Tribalist in Mind, Nationalist in Practice?

Ethnic awareness and stereotyping among secondary school teachers in the divided society of Kenya

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Introduction

Stereotypes about ethnic groups are very prominent in the diverse society of Kenya, which is home to more than 40 ethnic groups among which the Kikuyu, Luhya, Luo, Kalenjin, and Kamba are the most prominent (e.g. Branch, 2012; Ishiyama et al., 2016; Kagwanga, 2003). Stereotypes are overgeneralizations of character traits to group members (Hamilton et al., 2009, 179; Allport, 1954). Often heard stereotypes include the exploitative money-loving Kikuyu; the intelligence, as well as the aggressiveness of the Luo; the cooking skills of the Luhya; the talent for athletics of the Kalenjin; and the stereotype that Maasai value nothing more than they value cattle and grass (Ndonye et al., 2015, p. 47-48; Hornsby, 2013, p. 788). Whereas stereotypes are commonly used to make jokes, they have become entrenched within Kenyan politics and have been used as a tool to fuel ethnic hatred, as was the case during the 2007-2008 post-electoral violence (Ndonye et al., 2015, 48; Yieke, 2008; HRW, 2008, 2011).

Whereas stereotypes can be random and meaningless, they may foster prejudice, a generally negative evaluation of, and/or attitude towards members of a group (Albarracin et al., X, p. 19; Allport, 1954, 8; Beelmann & Heinemann, 2014; Stangor, 2009, p. 2). Such negative inter-group attitudes are associated with diverse social problems, such as social exclusion and discrimination, and can even contribute to inter-group conflict, as was the case in Kenya (Allport, 1954; Beelmann & Heinemann, 2014, p. 10; Brown & Bigler, 2002, p. 79; Reyna, 2000, p. 86). To avoid these vices, researchers have studied ways to improve inter-group attitudes, including most notably inter-group contact (e.g. Allport, 1954; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Tropp & Prenovost, 2008).

Schools play an important role in shaping the political and social attitudes of young people (e.g. Jennings & Niemi 1974; Torney-Purta, 2002). Many interventions aiming to improve inter-group attitudes and relations have, therefore, been set in a school context, ranging from integrated schooling, bilingual education, multicultural education, and training on social-cognitive skills and role-playing (Aboud & Levy, 2000; Beelmann & Heinemann, 2015). Peace Education (PE), likewise, seeks to improve inter-group attitudes and perceptions, and foster greater tolerance between (formerly) opposing groups in divided and post-conflict societies through school (e.g. Salomon & Nevo, 2002; Bar-Tal, et al., 2010). In the aftermath of the post-electoral violence, Kenya, for instance, introduced a Peace Education course at the primary and secondary level to '*equip young people with requisite knowledge, skills and attitudes for building peace as well as values for constructive intrapersonal, interpersonal and intergroup relations at the national and international levels*' (Ministry of Education, Science and Technology, Education Sector Policy on Peace Education, 2014, p. 2).[1]

Interventions like these commonly target pupils. Teachers may have negative inter-group attitudes too, however. Like their pupils, teachers belong to cultural communities that define their identity, views, and attitudes, which in turn influence their behavior (see Kumar et al., 2015; Horner et al., 2015; Kuppens & Langer, 2016). Particularly teachers in divided and post-conflict societies are likely to harbour negative inter-group attitudes in the light of their experiences prior, during and after conflict (e.g. Bentrovato et al., 2016; Cardozo-Lopes & Shah, 2016; Zembylas et al., 2016). Their negative inter-group attitudes may compromise peace education and prejudice reducing programs: Instead of acting like role models who exemplify positive inter-group attitudes (Bar-Tal, 2002), teachers may stimulate prejudices and stereotypes among pupils, by expressing, whether implicitly or explicitly, their inter-group attitudes in the classroom, or by giving preferential treatment to pupils from their own ethnic group, among others (Bekerman & McGlynn, 2007, in Zembylas et al., 2012: 1073; Zembylas et al., 2016; Bush & Saltarelli, 2000). These studies are largely qualitative. To our knowledge, there are no large-scale studies that quantitatively analyse the extent of ethnic stereotyping and prejudice among teachers in post-conflict and divided societies, and their effects in the classroom.[2]

[1] While a separate course was introduced at the primary level, content on Peace Education was integrated in other courses, such as Life Skills, religion, social studies, and history and government at the secondary level (Smith et al., 2016, 71).

[2] We did, nevertheless, encounter a number of studies on gender stereotyping in the classroom (see Mwamwenda, 2011 for a case study of South-Africa; Wainaina, et al., 2011, for references to studies based in Kenya).

Research in Western settings has demonstrated, however, that teachers' inter-group attitudes effectively inform their behavior and, by consequence, impact pupils' academic achievement and well-being in the classroom (see e.g. Tenenbaum & Ruck, 2007; Glock & Krolak-Schwerdt, 2014; Thomas et al., 2009; Chang & Demyan, 2007; Thijs et al., 2012). Pupils from minority groups were found to underperform as a result of having internalized the lower expectations that teachers tend to have of these groups (e.g. Steele, 1997; Chang & Demyan, 2007; Reyna, 2000). African American pupils in the USA, for example, would score significantly lower than pupils from European descent because of the negative attributes commonly associated to their community (e.g. Gershenson et al., 2016; Chang & Demyan, 2007; Thomas et al., 2009). Teachers' expectations of group behavior would also impact their disciplinary practices (Dunkake & Schuchart, 2015), their sense of responsibility for student learning (Diamond et al., 2004), and their affective relationships with their students (Thijs & Fleischmann, 2015). In this way, teachers' expectations, notwithstanding their accuracy, are likely to trigger the behavior they anticipate, thereby perpetuating and cementing existing stereotypes (Diamond et al., 2004; Gershenson et al., 2016; van den Bergh et al., 2010).

Western-based studies usually examine the impact of teachers' inter-group attitudes on the achievement or well-being of pupils from a stereotyped minority group compared to pupils belonging to the dominant majority (e.g. Afro-American pupils compared to American pupils from European descent; pupils from Turkish/Moroccan origin compared to European pupils). In Kenya, like in many other African countries, there is no dominant majority however. The country is home to more than 40 ethnic communities among which none constitutes a clear majority. This significantly complicates the study of inter-group attitudes and relations in the classroom. Contrary to Western research settings, moreover, the differences between groups are ethnic instead of racial, including differences in culture, language, values, or religion (e.g. Glazer & Moynihan, 1976; Anderson, 1983; Horowitz, 2000; Varshney, 2001; Bates, 2006; Ruane & Todd, 2010). Given that these differences might be more difficult to perceive, teachers may be not, or at least less, aware of the ethnic background of their pupils. Lastly, teachers' negative inter-group attitudes might be considerably stronger in divided and post-conflict societies than in Western contexts, where inter-group tensions did not escalate into large-scale violence.

The current article therefore examines the inter-group attitudes of secondary school teachers and their impact on teachers' evaluations of student behavior in the divided society of Kenya. The analyses are based on a sample of 925 teachers that was collected by the authors between April and June 2016 in 64 secondary schools in Nairobi. Although the survey

activated stereotype-congruent thoughts among the teachers, the results indicate that teachers' judgment of pupil behavior is not affected by their inter-group attitudes. Whereas stereotypes are automatically activated, people can indeed inhibit a prejudiced response (see Devine, 1989). The more, in-depth follow-up interviews with a subsample of 68 teachers indicated that teachers not only try to avoid stereotyping in the classroom, but that they also actively try to refute existing stereotypes and instead promote inter-group tolerance and equality.

The article will proceed as follows. First, we briefly review the theory on stereotypes, and discuss why teachers and their inter-group attitudes matter to the success of peace education and/or prejudice reducing programs. Section three, next, introduces the case study of Kenya, while Section 4 presents the methodology and data. Afterwards, we analyze and discuss the results of the survey. Section six concludes.

Stereotypes

People inevitably think in groups or categories in order to simplify and anticipate an otherwise overwhelmingly complex social environment (Allport, 1954, p. 19; Devine & Sharp, 2009, p. 61; Reyna, 2000, p. 92; Glock & Krolak-Schwerdt, 2014, 590). Once these groups are formed, they tend to be very stable given that people are attentive to differences between groups, while minimizing within- group differences (Brewer & Miller, 1996). Stereotypes, then, are the sets of knowledge, beliefs and expectancies that we attribute to social groups, and that we apply to all group-members irrespective of their individual differences (Hamilton et al., 2009, p. 179; Reyna, 2000, p. 92). They are overgeneralizations of character traits to group members (Hamilton et al., 2009, p. 179) or 'exaggerated beliefs' about those group members (Allport, 1954, p. 187). Stereotypes are closely interrelated with prejudice and discrimination – the three components of inter-group attitudes. Whereas stereotypes represent the cognitive component of inter-group attitudes (attributing a characteristic), prejudice and discrimination respectively represent the emotional (e.g. antipathy or liking less) and behavioral component (e.g. excluding, insulting) (e.g. Aboud & Amato, 2001; Devine, 1989; Beelmann & Heinemann, 2014).

People rely on stereotypes to judge members from other groups and to anticipate their behavior. They do so particularly when group membership – often ethnic or religious group membership (see McKown & Weinstein, 2008, p. 238), is the only information they have

about a person or whenever they are not interested in getting to know the person better (Stangor, 2009, p. 10; Glock & Krolak-Schwerdt, 2014, 590). Stereotypes may hence trigger out-group discrimination (Brown & Bigler, 2002, p. 79; Reyna, 2000, p. 86).[3] Such discrimination can take many forms, ranging from exclusion of out-group members, to the absence of showing positive affect toward the out-group, such as sympathy and trust, (Brewer & Miller, 1996, p. 75), or the withholding of prosocial behavior, such as helping and cooperation (Brewer & Miller, 1996, p. 5).

While group-membership automatically activates stereotypes, people can 'correct' for their bias towards other groups if they are aware of its existence (e;g. Byrnes, 1987; Devine, 1989; Fazio, 1990; Lepore & Brown, 1997; Wegener & Petty, 1995 in Olson & Kendrick, 2008, p. 120). Merely holding stereotypes, hence, is not necessarily problematic, yet applying them is.

Why teachers matter

More than traditional courses, peace education and other prejudice-reducing programs in school settings are dependent upon the views, motivations, and abilities of teachers: to improve the pupils' inter-group attitudes and relations, they require teachers to exemplify these objectives (Bar-Tal, 2002). Teachers, more generally, contribute to shaping pupils' inter-group attitudes because of their role as important figures of authority, and as 'secondary attachment' figures that provide support and emotional security to their pupils (Thijs & Verkuyten, 2002, p. 261). Teachers in divided or post-conflict societies may have very biased views of 'the other', however, because they are likely to have experienced inter-ethnic tensions or even violence (Bar-Tal, 2004, in Zembylas et al., 2012, 1073; Kuppens & Langer, 2016). Some of them may even have actively instigated inter-group divisions themselves. It is unclear, however, to what extent teachers in these contexts hold negative inter-group attitudes, and how – if so – they come to the fore while teaching. Qualitative studies on peace education have documented, however, instances of stereotyping and discriminatory behavior by teachers in post-conflict and divided societies (e.g. Bekerman & McGlynn, 2007, in Zembylas et al., 2012: 1073; Zembylas et al., 2016; Bush & Saltarelli, 2000).

Western-based research also indicates that teachers expect less from students belonging to stereotyped groups than from pupils from non-stereotyped groups with a similar performance

[3] Out-groups comprise all categories different from the categories the perceiver belongs to, which are called, by contrast, the in-group(s) (Brewer & Miller, 1996, p. 6).

record (McKown & Weinstein, 2008; van Ewijk, 2011; van den Berg et al., 2010; Glock & Krolak-Schwerdt, 2014); that they evaluate their performances poorer (e.g. Guttmann & Bar-Tal, 1982; Jussim & Harber, 2005; Riley & Ungerleider, 2012); that they punish them more severely (Dunkake & Schuchart, 2015); and that they have less supportive relations with these stereotyped pupils (Fitzpatrick et al., 2015; Thijs & Fleischmann, 2015). Even small cues, such as students' names, can cause these effects (Figlio, 2005; Riley & Ungerleider, 2012). Teachers' stereotypes thus inform them about their pupils' group characteristics. This information is consequently used to inform their expectations of what these students are capable of, and, next, to determine what opportunities they will be offered (Reyna, 2000, p. 87). In the literature, this effect is referred to as the 'Pygmalion effect', in accordance with Rosenthal and Jacobsen's (1968) seminal study on the effects of interpersonal expectations in the classroom.

Pupils, in turn, sense teachers' expectations and internalize them, which decreases their self-esteem and affects their performances (Agirdag et al., 2012; McKown & Weinstein, 2008; Riley & Ungerleider, 2012). More generally, when pupils are confronted with a situation to which a stereotype applies, they fear to conform to the existing stereotype or to be judged accordingly. Steele (1997) accurately defined this phenomenon as the "stereotype threat", or "the threat that others' judgments or their own actions will negatively stereotype them in the domain" (Steele, 1997, p. 613).

These effects are, however, not only important in terms of pupils' academic achievement and well-being at school. More importantly, the interrelated phenomena perpetuate and cement existing stereotypes (Diamond et al., 2004; Gershenson et al., 2016; van den Bergh et al., 2010): When teachers' expectations or pupils' fear to be stereotyped are based on false conceptions and cause a new behavior, expectancy effects act as self-fulfilling prophecies (Merton, 1957). Whenever expectations are based on 'real' differences, on the other hand, they perpetuate low expectations and are referred to as self-maintaining expectations (van den Bergh et al., 2010, p. 500).

Teachers can also suppress their stereotypical expectations, however, as is indicated by the absence of any effects of stereotype activation in other studies – although the absence might also be explained in terms of measurement effects or effects of social desirability (Glock & Krolak-Schwerdt, 2014; van Ewijk, 2011, p. 1046; for a meta-analysis, see Tenenbaum & Ruck, 2007). In another study on inter-group expectations, teachers did not even have

stereotypical expectations of Afro-American pupils (Chang & Demyan, 2007).[4] None of these studies has been replicated in divided or post-conflict societies in Africa, however.

Importantly, teachers can also contribute to decreasing stereotypes. Merely teachers' own group belonging can be important in this regard. According to the contact hypothesis (Allport, 1954), contact with an out-group teacher would facilitate out-group learning and reduce inter-group anxiety, at least if the relationship is characterized by mutual trust and positive affect (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011). This effect would be stronger than the effect of what is 'officially' taught about ethnic diversity in the curriculum (Thijs & Verkuyten, 2002, p. 266; Italics in original). In spite of having an out-group teacher, children would continue, however, to evaluate their in-group more positively than out-groups (Brown & Bigler, 2002, p. 91). Moreover, the effect of negative contact would be stronger than the effect of positive contact as it strengthens group boundaries and confirms stereotypes – although some claim the reverse to be true (see Albarracin et al., 2008, p. 21; Thijs & Verkuyten, 2002, p. 261).

Decreasing stereotypes can also emanate from positive contact with other pupils or the school administration. In more diverse classrooms, pupils from ethnic minorities would experience less discrimination than in less diverse classes (Verkuyten & Thijs, 2002); and ethnically heterogeneous schools are more likely to adopt a multicultural policy than ethnically homogeneous schools, that opt for more integrationist policies (Whiteman, 2005, in Stevens & Görgöz, p. 1363; Agirdag et al., 2014). Educating pupils from conflicting communities together does not necessarily break down ethnic divisions, nevertheless. In an integrated school in Cyprus, for example, qualitative research demonstrated the persistence of ethnic stereotypes among Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot pupils (Zembylas, 2010, p. 448). Furthermore, Flemish teachers in Belgium working in schools with a large share of Muslim students had more negative attitudes towards Islam than their colleagues in other schools (Agirdag, Loobuyck, & Van Houtte, 2012).

Country context

More than 40 ethnic communities are living together in Kenya, among which the Kikuyu, Luhya, Luo, Kalenjin, and Kamba are the most prominent. Whereas the Kikuyu account for about 20% of the population, the four other groups each represent between 10% to 15% of

[4] It is unclear whether this indicates actual low-prejudice among teachers, or whether teachers tried to prevent automatically activated stereotypic congruent thoughts because of the open-ended format of the question.

Kenyans (Branch, 2012, p. 4; Ishiyama et al., 2016, p. 307; Kagwanga, 2003, p. 26). In general, ethnic differences in Kenya are apparent in names, appearance, skin color, and accents (Hornsby, 2013, p. 312). Stereotypes about ethnic groups are very prominent in Kenyan society. Often heard stereotypes include the exploitative money-loving Kikuyu; the intelligence, as well as the aggressiveness of the Luo; the cooking skills of the Luhya; the talent for athletics of the Kalenjin; and the stereotype that Maasai value nothing more than they value cattle and grass, whence the perception that Maasai are primitive (Ndonye et al., 2015, p. 47-48; Hornsby, 2013, p. 788). At the roots of some of these popular stereotypes are Kenya's colonial policies. In line with their policy of 'divide and rule', the colonial regime administratively divided the country along ethnic lines and advantaged some groups at the expense of others, thereby sowing the seeds for future competition and conflict (Oyugi, 1997, in Ajulu, 2002, p. 253; Mkangi & Githaiga, 2012, p. 3). The Luo, Kikuyu, and to a lesser extent the Luhya, benefitted most under the colonial regime, and received proportionally more formal schooling than other groups (Keller, 1980, p. 450). At independence, the Luo were among the best-educated and most active elites, giving rise to the stereotype of the intelligent Luo. Yet, their group was marginalized under the newly independent Kikuyu-led government: the Kikuyu derided the Luo for not practicing male circumcision – contrary to most other ethnic groups in Kenya, and felt it was their right to rule because allegedly they felt smarter, more entrepreneurial and had suffered more under colonialism (Hornsby, 2013, p. 257). The Kikuyu had effectively been very active in the struggle for independence through the Mau Mau movement, and had adapted best to the demands of the "modern" economy because of their experiences with settler capitalism (Ajulu, 2002, p. 254; italics in original). The underlying problem of the Luo marginalization, nonetheless, was the threat the Luo posed to their power both in terms of numbers and recent history: in 1966 President Kenyatta's power was challenged by his former-party member Oginga Odinga, a Luo, after a protracted battle over ideological differences. Despite the popularity of the socialist Odinga in his home region of Nyanza, another popular Luo politician, Tom Mboya, at first ensured continued Luo-support for Kenyatta's party. The support shattered, however, when Mboya was killed in 1969 by a Kikuyu. In times of increasing resentment among the Luo and other ethnic groups of the Kikuyu's consolidation of power, the unification that resulted from the murder posed a significant threat to the power of Kenyatta. In response, Kenyatta excluded the Luo politically (Ajulu, 2002, p. 260-261; Battera, 2012, p. 115), preluding the Luo's seemingly permanent opposition in national politics. In response to these realistic and symbolic group threats (Stephan et al., 2009, p. 44), the stereotype of the money-grabbing Kikuyu and the rebellious Luo became deeply embedded in popular imagination (Hornsby, 2013, p. 258).

Whereas Kenya was longtime perceived to be a beacon of peace in East-Africa, the country was struck by inter-ethnic violence in the aftermath of the December 2007 presidential elections, causing the death of an estimated 1,113 people and wounding another 3,561 (Dercon & Guitérrez-Romero, 2012, p. 735; Harneit-Sievers & Peters, 2008, p. 133; Ishiyama et al., 2016, p. 308). In diverse parts of the country, ethnic Kikuyu clashed with Kalenjin warriors and ethnic Luo after then incumbent President Mwai Kibaki, a Kikuyu, suspiciously won the electoral bid by a small margin of 232,000 votes from Luo opposition leader Raila Odinga, who until shortly had led the tallies by more than one million votes (Dercon & Guitérrez-Romero, 2012, p. 735; Harneit-Sievers & Peters, 2008, p. 137; HRW, 2008, p. 22).

The same tensions were at the roots of the post-electoral violence in 2007-2008, which was triggered by the apparent rigging of the elections: whereas opposition candidate Raila Odinga first led by more than one million votes, incumbent President Mwai Kibaki suspiciously caught up in the last hours of the counts and won by a margin of 232,000 votes (Dercon & Guitérrez-Romero, 2012, p. 735; Harneit-Sievers & Peters, 2008, p. 137; HRW, 2008, p. 22). The violence that ensued had clear ethnic dimensions and was inflamed by ethnic hate speech that already predated Election Day. Ethnic stereotypes served to make derogatory statements about “the other”. The opposition, for example, decried Kikuyu’s love for money as the Kikuyu-led government was suspected of practices of corruption and tribalism (Hornsby, 2013, p. 748), referring to “a snake we have to get rid of” (HRW, 2008, p. 36). The party in government, on the other hand, claimed that an uncircumcised man could not rule the country (HRW, 2008, p. 4), while supporting radio stations broadcasted statements such as ‘we cannot be led by a child’ (cf. an uncircumcised man; Odinga) or referred to ‘the beast from the west’ (cf. Odinga) (Yieke, 2008, p. 16). At the same time, other popular radio shows incited violence against the Kikuyu, even naming locations to be attacked (HRW, 2011, p. 13).

The post-electoral violence also caused cases of ethnic discrimination at school. Yieke (2008) reports children being asked why their community is so rebellious (cf. Luo) or why they are not going to school in Kisumu (the region of origin of the Luo community) (Yieke, 2008, p. 24). Moreover, in areas affected by the violence, students as well as teachers were forced to leave school for safety reasons (Smith et al., 2016, p. 68). Policies in Kenya aim, nevertheless, to fend schools off from ethnic tensions. Ethnic differences are minimized within the school compound through, among others, the mandatory wearing of a school

uniform and the prohibition to speak local languages.[5] The more, schools are used as a tool to promote national unity. Inter-group contact is promoted through the application of regional quota, at least in public secondary schools. Kenyan public schools are divided into a four-tier hierarchy, ranging from least to most prestigious in terms of access – admission to secondary schooling is based upon pupils' performance on the national exams at the end of primary school (cf. Kenyan Certificate for Primary Education or KCPE). The more prestigious the school, the more diverse is the pupil population: district schools admit principally low-range performing pupils (or, importantly, pupils who cannot financially afford better schools) from within the district; county schools recruit middle-range performing pupils among whom 60% are from the district the school is located in, 35% is from other districts within the former province, and 5% from other former provinces; extra-county schools recruit 40% of students nationally, 40% at county level, and 20% from within the district; national schools, lastly, select the best performing pupils from all over the country (Onderi & Makori, 2014; Nyatuka & Bota, 2014). At the same time, inter-group contact is also promoted by the national policy on teacher deployment, which encourages teachers to seek deployment outside of their region of origin. Teachers appear, nevertheless, reluctant to be posted elsewhere (Smith et al., 2016).

Stereotyping among Kenyan secondary school teachers

Data

The current study is part of a larger study on the role of education in building sustainable peace in Kenya, which focuses on the role of teachers in enhancing peaceful relations among formerly opposing groups through a mixed-method approach. A large-scale survey was conducted between April and June 2016 among 925 secondary school teachers in Nairobi. During the post-electoral violence of 2007-2008, the capital city was one of the pockets where ethnic violence took place, next to areas in former Western province, Nyanza and the Rift Valley. Moreover, it is an interesting case study given that all types of schools can be found there in close proximity. The survey was self-administered on a tablet, using the software package 'Qualtrics' (Qualtrics LLC, Provo, Utah). Additionally, in-depth follow-up interviews were conducted with 18 teachers to gain deeper understanding of the data collected.

[5] Pupils can, however, attend the first three years of primary school in their mother tongue.

Schools were selected systematically by number of pupils after stratification by district and type of school – a list of schools was obtained from the Ministry of Education in March 2016. In total, 64 secondary schools were selected among the 258 recognized schools (176 private and 82 public schools). Initially, two schools were selected that did not appear to exist any longer, and were replaced by the most similar school. Upon an introductory visit to the school, all school boards agreed to participate. Of the 64 schools, there were 40 private and 24 public schools (5 national, 1 extra-county, 12 county, and 6 district schools). Most schools were located in the districts of Dagoretti (13), Embakasi (11), Lang'ata (8), Kasarani (8), and Starehe (8).[6] While the majority of schools are day schools (38), there are 11 boarding schools and 15 schools offering both possibilities. Most schools (45) are mixed, whereas 11 schools only accept boys and 8 only girls. There are great disparities between the schools in terms of size, performance and infrastructure. The smallest school in the sample accommodates 21 pupils compared to 1500 in the largest (M= 384.86, SD= 390.229). Nearly half of the schools (48.3%) attained an average score of D on the national exams, whereas only 16.7% on average scored a B – the score needed to enter university. With regards to infrastructure, the authors classified the state of the schools as excellent (7), good (15), decent (29) and poor (13).

Within every school, all teachers were invited to participate. However, only those teachers participated who were present at the time of the survey. Schools, in which less than half of all teachers participated, were visited multiple times. Sporadically, teachers refused participation because of their workload. Item non-response, on the other hand, was avoided as the use of tablets reduces accidental skips. In total, 925 teachers participated. 52.2% of teachers are male compared to 47.8% female teachers. On average, teachers are 33.04 years old (SD=9.97) and have a teaching experience of 9.39 years (SD=9.21). There are almost as many teachers active in the field of the social sciences (42.5%), as there are in the exact sciences (43.9%). 35.1% of the sampled teachers teaches a language and 37% some other course – teachers can be active in more than one field.[7] There are hardly any Muslim teachers in our sample (0.8%) – nearly all teachers are Christian (98.2%). Table 1 summarizes the ethnic background of the teachers. It appears that some groups are slightly over- or underrepresented among the teachers compared to their share in the population: particularly the Western ethnic groups of the Luo, Luhya and Kisii are somewhat

[6] At the time of the survey, there were nine districts within Nairobi: Dagoretti, Embakasi, Lang'ata, Makadara, Kamukunji, Kasarani, Njiru, Starehe and Westlands. Whereas the number of schools differs significantly between districts, every district has its own District Education Office.

[7] Courses in the social sciences include: History & Government, Social Studies, Life Skills Education, and Religion. The exact sciences refer to the courses of Mathematics, Biology, Physics, Chemistry, and Geography. Kiswahili, English, Arabic, French and German are the languages taught in Kenya. Other courses include Physical Education, Technical Education, Arts and Economics or Accounting.

overrepresented, whereas the nomadic and coastal ethnic groups are slightly under-represented.

Table 1. Ethnic background of the teachers in percentage (n=925)

Ethnic group	%	Ethnic group	%
Kikuyu	21.3	Meru	4.3
Luo	18.6	Mijikenda	0.8
Luhya	20.5	Embu	1.3
Kalenjin	6.3	Cushitic speaking groups	0.9
Kamba	10.9	Maasai & related groups	1.1
Kisii	11.7	Taita	0.4
		Others	1.9

Methodology

Measuring stereotypes

To measure teachers' inter-group attitudes, we make use of three semantic-differential formats on an 11-point scale ranging from –5 to 5 with 0 indicating a neutral position: e.g. untrustworthy-trustworthy, unintelligent-intelligent, violent-gentle. Despite Kenya's ethnic diversity, teachers had to rate only four ethnic groups on each scale because of practical limitations: Kikuyu, Luo, Kalenjin, and Maasai. The first three groups were chosen because of their share in the population, as well as their prominence in the political history of and public debate in Kenya. Whereas the Luhya and Kamba also represent important shares of the population, these groups were not included in the survey since, unlike the previous three, they have not been mobilized ethnically due to their lack of strong ethnic leadership and because of their peripheral position in Kenya's power play (Battera, 2012, p. 123). The Maasai, then, were included in spite of their low population share because of the strong and topical stereotype surrounding the group: being perceived as backward may have a particularly detrimental impact on their experiences at school. We expect teachers' responses on these semantic-differential scales to reflect popular stereotypes. As such, we

hypothesize that teachers rate Kikuyu as untrustworthy; Luo as intelligent, and violent; and Maasai as unintelligent.[8] Moreover, in line with Western research findings, as well as with a unique study by Brewer & Campbell (1976) in East Africa, we hypothesize that teachers are prone to an in-group bias:

H1. Teachers' ratings on the semantic-differential scales reflect stereotypes popular in Kenyan society;
H2. Kenyan teachers manifest an in-group bias;

Next, we are interested in the strength of these stereotypes and how it varies between teachers and schools. At the level of the teacher, we control for effects of age, gender, and level of education. In line with previous research, we expect that older, male, and less educated teachers are more prejudiced than younger, female, and higher educated teachers (see Meeusen & Kern, 2016, p. 6). At the level of the school, then, we are interested in examining whether the strength of stereotyping and in-group bias depends on the level of school diversity, as was found in Western research contexts. In the absence of any data on pupils' ethnic background, we use type of school as a proxy for ethnic diversity because of the use of regional entry quota. This only applies for public schools, however.

H3.1. Stereotyping decreases as school diversity increases;

However, contact with colleagues from other groups may be more effective than contact with pupils from other groups since contact would only improve inter-group attitudes when the participants have equal status and share common goals (e.g. Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1998; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Tropp & Prenovost, 2008).[9] Therefore, we also measure the diversity of the teacher population. Hereto we calculate the ethnic fractionalization index (EF) for each school.[10] The fractionalization index equals the probability that two randomly selected teachers from a given school will not belong to the same ethnic background. Rather than an index of personal inter-group contact, this measure can also be interpreted as a measure of ethnic favoritism in the appointment of teachers. In Kenya, ethnicity is perceived to be decisive in the competition over jobs (source). According to the realistic group conflict theory, competition between groups over scarce resources, whether perceived or real, causes feelings of threat, which subsequently translates into stereotyping (see Meeusen &

[8] We did not include a semantic scale to represent the stereotype of the athletic Kalenjin, since this stereotype was not deemed of importance in the school environment, although it is likely to elicit teacher expectations in gym class.
[9] Moreover, contact should be individualized and cooperative, as well as sanctioned by authorities.
[10] $FRAC = 1 - \sum_{i=1}^{N} \pi_i^2$

Kern, 2016, p. 3; Stephan et al., 2009, p. 44). A less diverse teaching staff, particularly in a cosmopolitan area as Nairobi, hence, can serve as an indicator of ethnic favoritism, causing a higher level of stereotyping and vice versa.

H3.2. Stereotyping decreases when the teaching staff is more diverse;

In the literature on ethnic conflict, the fractionalization index is, however, commonly used to explain the advent of violent conflict. Rather than the level of diversity, nevertheless, the distribution of ethnic groups within society is indicative of its propensity for conflict. As such, the risk of conflict is higher in highly polarized societies (two equally sized groups) than in countries with a small minority compared to a large majority. The ethnic polarization index (RQ) captures the level of polarization by calculating how far the distribution of ethnic groups is from the highest level of polarization (Montalvo & Reynal-Querol, 2005).[11] Similarly, stereotyping may be more outspoken in schools with a highly polarized teaching staff: [12]

H3.3. Stereotyping increases when the teaching staff is more polarized;

Because the teacher data is nested in schools, we make use of multilevel modeling (multilevel package in RStudio version 1.0.136). Whereas the original dataset consists of 925 teachers, we restructure the dataset to the level of the stereotype so that every score on one of the three semantic differential scales represents a single case. For matters of simplicity, we created a separate dataset for every semantic scale. Hence, we obtain a three-level structure: ethnic group stereotyped, teacher, and school (n=3700 per semantic-differential format: 925 teachers x 4 ethnic groups). First, we estimate the unconditional model in order to obtain the degree of variance at each level. Next, we add predictor and control variables at every level, starting at the lowest.

Measuring the effects of stereotyping

In the second part of the analyses, we examine to what extent these stereotypes inform teachers' expectations of pupils belonging to stereotyped groups. This is important as these expectations will determine what educational opportunities these pupils are offered (see

[11] $RQ = 4\sum_{i=1}^{N} \pi_i^2 (1 - \pi_i)$

[12] Both indices are calculated based upon the information of the participating teachers. The true indices, hence, may randomly vary slightly from the results we obtained.

above).[13] Hereto, we make use of two vignette experiments. Vignettes are short stories that represent hypothetical situations in order to elicit respondents' preferences, judgments, and/or anticipated behavior (Artzmüller & Steiner, 2010; McFadden, 2005; Caro et al., 2012). The vignette scenarios involved two ambiguous situations that are realistic depictions of school events that have a bearing on the semantic-differential scales. The ambiguity allows the differential interpretation of the event, hence serving as an important independent determinant of how the teacher responds to the ethnicity of the pupil. American children from European descent, for example, interpret the behavior of a Black character more negatively than the same behavior by a White character (see McGlothlin & Killen, 2006, p. 1375). In our study, we used names as a proxy for ethnic group belonging, and randomly varied them among teachers. In effect, Kenyans perceive names as an indicator of ethnic group belonging (Hornsby, 2013, p. 312; Kasara, 2013, p. 926). Likewise, studies on pupil assessment have used names to elicit ethnic group belonging in other contexts (e.g. van Ewijk, 2011; Figlio, 2005; Riley & Ungerleider, 2012). We included four names per vignette reflective of the four groups used in the semantic-differential scales: Kamau and Muriuki (Kikuyu), Otieno and Odhiambo (Luo), Kipsang and Cheruiyot (Kalenjin), and Ole Riamit and Ole Sankale (Maasai).[14] These names make group belonging salient to facilitate the interpretation of affectively negative events consistent with the stereotype of that group (Brewer & Miller, 1996, p. 63). The vignettes were framed as follows:

> [1] Upon your arrival at school, you find [NAME] and EVANS, two of your pupils, fighting. Allegedly, the fight started when [NAME] hit EVANS, because the latter had insulted his family.
>
> [2] As part of the English course, your pupils have to write an essay in class on a topic you have specified. The assignment is especially important for [NAME], who has not been performing well in these essay assignments. He has however been practicing a lot in order to improve his writing skills. As it turns out, his current essay is of outstanding quality. When correcting your pupils' essays, you notice that [NAME]'s essay appears to be similar to PETER's essay. PETER sits next to [NAME] and usually gets excellent marks on his essay assignments.

[13] It would also be interesting to investigate whether there is an ethnic achievement gap in Kenya. We did not, however, collect data on pupils' performances in the selected schools. Nor do we know whether there are important group differences at the national level since the Kenyan National Examination Commission does not record pupils' group belonging. Previous studies have used region of schooling as a proxy for ethnicity to study group differences upon completion of primary education (Lewin et al., 2011; Smith et al., 2016; Wasanga et al., 2012). These studies exposed regional differences in terms of educational investments and schooling of girls, but did not show any clear regional pattern in educational outcomes.

[14] We only used male names to focus on a sole dimension.

Upon reading the vignette, teachers were asked to rate the pupil's behavior in the situation on a 7-point scale; to indicate how many pupils out of one hundred would react similarly in the same situation; and how they would react to that situation – hypothetical behavior reported in vignette experiments would be linked to actual behavior (Caro et al., 2012, p. 7; Ganong & Coleman, 2006, p. 465).[15] To avoid social desirability and self-representation bias, the two vignette experiments were put at the beginning of the survey and teachers were not informed of the true purpose of the study.

We hypothesize that teachers' responses to the two vignette situations are influenced by expectations prompted by stereotypes. As such, we expect that the violent behavior of Luo pupils will be considered to be less appropriate than violent behavior by others since they are stereotyped as violent, whereas Kikuyu and Maasai pupils in the second vignette will be trusted less than others, because their groups are perceived respectively to be untrustworthy and backward. However, whenever the pupil belongs to the in-group of the teacher, we expect that teachers will attenuate their evaluation in order to save the positive image of the in-group and protect it from the negative implications of bad behavior – this phenomenon is captured by the ultimate attribution error by Pettigrew (1979) (Brewer & Miller, 1996, p. 13):

> *H4. Teachers' student evaluations in the vignettes experiments are congruent with stereotypes;*
>
> *H5. If the pupil in the vignette experiment belongs to their in-group, teachers evaluate the behavior less negatively;*

Differences in student evaluations are measured applying ANOVA with respectively ethnic group of pupil (Kikuyu/Luo/Kalenjin/Maasai) and ethnic overlap of teacher with pupil in the hypothetical situation (outgroup vs. ingroup) as factors.

Results

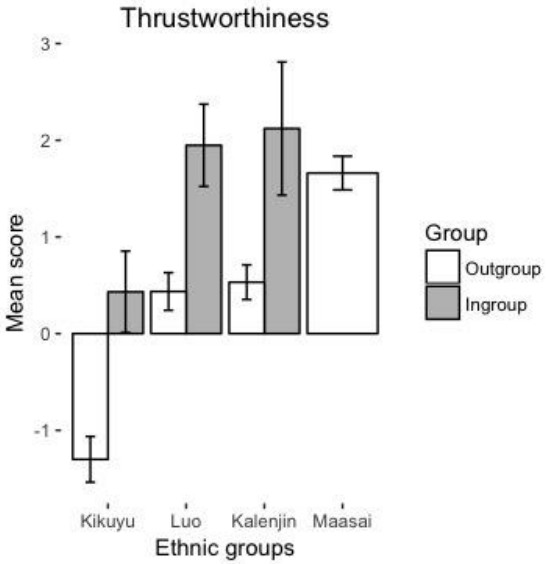
Stereotypes

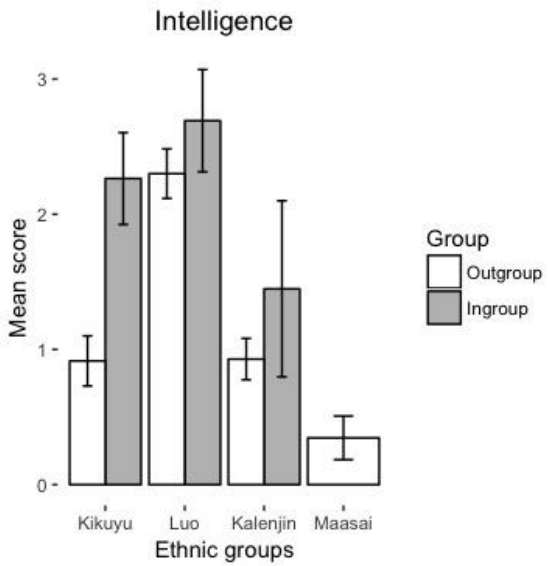
[15] Vignette 1 asked "How appropriate was the reaction of [Name]?", Vignette 2 asked "How much trust do you have that [NAME] has written his essay completely by himself?"

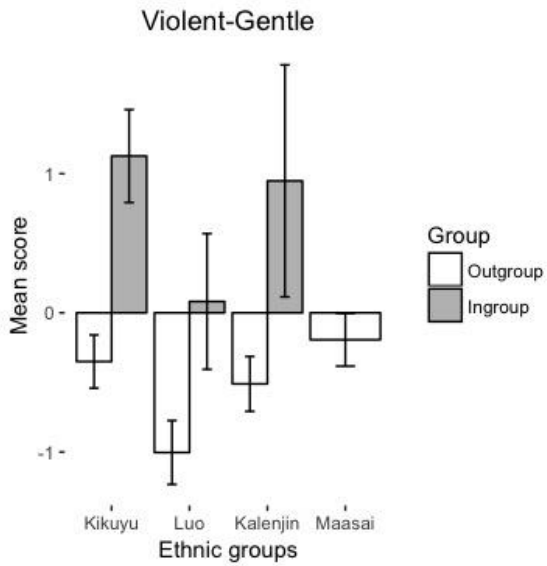
Figures 1 to 3 visualize the aggregated mean score and the 95% confidence interval of respectively the semantic differential scale of trustworthiness, intelligence and violence by ethnic group in question, and by group belonging of the teacher (whether the pupil in the vignette belongs to the in- or out-group of the teacher). Overall, the ratings are not very outspoken. It is possible that these scores are lower than in reality, however, due to a social desirability and self-representation bias: semantic-differential formats are direct measures that reflect deliberate processes, which are informed by norms and other information (van den Bergh et al., 2010, p. 500). Nevertheless, they illustrate that teachers' inter-group attitudes are conform to stereotypes in Kenyan society; as well as that teachers manifest an in-group bias.

In line with the stereotypes, Kikuyu are perceived to be the least trustworthy; Luo are rated the most intelligent, as well as violent; and Maasai are perceived to be the least

Figures 1-3. Aggregated mean score & 95% confidence interval of the semantic differential scale of trustworthiness, intelligence and violence by ethnic group rated, and by group belonging of the teacher (n=3700).







intelligent. The follow-up interviews that were organized in the aftermath of the survey confirm these stereotypes:

> *"The Kikuyu tend to view themselves as the business minded people. Whenever it comes to matters of doing business, they want to make profit. So whenever it comes to that side, they look at them as untrustworthy, not as hardworking."* (Male, 25 years old, Embakasi)

> *"In our country, mostly, the ones who will go to the streets are the Luo. They want to fight and they want to throw stones. I think it is their nature."* (Female, 33 years old, Langa'ata)

> *"When you are known to be a Maasai, they consider them to be illiterate. So when they come with those attires, they won't* [hesitates]*. Ok, most people won't look beyond their attires. They just look at what they have in their mind. They just treat them generally as, they consider them as illiterate and more concerned with pastoralism. Learning, there is little learning with them."* (Male, 24 years old, Kasarani)

Interestingly, teachers seem to dissociate these stereotypes from the school context. After confirming the stereotype of the violent Luo, the above teacher continued *"when we come to school, I don't really have cases of the Luo being more violent. It is probably based on the political view, but in school, they don't fight."*

Comparing the ratings of in-group and out-group teachers, we notice clear differences in favor of the own group.[16] It is interesting to note, moreover, that even the in-group ratings themselves are affected by the prevailing stereotypes: of all in-group scores, the Kikuyu have the lowest score on trustworthiness; and the Luo have the highest on intelligence, while having the lowest score on the violent-gentle semantic scale. Lastly, it is remarkable that the out-group ratings for the non-stereotyped groups are rather similar when it comes to intelligence or violence, yet the Maasai are rated more trustworthy than the Luo and Kalenjin. This is likely because of the modest role of the Maasai on the political scene compared to the other groups in a country with low political trust (refer Afrobarometer!!).

[16] There is no in-group for the Maasai since there were hardly any teachers belonging to this group. The more, in the analyses, the few Maasai teachers were grouped with teachers from other nomadic communities.

To test whether these differences are significant, we fit a three-level model including ethnic group stereotyped and in- or out-group belonging of the teacher as fixed effects. We first fit the unconditional models, which yield estimates of the degree of variance attributable to the different levels per semantic-differential scale (see Table 2). It appears that schools contribute hardly any variance. The Intraclass Correlation Coefficient (ICC) of schools is at maximum 0.01 (in the case of the violent-gentle scale), meaning that at maximum 1% of the variance can be explained at the school level. The proportion of variance between teachers, on the contrary, amounts to respectively 28.5%, 39.3% and 40% for the scales on trustworthiness, intelligence, and violent-gentle behavior. Next, we add the fixed effects of ethnic group stereotyped and teachers' group belonging. For each semantic-differential format, we choose that ethnic group as a reference category that conforms to the popular stereotype. From the results summarized in Table 2, we learn that the ratings for the different ethnic groups effectively differ significantly for the three semantic-differential scales. The effect of in-group belonging is also significant.

Table 2. Multilevel effects of ethnic group stereotyped and teachers' group belonging.

	Trustworthiness		**Intelligence**		**Violent-Gentle**	
	Null Model	**Model 1**	**Null Model**	**Model 1**	**Null Model**	**Model 1**
Fixed Effects						
Intercept	0.52 (0.07)***	-1.30 (0.10)***	1.22 (0.07)***	2.22 (0.09)***	-0.36 (0.08)***	-1.04 (0.11)***
Kikuyu		Reference		-1.19 (0.08)***		0.73 (0.10)***
Luo		1.69 (0.10)***		Reference		Reference
Kalenjin		1.81 (0.10)***		-1.31 (0.08)***		0.54 (0.10)***
Maasai		2.95 (0.11)***		-1.88 (0.08)***		0.85 (0.10)***
In-group		1.71 (0.13)***		0.79 (0.10)***		1.31 (0.12)***
Variance						
Stereotype	6.35	4.88	3.90	3.12	5.05	4.76
Teacher	2.53	2.89	2.56	2.73	3.43	3.46
School	0.00	0.00	0.06	0.06	0.09	0.09

Deviance	735.067***	627.36***	170.02***

*p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001

Explaining strength of stereotypes

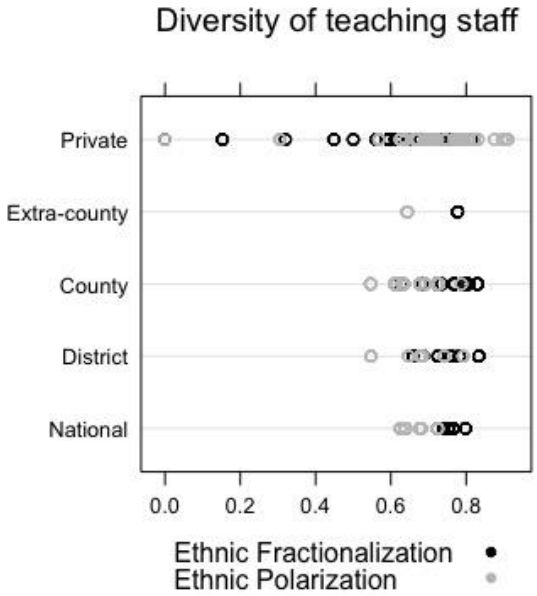
Interestingly, the above analyses uncovered that the variance in stereotyping can hardly be explained by school differences. Hence, not surprisingly, addition of the school variables does not yield significant effects: neither are there significant differences in terms of type of school (cf. national, extra-county, county, district or private), nor in terms of the fractionalization and polarization indices.[17] Hence, we did not find any support that stereotyping decreases when schools are more diverse, whether in terms of pupils (Hypothesis 3.1.) or teachers (Hypothesis 3.2.), nor that stereotyping increases when the teaching staff is more ethnically polarized (Hypothesis 3.3.).

The absence of any significant effects could, however, be due to the characteristics of our sample. Figure 4 visualizes the ethnic fractionalization and polarization indices by type of school. Overall, the teaching staffs of the sampled schools are quite diverse, though polarized. Private schools are slightly less diverse (and more polarized), indicating that ethnic favoritism might be more at play in private than in public schools. There are three outspoken cases in this regard: a small school deploying three Luhya teachers; a school deploying 11 Luo and 1 Kamba teacher; and a school deploying 4 Kikuyu and 1 Luo teacher. Expectedly, the principals of these schools belong respectively to the Luhya, Luo, and Kikuyu.[18] Since most schools are very diverse, there might be too little variation among the schools to find support for hypotheses 3.1. to 3.3. The follow-up interviews point into the same direction: *"You know the problem is up-country there. But then if you come to places like here in Nairobi, we have a class: this one is coming from Western, this one is coming from Nyanza, coming from Central"* (Female, 33, Langa'ata). It would therefore be interesting to replicate this study among schools in less diverse areas of the country.

Interestingly, the teachers do seem to note the value of inter-group contact to combat stereotyping:

[17] Both indices were grand-mean centered in the multilevel analysis.
[18] There is a significant (α<0.05) effect of the distinction public-private schools on the attitude towards trustworthiness, which however disappears on exclusion of the exceptional cases and which is overall not present for the other two semantic-differential scales.

"If for example you think that a Kikuyu is a thief, and then you move further from Kisumu and you go to my school, then you find that in my school, there are Kikuyus there, but they don't steal. I can leave my items there on the table and I still find it then, it disapproves whatever you know. But if you stay in Kisumu, learn in Kisumu then you will still continue having the same stereotype in your mind. So that movement is important. It is still the best tool" (Male, 24, Kasarani)



While there is little to no variation attributable to the school level, about one third of the variance in ratings on the three scales is explained by differences at the teacher-level. To explain this variation between teachers, we included the control variables of teachers' gender, age, and education level to the equation.[19] Instead of a three-level model, we fit a two-level model (stereotype & teacher) given that it is not significantly worse (χ^2 (1) = 0, p = 0.9983 for trustworthiness; χ^2 (1) = 1.98, p = 0.1594 for intelligence; χ^2 (1) = 1.97, p = 0.1604 for violent-gentle). With the exception of a small effect of gender on the violent-gentle scale (β=-0.37, p=0.01), however, there are no significant differences between teachers in terms of gender, age and education level. Further research is hence needed to establish what variables then explain the variation at the teacher level.[20]

[19] The variable 'age' has been grand-mean centered; 'education' is an ordinal variable: teaching certificate, bachelor degree, master degree, doctoral degree.
[20] Teachers' social dominance orientation could be a possible avenue for further research (see Meeusen & Kern, 2016).

The impact of stereotypes

Table 3 reports the ANOVA-results of the two vignette experiments using ethnic group of the pupil, and ethnic overlap between teacher and pupil as factors. In terms of the ethnic group of the pupil, teachers make no difference in their evaluations of the pupil irrespective of the situation, nor do they think certain groups are more or less likely to engage in the hypothesized behaviors. Furthermore, we do not find any support for the ultimate attribution error: teachers do not minimize the gravity of the behavior of pupils belonging to their ethnic group compared to others, despite the ambiguity in the situations. There is one significant finding, nevertheless: whenever a Maasai student hypothetically reacts aggressive at school, teachers think less students would react in the same way than when it concerns a pupil from the Kikuyu, Luo or Kalenjin – the behavior itself is also considered to be less appropriate than the same behavior by other groups, although the difference is not significant. This finding cannot be explained by the hypotheses we formulated. However, it could be that the dominant groups identify with one another, and hence attenuate the gravity of their behavior not only for their own but also for other predominant ethnic groups, extending the ultimate attribution error to similar sized groups.

Table 3. Means (SD) of student evaluations per vignette by ethnic origin of name of the pupil and by ethnic overlap between pupil and teacher[21]

	Vignette 1 (n=628)		Vignette 2 (n=621)	
	How appropriate was the violent behavior by pupil x?	**How many students would behave the same out of hundred?**	**How (dis)honest was pupil x?**	**How many students would behave the same out of hundred?**
Kikuyu	2.04 (1.69)	64.5 (26.30)	5.04 (1.72)	42.07 (29.01)
Luo	2.04 (1.78)	61.26 (25.62)	4.99 (1.85)	40.61 (27.90)
Kalenjin	2.08 (1.78)	61.97 (29.46)	5.08 (1.84)	43.21 (26.07)
Maasai	1.92 (1.63)	55.38 (26.73)	4.83 (1.78)	43.67 (29.92)
Anova-results	F=0.26, p=0.856	F=2.98, p=0.03*	F=0.556, p=0.644	F=0.36, p=0.782
Out-group	2.01 (1.73)	60.88 (27.45)	4.99 (1.80)	42.91 (28.48)

[21] Although we used the original dataset (n=925), the current datasets are reduced since a number of teachers received the vignette experiments with a religiously inspired name (Christian vs. Islamic). Since this dimension is not under study, these teachers do not figure in this analysis.

In-group	2.13 (1.67)	61.19 (25.53)	4.96 (1.76)	37.93 (26.45)
Anova-results	F=0.331, p=0.565	F=0.009, p=0.925	F=0.017, p=0.896	F=1.957, p=0.162

*p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001

Discussion

Although present, the vignette experiments showed that the stereotypes of the untrustworthy Kikuyu or the violent Luo did not have a significant impact on teachers' evaluations of pupils' behavior: hypothetical untrustworthy behavior (cf. cheating on a task) by a Kikuyu, or aggressive behavior by a Luo pupil (cf. fighting at school) was not rejected stronger than the same behavior by other pupils; nor was the estimate of the occurrence of such behavior among pupils in general dependent on the ethnic group of the pupil in the vignette. The question is whether the absence of any behavior is related to the design of the study, or whether social stereotypes simply do not play out in the classroom. Arguments can be found on behalf of both theories.

In terms of the design, the hypothesized behavior may have left too little room for variation, leading all teachers to reject the behavior no matter ethnic group belonging. Teachers may also have sensed the ethnic undertone of the study because the vignettes used ethnic names, whereas most often pupils are called with their English name in the classroom. Their attention might have been triggered by capitalizing the names. The hypothetical situation in the vignettes would, nonetheless, create the necessary distance for respondents to be comfortable enough to express socially undesirable responses (Vargas et al., 2004, p. 199). The choice for vignettes in itself, however, might not have been appropriate: in their meta-analysis on the effects of teacher expectations, Tenenbaum and Ruck (2007) found that viewing a photograph, watching a videotape, or listening to an audiotape caused significantly larger effects on teachers' student ratings than reading vignettes, allegedly because the latter are less realistic (Tenenbaum & Ruck, 2007, p. 263).

The absence of effect, on the other hand, may also be a true depiction of reality in spite of the prevalence of stereotypes among teachers. A head teacher explained that *"teachers are a bit careful. Maybe by filling the form* (cf. survey), *they may have mentioned* <stereotypes>*, but when it comes to class, the student would actually report you did that* (cf. stereotyping)*. So teachers avoid to do that in class"* (Female, 53, Kasarani). Ajzen and Fishbein (1977)

found that negative group evaluations do not necessarily translate into prejudiced behavior (Van Ewijk, p. 1056). Moreover, if people are aware of their own bias and are motivated to react without that it, they can renounce prejudice by controlling the unwanted influence of stereotypes on behavior. If they are not aware of their bias, nevertheless, they are likely to behave in a prejudiced manner even when they renounce it (Devine & Sharp, 2009, p. 61-67). Self-insight, hence, is a first yet not sufficient step to avoid prejudiced behavior (Allport, 1954, p. 321). The teachers that were interviewed effectively appeared to be aware of their stereotypes and claim to attempt to avoid stereotyping in the classroom as they are aware of the falsehood of such overgeneralizations and of their negative consequences.

> *"Yeah that* (cf. differences in ratings of groups) *is there, but that is stereotyping I would say. But if you ask me individually, you should judge somebody as an individual, not as a group, because somebody comes from a certain community they are… okay this generalization, that people generalize that people from this society do a,b,c,d, this is their character, but probably there is one off. Not everyone in that community behaves in the same way."* (Male, 41, Langa'ata)

> *"I think being violent mainly narrows down to the individual, not the community as a whole. It is so wrong for us to conclude something or a character trait to all of the members of this community."* (Female, 20, Starehe)

> *"If somebody has this bad thing in them, you cannot attribute it to where they come from."* (Female, 21, Kibera)

Moreover, a number of teachers could fit the origins of these stereotypes very well in the history of Kenya:

> *"Once the first President of Kenya, Jomo Kenyatta, was a Kikuyu, then the vice-President was a Luo. So they view that since the vice-President who was a Luo was the one who helped Kenyatta to go the presidency, they wanted it back [...] Again, there was that union between the Kikuyu and the Luo in 2002 when we had the Luo and the Kikuyu united for the same post. After going for the same post, then they had an agreement that you go for President, so the Kikuyu go for President and the Luo will go for the Prime Minister. After the Kikuyu went for President, they never gave room for the Prime Minister. […] So they tend to view a certain group as untrustworthy because they never gave back the work they had agreed."* (Male, 25, Embakasi)

Rather than stereotyping, they underline the necessity for pupils to *"not see the other party as a Kikuyu, a Luo, a Luyha"* (Male, 25, Embakasi), but to *"see themselves as Kenyans"* (Female, 45, Westlands). This line of thinking corresponds to the recategorization or common in-group identity model, that focuses attention on a superordinate category, the Kenyan nationality, that entails both in-group and out-groups in a single identity (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000).

The insightful stance of the teachers in the follow-up interviews is promising in a country that was torn apart by ethnic rivalry. At the same time, their responses may seem overly optimistic given the continuing importance of ethnicity in the country, therefore raising questions with regards to social desirability. At least one teacher did demonstrate some prejudice: *"Do you know almost all Luo are of choleric temperament, you understand? So when I'm there in the classroom teaching, if you're not careful, they can control you"* (Female, 42 years old, Dagoretti). Another admitted: *"You should know that the irony* [persisting stereotypes] *is inside us, that is the one that is eating the country"* (Male, 27, Westlands). In spite of the persistence of stereotypes, another teacher added: *"but at least now people are aware it is wrong. It is in their subconscious. Even if they do it, when they sit down, they will see that they have done a mistake"* (Male, 33, Dagoretti).

(to be finalized)

Conclusion

(to be written)