

**AN ANALYSIS OF GRAFFITI AS A COMMUNICATIVE STRATEGY IN
SELECTED PUBLIC BOARDING SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN BARINGO
CENTRAL SUB-COUNTY, KENYA**

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for the Award of the Degree of Master of Arts in English Language and Linguistics
of Egerton University**

EGERTON UNIVERSITY

JULY, 2019

DECLARATION AND RECOMMENDATION

DECLARATION

This is my original work and it has not been presented either in part or full for the award of degree in this or any other University.

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DEDICATION

To my dear husband Fred, my sons Derrick and Brian, my daughter Jasmine, my mother Alice, my father Wilson and to all parents that strive to educate their children.

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First and foremost, I give gratitude to God Almighty for seeing me through this programme. This gratitude is also extended to Egerton University for granting me admission. My sincere gratitude and appreciation go to my supervisors Dr. Phylis Bartoo and Dr. Lucy Wathika for their guidance and valuable input throughout the proposal development, data collection, till production of this thesis.

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To all Baringo Central sub-county secondary schools' principals, English teachers, other members of staff and students in the various schools visited during data collection. Your help and support is highly appreciated.

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ABSTRACT

Lack of clear channels for students to air their grievances has given rise to persistent writing of graffiti in public secondary schools in Baringo Central Sub-County, as a way of communicating their issues. Analysis of these graffiti can be an opportunity to understand the students with the aim of assisting them understand the issues they communicate and deal with them appropriately. The study described the types of graffiti, analyzed the linguistic forms and interpreted the thematic concerns of the students' graffiti. The study was guided by Critical Discourse Analysis as its theoretical framework. The research adopted descriptive survey design. Graffiti were collected in fifteen boarding public secondary schools in Baringo Central Sub-County. The target population was all the graffiti collected and the students in the fifteen boarding public secondary schools. Simple random sampling was used to obtain the graffiti analyzed. Systematic random sampling was used to select two students in purely boys and girls schools. Stratified random sampling and systematic random sampling was used in mixed schools to select a boy and a girl from each form in a school respectively to take part in Focus Group Discussions. A camera and a notebook were used to collect data. The study employed Critical Discourse Analysis approach to analyse the graffiti. The data collected from this exercise was analysed qualitatively and quantitatively to arrive at inferences and conclusion. It was found that the most common types of graffiti written by students were gang, tag and existential and this indicated the messages they were communicating. The results also revealed that to convey their messages across, metaphors, irony, acronyms and code mixing were employed in the graffiti. The analysis indicated different themes which included politics, love, religion, education and football. The study can be useful to a wider audience like school administrators, teachers, and school counsellors. The types of graffiti analysed can enable school administrators come up with ways to communicate with students effectively and the linguistic analysis of forms of graffiti can enable the teachers of English to take note of their students' level of competency and creativity and assist them to improve in the language. The thematic concerns analysed in the graffiti can be used by the school administrations and counselors to guide and counsel students accordingly. The findings of this research contribute to linguistic knowledge in the area of sociolinguistics. In addition, this knowledge can help school administrators to make improvements in the management of the secondary schools by identifying new ideas which

can be used to make communication effective and possibly control problems before they get out of hand.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
EFL	English as a Foreign Language
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
MoE	Ministry of Education

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Graffiti is viewed as freedom of expression whereby the writer is often anonymous and is restrained by personal inhibitions and social norms to freely express himself/herself (Tracy, 2005). The word graffiti means ‘little scratching’, from the Italian verb ‘graffiare’ meaning ‘to scratch’ (McCormick 2005:3), and indeed a majority of the first known collection of graffiti was scratched onto glass (Teixeira *et al*, 2003). In contemporary societies, graffiti is no longer just scratched. Technological advances have seen the introduction of more effective instruments of writing graffiti such as magic marker and the spray-can (Mangeya, 2014). When defined from its Greek root, ‘graphein’ implies drawing or scribbling on flat surfaces (Whitehead, 2004). In this light, graffiti can be taken as a pictorial or written inscription on publicly available surface. Graffiti writing is a practice that is referred to as a norm violation. This is because the scratching and writings are predominantly inscribed on both public and private property without permission. Resultantly, graffiti writing is mostly associated with notions of illegality and rule-breaking (Mangeya, 2014). In the Kenya context, graffiti is mostly written on a wide array of surfaces which include desk tops, billboards, walls, roadside signs and inside the walls of buildings in institutions like schools (Mwangi, 2012).

Graffiti writing has been practised for centuries and has been discussed from a variety of perspectives; Conversational discourse analysis, pragmatics, semantic, semiotic and sociolinguistic (Mangeya, 2014). Graffiti is an important object of sociolinguistic study as it is an avenue of communication and more so, shared background information is necessary for the creation and maintenance of the discourse involved (Obeng, 2000). A better appreciation of any discourse necessarily entails a consideration of contexts at local, national and international levels. The relationship and interaction of these various contexts entail that graffiti writers engage in discourse constrained by what they bring into the process of negotiation of meaning. Participants are involved in continually negotiating and constructing discourse in accordance to the social milieu. It is then appreciated that graffiti writers are faced with a variety of options in the construction of discourse.

Graffiti could be viewed as a second diary book which represents the voice of people, in either public or private places to convey their anger, instantaneous thought, love declaration, political proclamation and outcry (Raymonda, 2008). According to Rothman (2002) adolescence is the stage of growth and development that most of the secondary school students are in, and is mostly a time of resistance to authority. In their effort to express their wishes, the students are generally misunderstood and dismissed since adults dominate the scene and the adolescents feel oppressed when they lack chances to express their opinions. Many students opposing the school system may not come out openly but may express their anger in graffiti for fear of the consequences (Nwoye, 1993). According to Bartolommeo (2001) students rarely use legitimate avenues for self-expression, so they find graffiti as the only avenue that can provide privacy and anonymity necessary to express themselves for fear of the consequences of being noted. As a result, “the analysis of graffiti could provide vital information for investigations of the breakdown of discipline and order, or into the workings of the moronic or ego-starved or bored mind” (Reisner, 1974, p.8). Graffiti is also viewed as a form of informal communication that marginalized, oppressed or neglected groups resort to, to express their discontent, needs and grievances to those in authority (Jones, 2003).

Although graffiti has received so many studies throughout its history, there is still room to explore how graffiti in the school context serves as a communicative strategy by students (Kanjuki, 2006). Through graffiti, students reveal their hostilities, unburden their grievances, express fantasies and frustrations or declare a socially unacceptable point of view on subjects ranging from philosophy to politics, humour, religion, drugs, sports and sex (Dickinson, 2008). Graffiti writing usually happens when students feel other channels of communication have been blocked or they are not involved in decision making on issues that affect them and they will always look for alternative ways of expressing their opinions on matters affecting them especially when they feel oppressed (Arcioni, 2003). Graffiti is a way of voicing dissatisfaction which should be taken seriously for they are one way in which otherwise muted individuals can express their feelings and concerns with others in the same situation (Yieke, 2004). In public secondary schools it is evident that students feel ignored and thus use graffiti to express themselves freely since they are safe from victimization. According to Waihenya in response to the incident of bullying in Alliance High school suggests that schools must open communication channels for students to freely air their grievances. These channels include holding barazas, well-secured suggestion boxes where students discuss their problems without fear of reprisals.

Nwoye (1993) in his study revealed that graffiti is in fact a way for the minority group to express itself. In addition, the study reveals that politics is the major theme in the graffiti written by the university students. This shows that in Kenya, secondary schools students will likely write graffiti on topics like bullying, drug use since the risk of being found out is almost non-existent. It is important that graffiti as an alternative communication method used by secondary school students should no longer be dismissed as subversive and illegitimate (Chaffee, 1990). It is an activity that is bound to reveal much about secondary school students compared to other forms of media. Graffiti is the easiest and the most efficient way for individuals and groups to voice political dissidence, social alienation and anti-system ideas because it offers to individuals, high accessible communication channels at low-risk retribution (Mangeya, 2014). Baringo Central sub-county is a region where students undergo various hardships due to the terrain. This could be one of the reasons they engage in graffiti writing. In most secondary schools in this county there has been persistent writing of graffiti on the walls of classrooms, libraries, dormitories, toilets and laboratories. The issues they raise through graffiti if not addressed may lead to misunderstanding and conflicts in schools.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Lack of clear channels for students to air their grievances has given rise to persistent writing of graffiti in public secondary schools in Baringo Central Sub-County as a way of communicating their issues. Therefore, the analysis of graffiti, as a channel of communication, may unmask issues that have led to students' unrest, drug abuse, bullying, burning of schools and general indiscipline among students. This study sought to analyse graffiti written by students in public secondary schools in Baringo Central Sub-County in terms of types of graffiti, linguistics forms in graffiti and thematic concerns in graffiti.

1.3 Objective of the Study

1.3.1 General objective of the study

- (i) To analyse graffiti as a communication medium written by students in public boarding secondary school in Baringo Central Sub-County.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives of the Study

The study aimed at achieving the following three objectives:

- (i) To describe the types of graffiti used by students in public boarding secondary schools in Baringo Central Sub-county.
- (ii) To analyze the linguistic forms of graffiti written by students in public boarding secondary schools in Baringo Central Sub-county.
- (iii) To interpret the thematic concerns of graffiti written by students in public boarding secondary schools in Baringo Central Sub-county.

1.4 Research Questions

The study was guided by three research questions as follows:

- (i) Which types of graffiti are used by students in public boarding secondary schools in Baringo Central Sub-county?
- (ii) What are the linguistic forms of graffiti written by students in public boarding secondary schools in Baringo Central Sub-county?
- (iii) What are the thematic concerns of graffiti written by students in public boarding secondary schools in Baringo Central Sub-county?

1.5 Significance of the Study

This study can contribute to linguistic knowledge since graffiti in this study was analysed in terms of their types and linguistic forms. The research can also be of benefit to school administrators and counselors who would access knowledge regarding graffiti as a communication channel employed by students to air their grievances and may possibly nip problems in the bud. Teachers can also be in a position to understand the issues affecting their students because graffiti in this study was analysed in terms of the thematic concerns.

1.6 Scope of the Study

The focus of this study was on graffiti found on various places like tops of desks, walls of classes, libraries, dining halls, dormitories and laboratories. The study was not restricted to graffiti written in the English language only but it also focussed on graffiti written in Kiswahili, 'sheng', local languages and even those written in mixed languages. The analysis of the graffiti was confined to the thematic concerns raised in the graffiti, the description of the types and the linguistic forms of the graffiti written by students in public boarding secondary schools in Baringo Central Sub-County.

1.7 Limitations of the Study

The subject could have been sensitive, particularly in schools which had experienced unrest. This is because they could have been interpreted to mean that the school administration had failed in addressing the problems students raised. To overcome that, the researcher visited and asked the principals of the selected schools for permission to collect graffiti and hold focus group discussions.

1.8 Assumptions of the Study

It was assumed that the respondents were cooperative and frank during the focus group discussions and, therefore, gave accurate information.

1.9 Definition of Terms

Graffiti: Graffiti refers to institutionally illicit marks made by an individual or individuals, in which there has been an attempt to establish some sort of coherent composition (Young, 2009). In this study, graffiti referred to written inscriptions on walls of building which include classrooms, dining halls, dormitories, toilets and desktops.

Functions of graffiti: This term refers to the motives, notions, themes regarding wall graffiti written by students (Medubi, 2000). In this study, functions of graffiti referred to the motives students had which made them write graffiti.

Messages in graffiti: The term refers to what is expressed through graffiti (Farnia 2014). In this study, messages in graffiti meant what students express through the graffiti they write on walls of classrooms, dining halls, dormitories, toilets and tops of desks.

Context: According to Young (2009), this is the network of physical, spatial, temporal, social interactional, institutional, political, and historical circumstances in which participants practice discourse. In this study context referred to the circumstances in which secondary school students wrote graffiti.

Text: It refers to a single meaningful and interpretable graffiti (Modan, 2006). In this study, the same definition was adopted.

Types of graffiti: According to Modan, (2006), this is the framework of graffiti according to meaning, complexities, placements and size. In this study, it referred to the framework of graffiti according to meaning and placements.

Communicative strategies: It refers to methods of communicative strategies (Nwoye, 1993). In this study, it referred to graffiti as a method of communication used by secondary school students to express important social issues and problems which they face.

Gender: This term refers to students who are either male or female who write graffiti. In this study, the same definition was adopted.

Linguistic forms in graffiti: It refers to forms in the language students will use in the graffiti they write, which include word relations such as code mixing, homonyms, metaphors, polysemy, synonyms and antonyms (Medubi, 2000). In this study, the same definition was adopted.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a discussion on the available literature in relation to this study. It is sectioned into the following, History of graffiti, graffiti as a mode of communication, types of graffiti, Linguistic forms in graffiti, Students as graffiti writers, graffiti and identity, graffiti vandalism-art dichotomy and the theoretical framework that this study was based on.

2.2 History of Graffiti

The origins of graffiti go back to the beginning of human, societal living. Graffiti has been found on uncovered, ancient Egyptian monuments and was even preserved on walls in Pompeii (Stowers, 1997). The word graffiti means little scratching and it comes from the Italian *Graffiare* which means to scratch (Farnia, 2014). According to the American Heritage Dictionary, graffiti is defined as “a drawing or inscription made on a wall or other surface, usually so as to be seen by the public” (American Heritage, 2000). For as long as people have been able to write, they have been writing on walls. Modern graffiti art originated in New York City and it was known first as “New York Style” graffiti. This art form exploded in the late 1960’s with the public housing projects. Because of these projects, loss of identity and name occurred and desire for social mobility increased in the residential areas.

The youths of the ghettos, while trying to assert their identities, would try to tell their views of the social world in which they dwelled. Their resources for self-expression were often limited. Therefore, graffiti (and the hip-hop) whole can be seen to echo inner-city inventiveness, while carrying out their own “strategies of resistance” from the alienation they felt. When graffiti is analyzed as historical and stylish, it is a worldwide case that became popular in New York in 1971, the New York Times ran an article on one of the first graffiti writers in the city, TAKI 183, providing instant notoriety for both him and other associated writers, whilst also allowing a much wider circulation of their ideas and works (Iveson, 2008). Medubi (2007) Asserts that graffiti can be found in virtually all parts of the world and especially where youth predominate: youth especially on university campuses have found graffiti a convenient medium to express themselves both in social and political terms. At the present, graffiti writing has become a common phenomenon especially among minority groups in the society as students in Kenya.

2.3 Graffiti as a Mode of Communication

Gross (2005) argues that in order to understand graffiti as a mode of communication, it is insufficient to simply decipher the texts without first identifying graffiti as a medium. Graffiti is a linguistic phenomenon which involves both “form and content” by commonly making use of discourse “any segment of signs larger than a sentence,” and sign – something which “stands for something other than itself”. Thus, it is both useful and necessary to acknowledge and examine the significance of graffiti as a product of human linguistic expression, as well as the nature and impact of the message being communicated.

Yieke (2003), in a study conducted on graffiti in Kenyan universities suggested that graffiti should never be ignored by those in authority if they wanted to know the sentiments and needs of the students. This clearly implies that students in learning institutions use graffiti writings to communicate issues that if addressed are beneficial to the smooth running of these institutions. She continues to assert that if well channeled, graffiti could provide a forum for students (who consider themselves a minority) to express themselves in a wide range of topics and at the same time, act as an expression of academic freedom and on-going intellectualism. This work was very informative to this study as it dealt with students using graffiti to express themselves on different issues though in this case they were secondary school students not university students.

Obeng (1998) in a graffiti study done in Legon University in Ghana established that graffiti reflected graffitist political and ideological inclinations, social and ethnic identities, and the prejudicial and stereotypical view they hold about certain people and their languages as well as their views on specific persons and personality. This assertion was important to the current graffiti study because it implied that graffiti writing in each school could be unique due to the social and cultural inclinations of the students.

Chaffee (1990) argues that graffiti and other “public art media”- a collective term for alternative communication method have been largely dismissed as subversive and illegitimate. While it is debatable whether these qualities are negative or positive, the counter structural nature of graffiti communication nonetheless, appeals to the marginalized voices that seek to challenge the control and censorship of dominant discourse. In Paraguay, for example, the use of graffiti as a communication medium has become well established as “a social and political dimension of popular culture and of the socio – political system” by many

different political forces, especially by those who are marginalized in the struggle over power and distribution of influence (Chaffee, 1990). This phenomenon could largely be attributed to the key features of graffiti, accessibility and anonymity. (Chaffee, 1990). Like many other forms of media or art, graffiti serves to advertise and propagate ideas, share information and support or oppose the system. However, a distinctive quality separating graffiti from other, more “legitimate.” forms of media is that it is “one of the easiest and most efficient” way for individuals and groups to voice political dissidence, social alienation and anti-system ideas because it offers to individuals, high-accessible communication channels at low-risk retribution. This study was relevant to the current study since they both have in common the use of graffiti as a communication channel.

Nwoye (1993) asserts that groups that had been prohibited from or denied avenues of public expression seek other outlets, with graffiti on walls of public places a favoured option; and she goes ahead to identify students population in most parts of the world as one such group. The fact that students do write graffiti in an area that facilitates the anonymity acknowledges the vulnerability of face (Goffman 1967). It is usually during face-to-face encounters that hazards are maximized due to the instantaneous consequences inherent in face to face behaviour. Graffiti, therefore, constitute avoidance discourse that like other avoidance discourse, it insulates the participants against face threat. The input raised by the scholars was similar to the current study since they all focussed on graffiti writing being used to express issues by groups which consider themselves marginalized in one way or another.

Yieke (2004) examined graffiti as one widespread yet generally overlooked way of voicing dissatisfaction. After analyzing samples of graffiti from factories in the Export Processing Zone of Kenya, she asserts that these writings should be taken seriously for they are one way in which otherwise muted individuals can express their feelings and share their concerns with others in the same situation. In the factories under study, graffiti were used as a medium for voicing criticism of various matters, including harsh working conditions, lack of maternity or sick leave, poor salaries, sexual harassment and lack of trade union representation. Like a factory, a school is a social institution with power structures and students who feel voiceless resort to graffiti writing to express their dissatisfaction with the school administration- this made Yieke’s study of relevance to the present study.

According to Gadsby (1995) it is understandable why graffiti is such a desirable method of communication against inequalities in resource and power distribution. Graffiti has been able to “reflect the nature of the society that produced them” by communicating individual’s opinions and values concerning important issues within the society. However, these advantages may also lead some individuals to perceive that graffiti serve to express or perpetuate negative ideas about other groups (Gadsby 1995). Consequently, conflict theories would question who is given the power to define graffiti: which groups are able to gain dominance to decide what should be considered deviant.

According to Gross (1997) anonymity and accessibility allowed by graffiti can be equally invaluable to a student venting in the bathroom stall about school rules or tuition hikes as well as bad administration. Graffiti constitutes an act of self-disclosure and an expression of a very personal nature, but maintains the writer’s privacy through anonymity. Mc Cormick (2003) argues that in institutions where formality and structure are privileged, graffiti offers opportunities to break away from the rigidity to create a space for a more organized discourse by inviting uninhibited and uncensored discussions that are often rare in scholarly writing. Freed from the unyielding language of academics, students are able to assert aggressive identities and resist dehumanization. For instance, numerous evidences of extensive multi person dialogues staged in campus bathroom stalls suggest graffiti not only serves its purpose as a mode of communication but also serves it well.

According to graffiti studies conducted in the U.S.A., some universities now recognize the importance of graffiti in informing them of important social issues and problems at these institutions. They have thus formed “graffiti corners” where students can freely write graffiti without fear of being accused of vandalism. The authorities then take photographs and videos to keep as records for future action and then repaint the surface for fresh graffiti. To dismiss graffiti in schools as obscenity would be to discredit its value as a medium of communication by marginalized groups. (Abel & Buckley 1977) asserts that graffiti writing is a form of communication that is both personal and free of everyday social restraints that normally prevent people from giving uninhibited reign to their thoughts. This study was of interest to the current study since both viewed graffiti writing as a form of communication which needed to be taken seriously.

2.4 Types of Graffiti

To gain a better understanding of graffiti, it was necessary to create a framework that categorized the distinct types of graffiti observed generally. According to meaning; complexities, placements, and size, there are different types of graffiti. The major types include:

2.4.1 Gang Graffiti

Gang graffiti often used by gangs to mark turf or convey threats of violence and sometimes copycat graffiti, which mimics gang graffiti. Gang graffiti often includes threats and challenges to rival gangs. Islamist gang graffiti for instance functions the same way. On December 10, 2009 the words “Islam will dominate the world-Osama, is on his way’ and ‘kill Gordon Brown’, were spray painted on a gear memorial in Burton-on-Trent, Staffordshire, England. On August 4, 2011 a Swastika and the message “Islam will rule” were spray-painted on the Robbins Hebrew Academy, an elementary school attached to a synagogue in Toronto (Burton and Mazerolle, 2011). Often Jihadist gang graffiti is not even considered vandalism or threatening and goes unrecognized as hate speech or terroristic threats. This is because the most common words that appear in Islamist graffiti: Jihad, intifada and Allahu Akbar, are regarded as non-threatening expression of faith and/or resistance to expression. Graffiti is often used to promote or enhance the names and reputations of the gang and memorialize dead gang members. Osama bin Laden, the sheik of the Mujahideen gangbangers have been both glorified and memorialized in graffiti.

2.4.2 Political graffiti.

Political graffiti is the most open system of graffiti, meaning that all who are confronted with these texts can understand the messages being conveyed. The writers of political graffiti geographically place their writings on busy thoroughfares which guarantee an extensive viewing. This type of graffiti uses the public as an audience to communicate ideas against the establishment. Political groups take advantage of graffiti as a communication channel because it is the safest, the most economical and a highly efficient way of reaching a desired audience (Raento, 1997:197). Political graffiti messages are fragments of truth (McGlynn 1972: 353), a hurried summary of facts that includes themes associated with labour conditions, freedom, political power, homelessness, unemployment, religious thought and civil rights.

Van Dijk (1995) notes that political discourse is determined by its actors: professional politicians (presidents, prime ministers, district chief executives, and others), political institutions, political parties, and others. He notes further that politicians are not the only participants in the domain of politics. The various recipients of political communicative events, like the public, as well as other groups may be included as participants in political action (Obeng, 2000). Students in Kenya too engage in political activities, so the graffiti discourse they participate in may be viewed as political discourse. Several scholars have focused their research in establishing the relationship between various political environments and the nature of graffiti that was obtained in those contexts. Heider (2012) explores how graffiti flourished in the wake of the 25 of January 2011 Egyptian revolution. The study is against the backdrop of the Mubarak era in which graffiti was classified as a misdemeanor, thereby, making the writing of graffiti an illegal offence. This effectively meant that graffiti carrying anti-government messages were not tolerated during the Mubarak era. The research reveals how the revolution brought about a change in the content of graffiti. During this period, graffiti was just one of the many forms of art enjoying freedom of expression and it was being used to raise political awareness amongst the Egyptian people. The research reveals the ways in which political graffiti can be 'mature, vigilant and passionate' in various environments. The study reinforces the fluid nature of political graffiti. Its form and content does not remain the same over time. A change in the political environment necessarily translates to a corresponding change in the nature and content of graffiti. A study of political graffiti in the Kenyan context will go a long way in providing empirical evidence on how various political environments influence the form and content of political graffiti. The current study analysed types of graffiti, which included political graffiti.

Political graffiti according to Texeira et al (2003) is mainly produced by male graffiti writers. They also show how the extent to which one is involved in political graffiti is determined by one's ethnic background. The researchers establish a link between one's first language and the extent to which they are likely to participate in politics by showing how students whose first language is Latin, were more involved in political issues in French Canadian schools compared to children whose first language is Anglic. Thus, the two factors influencing the extent to which one is politically involved in political graffiti is gender and ethnic background. The study is also important in that it dispels the misconception that it is only the adults who participate in political graffiti.

The research showed that anyone can potentially be involved in political graffiti thus opening the way to finding out if students in secondary schools in Kenya are involved in political graffiti, as was the case in the current study.

Peteet (1996) investigated graffiti writing in the occupied West Bank in Palestine during the late 1980's and early 1990's where he examined graffiti as a form of cultural production. In this study, graffiti is not only used as a means of communication but they are an intervention in a relationship of power. Peteet (1996), comments that graffiti were employed to affirm community and resistance. Secondary school students at their age would most probably resist authority, therefore this study was relevant to the current study because of the reasons behind the graffiti writers- an attempt to give themselves a voice in a society which many times ignores them.

Graffiti that appeared on the walls adjacent to the site of the assassination of the former prime minister of Israel, Yitzhak Rabin was analysed by Hanauer (2004). The major theme of this study being the potential of graffiti to dynamically embody personal and societal psychological content and governmental institutions' aversion to this potential for expression. He comments that graffiti if allowed and encouraged to evolve, offers interesting therapeutic options for individuals and societies during and following periods of trauma. The approach used in Hanaeur's study is historical as it traces the historical development, the stages of silence, voice and erasure in the public presence of voice through graffiti at that specific site. The current study dwelt on a sociolinguistic analysis of graffiti on walls in secondary schools.

A study carried out by Taylor (2012) argued that boredom, peer emulation, aggression, identify formation, retaliation may lead early adolescents (12-14 years old), mid-late adolescents (15-17 years old) and adults to be involved in graffiti writing. The results of the study indicated that addiction to risk, recognition and respect that the graffiti life-style provides would affect all graffiti writing age groups. This observation was quite relevant to the current study considering that students in secondary schools fall into the two age brackets i.e. the early adolescents (12 – 14 years old) and the mid –late adolescents (15 – 17 years old).

A sociolinguistic analysis of graffiti in Legon Ghana done by Obeng (2000) comments that through, graffiti, people of lower social/political status (students) express their opinions on

political actors (people holding public office) and political decision making process. In addition, they also express their anger and frustration about Ghana's political situation. He also observed that in Ghana, graffiti is a gender based discourse with male students as the sole participants. Obeng (2000) shows evidence that an understanding of the culture of the participants and of the entire communicative context is prerequisites for understanding the graffiti discourse. He gives an example of graffiti written on the wall of a powerful Ghana chief which when translated into English, as 'You're ruining this nation'. When confronted to explain his writing, he defended himself by claiming that the coal he was writing with was finished so he had been unable to complete his sentence. He alleged that he intended to praise the chief for his great work by writing, 'you're doing your utmost best for this nation'. This was seen as well-intentioned and was not bothered anymore. This showed the power-laden nature of Ghanaian society, making dissenting political views intolerable. Obeng's study was similar to the current study since they are both sociolinguistic analysis of graffiti though this study focussed on graffiti as a political discourse, the current study analyzed graffiti as expressing thematic concerns politics included.

2.4.3 Existential graffiti

Existential graffiti is the most common form of graffiti and similar to political as it follows an open system. They contain individual personal commentaries and it is sometimes referred to as oppressive graffiti. Existential graffiti can be subdivided into several subcategories depending on the thematic content such as: sexual, racial, gender, love, religious philosophical, humorous, non-sexual (Alonso, 1998). Regardless if the content is associated with love, sex or racial remarks, existential graffiti represents outward manifestations of personality. These inscriptions depict ideas and sentiments that are usually taboo in the social life of the writer. The anonymity affords the writer to challenge the normative values of the setting (i.e. university, school, neighbourhood) without risking impeachment from the locale. In the Kenyan context, for example, where ethnic bias is frowned upon, graffitiists are likely to express their thoughts through graffiti, since they don't risk being identified. This is common especially during campaigns before national elections are carried out.

Johnson (2009) focuses on gendered differences graffiti produced in a decommissioned jail. The study reveals that generally work produced by women is significantly different from that produced by men. Women were found to be focusing more on themes of love, relationships, nature and sadness.

The author also reveals how women's drawings featured some form of facial portraits with teardrops. He distinguishes this from drawings done by men citing that men appeared to be obsessed with the female body. Whilst Johnson's study indicates that women are interested more in love and relationships it does not go into detail on whether the different genders employ the same strategies in exploring the same issues. This study, though, was similar to the current study because graffiti was collected from both boys and girls secondary schools, so the issues raised by both may be similar to those raised in this study.

Green (2003) shows how public toilets are a context in which the enactment of gender is most salient. Since most public toilets are distinguished according to gender, in terms of usage, one can easily investigate the existence of any gendered differences between the two sexes. The study investigates whether there are any gendered differences in the production of graffiti. The study reveals that the most dominant topic in male toilets is politics with special interest in racist issues. Males were also found to use more insults than their female counterparts. Women, on the other hand, were pre-occupied with issues to do with love and romance, personal advice on health and relationships, and the definition and characterization of rape. Thus, graffiti from men's and women's toilets showed distinct differences in topic. The study is interesting in that the researcher uses the social variable of gender to reveal differences in the production and negotiation of discourse in graffiti. This observation was however, different from the current study which focused on the types and issues raised in graffiti.

According to Koller (2007) females are more often than not bound by the 'social ideal of "polite" femininity, 'As a result graffiti produced by females is still more subdued in comparison to their male counterparts. If anything, the study shows that it is in fact men's graffiti that has become more sexual than it did before the 1970s decade. They hypothesize that graffiti writing, for the males, has become a way of restoring their eroded superior position and level of control. This work was quite relevant to this study considering that the male students expressed similar issues in their graffiti.

In another study, Otta (1993) examined the effect of gender differences in writing graffiti. The data was collected from men and women's restrooms in ten university buildings in Brazil during the 1990's. Using a thematic approach, graffiti were classified into thematic categories such as sexual, racist or general insults. The results indicated that the men's restrooms included different thematic types of graffiti where most of them were concerned with

sexuality and politics. In addition, he also observed that women's graffiti were more conservative and conventional than men's graffiti due to the fact that certain types of graffiti were not recorded. This work was important to the current study as it dealt with thematic concerns of graffiti written by secondary school students.

2.4.4 Tag Graffiti

Tagging is the most prototypical form of graffiti (Modan, 2006). This kind of graffiti is the most widespread type that has been inscribed on the walls, buses, and trains of the urban environment, and every year it gains in popularity. As a stylized signature that a writer marks on the environment, tagging was born on the East Coast in 1969 and it is a component of the Hip Hop culture. This style of graffiti has attracted media attention because of its steady growth in popularity among youths and the high cost to remove it. Ideological graffiti, such as political or hate graffiti, which conveys political messages or racial, religious or ethnic, slurs (Wesel, 2006). Piecing (or bombing as is commonly referred) is a decorative expression of the name that demands an artistic skill and understanding of aerosol paint control (Alonso, 1998).

Very few graffiti writers progress beyond tagging to produce the elaborate pieces. Taggers gain immediate notoriety by mass-producing their signatures, but acquiring fame as a piecer is an accomplished ability requiring a technique and style more sophisticated than that of a tagger. Seconds are required to tag a name on a bus or a wall, but an average graffiti piece can take as much as an hour to complete, using up to twenty aerosol cans. The purpose of tagging is about "getting up" in as many places as possible. For the tagger recognition as a prolific writer is an important goal. Through prolificacy, fame and a sense of power are acquired by how many tags a writer can complete. Power is exercised by how writers make personal claims to the surfaces they tag. The writer also feels a sense of power by participating in an activity and culture that is so active and has such a visible effect on their physical surroundings (Brewer, 1992: 188). Taggers are also inspired to continue their exploits because of the rebellious nature of these actions. The popular view of tagging is that it is "dirty, obscene and disease like" (Cresswell 1992: 333).

All types of graffiti provide a vivid and often unflattering insight into the hidden side of our society, but they also represent an intriguing, an important source of information for those studying the behavior of human beings (Abel & Buckley, 1977:1).

Graffiti is typically placed on public property adjacent to public space. It is commonly found in transportation systems – on inner and outer sides of trains, subways and buses, and in transit stations and shelters as well as on other public and private properties. Graffitiists view space in an absolute sense where it is essentially natural and free until colonized. They utilize it as social space where they can leave their mark, in anonymity only to be recognized by their peers (Bandaranaike, 2001). Graffiti is asserting identity, visibility and power in a social and ecological context in which these youths were previously ignored (Bandaranaike, 2001). Graffiti is the manifestation of post-modernist youth culture in landscape. It is part of social modernization and global exposure to an evolving contemporary society, where youth participation is often marginalized (Bandaranaike, 2003).

2.5 Linguistic Forms in Graffiti

This section reviews studies that have approached the study of graffiti from a linguistic point of view. There are a number of researches that have approached the study of graffiti from a language point of view. Nilsen examines the grammar of graffiti. His research reveals that, like any other form of language, graffiti has its own distinct grammar. He notes that ‘graffiti can be approached phonologically, morphologically, syntactically or semantically; although in many of them all four aspects are noteworthy’ (Nilsen 1980:234). Nilsen’s grammatical approach is important in consolidating the point that graffiti is a distinct form of communication. A grammatical approach, though important in bringing to the fore the various systems that makes it up, fails short in explaining discursive practices in graffiti. A mere understanding of phonology or morphology, for instance, does not adequately account for how meaning is constructed and negotiated. There is need for an understanding of how factors outside grammar are responsible in accounting for context-specific graffiti. Thus a discourse analysis approach does a better job in accounting for graffiti as a distinct form of communication in which participants use knowledge beyond the utterance boundaries to negotiate meaning. The input raised by Nilsen is similar to the current study since they all focus on linguistic forms of graffiti. However, there was some difference in that the current study went further as to discuss the types of graffiti as well as the issues raised through graffiti.

Obeng (2000:337) characterizes graffiti as constituting discourse on the basis that it ‘consists of stimuli followed by responses.’ The researcher concludes that this is typically a characteristic of discourse in that participants take turns in the production of graffiti.

He points to other factors such as turn-taking, repair, opening and closing as well as adjacency pairs to argue for the clarification of graffiti as a form of discourse as will be the case in the current study. The researcher, however, focuses on the political aspect of graffiti. He does not broaden his analysis to look at other themes that come out in the graffiti discourse. There is need to take a holistic approach at the themes that come out in the discourse of graffiti and also a need to analyse how social factors influence the occurrence of these themes and the discursive practices used. This was the case in the current study as thematic concerns of graffiti written by secondary school students were interpreted.

Graffiti according to Young (2009:4) can be characterized as corresponding ‘to some type of public discourse’ the researcher bases his characterization of graffiti as a type of public discourse. Discourse on the fact that a number of interlocutors are involved in the construction of the graffiti discourse. He, however, only focuses on the political aspect of the discourse whereby he focuses on how different groups have interacted in matters such as homosexuality on campus and in society in general. Thus, according to the researcher the political aspect is a major feature of graffiti. He does not look at other variables in graffiti which includes, for example, the enactment of gender. It is apparent that graffiti involves much more than the practice of politics in its discourse. There was, therefore, need to look at other themes that occur in graffiti discourse and how social variables constrain the nature of graffiti, as was the case in the current study.

Abu-Jaber (2013) investigates some grammatical characteristics of the language of Jordanians’ English graffiti and to find out whether this language variety differs from common-core English, on the one hand, and from other varieties, on the other. The study clearly demonstrates that English as a Foreign Language (EFL). Graffitiists are not dissimilar from other EFL learners, like them, their inter-language errors were their native language influences in their use of English. They also practise rule overgeneralization in much the same way as would be expected in foreign language acquisition. There was, therefore, need to investigate the use of a variety of linguistic forms of graffiti used by secondary school students in the graffiti they wrote.

Graffitiists employ various sense relations which include synonymy, polysemy, homonymy, antonymy, homophony to pass their messages across. A study carried out by Medubi, (2006) shows examples where a word in each case is intentionally made to convey several meanings.

In one example, a writer employs the word ‘vision’ to mean ability to *see* and to refer to other concepts such as *farsightedness* or the ability to plan ahead to achieve a goal especially when it collocates with politics, the script that is implied by the word ‘vote’. However, background knowledge informs that the candidate in question is cross-eyed thus introducing a metaphorical concept that makes ‘clear vision’ in this sense become ironical since a cross-eyed person cannot be said to have ‘clear vision’ a homonym that results in ambiguity and creates new meaning. In another example in the same study by Medubi (2000), synonyms and antonyms are sense relations which are employed to achieve either humour or irony, or even both in one graffito, ‘hell’ in religious script is understood as a surreal place of burning fire which transposes to a physically entity, the continent of Africa, where the sun is known to burn relentlessly. ‘Africa’ and ‘Hell’ then become synonymous. Meaning in many graffiti entries is brought about by not only the linguistic relations such as polysemy, or antonymy but by metaphorical substitutions as well. The works of Turner and Fauconnier (1995, 2000), Rohrer (2001) posit that when metaphors are processed in the human mind, understanding takes place because listeners merge source and target objects by mental movements, through the process of conceptual integration or blending, to arrive at a new meaning, the blend which is the purpose of metaphor usage.

In addition, Medubi (2000) discusses schema in graffiti in his study. Schemas provide blueprints that enhance identification for the differentiation of activities through the projection and combination of information about the concept. They define the frames of activity inherent in a particular concept by forming distinctively creative entities for conceptual recognition of those linguistic activities. Two schemas appear to be germane to the activity of graffiti writing. The first is the humour schema, by which graffiti writing has come to be identified. Humour creative process generally employs different frames for example the joking frame introduced by joke markers such as *Have you heard this one..... There was this joke aboutetc* which pertains more to verbal delivery of jokes. The punning frame is more relevant to graffiti activity and it involves the use of wit, ironies and ambiguities to effect laughter and surprise. The second is the debate schema, which on the other hand is structured by conversation that can be decomposed into assertions and refutals, and on the other by questions and answers (Medubi, 2000). This work was very important to the current study that also dealt with linguistic forms of graffiti written by secondary school students.

Whiting and Koller, (2007) in their study investigate the discursive and interactional structures to be found in male toilet graffiti at a British University. In contrast to studies on toilet graffiti done which have focused on the thematic content and the possible psychological and socio-anthropological impact on it – the focus on this work is that it identifies patterns of turn-taking and discusses the notion of face-threatening acts in graffiti. The study also addresses the social function of male toilet graffiti in enacting conflict between group values as well as reinforcing notions of masculinity within a community of practice. They argue that inside a toilet, space restrictions lead to texts that have to combine as many words as necessary to convey their message within minimal space. In this particular study the two scholars used conversation/discourse analysis in an attempt to further their understanding of this area of language use. This was more relevant to the present study as discourse analysis was also be applied in the same manner. Also the participants are not entirely anonymous in a university toilet as they are members of a community; similarly, the graffiti in secondary schools were written by students.

Abu-Jabber *et al* (2008) in their study investigated the spelling phenomena in statements made by Jordanian non-native English speakers. The study, further sought to identify the functions English and Anglicization serve in graffiti, the impact global English had on Jordanians' English language and culture, the linguistic and stylistic characteristics of Jordanians' English graffiti and to what extent graffiti statements reflect the language competence of their writers. The current study also gave the researcher an opportunity to gauge the competence of the students in the English language as depicted in the linguistic forms of the graffiti and the types of graffiti.

A study by Medubi, (2001) analyzes the form and function of selected Nigerian graffiti employed to formulate socio-political, economic and cultural experiences. He observes that writing graffiti is prompted or fueled by much more than impotent frustration, or as a relief for repressed feelings, opinions and thoughts. According to his study graffiti actually serve higher social functions such as ideational, informative, persuasive and integrative functions. Graffiti affect the reader's opinions, orients him morally towards more beneficial and positive socio-political goals, and warn about impending political pitfalls. In addition, graffiti is found to be of great importance to the linguist since the language used in them is closer to the spoken language of the period (Medubi, 2001). This work was important to the current study since it also dealt with the forms of graffiti, written by students in secondary schools.

Linguists have been interested in graffiti writing because they find its language to reveal how human language evolves and changes. For example, Claramonte and Alonso (1993) outlined the social significance and categories of wall and desktop graffiti. They also studied peculiar and idiosyncratic spellings and discussed abbreviations, acronyms, clippings, pun, rhyme, slang and new word derivation strategies. Their findings revealed that graffiti artists of a university background were linguistically creative. The current study attempted to analyse graffiti written by students of secondary level and identify the linguistic forms of the graffiti they produce.

According to Crystal (2006), there are various reasons behind graffiti writings. Sometimes it is used for demonstrating presence and leaving a mark instead of being used for communication. Crystal also noted that the dramatic expansion in linguistic creativity encouraged by the internet has influenced the graffiti written by non-native English speakers. In his book, Crystal (2006) has considered at length some of the strategies utilized in texting, many of which have been borrowed wholesale by graffiti writers. This work was very informative to this study as it dealt with graffiti written by students against a background of majority of the writers using text messages to communicate. Texting, therefore, greatly affected secondary school student graffiti artists. Habwe *et al* (2013) in their study used the Halliday and Hassan model of Cohesion to study graffiti at the University of Nairobi. The study discusses desk graffiti with the aim of discovering the dominant cohesion patterns, what motivates the cohesion patterns and how they account for textually, meaning expression and general cohesion of graffiti texts. The results indicated that although the desk library graffiti at the University of Nairobi is by multiple writers, it is still organized in terms of cohesion that helps to facilitate interpretation and understanding of meaning of the desk graffiti texts. The cohesion strategy used seems to make the topics of discussion clearer, prominent and pronounced. One of the major contributions of this study was that graffiti writing as a style seemed to point more to male contribution of the data as compared to female contribution because of the manner in which it had serious biases against women and female students. The emphasis on interpreting the graffiti written on the context of the University of Nairobi made its input relevant to the current study, since this study sought to interpret the thematic concerns in the graffiti by secondary school students.

2.6 Students as Graffiti Writers

Graffiti writing is commonly linked to the issue of youth boredom and lack of youth engagement, where young people with limited access to community facilities and activities turn to illegal graffiti as a means of voicing frustrations or expressing themselves (Dickinson 2008; Iveson 2008). There are four main reasons for young people taking part in graffiti: fellowship, fame, art and crime, all of which are interrelated. Fellowship and fame are the most common reasons for young people taking part in graffiti activities as they experience a sense of inclusion and often seek recognition through their work (Jones 2003; White 2003). Further, reasons for young people taking part in the graffiti sub-culture include: Artistic creation, an act of imitation, protest against a particular political order or policy, expression of rage, boredom or dissatisfaction with life and destruction of others' property (Arcioni, 2003:2). According to Grant (1996), unattended piece of graffiti gives off the visual impression of an uncaring and indifferent society. 'When the city fails to remove graffiti, it creates an 'environment where other more serious crimes flourish.' Writing of graffiti together with litter of broken windows, noise and trash in schools according to Broken Window Theory developed by James Wilson and George Kelling are indicators of vandalism and indiscipline and can cause decay in institutions such as schools and urban areas (Philip & Wallbangin, 2004).

The Broken Window Theory operates under the premise that if one window pane is broken and not repaired the chances are that another one will be broken and finally the whole building ends up with no window panes. This premise had a bearing in that most students who engaged in writing graffiti had issues they wanted to express in order for them to feel relieved and learn properly. These issues if not established and addressed may affect classroom learning environment and students may engage in forms of indiscipline and frustrate the efforts of their teachers to assist them succeed in their studies. Ngare (2008) notes that school principals in Kenyan high schools reported concern over the ever increasing number of cases of learner indiscipline in their schools. Such indiscipline resulted in some cases, in the destruction of property in schools, violence and substance abuse, and school authorities indicated that indiscipline had reached unmanageable levels. Most of the issues that cause indiscipline cases in schools are mostly captured in graffiti writing and affect learning if left unchecked. Hougan (1972) asserts that when some events or problems trouble the community, these anxieties manifest themselves in graffiti.

He also suggested that people in authority would learn more from reading restroom walls than by taking a poll. This work by Ngare was quite relevant to this study considering that both studies focus on secondary school students using graffiti writing as a means of expressing issues in schools which bother them and which needed to be addressed.

Studies conducted in the United States demonstrated that vandalism like writing of graffiti on school property was associated to school administrations that were either authoritarian or indifferent and remiss; as well as to principals and teachers who were not receptive to students, to a high turnover of teachers, and, finally, to the application of punishments (Mangeya, 2014). Thus, one must try to interpret the graffiti messages disguised in the acts of violence against school property, which may have several meanings: the need to call attention, to show off to school mates and to express revolt (Mangeya, 2014). This contribution shared a similar focus to the current study since they both discussed reasons which forced students to take part in graffiti writing in their schools, the issue of feeling repressed.

Graffiti writing occurs both in public and private schools. Graffiti writing in schools may also be evidence of sexual harassment by young people generating a permissive culture in which case such acts are not viewed as serious to attract punishment. These types of graffiti especially with sexual overtones when written in classrooms may affect students who may feel as if they are the victims of such harassment. According to Dupaquier(1999), sexual harassment is defined in a broader sense in schools to include several forms of sexual intimidation such as looking, making gestures, telling jokes, obscene comments and other forms of abuse such as unintentional physical contact and graffiti written on walls. If all these issues reflected in graffiti writings are not addressed, they may cause disturbances or unrests in schools. The current study attempted to analyze graffiti writings written by secondary school students to understand how they used graffiti to express issues such as bullying, unfair treatment, sexual harassment and drug abuse in their schools.

Nwoye (1993) conducted a study of graffiti on the walls of a college campus in Nigeria (bathroom and stair wall graffiti). He found that graffiti is in fact a way for the minority group to express itself. While a fairly large amount of research has been done which focuses on women as the minority in terms of self-expression, students are also a group that can be seen as a minority in need of a venue for their opinions.

Nwoye (1993) notes that women as a subgroup denied access to public speech and writing have begun to receive some attention, but a similar minority group, students, numerically and organizationally weaker, have not received adequate attention in their attempts to articulate their views when mainstream society has denied them the means of doing so through established media. Nwoye (1993) also notes that graffiti on college campuses is a similar phenomenon across the globe, which may be proof that the student population is a minority in terms of self-expression (Nwoye, 1993). Kenyan students are no exception as they too employ graffiti as a means of communicating and this study analysed graffiti in terms of types, linguistic forms and thematic concerns as a communication channel.

A comparative study of public and private graffiti was done by Koon – Hwee (2001). His findings showed that there were two major types of graffiti: doodling and latrinalia vs. gang, tags and pieces. The corpus was collected from anonymous adolescents in a small Midwestern community in the United States. He observed that the adolescents wrote graffiti especially when they felt bored or stressed out in school. He commented that it would be difficult to control the desire of young adolescents in graffiti writing as they would be more attracted to such activities since society pronounced it illegal. According to him graffiti should be considered as an element in the educational systems and as part of the secondary school art curriculum and instruction. His observation was of benefit to the current study as the writers of the graffiti were of similar ages in both studies.

Kanjuki (2006) in her study investigated graffiti written by students in secondary schools in Nyandarua District. Her aim was to identify graffiti, describe their stylistic features, discover the messages they put across and establish different attitudes towards graffiti. Her approach was sociolinguistic, whereby the results showed that graffiti was used as a medium to communicate opinions on different topics such as school authority, religion and politics, love and sex. Kanjuki's study, though adopting a sociolinguistic approach differs from this study because the current study went further to analyse the types, linguistic forms of graffiti and also interpreted the thematic concerns of the graffiti written by secondary school students as a communicative channel. This brings out a marked difference between the two studies.

A thematic analysis of the graffiti used in the Iranian higher education context was done by Farnia, (2014). Her findings showed that university students voice their opinions and express themselves using graffiti on the university classroom walls. Some of the themes analysed

using content analysis include love and hatred, politics, religion, poetry, class notes, signature among others. Farnia observes in this study the absence of common themes like threats, insults, sex and racism which are presented in other studies. This she attributes to the Iranian culture which prohibits such. The study bore a resemblance to the current study due to their focus on sociolinguistics as also interpreted thematic concerns brought out in the graffiti produced by secondary school in Baringo Central Sub County.

According to Sad and Kutlu (2009) in their study, they sought to study the contents and the underlying reasons for graffiti written by prospective teachers. The results of the study showed the importance of bathroom graffiti writing as a medium for students and teachers to express themselves in terms of political, sexual and religious issues and to socialize through proper communication with others. The study dwelt on issues expressed in the graffiti written by prospective teachers whereas, the current study focused on thematic concerns brought out in the graffiti produced by secondary school students. Nwoye. (1993) in his study of graffiti on the walls of a college campus in Nigeria (bathroom and stairwell graffiti), found that graffiti is in fact a way for the minority group to express itself. Students are a group that can be seen as a minority in need of a venue for their opinions. He also notes that the different frequencies of politics as a topic in graffiti across countries may be a reflection of people or groups being denied avenues of public expression (Nwoye 1993:417). Nwoye's contribution shared a similar focus to the current study since both discussed thematic concerns in graffiti written by students.

Heath (1983) notes that though graffiti texts often go unacknowledged and are rarely used for reading or content learning in the classroom, students nevertheless learn a great deal about themselves, about schooling, and about society from the texts they create and exchange. A number of studies have found that what children and adolescents learn from the various texts they use outside of school texts they view as important in their social interactions with peers and can often be more powerful and valued than what they learn in school (Camitta, 1990; Hartman, 1997; Heath and Mclaughlin, 1993; Moje and Thompson. 1996; Moll, Tapia &Whitmore, 1993; Myers, 1992). Students use texts to make a social space for themselves but also to define themselves and to limit others' participation in their social groups (Mangeya, 2014). One example is graffiti and tagging texts, as well as conventional written texts about gang practices, that serve to claim space and position in their authors' social worlds (Moje, 2000).

In spite of the controversies that surround legality of application of graffiti writing for classroom learning, some researchers have pointed its importance in enhancing understanding in reading of comprehension passages and novels through what they refer to as graffiti text coding (Mangeya, 2014). According to Tovani (2000) graffiti text coding involves two elements. The first step involves highlighting or marking a spot in a paragraph and then jotting a symbol in the margin to indicate the kind of thinking that was elicited at that point of reading. Text coding focuses on thinking such as making connections to background knowledge and experiences, posing questions, identifying confusions, making inferences, determining importance and summing up key ideas (Mangeya 2014). According to Buehl (2004) the learners begin to own a text by intertwining their ideas with those of an author.

Researchers estimate that consistent use of colour for coding (for example, red for main points, blue for details or examples) can enhance memory by up to 20 percent. Buehl (2004) asserts that graffiti text coding is a powerful strategy that helps students to retain their thinking and create a personal understanding of an author's message. He points out that students come to realize that comprehensions are the result of the interplay between an author's words and a reader's thinking. Tovani (2000) argues that graffiti text coding enables students to become accustomed to listening to their inner dialogue about a text as they read and this makes the student become involved in summarizing material in their own words thus helping them to remember as well as understand. Through the writing of marginal graffiti, students are provided with a system to verbalize their problem solving through difficult texts, and are encouraged to attempt fix-up strategies rather than give up or accept partial comprehension of a passage. This is in agreement with Ponyton (1989) assertion that we can account for a considerable amount of what any instance of language means by examining the structure of the text and particular choice of words used. These works differed from the current study because they discussed the contribution of graffiti writing to classroom learning. The studies did not consider how students use graffiti writing as an avenue to communicate issues which affect them, as the current study did through the interpretation of thematic concerns in the graffiti written by secondary school students.

2.7 Graffiti and Identity

Othen-price (2006) investigates the process of identity formation in graffiti. The researcher points out how illegal graffiti writers, predominantly young men, use their activities as a tool

to reconstruct the 'self' from a male perspective. This process necessarily involves a conscious choice of who the graffiti writer intends to be. Although it is appreciated that the graffiti writing process involves the construction of the self, the researcher does not really focus on the social factors that are involved in the selection of particular identities. That is, there is need to investigate whether the process of identity formation in graffiti is a systematic process. A sociolinguistic analysis of this process reveals the process of identity formation in graffiti.

The social process of identity formation in Manhattan graffiti has been traced by Powers (1996). The research reveals how graffiti writers choose names for themselves and then append their street number at the end, coming up with such names as 'Taki 183' and 'Yank 135'. Though her research sheds light on the rationale of the appended number on the graffiti writers' name, she does not, however, go into detail in trying to establish whether there is any consistency in the names that are used in a particular area. A sociolinguistic approach to the study of these labels constructed in graffiti highlight the involvement of cultural factors in the construction of discourse. In addition, Wright (1993) explains that the process of writing graffiti is one that involves the writing of oneself into the landscape. It is perceived by the researcher as 'a mode of self-creation' whereby the writer becomes 'entrepreneurs of the self' (David and Wilson, 2002). This implies that in choosing a particular identity the graffiti writer wants the reader to see the writer in a particular light. This suggests that the choice of the name is a deliberate one. The researcher does not go on to make the connection between the choice of the name picked and the environment in which the name is created. There is therefore need to account for how the social context in which the graffiti is written influences the choices of the identities formed.

Taxeira et al (2003) characterize the process of creating the self under the notion of 'presence' which the researchers link to the process of demarcating territory. According to the researchers, when people leave their name, signatures or tags on a particular surface, it suggests an appropriation of a piece of that surface. Their research argues that the social process of marking presence is constrained by culture when they distinguish other culture as 'masculine cultures'. Masculine cultures are those cultures that have a high disposition in the marking of presence. They involve a greater affinity in wanting to create an identity be it for the self or for the group. They go on to classify Italy, Germany and the USA as masculine cultures as a result of their high disposition in marking presence.

They, however, do not go on to investigate the sort of masculine identities constructed and how these identities are influenced by the culture in question. The researchers also give the misconception that in masculine cultures men and women construct the same kind of identities. These scholars' observation about graffiti writing as marking presence fails to consider how else graffiti writing is important. Graffiti writing is not only for marking presence but is used to communicate pressing issues by their writers. Graffiti writing was also the concern of some social psychologists indeed such as Lowenstine, *et al* (1982) in their research identify personality and motivational variables that contributed to graffiti written by male and female university student in restrooms. Their results have shown that a need for recognition and for relieving boredom were behind their motivation.

Othen-Price (2006:13) states that the medium of graffiti allows 'its writers to unconsciously explore forbidden notions of intimacy with each other.' Such forbidden notions of intimacy may include repressed sexualities such as homosexuality. It is, however, worth noting that Othen-price (2006) is only interested in investigating sexuality only in so far as the exploration of forbidden and undesirable elements of sexuality are concerned. There is, regardless, need to look at the complex nature of sexuality. That is, it is important to have a clearer understanding of how sexuality, in general is constructed in graffiti.

A study by Ruto (2007) focuses on male attitudes on sex, sexuality and issues surrounding sexuality as revealed via toilet graffiti at Kenya's Kenyatta University. She premises her choice of the university as object of 'inquiry' on two main factors. Firstly, she asserts that young people, especially males, can only express their views on sexuality issues through graffiti at university level due to the restrictive nature of the church-controlled school system in Kenya. Secondly, she considers young people in lower levels of university education as too preoccupied with preparing for university so much that they do not involve themselves in petty sexuality matters. Her study though does not recognize the existence of graffiti in lower levels of education such as primary and secondary school. This made it necessary to investigate both the occurrence of graffiti at lower levels and how language was used to construct gendered identities.

Solomon & Yager (1975) examined the syndrome of the relationship between graffiti writing on a college campus and the authoritarian personality. Their findings revealed that much of

the context was seen as evidencing release of repressed sexuality or the sort of aggressive and hostile impulses that are said to be authoritarian concerns.

Their discovery also showed that toilet graffiti were significantly more hostile towards out groups and more concerned with sexuality than public area graffiti. This observation bore a resemblance to the current study as it also focused on toilet graffiti. In all the studies above which focus on identity formation through graffiti, they bear a resemblance to the current study which analysed graffiti produced by secondary school students in terms of tag graffiti. Through this type of graffiti, students show their quest for identity and recognition.

2.8 Graffiti vandalism-art dichotomy

Bandanaraiké (2001) asserts that graffiti invariably makes its presence known and that this presence inevitably draws reactions from its audience. The adage ‘the writing is on the wall’, which can be traced to the book of Daniel in the Bible, points to the ‘thereness’/immediacy of graffiti and the fact that it is difficult to ignore both the content, and to some extent, the forms graffiti takes in day to day lives. As a result of the difficulty of ignoring graffiti, it can be a taken-for-granted fact that it is bound to draw one particular form of reaction or another from its audience. This is especially so in light of the fact that encounters with graffiti can at times be very spontaneous (Frederick, 2009). In existing research and literature on graffiti, there are predominantly two broad perspectives on audience reactions to graffiti. Halsey and Young (2006) as well as Haworth, Bruce and Iverson (2013), summarise these two broad positions by stating that graffiti has been conflictingly and paradoxically labelled as either ‘art’ or ‘vandalism.’ The former tradition, regarding graffiti as art, mainly focuses on attitudes towards graffiti of the aerosol type. Murals, pieces, throw-up and, to some extent, tags are the epitome of graffiti as art. Halsey and Young (2006) justify graffiti-as-art on the three bases of skill, intent and aesthetics. That is, it takes a lot of skill and hard work to produce graffiti that is worthy of classification as art. It is interesting to note that generally graffiti-as-art is associated with New York and Philadelphia graffiti movements of the late 1960s, a period which is labelled as one of ‘hippie youth culture’ (Mrsevic 2012:9). It emerges that the perception of graffiti as art strongly makes a correlation between the subculture and the factors of hip hop and youth cultures. This type of graffiti later evolved into a distinct kind of art whereby new genres of graffiti emerged and were later known as “post graffiti” and “neo graffiti”, which point to a period of renaissance in graffiti that is enjoying increased legitimacy as street art’ (Frederick 2009:213).

Frederick (2009) takes the term street art, as well as graffiti art, as one that reasserts the productive interface and correlation between graffiti and the art world that has been forged by former graffiti artists like Haring and Basquiat who made the transition from practising graffiti in the streets to being commissioned artists in renowned museums. Approached from this perspective, graffiti-as-art is taken as a form of creative production that is constrained by the conventions of commercial culture with regards to issues of brand formation and positioning (Barnet-Weiser, 2011). Street art is incorporated into the mainstream art culture where it is taken as another form of 'cultural expression' (Taylor and Marais, 2009) with some of it finding its way into art museums. It is also commercialised with the marketing strategies used mainly targeting youth cultures (Whitehead 2004). Graffiti is regarded as art especially when it is perceived as a way of beautifying otherwise dull environments.

The second tradition of attitudes towards graffiti perceives the practice as vandalism. In this regard graffiti is taken as a form of anti-social behaviour and a social crime (Taylor and Marais 2009). This is especially in line with 'dominant criminal justice approaches to graffiti' (Rowe and Hutton 2012, 67) which take graffiti as a practice that 'degrades the social status of the community and diminishes the value of property' (Teng, Puli, Karakouzian and Xu, 2012:681). Bandanaraike (2001) observes that most countries including Australia and New Zealand have criminalised graffiti under laws based on property damage statutes. Commonplace assumption made include 'the writer's supposed boredom, or the writer's desire to damage and deface, or the writer's lack of respect for other's property' (Halsey and Young, 2006:279). Resultantly, there is the adoption of the broken windows approach whereby graffiti is used as a herald of more serious forms of crimes in a community. Halsey and Young (2006:289) observe how in Australia the media has interpellated (to use an Althusserian term) graffiti writers as people who are 'on a slippery slope downwards into criminality.' It is no wonder Cresswell (1992) perceives graffiti as representing a 'discourse of disorder.' There is need to interrogate whether the occurrence of graffiti in all the social contexts are neatly categorised along the dichotomy of vandalism-art tradition. Different social milieu invariably entails that the social formation of attitudes are not homogenous across the world. Resultantly, different socio-cultural contexts are likely to result in the formation of differential attitudes and reactions to graffiti writing.

Bartolomeo (2001), argues that the use of publicly owned space is undoubtedly recorded as deviant, and yet the use of private space for public consumption, like graffiti – will also be considered deviant by the general public. “Private space becomes public when the public disapproves of how an individual uses the space privately”. Thus society often determines both public and private dimensions, leaving little room for self-expression of individuals. This in turn affects the efficacy of accessibility; a graffitist’s primary objective is always to communicate to others; his/her message will not be known to the public if it is concealed behind the walls (Bartolomeo, 2001). Teeyan & Heather (2000) attempted to find the causes of graffiti or vandalism in general by interviewing fifty-six adolescents and they found out that the main reason for delinquency was peer influence: while for property crimes, the motives being self-gratification. According to Horowitz & Tobaly (2003) school vandalism can be viewed as “a voluntary degradation of the environment with no profit motive whatsoever.” They viewed people who engage in vandalism as those who experience social, moral and value inconsistencies. In this study graffiti was treated as a communicative channel employed by secondary school students to express themselves.

From the reviewed literature, graffiti writing in schools and universities had been viewed as a communicative medium used by voiceless marginalized groups to express their needs, interest and grievances. Other researchers found graffiti writing as a form of anti-social behaviour and social crime. The current study attempted to analyze graffiti written by students to identify the types of graffiti in terms of meaning and placements. The study also attempted to analyze the linguistic forms and interpret the thematic concerns of graffiti written by secondary school students. This study therefore attempted to fill these gaps.

2.9 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework that this study was based on is Critical Discourse Analysis. The research, therefore, made an account of Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth CDA) and demonstrates how it was employed in the research for the analysis and interpretation of graffiti found in secondary schools in Baringo Central sub-county. CDA is a contemporary approach to the study of language and discourse in social institutions. It focuses on how social relations, identity, knowledge and power are constructed through written and spoken texts in communities, schools and classrooms. Given the power of the written and spoken word, CDA is necessary for describing, interpreting, analyzing and critiquing social life

reflected in text (Luke, 1997). CDA is concerned with studying and analyzing written texts and spoken words to reveal the discursive sources of power, dominance, inequality, and bias and how these sources are initiated, maintained, reproduced, and transformed within specific social, economic, political and historical contexts (Van Dijk, 1988). It tries to illuminate ways in which dominant forces in a society construct versions of reality that favour their interests. By unmasking such practices, CDA scholars aim to support the victims of such oppression and encourage them to resist and transform their lives (McGregor, 2003). CDA helps figure out the real meaning behind the spoken and written word in hopes that the insight gained can be used to bring about more equity, justice, freedom, peace, and hope- the betterment of the human family. CDA has mainly been influenced by Fairclough's (1995) textually-oriented approach to discourse analysis. In any society the way people construct discourse is both influenced by society and, at the same time, influences or shapes social activities and structures. Analysis of discourse, therefore, means that the analyst is obliged to be alert to power relations being exercised through discourse.

The three schools of thought in CDA are outlined, namely, the CDA approach according to Wodak (1995), discourse historical Approach, Tean Van Dijk, socio-cognitive approach and Norman Fairclough, discourse as social practice. According to Wodak (1995), discourse historical Approach, the primary focus is on text analysis. This view is integral in the current study as it can be argued that text here implies graffiti written by secondary school students. To Wodak the notion of critic means not taking anything for granted, opening up alternative readings which is justifiable through cues in the texts; Graffiti written by students should be made transparent and in doing so integrate many layers of context into the in-depth analysis. The socio-cognitive approach by Tean Van Dijk proposes a study of how language is used to express power, dominance and social inequalities in the society. In the current study it focussed on how students through graffiti find an outlet to express their opinions more often against those in power. Secondary school students feel oppressed while in school and one way of venting their frustrations, anger against those in authority is through graffiti writing (Obeng, 2000). The other CDA approach is by Norman Fairclough (discourse as social practice). He developed a three-dimensional framework for studying discourse, where the aim is to map three separate forms of analysis onto one another. Particularly, he combines micro, meso and macro-level interpretation. Fairclough's three-tier framework, therefore, consists of description, interpretation and explanation. The first level of description deals with the rigorous analysis of formal properties. This involves the identification and 'labelling' of

the formal features of the text. At this micro-level, the analyst considers various aspects of textual linguistic analysis, for example, syntactic analysis, use of metaphor and rhetorical devices. Graffiti uses metaphors, synonyms and other linguistic forms. The second level of analysis in Fairclough's framework is an analysis of discursive practices.

Fairclough (1995) defines the term discursive practice as the processes of textual production and text consumption. This implies that various aspects of the processes of text production and text consumption may have a more or less routine and / or institutional character. Graffiti writing in secondary schools is done by students who target fellow students. They, also target teachers and the administration. In the third and final level of analysis in Fairclough's framework, the analyst is mainly concerned with an analysis of social practices. At this level, the analyst tries, to take into account the broad societal currents that are affecting the text being studied. The societal influence /conditions which dictate what the students write in their graffiti-include congestion, rigid rules, lack or poor communication. Using these three different abstractions of contexts leads to the appreciation of why this level of analysis is regarded as the explanatory level of analysis in CDA. Thus the researcher not only described how language was used to signal, naturalise or neutralize power relationships, but explanations were also provided to account for the recurrence of particular terms, meanings or structures in the linguistic contests of power.

There are four principles of CDA based on many previous studies (Wodak and Meyer 2001). They are first, Social and political issues are constructed and reflected in discourse. The graffiti written by students reflected deeply rooted social and political views on various issues. Secondly, Power relations are negotiated and performed through discourse. In a secondary school there are authorities like the school administration and the student council or prefects who exercise power over the rest of the students. In the graffiti by students this imbalance in power was brought out. Thirdly, CDA stresses the social relationships that are established and maintained throughout the discourse. The words used in the graffiti revealed resentment, stereotypes towards the prefects and /or the school administration as shown in the linguistic forms of the graffiti analysed. The language used in the graffiti reflected and produced a certain social mentality and relationship about fellow students, teachers and the administration of the school. This was reflected in the types of the graffiti described and the thematic concerns interpreted in the graffiti. Last but not least, CDA focuses on ideologies that are produced and reflected in the use of language. The representations and construction is

revealed by way of power relations and gender, class, and ethnicity relations (Fairclough, 2003). The discourse in the graffiti by secondary students' links to ideologies that may have been taught and adopted through socialization, for example, negative attitude towards certain prefects and teachers, which was brought out in the linguistic forms analysed in the graffiti.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the research methodology that was used in the study is described. It describes the research design, the area where the study was conducted, population of the study, the sampling procedure, the sample size, data collection instruments and Focus Group Discussion. The chapter also describes the data collection procedure, data analysis and presentation and Ethical considerations for the study.

3.2 Research Design

Descriptive survey design was used in this study. A survey is used to collect original data for describing a population too large to observe directly (Shilubane, 2009). It obtains information about a particular issue from a sample of people by means of self-report, that is, the people respond to a series of questions posed by the investigator (Mugenda, 1999). This design is considered appropriate for the study because it provides an accurate account of the characteristics being studied. A descriptive research uses both quantitative and qualitative data analyses and this study adopted both. Quantitative research uses numbers to describe features of a text and in this study; it was used to obtain the number of schools where data collection was done and the participants of the Focus Group Discussions. It was also used to describe the distribution of graffiti in terms of where they were located in the schools and the frequency of the types of graffiti. Qualitative research helps the researcher to obtain in-depth data on the study problem. Qualitative research also enables one to study things in their natural settings and attempts to make sense of or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them. Human behaviour is also explained best using this approach (Mugenda & Mugenda 2003). Advantages of using the descriptive survey design also include the ability to accommodate a large sample size, generalizability of results, ease of administering questions and recording answers (Shilubane, 2009).

3.3 Area of Study

The study was carried out in all the public boarding secondary schools in Baringo Central sub-county. There are thirty one public secondary schools in Baringo central sub-county, with fifteen being boarding secondary schools whereas sixteen are public day secondary schools.

This area was considered suitable for the study because as with many other areas no research had been done on graffiti writing by students yet there had been persistent writing of graffiti in schools in the region. Students had been writing graffiti on the walls of classrooms, dormitories, laboratories, dining halls, toilets, tops of desks and secluded places. The researcher collected graffiti from all these surfaces. The targeted schools had also been experiencing indiscipline issues though the magnitude varied. The analysis of these graffiti writings may hold the key to understanding the challenges students go through. From the reviewed literature there had not been documented evidence on a study on graffiti in schools or their analysis in the Larger Baringo Central sub-county.

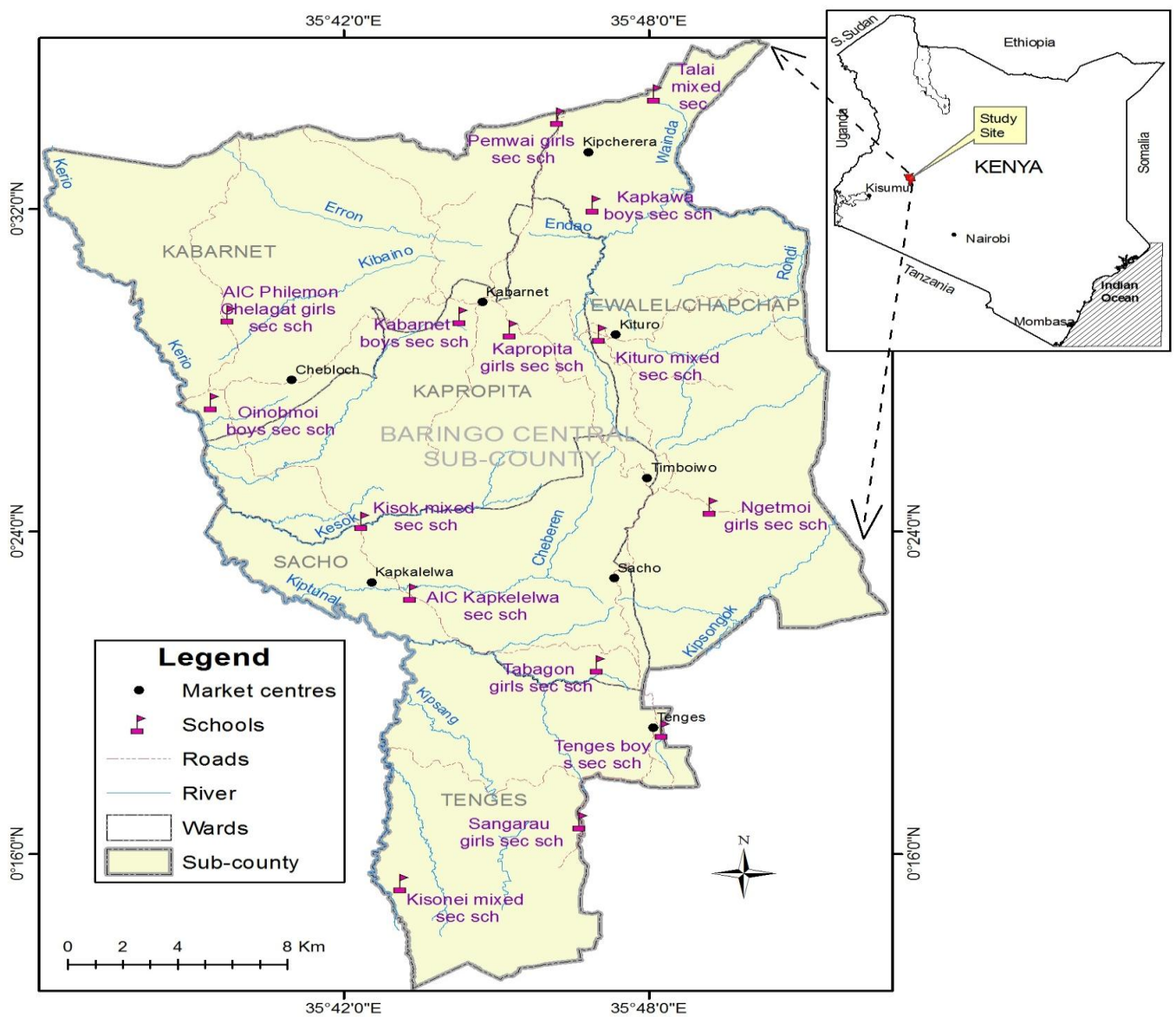


Figure 1: Map of Baringo Central Sub-county

Source: Survey of Kenya, map prepared by G. Maina ENSc. Department Egerton University

3.4 Target Population

Mugenda and Mugenda (2003) define target population as that population to which a researcher wants to generalize the results of a study. The target population of the study was 3500 students in 15 public boarding secondary schools in Baringo Central sub-county (MoE, 2017). This is the population to which the researcher generalized the results of the study.

3.5 Sampling Procedures and Sample Size

There are fifteen public boarding secondary schools in Baringo Central sub-county. The researcher selected all these fifteen schools because it is a small population (Mugenda and Mugenda 2003). The research used systematic random sampling in purely boys and girls schools to select two students from each form in a school to take part in focus group discussions. In the case of mixed schools, stratified sampling was used to separate the boys and girls and systematic random sampling used to obtain a boy and a girl in each form to participate in the discussion. In each school, eight students formed the focus group. The total sample which was considered for the focus group was one hundred and twenty students in all the fifteen public boarding secondary schools in Baringo Central sub-county. Two hundred Graffiti inscriptions were collected from different surfaces in the schools and this formed the sampling frame. Using the formula below developed by Israel (2009), a sample size of ninety was obtained for analysis. Simple random sampling was used to obtain the ninety graffiti inscriptions for analysis.

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + N(e)^2}$$

Where n = Sample size
 N = Population and
 e = Margin of error

This formula was appropriate for determining the sample for the study because it gave a good sample size that led to accurate results. A sample size obtained through the formula is neither too small leading to inaccurate results nor too large leading to wastage of time, resources and money. Simple random sampling was used to obtain the graffiti to be analysed from each theme. Care was taken to ensure that taggings, scribbles, symbols and drawings was written down or photographed in their original form. Writing the data helped to preserve it for later coding and analysis. The data elicited from graffiti texts assisted the researcher to establish the types of graffiti and messages students communicate through writing of graffiti. A camera was used to record graffiti which the researcher found a bit challenging to sketch due to the nature of their location.

3.6 Data Collection Instrument

The researcher made use of camera and a note book for data collection. The camera was used to capture the graffiti used for analysis, whereas, a notebook was used to write down graffiti which were too faint to be captured by a camera.

3.6.1 Focus Group Discussion

Focus Group discussion is a form of qualitative research in which a group is identified and involved in a discussion that will elicit their perceptions, opinions and beliefs towards certain issues (Kombo and Tromp 2006). The researcher selected a total of eight students, two from each form, a boy and a girl in mixed schools to form the focus group. The group identified was then engaged in an interactive setting where the participants were free to talk with each other and the facilitator in a natural setting. The researcher did not base the discussions on predetermined or structured questions rather selected graffiti was presented to the members of the focus groups to use in the discussion. The purpose of the focus group discussions was to assist the researcher in decoding selected graffiti written in their schools in terms of types and themes. The researcher acted as the moderator to guide the discussions and also wrote down the students' responses to be used for analysis.

3.7 Data Collection Procedures

The researcher first sought a research permit from the National Council of Science, Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI) to conduct research in secondary schools in Baringo Central sub - county. The researcher further sought permission from Baringo Central sub - county's commissioner and education officer to conduct the research. Sampled schools were visited to inform the principals about the study and discuss the logistics of data collection. The researcher then sent introductory letters to individual schools that participated in the research.

3.8 Data Analysis and Presentation

The study employed Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to analyse the graffiti written by students in secondary schools. The graffiti collected were analysed quantitatively by presenting them in a table according to the types and their frequencies. Critical Discourse Analysis was then used to analyse the graffiti qualitatively. CDA according to Wodak (2009) is the method that one must employ to study ideas, values, and status behind the language used which are not always overtly stated.

Through analysis of text and talk, CDA strives to get improvement in the society. According to Van Dijk (2006), Critical Discourse Analysis is primarily interested in and motivated by the endeavour to understand pressing social issues. McGregor (2010) argues that CDA challenges us to move from seeing language as abstract to seeing our words as having meaning in a particular historical, social and political condition. Hence, CDA analysis studies real, and often extended, instances of social interaction which take particularly in linguistic form (Blommaert & Bulcaen 2000). Therefore, CDA as a tool to be used in this study helped the researcher understand the graffiti secondary school students wrote, and their meaning. This was through analysis of the underlying meaning of the words used in the graffiti. This assisted in interpreting issues, conditions and events in which the secondary school students found themselves in. Translations were done for those texts that were not written in English, an explanation given and interpretation of each done in terms of meaning of message communicated. The data collected was analyzed and reported in descriptive format as the study is descriptive in nature. On the basis of the analysis, the researcher gave the findings, suggestions and recommendations for future actions and further research.

3.9 Ethical Considerations

The Ethical issues needed to receive a special attention since the participants of the Focus Groups Discussions were minors. The researcher, through a letter, sought permission from the principals of the selected secondary schools to allow the researcher to form and facilitate Focus Group Discussions. The researcher provided the participants of the Focus Groups Discussions with sufficient information about the study in order to knowingly and voluntarily give their consent to take part in the discussions. The researcher also assured them that their identity would be protected since the Focus Groups were only given numbers and no names were to be used at all. The participants were given the freedom to give and withhold as much information as they wished to the researcher. The participants were also to determine the time of the discussions which was convenient to them.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter comprises five sections. The first section gives the frequency distribution of graffiti data collected in different locations in schools.

The second section deals with the types of graffiti written by secondary school students. The third section analyses the linguistic forms of the graffiti written by secondary school students. The fourth section analyses the thematic concerns expressed in graffiti written by the secondary school students. The fifth section gives a discussion of the content of this chapter as a whole.

4.2 Quantitative Analysis of Graffiti Sources

The graffiti texts were obtained from various surfaces including tops of desks, walls of laboratories, classrooms, dormitories, ablution blocks, libraries, computer rooms and dining halls. In total, ninety graffiti texts were sampled from differed locations.

Table 1: Distribution of Graffiti

Source	Frequency (f)	Percentage (%)
Classrooms	50	55.6
Dormitories	17	18.8
Laboratories	14	15.6
Library	1	1.1
Dining hall	3	3.3
Ablution	5	5.6
Total	90	100

The highest percentage of graffiti (55.6 percent) were obtained from classrooms because students spent most of their time in classrooms. 18.8 percent of texts were found in the dormitories there, the percentage not so high probably because they went to the dormitories when tired and just wanted to read. Graffiti in the laboratories constituted 15.6 percent. This is where students performed their science practicals which are time consuming leaving little time for them to write a lot of graffiti there. In the ablution blocks 5.6 percent of texts were

found there. This low percentage could be attributed to these places being rather uncomfortable for them to spend more time than is necessary to write graffiti.

Graffiti in the dining hall constituted 3.3 percent fewer than in most places because in most schools due to the high number of students cafeteria is used when serving meals so students end up spending little time to engage in so much graffiti writing. Only 1.1 percent of the graffiti were collected in the library. This could be as a result of serious studies so there is no time for students to spend on writing graffiti there. Focus Groups used to interpret data collected from the schools were fourteen, one group in each school. These groups gave their views on the graffiti found in their schools.

4.3 Types of graffiti

Several authors have tried to make a distinction between different types of graffiti in order to be able to study the phenomenon from different angles. Grant (1996) notes that modern graffiti falls into one of the categories: ‘Junk’ graffiti, ‘gang’ graffiti and ‘tagging’.

Alonso (1998) adds two new categories to the classification of graffiti: ‘political’ and ‘Existential’. Most of the graffiti collected were of the existential type. There are different types of graffiti written by secondary school students.

Table 2: Types of Graffiti

Types	Frequency	Girls	Boys	Mixed
Tag	6	0	4	1
Political	5	0	4	1
Gang	4	0	3	1
Existential	23	8	7	4
Abusive	7	2	3	2
Poetry	5	2	1	3
Total	50	12	14	12

4.3.1 Tag Graffiti

Alonso (1998) describes tagging as a stylized signature that a writer marks on the urban environment; walls, buses and trains. This type of graffiti has often been associated with criminal activity and an eye sore but what is important to note about this type of graffiti is that it gives the writer power- this power is exercised by the ability to make a personal claim to the surface that they have tagged. The writer of tag graffiti wants recognition and identity.

According to Epstein (1998) quest for identity is greater at a young age, where the need to be someone is greater, and popularity among peers is fundamental. According to Alonso (1998) tagging is indeed the most widespread type of graffiti. By tagging, most people claim surfaces and acquire fame and power within the (youth) groups and cultures they represent and are part of. He adds that marking one's name in a hard to reach or obscure place adds to the taggers fame and recognition.

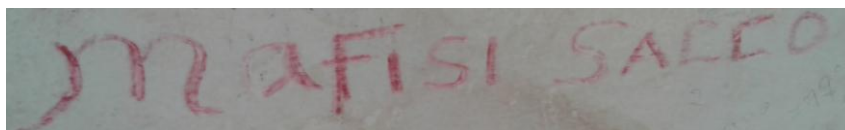
Example 1.



#Team maqwela

This tag found on a wall of a classroom in a boy's secondary school and also on a wall of a dormitory in the same school, shows the tag or nickname the writers used in order to be visible and recognized within the school. They have used this to present themselves to other students. The Focus Group discussions revealed that this tag is a name of a group of comedians located in the coastal region of Kenya which the authors seem to identify with. This agrees with what Wright (1993) noted in his study that in choosing a particular identity the graffiti writer wants the reader to see the writer in a particular light. He continues to add that the choice of the name is a deliberate one.

Example 2.

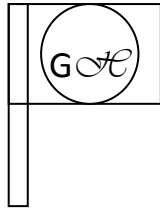


MAFISI SACCO LTD (Hyenas Sacco Ltd)

This graffiti found on top of a desk in a mixed boarding secondary school brings out the identity of the author. This tag makes the author feel famous, because the term 'mafisi' refers to individuals who are courageous and they are perceived by others as notorious in certain ways. This tag according to the focus groups refers to a group of students who enjoy flirting with many girls whenever they get opportunities to meet them like during games, drama and

music festivals and other outings made by students. This group is notorious when it comes to making sexual advances to girls. They also added that this was a common term used outside the school context to refer to men who enjoyed flirting with women.

Example 3



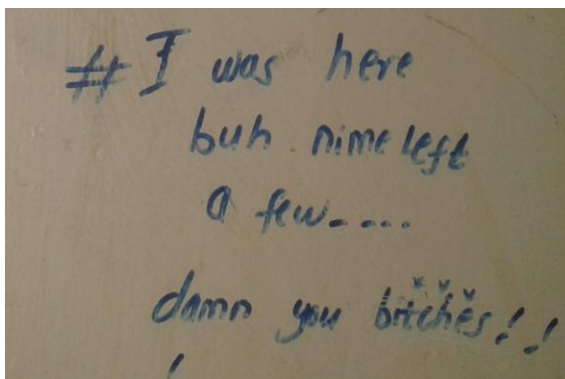
Gravity flag

WE SHINE FROM

AD COTROYS

The graffiti in the form of symbol found on the wall of a classroom in a boys school implies the freedom the students enjoy in that school. They can do whatever they wish to yet they suffer no consequences- in short they are their own masters. From the Focus Group discussions, they enjoy that state of affairs. From the Focus Groups, the students indicated that the upper classes, that is, form 3 and 4 students do whatever they wish to, for instance, watching TV for as long as they wished without any restrictions whatsoever. The participants of the Focus Groups in form 1 and 2 distanced themselves from the activities of their seniors. The message they communicated through this tag graffiti was their need for more supervision and their time in school to be well-planned.

Example 4



I was here

Buh nime left (but i have left)

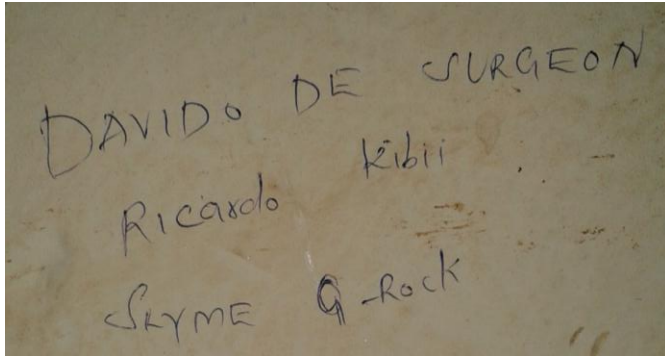
A few ...

Damn you bitches!!!

This graffiti found on a wall of a dormitory in a boys' school must have wanted his presence in that school to be felt. The author uses this writing as a way of releasing a certain state of

mind. He could have had a bad feeling about his school and wished to release his anger and leave it there, on the wall. Students, as it clearly came out in the Focus Group Discussions use graffiti writing to communicate, express their anger, discomfort, and even happiness.

Example 5.



DAVIDO DE SURGEON

Ricardo

Slyme G-ROCK

This graffiti is in form of nicknames of the authors and were found on a wall of a classroom in a boys school. The author being comfortable with the names given to himself and his friends, wrote them on a wall. This graffiti is like the author is saying that “we are there”. The Focus Group further explained that due to boredom students occasionally make marks on walls. Teixeira et al (2003) noted that when people leave their name, signature or tags on a particular surface, it suggests an appropriation of a piece of that surface. This was evident in the findings of this study. He further added that through graffiti people of lower political status (students) express their opinions on political actors (people holding public office).

4.3.2 Political graffiti

Obeng (2000), notes that politicians are not the only participants in the domain of politics. Graffiti writing is generally used by artists to express underlying political messages, and it is art associated with Secondary school students in Kenya, also engage in graffiti discourse which at times is political discourse. Political groups use graffiti as a communication tool because it is the safest, most economical as well as a highly efficient way of reaching a desired audience (Raento 1997). From the graffiti collected the Focus Group Discussions revealed that students had their own opinions about the political parties and those aspiring to be elected to political offices.

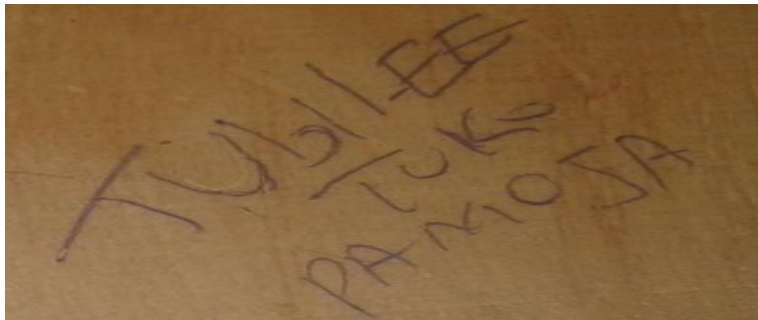
Example 6.



<i>NASA</i>	<i>NASA</i>
<i>VOTE</i>	<i>VOTE</i>
<i>MUHIMU</i>	<i>VALUABLE</i>

The writer of this graffiti supported the opposition coalition in Kenya-NASA and termed a vote for this party important. The graffiti was found on a wall of a classroom in a boys school.

Example 7.



<i>JUBILEE</i>	<i>JUBILEE</i>
<i>TUKO</i>	<i>WERE ARE</i>
<i>PAMOJA</i>	<i>TOGETHER</i>

The graffiti, example 7, shows that the author identified with the ruling party Jubilee. From the Focus Group discussions it emerged that students had their preferred parties and candidates in the 2017 General elections in Kenya. This was found on top of a desk in a boys secondary school. Teixeira et al (2003) observed in their study that political graffiti is mainly produced by male graffiti writers. This was also evident in the current study since most of the graffiti on politics were found in boys schools.

Example 8

BUZEKI KIPROP

The author of this graffito identifies himself with the personality Buzeki Kiprop a gubernatorial aspirant in Uasin Gishu County in the 2017 General elections.

Example 9.

Jubilee

Jubilee

Tena

Again

This graffito found on the wall of a classroom in a boys school, indicated the author's wish to have one of the two main political parties in Kenya in 2017 to take over the country's leadership again. In August, 2017, Kenyans went to the polls but the Presidential winner from the Jubilee Party who was declared winner was disputed by the other party – NASA. This made the NASA flag bearer to make a petition against the win, and the Supreme Court ordered the IEBC (The Electoral Body) to conduct another Presidential Election after 60 days.

Example 10

Twasimama kidete

We stand firm

Kupinga ukabila

to resist tribalism

The year 2017 in Kenya was a campaign period, therefore, the author, who understood that Kenyan politics is characterized by tribalism, preaches unity in this graffito.

4.3.3 Gang Graffiti

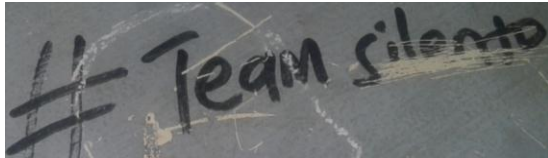
Gangs use graffiti to mark their turfs, and also to glorify the gang. They also use graffiti to publicize their power status, success and threats. The Focus Groups indicated that gangs existed in their schools because of too much unsupervised free time and also due to lack of positive outlets for the students (Alonso, 1998). This type of graffiti was found mainly in boys schools, possibly because they would like to create a sense of fear and intimidation in the school. Examples include:

Example 11

MAFISI SACCO LTD

The Example 11 seems to identify the gang the author belongs to. The name of this gang translated in English means hyenas sacco ltd. Their actions/behavior is hyena like – being greedy and opportunistic.

Example 12.



#team silento

The author of this graffiti belongs to a gang referred to as team silento. Their main characteristic is silence-they rarely voice their issues.

Example 13.



#Qwala zone

The author of example 13 identifies with a group of comedians located in the coastal region of Kenya. The graffiti was found on the wall of a classroom in a boys school and the author seems to idolize the lifestyles of the members of that group.

Example 14.



Caution !!

Out of bounds

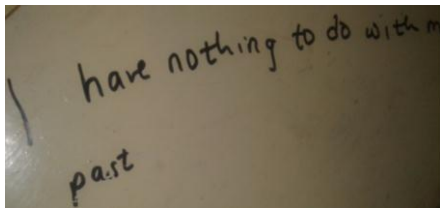
to.....

The above graffiti which was found on a wall in a cubicle of a boy's dormitory shows that this gang exists in that school and specifically in that cube. The members are hostile to non-members. From the Focus Group Discussions, it was apparent that students felt comfortable in their various groups, which they named according to their prominent actions.

4.3.4 Existential graffiti

Alonso (1998) describes existential graffiti as the ones that can be consistently found in public bathrooms. They express personal comments, and are most commonly racial and sexual ones. This type of graffiti can be divided into several sub-categories depending on the thematic content such as tribalism, gender, love, sexual, philosophical and humorous. Alonso (1998), further noted that regardless of the content, existential graffiti represent outward manifestations of personality. This type of graffiti includes:

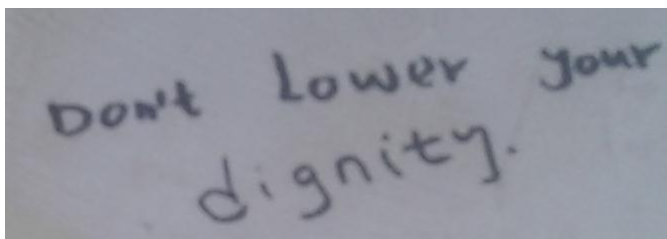
Example 15.



I have nothing to do with the past

The author of this graffiti which was found on a wall of a dormitory in a girls school seems to regret something she did in the past and tries to distance herself from it.

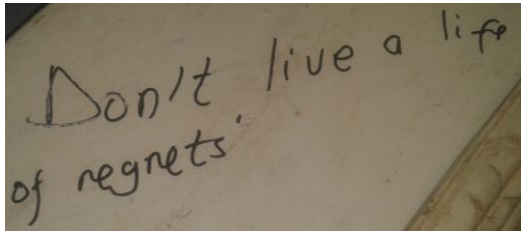
Example 16.



Don't lower your dignity

This graffiti was also found on a wall of a dormitory in a girls' school. According to the Focus Group, the author seems to be expressing what is on her mind about possibly a fellow student who had stooped so low in engaging in degrading behaviour.

Example 17.



Don't live a life of regrets

The above graffiti was also found on the wall of a dormitory in a girls' school. Focus Group explained that the author cautions against wallowing in self pity. This is a kind of advice to those who may not be living their lives fully because of past mistakes.

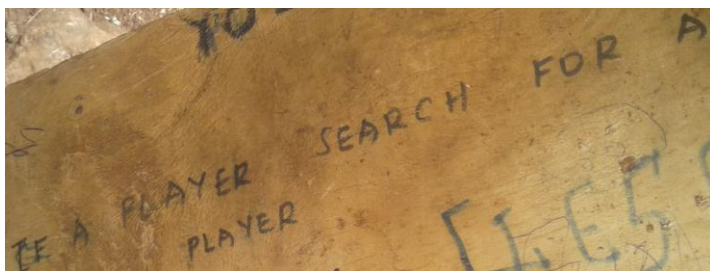
Example 18.

One organized head is better than one million disorganized.

This humorous graffiti was found on a wall of a dormitory in a boys' school.

The Focus Group explained that the author is against peer pressure and seems to advocate for being independent minded. From the Focus Group Discussions, students use the walls, and surfaces to speak openly about issues and to 'heal themselves, from the hurts they have experienced.

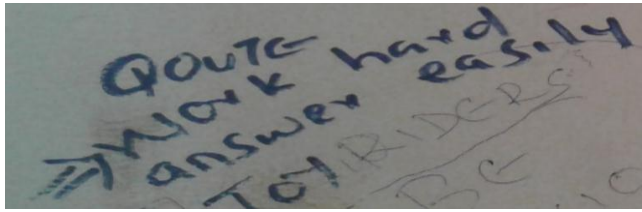
Example 19.



If a player search for a player

This graffiti found on a wall of a desk in a boys' school is incomplete but the meaning can be inferred. From the discussions, it emerged that it is about romantic relationships between boys and girls in secondary schools and the author came to the conclusion that in looking for a friend from the opposite sex, you get what you deserve-a player gets a player like him.

Example 20.



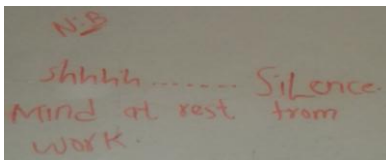
Quote

Work hard

Answer easily

The Focus Group interpreted it to mean that the author of this graffiti terms his writing as a quote to show that he wants his advice to be heeded by whoever reads it and it is directed to fellow students in his class. It was located on top of a desk in a classroom in a mixed secondary school.

Example 21.

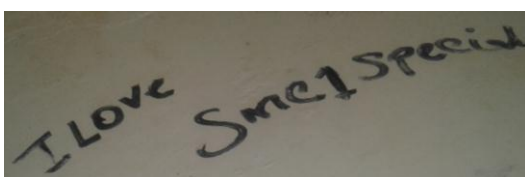


Shhhhhh-silence

Minds at rest from work

The graffiti found on a wall of a dormitory in a boy's school warns against noise making which is likely to ruin a good sleep for the author. It has the implication that he had really worked hard that day-in his studies and required a good rest. Graffiti of the existential type ranged from those talking of love, religion, politics, sexual issues. The study revealed that issues to do with love were common which could be attributed to the ages of secondary school students. When it come to sex, the students were quite reserved and only used the.....words only. This inhibition could be as a result of their African culture which prohibits open reference to sex. Examples 22, 23 and 24:

Example 22



I ♥ u

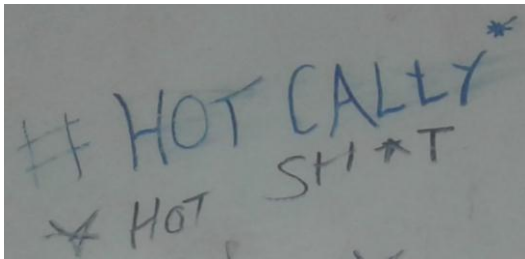
I love sme I special

Example 23



*I ♡ u
#believe me
Am hot sh*t*

Example 24



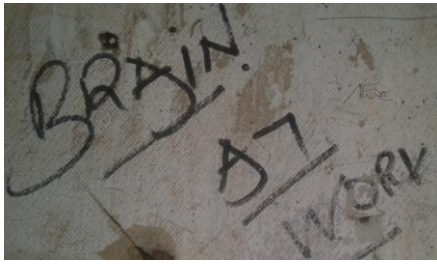
*#hot cally
Hot shit*

The author(s) seem to allude that they're indeed sexy. The study revealed that there are those graffiti which students wrote which revealed their physical or emotional state. Through such graffiti they express regrets, hopelessness, excitement and joy. They are captured in 25 and 26.

Example 25

*I have nothing to do with the past
Don't live a life of regrets
I used to love you
Money cannot buy happiness*

Example 26



BRAIN

AT

WORK

The graffiti was found on the wall of a classroom and the author wanted silence and no disturbance as he concentrated on his studies.

Example 27



AM GOING TO SUCCEED FAIL

The graffiti above was written by two authors the first author had written 'am going to succeed', the next author crosses out succeed and wrote 'fail'. It was found on a wall of a laboratory in a boys' school.

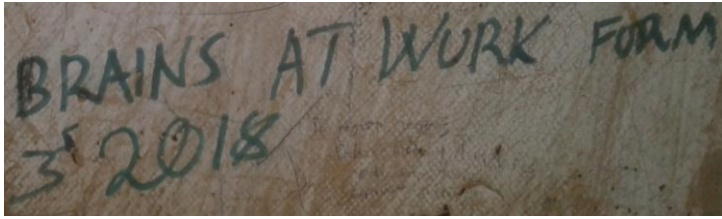
Example 28



Do u have a future

The author of the graffiti 28 found on the wall of a bathroom indicates the author is reflective and ponders on what the future holds for him. The graffiti is a question yet it has no question marks. This was found on a wall of an ablution block in a boys secondary school.

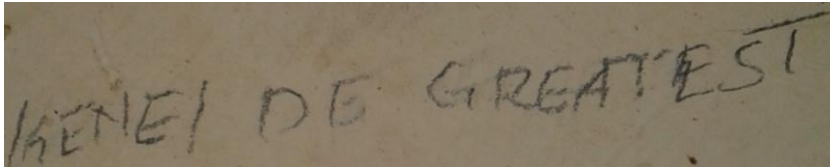
Example 29



BRAINS AT WORK FORM 3 2018

The graffiti was found in the wall of a classroom in a girls room. The Focus Groups indicated that indeed the students in that class were focused.

Example 30



Kenei De Greatest

Kenei is the greatest

The graffiti found on top of a desk in a boys school, shows that the author could be one full of himself or he believes in himself, that is according to the Focus Group.

Example 31

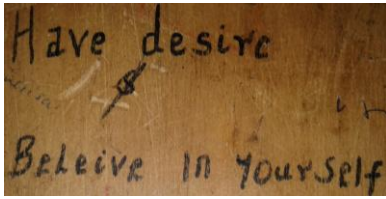


Vic the Dope Boy!!!

Vic the boy who abuses drugs

The author of this graffiti found on top of a desk in a boy's school shows that he is referring to another student who seems to be abusing drugs in his school and it is an open secret in the school. From the Focus Group Discussions it was revealed that it was an open secret in the school that indeed that particular student abused drugs.

Example 32



Have desire & Believe in yourself

The graffiti found on the wall of a dormitory in a mixed boarding school shows that the author motivates herself.

Example 33

We will miss u but we don't envy you coz we can't imagine life without 'spray'

The author of the graffiti above is obviously a form four student as it was found on a wall of a classroom in a girl's school. The Focus Group Discussions reveals that the author expresses her feelings towards other students in her school now that she was doing her final exams in high school and would be out of school upon completion of the KCSE examination. Though she would miss them she cannot imagine life in school without one of their favourite items-spray which had been banned by the school administration.

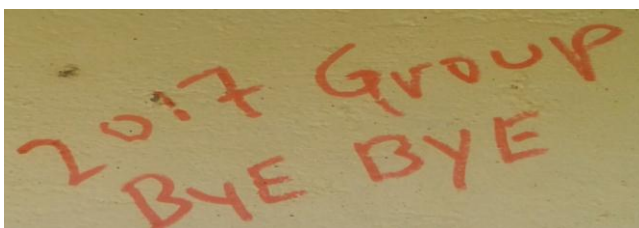
Example 34



No Temper!!!

The author of the example 34 is appealing for peace in the classroom as it seemed that there were students who were hot tempered. The Focus Group Discussions explained that some students, not being confrontational chose to express themselves by writing on walls.

Example 35

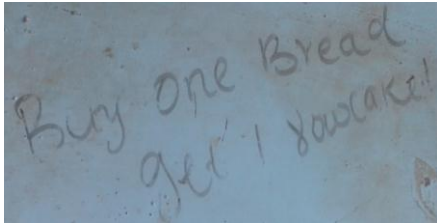


2017 Group

BYE BYE

The graffito was found on the wall of an ablution block in a boys boarding secondary school and was addressed to form four students of 2017. The graffito indicates the 2017 form fours related well with the rest of the students in other classes.

Example 36



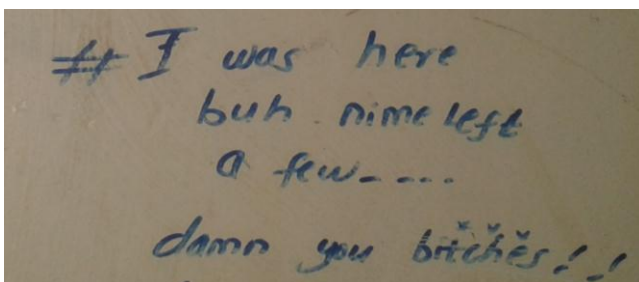
*Buy one Bread
get 1 rowcake!*

The writing was found on the wall of a school canteen. The author of the graffito is practising whatever they are taught in class, the skill of advertising.

4.3.5 Abusive types of graffiti

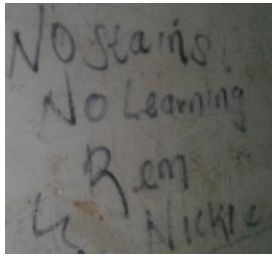
Alonso (1998) noted in his study that inscriptions depicted ideas and sentiments that are usually taboo in the social life of the writer. The anonymity affords the writer to challenge the normative values of the setting (i.e. university, school neighbourhood) without risking impeachment from the locale. This observation agreed with the findings of the current study.

Example 37



*#I was here
Buh nimeleft (but I have left)
A few.....
Damn you bitches*

Example 38



No stains

No learning

Rem. Nicki

The author of this graffiti found on a wall of a classroom in a boy's school identifies himself as nicki and in his text gives advice to fellow students that without struggling, putting effort in one's studies success would be elusive. Jimoh (1983) argues that the aspect of school pupils behaviours which were generally seen as signs of sexual or moral depravity or of general indiscipline on the part of secondary school students was frowned upon. A similar observation was made in the example 39.

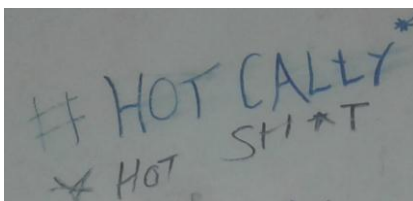
Example 39



Believe me

*Am hot Sh*t*

Example 40



#hot cally

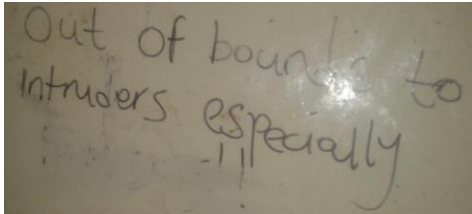
X hot shit

The above graffiti found on a wall of a classroom in a mixed boarding secondary school, indicates that the author believes that she is sexually appealing.

Example 41

Go out with what you came in with

Example 42



Out of bounds to intruders especially

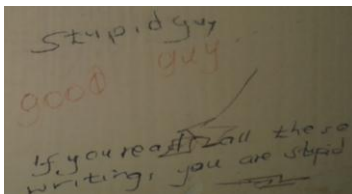
Example 43



*I am busy
No disturbance*

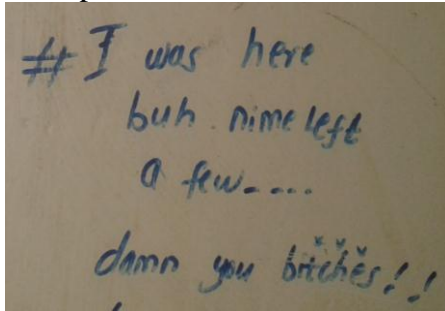
These graffiti were found on a wall of a cube next to a bed. The author who is likely to be the occupant of that bed must have been tired telling noise makers or intruders to that cube off, until he decided to write a warning on the wall for them to read, that is according to the Focus Groups.

Example 44



*Stupid guy
Good guy
If you read all these
Writing you are stupid*

Example 45



I was here

Buh nimeleft

A few.....

Damn you bitches

4.3.6 Poetry type of graffiti

Songs, lyrics and even poems were found on walls. This type of graffiti were common in all boarding secondary schools, be they mixed, boys or girls schools. They include examples 46,47, 48 and 49.

Example 46

Battle

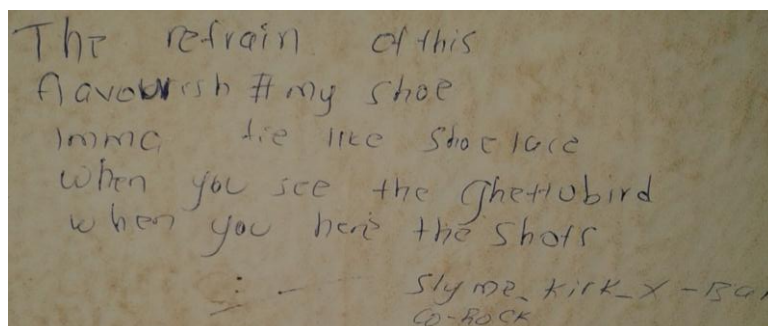
It's all about

Believing in God

And that someone

Called yourself

Example 47

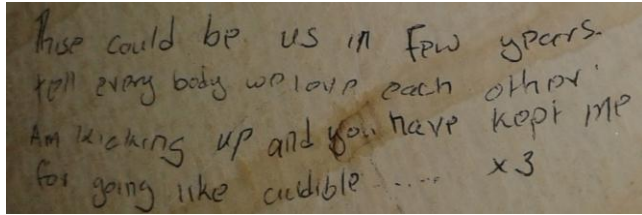


The refrain of this

Flavourish # my shoe

lemme tie like shoe lace
when you see the ghetto bird
when you have the shots
Slyme-kirk-xban
CU-Rock

Example 48



This could be us in few years
FELL everybody we love each other
Am kicking up and you have kept
ME for goings like credible x 3

Example 49

LOVE ME OR HATE ME, I still remain hate free
Man-plan
Young wasafi.

4.4 Linguistic forms of graffiti writings found in secondary schools

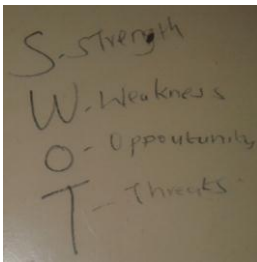
In this section, the manner in which graffiti has been written is discussed. Features discussed include acronyms, abbreviations, metaphors, use of short words, fragmented sentences, sense relations like metaphors, code mixing. Graffiti combines different linguistic and artistic forms to express messages of personal and social communication (Macdonald 2001). According to Turner (2000), when metaphors are processed in the human mind, understanding takes place because listeners merge source and target objects by mental movements, through the process of conceptual integration or blending, to arrive at a new meaning, the blend which is the purpose of metaphor use. In the samples below, it is evident that students in secondary schools employ a variety of linguistic forms in their graffiti.

4.4.1 Acronyms

Graffiti take this form which is made up of the initial letter or letters of successive terms.

Graffiti of this nature are common among students in secondary schools since teachers use them commonly to explain abstract or difficult concepts to them.

Example 50



S – Strength

W – Weakness

O – Opportunity

T – Threats

This graffiti was found on a wall of a dormitory in a girls school. The Focus Group revealed that the author must have written this graffiti after a motivational speaker had spoken to them about success in life.

Example 51

P - PRAY

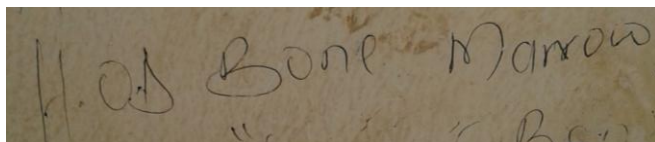
U - UNTIL

S - SOMETHING

H - HAPPENS

This graffiti was found on the wall of a form four classroom in a mixed boarding secondary school. The author realized that he/she was in their last year in school and their only hope was prayer to God to succeed.

Example 52



H.O.D Bone Marrow

This graffiti was found on top of a desk in a form 3 classroom. H.O.D Stands for Head of Department. The department being Bone Marrow. The author according to the Focus Group

seemed to be bragging about his monopoly of eating bone marrow in the kitchen of the school, before supper time.

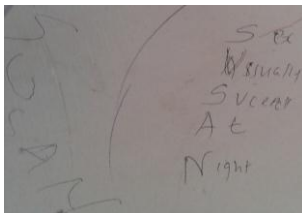
Example 53



<i>Jobs</i>	<i>J</i>
<i>Are</i>	<i>A</i>
<i>Not</i>	<i>N</i>
<i>Easy</i>	<i>E</i>
<i>Today</i>	<i>T</i>

This graffito was found on a wall of a dormitory in girls' secondary school. This from the Focus Group indicates that the author has realized that she has to take her studies seriously; otherwise, life might be hard in future.

Example 54



<i>Sex</i>	<i>S</i>
<i>Usually</i>	<i>U</i>
<i>Sweet</i>	<i>S</i>
<i>At</i>	<i>A</i>
<i>Night</i>	<i>N</i>

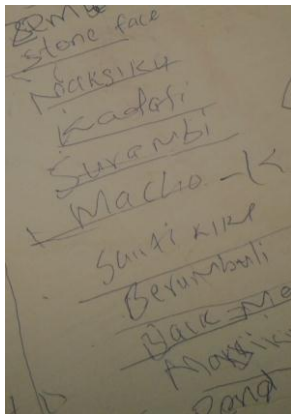
The above graffito was found on a wall of a classroom in a mixed boarding secondary school. It is apparent that adolescents have rich imaginations about sex, and being in a mixed school provides a conducive environment for their wild imaginations.

4.4.2 Metaphors

Metaphors enable speakers refer to abstract concepts in concrete terms. According to Jimoh (1983) there are graffiti which range from mild criticism of their teachers (such as mimicking them or giving them nicknames and writing these on the chalk boards during their evening prep hours), to mere rehearsals of some of the formulae and theorems they had learnt.

The following examples are metaphoric graffiti:

Example 55



The Focus Group Discussions revealed the following about these terms used to name teachers.

Kadafi (Gadaffi)

This graffiti is a nickname given to a teacher in a boys school and was found on the wall of a laboratory. The particular teacher is compared to the late president Gadaffi of Libya who was autocratic. The teacher according to students is a strict disciplinarian.

Surambi (two faces)

This graffiti was also found on a wall of a classroom in a boys school and it referred to a nickname given to their deputy principal who had two different personalities according to students. On one hand, this deputy was liked by students especially those who were disciplined but on the other hand was disliked by the undisciplined students.

Black Mamba

Another teacher in the same boys school was given this name, just like a black mamba strikes when least expected this teacher punished students when they least expected

Sokwe-Chimpanzee

This graffito found on a wall of a laboratory in a boys boarding school is a nickname given to a male teacher. This graffito written in Kiswahili has the English translation of a chimpanzee- the author compares the physical features of that teacher to those of a chimpanzee. This metaphor shows the negative perception that the students have about the said teacher.

Example 56



PLIZ!

DON'T DISTURB

ME (SWITCH)

The graffito found next to a switch in a laboratory of a mixed secondary school, serves as a warning to troublesome students who have the habit of switching on and off the electric switch. The graffito is also written to personify the switch.

Example 57



KOINANGE STREET

The graffito found on the wall of an ablution block in a boys school 'Koinange Street' in Nairobi, Kenya is known for the age old trade of the flesh, so the author of this graffito could have been referring to some immoral activities which were likely to be taking place there. It also shows that students know what goes on in the rest of the country-they are informed.

Example 58



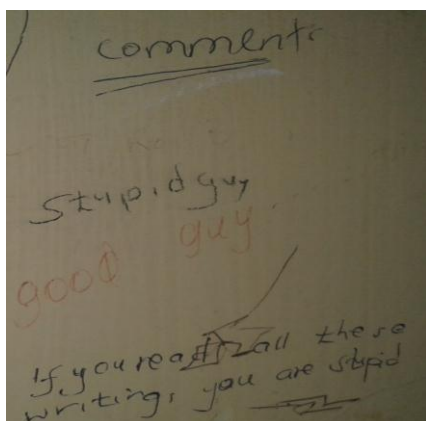
KINYOZI HAPA

The graffiti found on the wall of a toilet in a boys school metaphorically refers to the place in the school where bullying likely takes place, this is according to the Focus Groups.

4.4.3 Graffiti in Dialogue Form

According to Obeng (2000), graffiti is sometimes characterized by factors such as turn taking, opening and closing as well as adjacency pairs. This was seen in the examples below. Young (2009) also asserts that construction of graffiti discourse involves a number of interlocutors as evidenced in the same examples 59 and 60.

Example 59



Stupid guy

Good guy

If you read all these

Writing you are stupid

The above graffiti presents an example of spontaneous dialogue graffiti. It was found on the wall of a laboratory in a boy's school. There are three contributors, the first one makes a claim, which is refuted by the second one and both are refuted by the third contributor.

Example 60



DAISY- DAISY kitu gani

“malaika”

Cynthia rothrock

Umechapa!!! (Translated as)

Daisy – Daisy

Good-for-nothing

Angel

Cynthia prothrock

Your beauty has faded.

The above graffiti written on a wall of a classroom in a mixed school is also in form of spontaneous dialogue. From the Focus Group Discussions the first author is annoyed with Daisy the second author replies that Daisy is an angel. The first author who had nicknamed Daisy Cynthia rothrock continues his spite by saying that Daisy no longer appeals, her beauty has faded.

Example 61

#believe me

*Am hot sh*t*

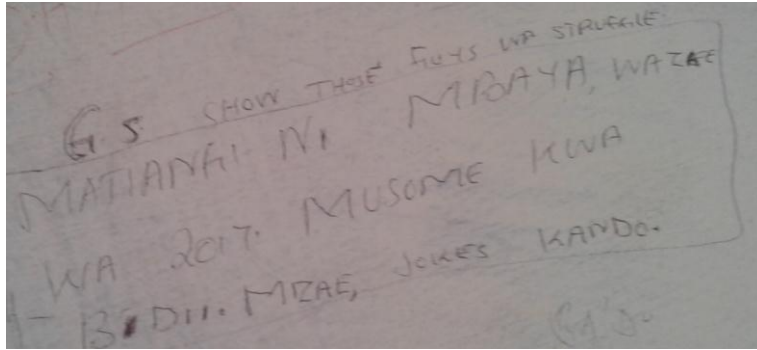
The above graffiti 61 found on a wall of a classroom in a mixed boarding secondary school is provocative in that the author wrote it near the desk of a girl he wanted to provoke to make the writing look like it was written by the girl.

4.4.4 Code mixing

Code-mixing between English and Kiswahili was a common phenomenon in the graffiti written by secondary school students. Code-mixing is used to make communication more effective and meaningful. Rapport is also created between the speaker and the listener through code-mixing. Sometimes code-mixing is used to exclude others from a conversation or to compensate for deficiency in a language in the case of secondary school students they

prefer Kiswahili to English. Instances of graffiti written in different languages were also found. This included example 62 and 63.

Example 62



G.S show those guys

Wa struggle

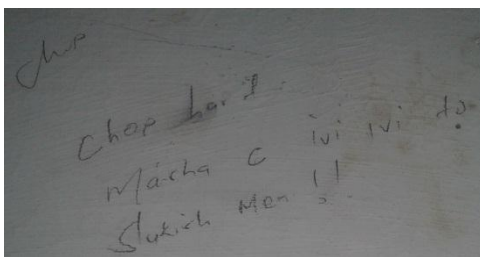
Matiangi ni mbaya wazee wa 2017

Musome kwa bidii.

Maze, jokes kando.

This graffiti was found on a wall of a school laboratory in a boys school. It is a mixture of English, Kiswahili and ‘sheng’ words. The author is warning students that the C.S Matiangi does not tolerate cheating in exams, therefore, they had to work hard. He urges them to be serious in their studies.

Example 63



Chop hard (study hard)

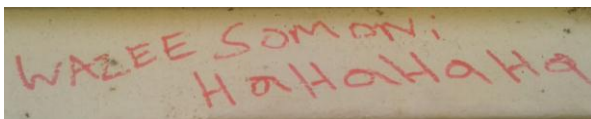
Maisha c Ivi Ivi (life is not easy)

Slukish men!!!

The above graffiti found on a wall of a classroom in a mixed boarding secondary school, must have been written by a girl student reprimanding boy students who seem to be lazy. It is also written in sheng, Kiswahili and English, an example of code-mixing. From graffiti 63, it is apparent that the competency level in both English and Kiswahili is low as evidenced by Ivi Ivi instead of hivi, hivi and slukish-instead of sluggish.

4.4.5 Irony

Example 64



WAZEE SOMONI

Ha Ha Ha Ha

Comrades read

The graffiti found outside on the wall of an ablution block, shows how the writer was in such a hurry that he could not spell the word 'somon' he must have meant 'someni'. The graffiti is ironic, it shows that the author seems to have lost all hopes in studying and is mocking other students to read, referring to them as 'wazee'.

Example 65

Rem

H.O.D Bone Marrow

H.O.D in this graffiti stands for Head of Department

It was found on the wall of a dining hall in a boys school. The focus group discussion revealed that some students were notorious and well known for fighting for meat in large bones just before supper is served. The author seems to be ridiculing a particular boy known for this.

4.5 Thematic Concerns of Graffiti Written by Students

A description of the nature of various themes of the graffiti found on surfaces and walls is presented in this section. The students wrote about a variety of themes in a bid to express themselves: love, politics, education, religion and football. Mc.Cormick (2003) argues that in institutions where formality and structure are privileged, graffiti offers opportunities to break away from the rigidity to create a space for a more organized discourse by inviting uninhibited and uncensored discussions that are often rare in scholarly writing. This is true considering the varied themes students write about. Graffiti has been able to reflect the nature of the society that produced them by communicating individual's opinions and values concerning important issues within the society (Gladsby, 1995). Though secondary school students have a variety of avenues to express themselves they still resort to writing on walls and other surfaces.

4.5.1 Politics

There were very few graffiti on this particular thematic concern-politics. This could be attributed to secondary school students being young and have little impact on the politics of the country. The few that were found were attributed to the national campaigns that were going on before elections which were held on 8th August 2017. According to Yule (1996) the interpretation of most graffiti is quite difficult because it depends on a great deal of specific knowledge about the immediate physical location, political issues of the time, Special vocabulary and much else. He continues to say that when we read or hear pieces of language, we normally try to understand not only what the words mean but what the writer or speaker of those words intended to convey.

Example 66

BUZEKI

KIPROP

Graffito 66 above is the name of an aspirant who was vying for the seat of governor in Uasin Gishu County. The author most probably preferred him to other aspirants.

Example 67

NAKURU COUNTY

LEE KINYANJUI

MUTUTHO

This graffito found in a wall of a classroom in a boys school shows that the author identifies himself with the leadership of the named personalities. It was apparently written during the campaign period. From the Focus Group Discussions, the authors of the two examples of graffiti communicated that there was competition of individuals for political posts in the two counties , Uasin Gishu and Nakuru respectively.

Example 68

Peace begins with you

This is another graffito about politics. It was used widely by politicians during the 2017 campaign period in the Country. Having undergone post-election violence in 2008, Kenyans were cautious not to go through a similar experience again. Through the focus group discussions, some students indicated that they were affected by violence during 2007-2008 elections and would not want that to happen.

Example 69

JUBILEE

TUKO

PAMOJA

JUBILEE

we're together

This graffiti was found on a wall of a building in a boys school. This was a slogan of a major political party which was used during 2017 political campaigns in Kenya. The author identified with the party which finally won the presidential elections. Though students in secondary schools do not engage in elections in Kenya, they seem to be aware of what is going on outside school.

Example 70

Twasmama kidete, kupinga ukabila

courtesy of 3W

Let's make peace

We stand together

against tribalism

This graffiti was found on a wall of a classroom in a boys school. The author must have written this against the backdrop of national campaigns which were going on during that period.

The focus group discussions hinted that tribalism which was on the rise during the political campaigns had also become an issue to secondary school students. The author was calling for unity. Unlike other graffiti on other thematic concerns, the ones talking of politics were written in Kiswahili, which is Kenya's national language. During political campaigns Kiswahili is used to reach out to everyone. The FGDs also inferred from the above examples that the students in secondary school just like any other Kenyan citizen were spreading the message of the need for peace, and tolerance during the national political campaigns that were going on then.

Example 71

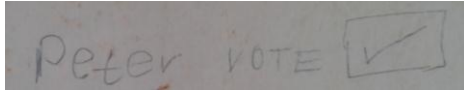


NASA TIBIM

The graffiti found on a window of a classroom in a boys school was a slogan used during campaigns by a major political coalition party in Kenya in the 2017 General elections. The author expresses his preference for that particular coalition party. The FGDs interpreted the

graffito as a slogan meant to convey the message of popularity of this coalition party in the country then.

Example 72



Peter Vote

The graffiti found on the wall of a dining hall in a boys school shows that the author preferred 'peter' to be a member of the student school. Students in secondary school are active in politics of their level. The communicative value of this graffiti according to the FGD was that the individual, Peter, qualified to be voted in as chairman of the student council in their school.

4.5.2 Love

The theme of love has been depicted in different ways including explicit words in English and sketches of a heart, with names on it which symbolize love. The most common expressions found on walls of buildings in secondary schools and other surfaces were the English words 'I love X' where X is the first name of a male or female. In my study, the X was commonly replaced by a males' name in girls' schools while in boys schools the X was commonly replaced by a female's name. It can be interred that both boys and girls write graffiti expressing love. Johnson (2009) found that women focused on themes of love and relationships in their graffiti. This student, however, noted that both boys and girls engage in writing of graffiti on the themes of love and relationships. Examples include the following.

Example 73

*I love
Sme I special*

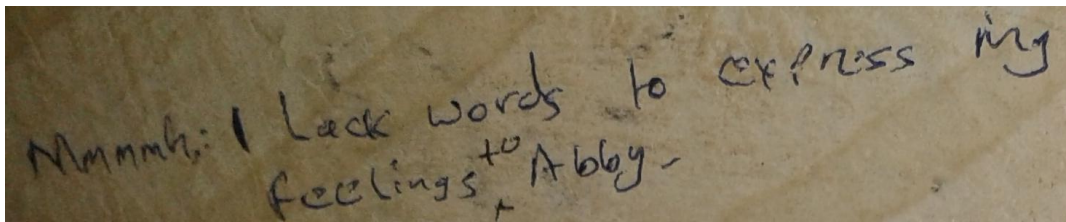
This graffiti was, found on the wall of a classroom in a mixed boarding secondary school. The author declares that he/she has fallen in love with someone he considers special.

Example 74

I love you Ann like never before

This graffito was found on the wall of a classroom in a boys school. The author expresses his love for a young lady teacher in his school. From the focus group discussions, the students pointed out that the teacher dresses elegantly, they love and do well in the subject she teaches. The teacher is also beautiful. It was inferred that boys in high school get infatuated with young beautiful female teachers and this affects their performance positively because they strive to impress them.

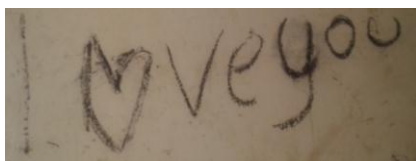
Example 75



Mmmmm: I lack words to express my feelings to

This graffito was found on a wall of a classroom in a mixed boarding secondary school. It was written by a boy because of x being a female name. In this graffito, the boy declares his love for this particular girl and he wants the rest of the class to know about it including the girl. This shows that boy/girl relationships thrive in mixed schools, and students talk about it openly.

Example 76



I ♡ you

This graffito was found on top of a desk in a classroom in a mixed boarding secondary school. It is an open declaration of love, to an unidentified student. This is attributed to the fact that girls and boys of adolescent age are in the same class, therefore they tend to relate to one another in a manner more than just students.

Example 77

Money cannot buy love

Example 77 was found on a wall of a dormitory in a girls school. The author disagrees with men who use money to win the affection and love of school girls. From the focus group

discussion, it can be concluded that girls discuss relationships, possibly when they are out of class.

Example 79

If I die

Will

Ube happy

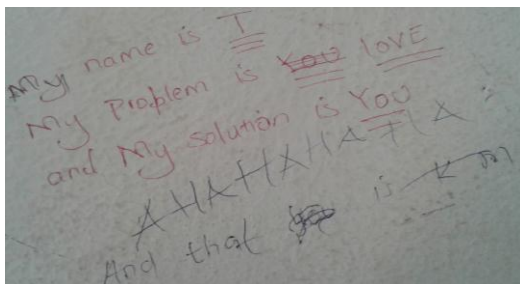
Students also face rejection in their quest for love as is expressed in the graffito 79. The author is disillusioned by the rejection he suffers. The rejection is so strong that he equates it to death. It can be inferred that adolescents cannot handle rejection and the results of it can be fatal. The graffito was found on a wall of a building in a mixed boarding secondary school.

Example 80

I used to love you

This graffito was found on top of a desk in a mixed secondary school. The author seems to regret having loved someone. He no longer has feelings for her, and declares it openly. From the focus group discussions, it can be concluded that secondary school students learn the negative effects of being in a relationship first hand, and have the power to stop it before it is too late.

Example 81



My name is I

My problem is LOVE

And my solution is you

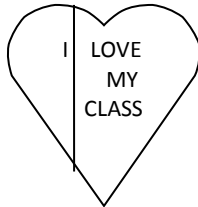
A HA HA HA HA

And that you is KM

The graffito found on a wall of a classroom in a mixed boarding secondary school is also in dialogue form. The first author expresses his problem, he is love struck. The second author ridicules him possibly because he cannot face the girl he loves who the second author knows

her identity. Graffiti on the theme of love are common in dining halls of secondary schools because students not only take their meals there but also use them for entertainment purposes – watching movies, football, talent shows.

Example 82



This graffiti was found on a wall of a classroom in a mixed secondary school. The author expresses his love for his class.

4.5.3 Religion

Farnia (2014) in her study noted that some of the themes of the graffiti written by university students included politics, religion as was observed in the following inscription on religion. Religion plays a very important role in the lives of students in secondary school and it is offered as a subject in the curriculum. Graffiti on this thematic concern include quotations of verses in the Bible. They include examples 83 to 88.

Example 83

MATHEW

10 v 28

This verse talks about fear that God alone is to be feared for he has power to destroy both body and soul in hell. This graffiti was found on top of a desk in a classroom in a girl school. The author may have experienced fear of someone in the school and found solace in this verse.

Example 84

God's will be done

Let's meet when we shall

This graffiti which shows that the author he/she recognizes the power of God to sustain life was found on a wall of a dining hall in a mixed boarding secondary school. The author must have probably written this just before students left for their holidays. It also infers that some

students are very religious. The FGD interpreted the message in this examples on religion as being the need to put trust in God.

Example 85



Look up to the Almighty

This graffiti also seemed to have been used to advise another student who may have been undergoing challenges in life. It was found on a wall of a classroom in a boys school. The author seemed to have failed in attempts to look for a solution from people and concluded that it was God alone who would help him.

Example 86

*I ♥ Jesus
Thank*

The author of the graffiti found on top of a desk in a boys school expresses the author's religious affiliation-he's a Christian.

Example 87

*It's all about
Believing in God
and that someone called yourself.*

This graffiti on religion was found on the wall of a classroom in a Girls boarding secondary school. The author encourages the readers to put their trust in God.

Example 88

*Not just
Come the way Thin
Seek the Kingdom of God*

The graffiti was found on a wall of a classroom in a boys school. The author urges readers to convert to Christianity but also reveals to them that the Christian life is full of challenges.

4.5.4 Education

Students always have something to comment about every aspect of education, be it education officials, school administrators/management, subjects they're taught and even their teachers. In Kenya, with the appointment of Dr. Fred Matiangi as the Education Cabinet Secretary, the Education Sector in the Country underwent major reforms. Some of these changes included restoration of integrity in National Examinations through zero tolerance to exam cheating. As a result of this, students in secondary schools had a lot to write about the Cabinet Secretary as is seen in the following graffiti.

Example 89

2018.....

TUTAKUWA NA

MATIANGI

"MAYAI KILLS"

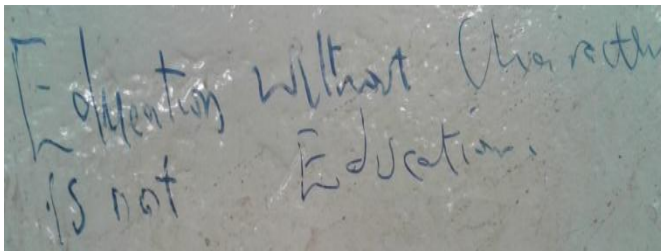
#MATIANGI

2018.....

WE SHALL BE

WITH MATIANGI

Example 90



Education Without character, is not Education

This graffiti on a wall of a classroom in a boys school shows that the author has enchoed what they are told by their teachers or the administration of the school. The graffiti has employed parallelism-whereby there is a condition and the result.

Example 91

Matiangi's work

Functions of Matiangi

Ensure that there is no cheating in exams

These graffiti were found in the wall of a laboratory in a boys school. The authors express their frustrations towards the Cabinet Secretary, Dr. Matiangi as a result of the strict measures he put in place to control cheating in National exams. The following graffiti below were

found in a physics laboratory in a boy's school and they show different reactions to the physics subject.

Example 92

Physics should be mandatory from next year.

Fizo ni rahisi (Physics is easy)

Physics (Physics)

Ni (is)

Rahisi sana (very easy)

This graffito was found in a physics laboratory of a boys school. Turn taking has been employed. One author expresses his thought that physics as a subject is easy then another author takes his turn to comment that physics is not only easy but very easy. The graffito has also employed code-mixing. The first part is in English.

Example 93

PHYZ^o

NOMA JOO (Physics is difficult pals)

German the best subject

Graffito 93 found on top of a desk in a girls school showed the author's preference of German as her best subject. Most students prefer one subject to another based on their attitude towards the subject or the teacher of that subject in his case it. From the FGD it was noted that students used graffiti to communicate their preferred subjects and those they found difficult.

Example 94



Target 6.2

The graffito was found on a wall of a classroom in a boys school, shows that the school administration communicated clearly to the students. The students are focused and the writing acts as a reminder to the rest of the students of the school's mean grade. The FGD observed that there was need to work hard to attain the set mean grade.

4.5.5 Football

Football is a popular game among students especially boys. During their free time, most of them play football and during time for entertainment, they mostly watch football-played by major teams like Chelsea, Manchester City among others. Among the graffiti found on walls and other surfaces were those on football.

Example 95

<i>CHELSEA</i>	<i>Diego</i>	<i>CHELSEA</i>	<i>ARSENAL</i>	<i>MAN CITY</i>
<i>The</i>	<i>Costa</i>	<i>FAN</i>	<i>DAMU</i>	
<i>Blues</i>				

Focus Groups Discussions revealed that through writing their preferred teams or players the students were expressing their love for football and how they were up to date with the players of these European teams.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

According to Luke, (1997), the written and spoken word has power, which makes CDA necessary for describing, interpreting, analyzing and critiquing social life reflected in text. Discourse as social practice, the CDA approach by Norman Fairclough is a theory that not only deals with the vigorous analysis of formal properties in a text, but also analyses the various aspects of the processes of text production and text consumption taking into account the broad societal currents that are affecting the text being studied. Graffiti is a mode of communication used by groups of individuals who feel marginalized and have no other ways to let their voices be heard. This is despite the fact that secondary schools provide a variety of avenues for students to express themselves. Secondary school students engage in graffiti writing. The present study sought to analyze graffiti as a communicative strategy used by students in selected secondary school students in Baringo Central Sub County according to CDA. The collected data were analyzed according to the three objectives of the study.

The findings of this paper revealed that students' political type of graffiti exists in schools, despite their age. Politics in Kenya has always affected Kenyans of all ages, students included. Students, therefore, have something to say about their choices of political parties, and even candidates. Existential type of graffiti was also common. According to Koon-Hwee (2001), it would be hard to control the desire of young adolescents in graffiti as they would be more attracted to such activities since society pronounced it illegal. The graffiti writers in the present study are adolescents and they freely expressed their desires, longings through the graffiti they wrote.

Tag graffiti was also common, this could be attributed to the fact that secondary school students would like to leave a mark in their class or anywhere within the school. Other reasons could be for fame. The linguistic forms of graffiti employed by secondary school students included acronyms, metaphors, code mixing and clippings; this was a reflection of the fact that all these students have English as a second language. Code mixing for instance, was quite common in the data collected, whereby authors used both English and Kiswahili words in their graffiti. This serves to confirm the notion that graffiti reflects the spoken language of the day.

5.2 Conclusion

The researcher concluded from this study that the analysis of graffiti in selected secondary schools in Baringo Central Sub County showed that students communicate or have their voices heard on various issues through graffiti writing. Students in their graffiti make use of linguistic forms which showed their linguistic creativity and confirm that graffiti reflects the spoken language of the day. Furthermore, the present study shared thematic categories with previous studies conducted within the same context. Themes such as love, politics, and religion were common, as was the case in almost all the studies. The students from the data collected showed that they appeal to a variety of themes to express themselves. Graffiti with love as a theme was similar to many other studies on graffiti. The pattern of the love expression ‘I love X’ was similar to the pattern found in Dombrowski’s (2011) wall graffiti of the universities in the United States. The theme of love was also captured in poems. One of the main themes to emerge from the present study was secondary school students’ love for football evidenced by the names of players of major leagues, open declaration of love for certain teams. Graffiti by these students contained themes of love, politics, and religion among others.

5.3 Recommendations

The findings of this research study can help school administrators realize that graffiti which are almost everywhere in walls, or other surfaces in schools are used by their students to communicate not only to themselves but also to the school administrators. The school administrators can therefore take notice of these writings on surfaces much as they take notice of suggestion boxes and student “barazas”.

From the findings of the types of graffiti written by students, school administrators should pay attention in order to understand the groupings in their schools and the issues they communicate. This can enable them to come up with ways to communicate with them effectively.

The analysis of linguistic forms of forms of graffiti written by the students can enable the teachers of English and Kiswahili to take note of their students’ level of competency and creativity in the two languages respectively.

The analysis of the thematic concerns raised in the graffiti showed that contemporary issues have been expounded, therefore, this knowledge, can be used by the school administration and school counselors to guide and counsel students accordingly.

5.4 Recommendations for Further Research

The findings of this research can contribute to the body of research in sociolinguistics by giving an analysis of graffiti as a communication medium by secondary school students. This study aimed at filling the academic gap about analysis of graffiti as a communication medium by secondary school students. However, there are many possibilities for further research. Firstly, a research which aims at exploring the reasons and what motivates students in secondary schools to write graffiti. Secondly, it is appropriate to carry out a comparative study between female students and male students as graffiti writers in secondary schools.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR STUDENTS

1. What are the issues raised in the graffiti you write?

.....
.....

2. Why do you prefer to express issues through graffiti writing rather than using suggestion boxes, the student leaders in your school?

.....
.....

3. What makes graffiti writing an enjoyable exercise?

.....
.....

4. Other than using graffiti to express your opinions, what else do you achieve through writing graffiti?

.....
.....

5. Do all the graffiti you write convey meaning?

.....
.....

6. Some graffiti are written in shortened forms how else are others written?

.....
.....

7. When as students you are anxious or troubled about a problem in the school, do you resort to writing graffiti?

.....
.....

**APPENDIX B: PUBLIC BOARDING SECONDARY SCHOOL IN BARINGO
CENTRAL SUB-COUNTY**

	SCHOOL	CATEGORY
1.	Tenges secondary school	Boys Boarding
2.	Kabarnet Secondary school	Boys Boarding
3.	Oinobmoi Secondary School	Boys Boarding
4.	Kapkawa Secondary School	Boys Boarding
5.	Tabagon Secondary school	Girls Boarding
6.	Kapropita Girls High School	Girls Boarding
7.	Ngetmoi Girls Secondary School	Girls Boarding
8.	Pemwai Girls High School	Girls Boarding
9.	A.I.C Philemon Chelagat Secondary School	Girls Boarding
10.	Sangarau Secondary School	Girls Boarding
11.	Talai Secondary School	Mixed Boarding
12.	Kituro High School	Mixed Boarding
13.	Kisonei Secondary School	Mixed Boarding
14.	Kisok Secondary School	Mixed Boarding
15.	A.I.C. Kapkelelwa Secondary School	Mixed Boarding

APPENDIX C: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION LETTER



NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION

Telephone: +254-20-2213471,
2241349, 3310571, 2219420
Fax: +254-20-318245, 318249
Email: dg@nacosti.go.ke
Website: www.nacosti.go.ke
When replying please quote

NACOSTI, Upper Kabete
Off Waiyaki Way
P.O. Box 30623-00100
NAIROBI-KENYA

Ref. No. **NACOSTI/P/19/22436/29995**

Date: **21st May, 2019**

Jepchirchir Kigen
Egerton University
P.O. Box 536-20115
NJORO.

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Following your application for authority to carry out research on "*An analysis of graffiti as a communicative strategy in selected Public boarding schools in Baringo Central Sub-County, Kenya*" I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in **Baringo County** for the period ending **21st May, 2020**.

You are advised to report to **the County Commissioner, and the County Director of Education, Baringo County** before embarking on the research project.

Kindly note that, as an applicant who has been licensed under the Science, Technology and Innovation Act, 2013 to conduct research in Kenya, you shall deposit **a copy** of the final research report to the Commission within **one year** of completion. The soft copy of the same should be submitted through the Online Research Information System.


BONIFACE WANYAMA
FOR: DIRECTOR-GENERAL/CEO

Copy to:

The County Commissioner
Baringo County

The County Director of Education
Baringo County

APPENDIX D: RESEARCH PERMIT

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT:
MS. JEPCHIRCHIR . KIGEN
of EGERTON UNIVERSITY, 1-30405
TENGES, has been permitted to conduct
research in Baringo County
on the topic: AN ANALYSIS OF GRAFFITI
AS A COMMUNICATIVE STRATEGY IN
SELECTED PUBLIC BOARDING SCHOOLS
IN BARINGO CENTRAL
SUB-COUNTY, KENYA

for the period ending:
21st May, 2020


Applicant's
Signature

Permit No : NACOSTI/P/19/22436/29995
Date Of Issue : 21st May, 2019
Fee Received :Ksh 1000




Director General
National Commission for Science,
Technology & Innovation

THE SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION ACT, 2013

The Grant of Research Licenses is guided by the Science,
Technology and Innovation (Research Licensing) Regulations, 2014.

CONDITIONS

1. The License is valid for the proposed research, location and specified period.
2. The License and any rights thereunder are non-transferable.
3. The Licensee shall inform the County Governor before commencement of the research.
4. Excavation, filming and collection of specimens are subject to further necessary clearance from relevant Government Agencies.
5. The License does not give authority to transfer research materials.
6. NACOSTI may monitor and evaluate the licensed research project.
7. The Licensee shall submit one hard copy and upload a soft copy of their final report within one year of completion of the research.
8. NACOSTI reserves the right to modify the conditions of the License including cancellation without prior notice.

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