.D., D.O., O.D., D.D.S.)

22. Are you a student now?

A. Yes

B. No

****If not a student, go to Question #23 *****

a) What degree are you working towards?

Part 2: Living in the United States

23. How long have you been living in the United States?

24. Why did you come to the United States?

25. Are you a citizen of the U.S.?

A. Yes

B. No

26. Are you a permanent resident of the U.S.?

A. Yes

B. No

27. Do you plan to return to your country of origin permanently?

A. Yes

B. No

28. Were any of your children born in the United States?

A. Yes

B. No

*****If no children born in U.S., go to Question #29 *****

a) Please list the genders and ages of your children born in the United States below:

Part 3: Religious Affiliation and Language Use

29. How and when were you introduced to the Christian faith?
30. Were missionaries involved in your introduction to the Christian faith?
- A. Yes
B. No
- a) *If missionaries were involved, please explain a little about this experience.
31. What language was used to introduce you to the Christian faith?
32. Are you a Christian? (i.e., a born-again believer who has accepted Christ as Lord and Savior?)
- A. Yes
B. No
- *****If "no", go to Question #35 *****
33. In what language were you personally led to Christ?
34. In what language did you accept Jesus as your personal Lord and Savior?
35. Have you ever practiced any faith other than Christianity?
- A. Yes
B. No
- a) If you have practiced another faith, which faith(s)?
36. What type of Bible do you use most often? (English, Swahili, other?)
37. Which translation? (King James, NIV, etc.)
38. What language(s) do you usually use to speak to other church members?

- 39. In what language do you usually pray?
- 40. In what language do you usually talk to God?

Part 4: Church Attendance/Activity

41. Did you attend church services in your home country in Africa?

- A. Yes
- B. No

******If "no", go to Question #42 ******

- a) What denomination was this church?
- b) Were you a member of this church?
 - A. Yes
 - B. No

42. How long have you attended this Kiswahili church/fellowship in the United States?

43. Do other members of your family attend this Kiswahili church/fellowship?

- A. Yes
- B. No

a) If so, which ones?

44. Are you involved in other activities/jobs/positions in this Kiswahili church/fellowship? If so, please list them below and how long you have been involved in them.

Activity/Job/Position

For how long?

45. Is there a special reason why you decided to attend this Kiswahili church/fellowship? Please explain.

46. How far do you travel to attend this Kiswahili church/fellowship? (state miles/kilometers or hours)

47. Do you attend a separate American English-language church service?

A. Yes

B. No

*****If "no", go to Part 5 *****

a) If you do attend an American church service, what denomination is it?
(if non-denominational, state this)

b) Is this American church a predominantly white, black, or
racially/ethnically-mixed congregation?

c) Are you a member of this American church/fellowship?

A. Yes

B. No

Part 5: Personal Thoughts

Instructions: These following statements refer to your identity, language use, preferences, and feelings about using languages. Read each statement carefully and give your honest feelings about the beliefs and attitudes expressed. Do not think too hard about each statement—record your first thought/reaction. Indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with each statement.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Don't Know	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
AFRICAN IDENTITY					
48. Being African is an important part of who I am.	1	2	3	4	5
49. I have a strong sense of belonging to African people.	1	2	3	4	5
50. I am proud to be African.	1	2	3	4	5
51. In general, other groups view Africans in a positive manner.	1	2	3	4	5

52. Being an individual is more important than identifying oneself as African.	1	2	3	4	5
53. It is important for African people to surround their children with African art, music, and literature.	1	2	3	4	5
CHRISTIAN IDENTITY					
54. I believe that God revealed himself to man in Jesus Christ.	1	2	3	4	5
55. I believe that Christ is a living reality.	1	2	3	4	5
56. My entire life is centered on Christ and His teachings.	1	2	3	4	5
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Don't Know	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
57. I am not ashamed of being called a Christian.	1	2	3	4	5
58. Life has no meaning apart from a relationship	1	2	3	4	5

with Christ.					
59. I believe in the church as God's agent of salvation in the world.	1	2	3	4	5

MY FIRST LANGUAGE					
60. I feel good when I speak my first language.	1	2	3	4	5
61. I can express myself well in my first language.	1	2	3	4	5
62. I can express myself best in my first language.	1	2	3	4	5
63. It is important that my children learn and understand my first language.	1	2	3	4	5
64. My first language is well developed.	1	2	3	4	5
65. My first language can be used for business, educational, and religious purposes.	1	2	3	4	5

66. My first language should be used for business, educational, and religious purposes.	1	2	3	4	5
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Don't Know	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
KISWAHILI					
67. I feel good when I speak Kiswahili.	1	2	3	4	5
68. I can express myself well in Kiswahili.	1	2	3	4	5
69. I can express myself best in Kiswahili.	1	2	3	4	5
70. It is important that my children learn and understand Kiswahili.	1	2	3	4	5
71. Kiswahili is a well-developed language.	1	2	3	4	5
72. Kiswahili can be used for business, educational and religious purposes.	1	2	3	4	5
73. Kiswahili should be used for business,	1	2	3	4	5

educational and religious purposes.					
ENGLISH					
74. I feel good when I speak English.	1	2	3	4	5
75. I can express myself well in English.	1	2	3	4	5
76. I can express myself best in English.	1	2	3	4	5
77. It is important that my children learn and understand English.	1	2	3	4	5
78. English is a well-developed language.	1	2	3	4	5
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Don't Know	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
79. English can be used for business, educational and religious purposes.	1	2	3	4	5
80. English should be used for business, educational and religious purposes.	1	2	3	4	5

The following statements (#81-92) refer to living in your country of origin in **AFRICA**:

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Don't Know	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
AFRICAN IDENTITY AND LANGUAGE					
81. I feel more African speaking my first language.	1	2	3	4	5
82. I feel more African speaking Kiswahili.	1	2	3	4	5
83. I feel more African speaking English.	1	2	3	4	5
CHRISTIAN IDENTITY AND LANGUAGE					
84. I feel more Christian speaking my first language.	1	2	3	4	5
85. I feel more Christian speaking Kiswahili.	1	2	3	4	5
86. I feel more Christian speaking English.	1	2	3	4	5

CLOSENESS TO GOD					
87. I feel closer to God when speaking to Him in my first language.	1	2	3	4	5
88. I feel closer to God when speaking to Him in Kiswahili.	1	2	3	4	5
89. I feel closer to God when speaking to Him in English.	1	2	3	4	5
SHARING CHRIST					
90. My first language should be used to share Christ with others.	1	2	3	4	5
91. Kiswahili should be used to share Christ with others.	1	2	3	4	5
92. English should be used to share Christ with others.	1	2	3	4	5

The following statements (#93-104) refer to living in the **UNITED STATES**:

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Don't Know	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
AFRICAN IDENTITY AND LANGUAGE					
93. I feel more African speaking my first language.	1	2	3	4	5
94. I feel more African speaking Kiswahili.	1	2	3	4	5
95. I feel more African speaking English.	1	2	3	4	5
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Don't Know	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
CHRISTIAN IDENTITY AND LANGUAGE					
96. I feel more Christian speaking my first language.	1	2	3	4	5
97. I feel more Christian speaking Kiswahili.	1	2	3	4	5
98. I feel more Christian speaking English.	1	2	3	4	5

CLOSENESS TO GOD					
99. I feel closer to God when speaking to Him in my first language.	1	2	3	4	5
100. I feel closer to God when speaking to Him in Kiswahili.	1	2	3	4	5
101. I feel closer to God when speaking to Him in English.	1	2	3	4	5
SHARING CHRIST					
102. My first language can be used to share Christ with others.	1	2	3	4	5
103. Kiswahili can be used to share Christ with others.	1	2	3	4	5
104. English should be used to share Christ with others.	1	2	3	4	5

END

Thank you for sharing your thoughts and participating in this survey!

APPENDIX C

UNIVERSAL LOCATIONS RUBRIC

UNIVERSAL LANGUAGE RUBRIC

UNIVERSAL DENOMINATIONS RUBRIC

Universal Locations Rubric

1 = Dar es Salaam, Tanzania	10 = Uganda
2 = Central Tanzania	11 = Zambia
3 = Northern Tanzania	12 = Botswana
4 = Northeast Tanzania	13 = United States
5 = Southern Highlands, Tanzania	14 = United Kingdom
6 = Southeast Tanzania	15 = Australia
7 = Western Tanzania	16 = Switzerland
8 = Lake Victoria, Tanzania	17 = Ukraine
9 = Kenya	

Universal Language Rubric

1 = English	20 = Kibena	39 = Greek
2 = Swahili	21 = Kichagga	0 = Don't know
3 = Swahili and English	22 = Kinga	
4 = Ngoni	23 = Kihaya	
5 = Tonga	24 = Kihehe	
6 = Russian	25 = Rangi	
7 = Ukranian	26 = Tswana	
8 = Iraqw	27 = Japanese	
9 = Tongues	28 = German	
10 = Luganda	29 = Lutooro	
11 = Lusoga	30 = Maasai	
12 = Alur	31 = Kikamba	
13 = Kalenjin	32 = Lugbara	
14 = Kikuyu	33 = Dutch	
15 = Rwandese	34 = Spanish	
16 = Pare	35 = Kijaluo	
17 = Nyakyusa	36 = French	
18 = Nyaturu	37 = Kerewe	
19 = Nyiramba	38 = Hanyaza	

Universal Denominations Rubric

- | | |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1 = non-denominational | 9 = Moravian |
| 2 = interdenominational | 10 = Nazarene |
| 3 = evangelical | 11 = Pentecostal |
| 4 = African Independent Church | 12 = Reformed Church of America |
| 5 = Anglican | 13 = Roman Catholic |
| 6 = Assemblies of God | 14 = Seventh Day Adventist |
| 7 = Baptist | 15 = Other |
| 8 = Lutheran | |

APPENDIX D

LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY QUESTIONNAIRE PERCENTAGES

Language and Identity Questionnaire
(Percentages)

Part 1: Background Information

1. Today's date: **May-August**

2. My age is: **Range: 20 yrs – 58 yrs Mean: 38.8 yrs**

3. My gender is: **Male=40.6% Female=59.4%**

4. My occupation is:

Student	25.9%	Education	7.4%
Health	22.2%	Homemaker	7.4%
Business	18.5%	Science/Engineering	7.4%
		Clergy	7.4%
		Computers/Technology	7.4%
		Homemaker	3.7%

5. I was born in:

Tanzania:	Southern Highlands	37.5%
	Northern	15.6%
	Western	12.5%
	Dar es Salaam	9.4%
	Central	3.1%
	Lake Victoria	3.1%
Uganda:		12.5%
Kenya		6.3%

6. I was raised in: **No answer 93.8% Botswana 3.1% United States 3.1%**

7. I am: **Married 61.3% Divorced 6.4% Never Married 32.3% Widowed 0%**

8. I have ____ children

0	37.5%	4	15.6%
1	3.1%	5	9.4%
2	21.9%	8	3.1%
3	9.4%		

If never married, go to Question #12 **

9. My spouse was born in: **Tanzania: Southern Highlands 33.3%**
Northern 33.3%
Central 14.3%
Lake Victoria 4.8%

Uganda: 14.3%

10. My spouse was raised in: **Tanzania: Southern Highlands 33.3%**
Northern 28.6%
Central 14.8%
Western 4.8%
Lake Victoria 4.8%

Uganda: 14.3%

11. My spouse's first language is: **Swahili 33.3%** **Nyaturu 4.8%**
Pare 9.5% **Kibena 4.8%**
Nyakyusa 9.5% **Kinga 4.8%**
Ngoni 4.8% **Kihaya 4.8%**
Luganda 4.8% **Kihehe 4.8%**
Lusoga 4.8% **Rangi 4.8%**
Alur 4.8%

12. My first language is: **Swahili 51.6%** **Kikuyu 3.2%**
Nyakyusa 9.7% **Rwandese 3.2%**
Kibena 6.5% **Pare 3.2%**
Ngoni 3.2% **Kichagga 3.2%**
Luganda 3.2% **Kinga 3.2%**
Lusoga 3.2%
Alur 3.2%
Kalenjin 3.2%

13. In the table below, a) list the languages you know in rank order (*best one known first*), b) circle how well you think you know them, c) write in at what age you learned them, and d) how you learned them (ex. at home, school, with friends/neighbors, living in another country, etc.).

Language	Speak	Write	Understand	Age	How learned?
Swah 46.7% Eng 23.3% Lusoga 3.3% Alur 3.3% Kalenj 3.3% Rwand 3.3% Nyakyu 3.3% Kibena 3.3% Kichag 3.3% Masaai 3.3% Greek 3.3%	Well 68.8% Fair 17.9% Poor 3.6%	Well 78.6% Fair 10.7% Poor 10.7%	Well 96.4% Fair 3.6% Poor 0%	Birth-11 yrs 96.2%	Home 79.3% School 17.2% Friends 3.4%
Eng 44.8% Swa 31.0% Lugand 6.9% Kikuyu 3.4% Pare 3.4% Nyakyu 3.4% Kibena 3.4% Kichag 3.4%	Well 73.1% Fair 23.1% Poor 3.8%	Well 73.1% Fair 15.4% Poor 11.5%	Well 76.9% Fair 19.2% Poor 3.8%	Birth-10 yrs 74.1% 13-26 yrs 25.9%	School 53.6% Home 35.7% Comm 7.1% Country 3.6%
Eng 45.8% Swa 16.7% Ngoni 4.2% Nyaku 4.2% Kibena 4.2% Kichag 4.2% Kinga 4.2% Tswan 4.2% Kijaluao 4.2% French 4.2% Kerewe 4.2%	Well 50.0% Fair 33.3% Poor 16.7%	Well 54.2% Fair 25.0% Poor 20.8%	Well 54.2% Fair 29.2% Poor 16.7%	Birth-18 yrs 68.2% >18 yrs 31.8%	School 59.1% Home 27.3% Comm 4.5% Country 9.1%
Kihaya 16.7% Swahili 8.3% Iraqw 8.3% Lusoga 8.3% Pare 8.3% Kihehe 8.3% Japan 8.3% German 8.3% Lugbara 8.3%	Well 8.3% Fair 50.0% Poor 41.7%	Well 0.0% Fair 41.7% Poor 58.3%	Well 0.0% Fair 58.3% Poor 41.7%	< 18 yrs 22.2% > 18 yrs 77.8%	School 27.3% Neigh 18.2% Friend 18.2% Commty 9.1% In coun 9.1% In-laws 9.1%

Dutch 8.3%					Classmates 9.1%
Span 8.3%					
Lugan 20.0%	Well 0.0%	Well 20.0%	Well 20.0%	< 18 yrs 25.0%	Neigh 40.0%
Lutoor 20.0%	Fair 40.0%	Fair 20.0%	Fair 40.0%	> 18 yrs 75.0%	Comm 20.0%
Masaai 20.0%	Poor 60.0%	Poor 60.0%	Poor 40.0%		Friend 20.0%
Kikamb20.0%					Church20.0%
Hanya 20.0%					

14. Of all the languages that I know, I use _____ the most often now.

English 64.5%
Swahili and English 22.6%
Swahili 12.9%

15. In the table below, a) list the languages you know in rank order (*best one known first*), and b) check where/when you use these languages (*check all that apply*).

Language	At home	With friends	Praise and worship services	Bible Study	Personal prayer time	Sharing the Gospel
Swa 62.5% Eng 21.9% Lusog 3.1% Alur 3.1% Nyaky 3.1% Kibena 3.1% Masaai 3.1%	Swa 68.8% Eng 12.5% Lusog 3.1% Alur 3.1% Nyaky 3.1% Kibena3.1%	Swa 59.4% Eng 28.1% Lusog 3.1% Nyaky 3.1% Kibena3.1% Masaai3.1%	Swa 54.8% Eng 41.9% Lusog 3.2%	Eng 51.6% Swa 48.4%	Swa 56.7% Eng 36.7% Alur 3.3% Kibena3.3%	Swa 54.6% Eng 45.2%
Eng 68.8% Swa 28.1% Lugan 3.1%	Eng 62.5% Swa 20.8% Lugan 4.2% Kalenj 4.2% Kibena4.2% Masaai4.2%	Eng 68.0% Swa 28.0% Lugan 4.0%				

16. I attended <i>primary school</i> in:	Tanzania:	Southern Highlands	41.9%
		Dar es Salaam	16.1%
		Northern	6.5%
		Central	6.5%
		Western	6.5%
		Northeast	3.2%
		Lake Victoria	3.2%
		Kenya:	9.7%
		Uganda:	6.5%
		United States	3.1%

- a) It was a (*circle one*) public school 96.6% private school 3.4%
- b) It was a (*circle one*) religious school 5.6% secular school 94.4%
- c) The language(s) of instruction was/were:
- | | |
|---------------------|-------|
| Swahili | 46.7% |
| Swahili and English | 36.7% |
| English | 6.7% |
| Luganda | 3.3% |
| Alur | 3.3% |
| Kikuyu | 3.3% |

17. I attended <i>secondary school</i> in:	Tanzania:	Southern Highlands	31.0%
		Dar es Salaam	17.2%
		Northern	10.3%
		Lake Victoria	6.9%
		Northern	3.4%
		Central	3.4%
		Western	3.4%
		Southeast	3.4%
		Uganda:	10.3%
		Kenya:	6.9%
	Switzerland	3.4%	

- a) It was a (*circle one*) public school 88.9% private school. 11.1%
- b) It was a (*circle one*) religious school 12.5% secular school. 80.0%
- c) The language(s) of instruction was/were:
- | | |
|---------------------|-------|
| English | 72.4% |
| Swahili and English | 27.6% |

c) The language(s) of instruction was/were: **English 100.0%**

21. The highest level of education I have attained is: **College/univ degree 37.9%**
Master's degree 27.6%
High school diploma 17.2%
Doctorate/prof degree 10.3%
Primary school 6.9%

22. Are you a student now? **Yes 33.3%** **No 66.7%**

*****If not a student, go to Question #23 ******

a) What degree are you working towards? **College/univ degree 40.0%**
Doctoral/prof degree 40.0%
Master's degree 20.0%

Part 2: Living in the United States

23. How long have you been living in the United States? **0-2 yrs 37.9%**
3-5 yrs 13.7%
7-10 yrs 31.0%
11-12 yrs 6.8%
18 yrs 6.9%
22 yrs 3.4%

24. Why did you come to the United States? **Education 53.3%**
Join/accompany spouse 20.0%
Visit 13.3%
Job/economic oppor 10.0%
Other 3.3%

25. Are you a citizen of the U.S.? **Yes 3.1%** **No 96.9%**

26. Are you a permanent resident of the U.S.? **Yes 29.0%** **No 71.0%**

27. Do you plan to return to your country of origin permanently? **Yes 96.8%** **No 3.2%**

28. Were any of your children born in the United States? **Yes 39.1% No 60.9%**

*****If no children born in U.S., go to Question #29 *****

a) Please list the genders and ages of your children born in the United States below:

Females	7	Ages 2 mos – 17 yrs
Males	9	Ages 23 mos – 10 yrs

Part 3: Religious Affiliation and Language Use

29. *How* and *when* were you introduced to the Christian faith?

Home/family	60.0%
Evangelism	16.7%
School	10.0%
Church	6.7%
Friends	6.7%

30. Were missionaries involved in your introduction to the Christian faith? **Yes 22.6% No 77.4%**

a) *If missionaries were involved, please explain a little about this experience.

- **My grandparents were very religious and worked with missionaries. They had a great influence on my parents Christian faith, this influenced me.**
- **Missionaries used to visit our area to distribute gospel tracts and Scripture materials in vern and English which we enjoyed to read.**
- **I grew up Roman Catholic. We had missionary in the same city I was born and they were very involved in helping people very much in sickness.**
- **They were travelling village to village to evangelize people to the Kingdom of God.**
- **The churches in our village were introduced by missionaries.**

31. What language was used to introduce you to the Christian faith?

First language

Swahili	63.3%	Swah and Eng	3.3%
Nyakyusa	6.7%	Kalenjin	3.3%
Don't know	6.7%	Kikuyu	3.3%
Luganda	3.3%	Rwandese	3.3%
Alur	3.3%	Pare	3.3%

Second language

English	33.3%
Swahili and English	33.3%
Iraqw	33.3%

32. Are you a Christian? (i.e., a born-again believer who has accepted Christ as Lord and Savior)

Yes 90.6% No 9.4%

*****If "no", go to Question #35 *****

33. In what language were you personally led to Christ?

First language

Swahili	62.1%	Alur	3.4%
English	17.2%	Kalenjin	3.4%
Nyakyusa	6.9%	Rwandese	3.4%
Luganda	3.4%		

Second language

Swahili	50.0%
Pare	50.0%

34. In what language did you accept Jesus as your personal Lord and Savior?

Swahili	62.1%	Kalenjin	3.4%
English	20.7%	Rwandese	3.4%
Swah and Eng	3.4%	Pare	3.4%
Alur	3.4%		

35. Have you ever practiced any faith other than Christianity? **Yes 6.3% No 93.8%**

a) If you have practiced another faith, which faith(s)?

African Traditional Religion	50%
None	50%

****Note—one respondent said he/she was not Christian, but claimed had not practiced any other faith except Christianity.***

36. What type of Bible do you use most often? (English, Swahili, other?)

English	45.2%
Swahili	32.5%
Swahili and English	22.6%

37. Which translation? (King James, NIV, etc.)

First choice		Additional choice	
New International Version	46.2%	New Intern'l Version	6.3%
King James Version	38.5%		
New King James Version	15.4%		

38. What language(s) do you usually use to speak to other church members?

First language		Second language		Third language	
English	51.6%	Swahili	66.7%	Luganda	33.3%
Swah and Eng	25.8%	English	3.3%	Kalenjin	33.3%
Swahili	22.6%			Pare	33.3%

39. In what language do you usually pray?

First language		Second language		Third language	
Swah and Eng	43.3%	Swahili	6.3%	Luganda	3.1%
Swahili	40.0%				
English	13.3%				
Kibena	3.3%				

40. In what language do you usually talk to God?

First language		Second language		Third language	
Swah and Eng	55.2%	Swahili	33.3%	English	3.1%
Swahili	34.5%	Luganda	33.3%		
English	6.9%	Alur	33.3%		
Kibena	3.4%				

Part 4: Church Attendance/Activity

41. Did you attend church services in your home country in Africa?

Yes 93.5% No 6.5%

*****If "no", go to Question #42 *****

a) What denomination was this church?

Primary denomination		Secondary denomination	
No answer	15.6%	Non-denominational	3.1%
Pentecostal	15.6%		
Lutheran	15.6%		
Assemblies of God	12.5%		
Roman Catholic	9.4%		
Moravian	9.4%		
Anglican	6.3%		
Non-denominational	3.1%		
Seventh Day Adventist	3.1%		
Evangelical	3.1%		
African Ind. Church	3.1%		

**Note: One respondent noted that as a child, he/she was Roman Catholic, and as an adult, became Lutheran.*

b) Were you a member of this church? **Yes 84.4%** **No 15.6%**

42. How long have you attended this Kiswahili church/fellowship in the United States?

Just started	14.8%
One year or less	44.4%
2-5 years	22.2%
7 years	18.5%

43. Do other members of your family attend this Kiswahili church/fellowship?

Yes 67.7% **No 32.3%**

a) If so, which ones?

Spouse and children	81.8%
Son/daughter	9.1%
Sibling	9.1%

44. Are you involved in other activities/jobs/positions in this Kiswahili church/fellowship? If so, please list them below and how long you have been involved in them.

<u>First Job</u>		<u>Length of time</u>	
No job	30.0%	0-1 year	30.8%
Pastor/preaching	25.0%	2-5 years	61.6%
Intercessory prayer	10.0%	23 years	7.7%
Musician/choir	10.0%		
Networking/comms	10.0%		
Praise/worship leader	5.0%		
Bible study leader	5.0%		
Treasurer/finance	5.0%		

<u>Second job</u>		<u>Length of time</u>	
Intercessory prayer	40.0%	1 year	25.0%
Congregational care	20.0%	2 years	25.0%
Bible study leader	20.0%	3 years	25.0%
Children's ministry	20.0%	4 years	25.0%

45. Is there a special reason why you decided to attend this Kiswahili church/fellowship? Please explain.

Primary reasons

Language/communication/understanding	39.3%
Fellowship with other East Africans	17.9%
Style of worship like East Africa/home country	7.1%
Feel more at home/belonging	7.1%
Feel more anointed/closer to God	7.1%
Worship with other East Africans	3.6%
Continuity of traditional customs/culture	3.6%
Feel more free to worship	3.6%
Evangelical opp in East African community	3.6%
Other	3.6%

Secondary reasons

Worship with other East Africans	25.0%
Like goals/objectives of fellowship	25.0%
Language/communication/understanding	12.5%
Continuity of customs/culture	12.5%
Comfort level	12.5%
Feel more anointed/closer to God	12.5%
Continuity of faith/fellowship with other believers	3.1%

46. How far do you travel to attend this Kiswahili church/fellowship?
(state miles/kilometers or hours)

<u>Distance (mi)</u>		<u>Time (hrs)</u>	
1-5 miles	27.8%	< 1 hour	60.0%
6-10 miles	38.9%	1-4 hours	30.0%
20-25 miles	22.3%	5 hours	10.0%
>30 miles	11.2%		

47. Do you attend a separate American English-language church service?

Yes 73.3% No 26.7%

*****If "no", go to Part 5 *****

d) If you do attend an American church service, what denomination is it?
(if non-denominational, state this)

Lutheran	28.6%
Non-denominational	19.0%
Reformed Church of America	14.3%
Assemblies of God	9.5%
Interdenominational	4.8%
Baptist	4.8%
Nazarene	4.8%
Pentecostal	4.8%
Seventh Day Adventist	4.8%
Other	3.1%

e) Is this American church a predominantly white, black, or racially/ethnically-mixed congregation?

White	47.6%
Ethnically mixed	38.1%
Predominantly White	14.3%

f) Are you a member of this American church/fellowship?

Yes	56.3%	No	18.8%	No answer	3.1%
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Part 5: Personal Thoughts

Instructions: These following statements refer to your identity, language use, preferences, and feelings about using languages. Read each statement carefully and give your honest feelings about the beliefs and attitudes expressed. Do not think too hard about each statement---record your first thought/reaction. Indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with each statement.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Don't Know	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
AFRICAN IDENTITY					
48. Being African is an important part of who I am.	90.6%	9.4%	0	0	0
49. I have a strong sense of belonging to African people.	81.3%	15.6%	3.1%	0	0
50. I am proud to be African.	90.6%	9.4%	0	0	0
51. In general, other groups view Africans in a positive manner.	31.3%	15.6%	21.9%	28.1%	3.1%
52. Being an individual is more important than identifying oneself as African.	19.4%	29.0%	25.8%	19.4%	6.5%
53. It is important for African people to surround their children with African art, music,	53.1%	37.5%	3.1%	6.3%	0

and literature.					
CHRISTIAN IDENTITY					
54. I believe that God revealed himself to man in Jesus Christ.	87.1%	9.7%	3.2%	0	0
55. I believe that Christ is a living reality.	83.9%	12.9%	3.2%	0	0
56. My entire life is centered on Christ and His teachings.	80.6%	12.9%	6.5%	0	0
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Don't Know	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
57. I am not ashamed of being called a Christian.	93.5%	6.5%	0	0	0
58. Life has no meaning apart from a relationship with Christ.	87.1%	9.7%	3.2%	0	0
59. I believe in the church as God's agent of salvation in the world.	74.2%	19.4%	6.5%	0	0

MY FIRST LANGUAGE					
60. I feel good when I speak my first language.	84.4%	15.6%	0	0	0
61. I can express myself well in my first language.	81.3%	15.6%	0	0	0
62. I can express myself best in my first language.	71.9%	21.9%	0	6.3%	0
63. It is important that my children learn and understand my first language.	71.9%	18.8%	0	9.4%	0
64. My first language is well-developed	41.9%	32.3%	0	22.6%	3.2%
65. My first language can be used for business, educational, and religious purposes.	3.1%	46.9%	3.1%	3.1%	9.4%
66. My first language should be used for business, educational, and religious purposes.	12.5%	46.9%	15.6%	18.8%	6.3%

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Don't Know	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
KISWAHILI					
67. I feel good when I speak Kiswahili.	81.3%	12.5%	3.1%	0	3.1%
68. I can express myself well in Kiswahili.	84.4%	6.3%	3.1%	3.1%	3.1%
69. I can express myself best in Kiswahili.	68.8%	18.8%	3.1%	6.3%	3.1%
70. It is important that my children learn and understand Kiswahili.	81.3%	15.6%	0	0	3.1%
71. Kiswahili is a well-developed language.	59.4%	28.1%	6.3%	6.3%	0
72. Kiswahili can be used for business, educational and religious purposes.	56.3%	34.4%	6.3%	3.1%	0
73. Kiswahili should be used for business, educational and religious purposes.	50.0%	40.6%	3.1%	6.3%	0
ENGLISH					
74. I feel good when I speak English.	41.9%	38.7%	3.2%	12.9%	3.2%

75. I can express myself well in English .	37.5%	34.4%	6.3%	15.6%	3.1%
76. I can express myself best in English .	19.4%	51.6%	12.9%	9.7%	6.5%
77. It is important that my children learn and understand English .	54.8%	41.9%	0	3.2%	0
78. English is a well-developed language.	71.0%	29.0%	0	0	0
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Don't Know	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
79. English can be used for business, educational and religious purposes .	68.8%	25.0%	3.1%	3.1%	0
80. English should be used for business, educational and religious purposes .	64.5%	25.8%	3.2%	6.5%	0

The following statements (#81-92) refer to living in your country of origin in **AFRICA**:

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Don't Know	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
AFRICAN IDENTITY AND LANGUAGE					
81. I feel more African speaking my first language.	67.7%	29.0%	0	0	3.2%
82. I feel more African speaking Kiswahili.	61.3%	29.0%	3.2%	3.2%	3.2%
83. I feel more African speaking English.	9.7%	19.4%	12.9%	41.9%	16.1%
CHRISTIAN IDENTITY AND LANGUAGE					
84. I feel more Christian speaking my first language.	26.7%	13.3%	10.0%	26.7%	23.3%
85. I feel more Christian speaking Kiswahili.	23.3%	16.7%	6.7%	30.0%	23.3%
86. I feel more Christian speaking English.	0	20.0%	10.0%	43.3%	26.7%

CLOSENESS TO GOD					
87. I feel closer to God when speaking to Him in my first language.	34.4%	25.0%	9.4%	15.6%	15.6%
88. I feel closer to God when speaking to Him in Kiswahili.	43.8%	15.6%	12.5%	12.5%	15.6%
89. I feel closer to God when speaking to Him in English.	15.6%	31.3%	12.5%	18.8%	21.9%
SHARING CHRIST					
90. My first language should be used to share Christ with others.	25.0%	40.6%	9.4%	15.6%	6.3% 3.1% (it depends)
91. Kiswahili should be used to share Christ with others.	40.6%	31.3%	9.4%	12.5%	3.1% 3.1% (it depends)
92. English should be used to share Christ with others.	18.8%	37.5%	12.5%	21.9%	6.3% 3.1% (it depends)

The following statements (#93-104) refer to living in the **UNITED STATES**:

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Don't Know	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
AFRICAN IDENTITY AND LANGUAGE					
93. I feel more African speaking my first language.	44.8%	37.9%	3.4%	6.9%	6.9%
94. I feel more African speaking Kiswahili.	48.4%	25.8%	6.5%	12.9%	6.5%
95. I feel more African speaking English.	9.7%	16.1%	19.4%	35.5%	19.4%
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Don't Know	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
CHRISTIAN IDENTITY AND LANGUAGE					
96. I feel more Christian speaking my first language.	26.7%	16.7%	16.7%	23.3%	16.7%
97. I feel more Christian speaking Kiswahili.	26.7%	16.7%	13.3%	26.7%	16.7%
98. I feel more Christian speaking English.	0	23.3%	13.3%	43.3%	20.0%

CLOSENESS TO GOD					
99. I feel closer to God when speaking to Him in my first language.	33.3%	36.7%	3.3%	23.3%	3.3%
100. I feel closer to God when speaking to Him in Kiswahili.	32.3%	32.3%	6.5%	25.8%	3.2%
101. I feel closer to God when speaking to Him in English.	19.4%	35.5%	6.5%	35.5%	3.2%
SHARING CHRIST					
102. My first language can be used to share Christ with others.	54.8%	29.0%	9.7%	6.5%	0
103. Kiswahili can be used to share Christ with others.	58.1%	32.3%	6.5%	3.2%	0
104. English should be used to share Christ with others.	35.5%	22.6%	9.7%	29.0%	3.2%

END

Thank you for sharing your thoughts and participating in this survey!

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