



# Linguistic Stereotypes and Prejudices in Inter-ethnic Conflicts in Eldoret, Kenya

Dr. MARTIN SITUMA

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**Exceller Open**



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# **DEDICATION**

To my beloved friend and supportive wife  
Pamela Cheruto Kosgei

To my dear sons  
Neville Kiprono Fabian  
Sidney Cheruiyot Kabaka  
Damian Kipkemoi Tabalia

You stood by me in prayer through it all.  
Thank you!

# **DECLARATION**

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for the award of a degree in any other University.

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## ABSTRACT

The Kenyan nation, as constituted from its historical past, is ethnically diverse with over forty-two (42) ethnic communities living harmoniously. In recent years, however, there have been heightened ethnic conflicts whose cause(s) is not well understood. Linguistic stereotyping and prejudice, now christened "hate speech", has often been cited as a contributory factor to these conflicts. Linguistic stereotyping and prejudice is not only a problem in Kenya but also affects the East African region, Africa and other parts of the world. But it is not clear what role stereotyping and prejudice actually plays in social conflicts. Indeed there has not been an in-depth study on this matter. This study examines and analyses the role of linguistic stereotypes and prejudices in ethnic conflicts in Eldoret, Kenya. The study had five objectives; to establish the form, language and use of linguistic stereotypes and prejudices in fuelling ethnic conflicts in Eldoret; to find out the strategies and main themes in linguistic stereotypes and prejudices and how they are manifested in Eldoret; to investigate the possible causes of linguistic stereotypes and prejudices based conflicts in Eldoret; to find out the social impact of linguistic stereotypes and prejudices on social harmony in Eldoret community and to establish the strategies to counter the effects of linguistic stereotyping and prejudice for national cohesion and integration in Kenya. An ethnographically inspired qualitative research design was adopted for the study. The study used the following theories for data generation and interpretation; Relevance theory propagated by Daniel Sperber and Deidre Wilson, the Social Identity theory by Henri Tajfel and Allport's Scale of Prejudice Model guided the study's data generation and interpretation. The research instruments used included structured and semi-structured questionnaires, open-ended questionnaires, oral face to face interviews and observation schedules. There was a purposive sample of five clusters of ethnic group concentrations. A random sample of fifty respondents, ten from each group, was chosen from a diverse population of the majority and minority communities living in Eldoret. The town's population is estimated at three hundred and eighty five thousand, one hundred and forty-five (385, 145) people – comprising the Kalenjin, Kikuyu, Luhya, Luo and Kisii communities. Each cohort of respondents was randomly drawn from the local secondary schools, churches, local leadership, hospitals, administration, *Jua Kali* industry, hawkers and the public transport. Collected data was compiled, translated, analysed and interpreted using descriptive qualitative methods. The findings of the study include; form and language of linguistic stereotypes and prejudices, strategies and the main themes of linguistic stereotypes and prejudices communication and their role in interethnic conflicts, the causes of linguistic stereotypes and prejudices based conflicts, the social impact of linguistic stereotypes and prejudice on social harmony, strategies to employ to counter the effect of ethnic stereotypes and prejudices for national cohesion and integration in Kenya. It is hoped that the results of this study will benefit researchers in applied linguistics, social psychologists, political scientists, policy-makers and the general public.



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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS**

TJRC	Truth Justice and Reconciliation Commission
KANU	Kenya African National Union
RT	Relevance Theory
SIT	Social Identity Theory
CMT	Conceptual Metaphor Theory
ESL	Ethnolinguistic School of Lublin
ODM	Orange Democratic Movement
NARC	National Rainbow Coalition
PEV	Post Election Violence
IDP	Internally Displaced Persons
PNU	Party of National Unity



# CHAPTER 1 | INTRODUCTION

## *1.1. Background to the Study*

Stereotypes are perceptions held commonly by people who are members of a particular social group based on established knowledge of reality. These perceptions are evaluative, based on prejudice and insufficient knowledge (Rašković & Boštjan, 2016). A Stereotype is a negative belief that people have about others. It is considered as a salient part of the culture (Siy & Cheryan, 2015). Agents of socialization such as siblings, team-mates, colleagues, contemporaries, social media, press and educators are responsible for exemplifying stereotypes through language. Through language, the stereotype beliefs are stored at the level which is collectively consensual. The stereotypic mentality about the characteristics of individuals and groups in a social set up develop with time. These characteristics are developed within the environment of the social set ups, influencing how people behave towards those within and outside their groups (Steffens & Viladot, 2015). The development of stereotypes, however, depends on how an individual perceives their environment. Responses about social groups are based on assessed information received, encoded in memory and then retrieved (Otterbacher, 2015). Social groups are what individuals are identified with since they give people a sense of belonging.

Lippmann (1991) first introduced the concept stereotype to allude to the normal picture that comes into mind when pondering about a particular social group. Even though early research conceptualized the concept of stereotyping as a rather unbendable or broken manner of thinking, recent research puts emphasis on the practical and dynamic aspect of generalizations. Stereotypes are utilized as psychological outlines by groups of people to process information about others (Lee, 2014). These generalizations reflect beliefs about attributes that portray regular group individuals but also contain information about different characteristics such as social roles, how much people in a group share certain qualities and how they impact on the emotional reactions of group members (Preece & Stoddard, 2015). Generally, stereotypes portray the willingness to become conscious of behaviours or characteristics even with the stereotype (Whiten & Mesoudi, 2016). In the initial stages of processing perceptions, it is the steady qualities that are quickly attended to e.g. because stereotypes that have a relationship with culture have a connection with the African Americans, who are synonymous with violent crime in the United States, white individuals are quick to make assumptions that objects of wrong doing such as guns belong to the black person.

The shaping of stereotypes is greatly influenced by social norms and roles, though there is a likelihood of associating some qualities with people who play certain roles. This is done without considering the fact that their behaviors do not come from their personalities but roles imposed on them (Dawkins, 2016). Stereotypes are an integral part of the way our brains function. Human beings are able to handle a lot of information on a daily basis, by creating categories of information that help deal effectively with all data received.

Causes of ethnic stereotyping come from diverse sources, but in most cases, stereotypes are determined by appearances, that is, the way groups, culture or male and female look (Rothenberg, 2016). Cultural stereotypes categorize and characterize people in different categories based on gender, class, race, or other social groups and identities. They summarize and generalize but are

never neutral. Comparative evaluations are always part of the characterization, even if implicit. Kite and Whitley (2016) refer to these characterizations as a way of thinking about nationalities and religions and races other than concerning own standards. Stereotypes can present exaggeratedly favorable images as well as overly negative ones, but the latter is more likely to be challenged and condemned.

Stereotyping a certain group of people entails not being able to see them as individuals but rather looking at members through narrow and rigid lens of the group based on a given image without putting into consideration a variety of characteristics about each member as a different individual (Rothenberg, 2016). Stereotyping, therefore, involves masking of individuals. For example, a person may negatively stereotype men as promiscuous and dangerous or rather positively as being helpful and protective (Kamphorst & Swank, 2016). Both these stereotypes prevent the recognition of men in their individuality. In stereotyping, mental disruptions occur, resulting in various forms of moral distortion of which philosophers have not paid enough attention (Reinhard & Olson, 2017). It is due to ethical distortions that people who are stereotyped are not looked at as individuals but instead they are judged based on their group membership. It is difficult to identify the feelings that people experience because of stereotypes. When dealing with stereotypes, the conviction remains that so and so did this to us instead of looking at the problem. While stereotyping, we start feeling that 'that is what they do', 'that is how those individuals are,' rather than being in touch with our actual feelings of hurt, confusion, being slighted, left out, anger etc.

Stereotypes are negative beliefs we have about other people. They are considered as a salient part of the culture. They are usually exemplified through various socialization media such as mass media, teachers, siblings, peers, language and parents. Language is valuable because, through it, stereotypic beliefs are stored at a collective consensual level (Lavy & Megalokonomou, 2017). Beliefs about the characteristics of social groups we belong to are developed through time within. This happens within the environment of these social groups. It is, therefore, assumed that the development of stereotypes happens as people perceive their environment based on the available information (Lavy & Sand, 2015). This information concerning social groups is received, interpreted, concealed in memory, and then retrieved to be used to guide responses. The information to be sought out, attended to and remembered by members in a social group, along with the influence of their social behavior, are all influenced by stereotypes.

Any given culture has stereotypes deeply rooted in it. Through the process of socialization, these stereotypes are transmitted from one generation to another (Staats, 2016). Areas of common knowledge which exert influence on the members of the community behaviours and attitudes towards stereotyped people are created by stereotypes. The transmission of stereotypes is usually done orally. The information and knowledge of the characteristics of those who represent a community are shared and evaluated at the same time (Staats & Patton, 2013). As stereotypes are exchanged, they are usually reinforced by the language used in social circles, at home, on radio, television and in advertisements.

According to Quadflieg and Macrae (2011), positive and negative stereotyping is something that can be used daily by everyone. It is manifested in humor generated through people's description of one another and their beliefs. Most of the time, people make generalizations about others without knowing it. Generalizations, therefore, become a means of helping people

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comprehend a certain group of people. The challenge with stereotyping is that it's an assessment of a group, not one person (Powell, 2012). Stereotyping is a problem because it is a self-judgement about a group, not an individual. Each person has his or her own kind of unmistakable personality. Therefore, it is uncalled for to be judged quickly by people who do not know you individually. Kasara (2013:921) asserts that everyone is a victim of stereotyping and has stereotyped before. It is a worldwide issue that can be solved, yet it continues every day. Stereotypes are beliefs and associations about a group's attributes and its members. They help to figure out people's thoughts and responses to the group (Carter & Murphy, 2015). Stereotypes are used naturally by people as a way of simplifying their social world. These generalizations make it easier to process information about people whom we meet for the first time (Erman & Walton, 2014). Stereotyping is based on the collective characteristics and capacities attributed to the entire group membership.

In summary, stereotypes determine how people respond to group members, perceive them and process information about them. Language discourse and social media are among the channels which transmit stereotypes. Stereotypes are connections and beliefs concerning traits of members of a group which influences the way people think and react towards them.

Prejudice is an unreasonable and rigid generalization about an entire group of people or a place. When connected to groups socially, preconception normally points to the present inclinations towards people in a social group based on stereotypes of a certain group (Fiske & Tablante, 2015). Prejudice is based on judgement or feeling about the group of people which the person belongs to (Koenig & Eagly, 2014). Any behavior or attitude towards members of any gathering that portrays the negativity of antipathy is known as prejudice (Dasgupta, 2011). In areas where conflict exists, different groups or communities form positive or negative impressions about each other. According to Burr (2015), prejudice transpires when different groups have different interests in a conflict area. Conflict also arises when these groups fight over resources or identity and in some cases, people may judge one another deliberately as a reaction to the conflict.

Prejudice is frequently used to allude to preconceived and predetermined qualities. These qualities are usually unfavorable because of social attachment, age, gender, sex, religious affiliation, tribe, profession, type of language used and beauty (Phelan & Rudman, 2010). In this regard, it refers to how one is evaluated, whether positively or negatively based on the group that they are affiliated to (Rollero & Fedi, 2014). Prejudice also refers to the positive or the negative evaluation of an individual based on their perceived group membership. Prejudice can also refer to baseless convictions ground on attitudes that are unreasonable which usually work towards resisting change.

Prejudice is a feeling about a person formed in advance without any thought. Ethnic prejudice alludes to slighting stereotypes that are very resistant to change. These preconceptions are cherished by one ethnic group against the other. Wodtke (2016) argues that ethnic prejudice is entrenched in almost every country in the world. Every tribal group has at least negative stereotypes it uses on other tribes. Ethnic prejudices are transmitted from generation to generation courtesy of socialization (Götz, 2014). In Kenya, Nigeria, South Africa, ethnic prejudice is compounded by multi-ethnic and multi-language diversity. The anguish caused by ethnic prejudice in Kenya and other parts of the world is immense. In Eldoret, Kenya and its environments ethnic prejudice has led to tribal conflicts leading to tribalism and antagonism among the Kikuyus, Kalenjins, Luhya, Luo and the Kisii communities. According to Janssen and Backes-Gellner (2016),

ethnic prejudice works towards the dehumanization of people from other tribes. Constitutional rights of people from out-groups are abused through prejudicial practices which lead to discrimination.

People's perceptions about the world are narrowed down to their own tribal groups clouding the vision of human rights and goodness of people of other tribal entities (Lips, 2013). This leads to advancements of feelings of loathness towards members of different communities, given inspiration to mutual intuition and mistrust among various ethnic groups creating obstacles to peace and harmony among different tribes, especially those living in Eldoret Township, Kenya. When people or communities are given prejudicial treatment, they often live in fear, anticipating more problems (Dasgupta, 2011). Moreover, victims of bias and discrimination may be treated as second rate citizens by being given inferior medical attention, substandard education, denied social privileges as it once happened in politically sanctioned racial segregation of South Africa.

### *1.2. A brief History of the Communities in Eldoret: the Kalenjin, Luhya, Kikuyu, Luo and Kisii*

The following information introduces the main communities in Eldoret and who are the main actors in the sporadic Eldoret conflicts.

#### 1.2.1. The Kalenjin

Kalenjin community is composed of eight ethnic groupings that are linguistically and culturally related. The languages spoken by these groups are mutually intelligible, Nandi and Kipsigis being distinguished by small sound and wording differences that can be comparable to the distinction between Received Pronunciation English and Standard American English (Tehuti Research Foundation, 2016). The Kalenjin group is classified as related to the Southern Nilotic Language Group of the Eastern section, Sudanic Language Family. The community is composed of; Nandi, Terik, Tugen, Sabaot, Kipsigis, Pokot, Keiyo and the Marakwet. This community draws its origin from the first language of the Kalenjin people which is Kalenjin, part of the Chari-Nile language group of Africa (Oboler, 2016). Owing to its large population, the community has always demonstrated a clear eagerness to attain political strength.

#### 1.2.2. The Luhya

The Luhya or Abaluhya are the second largest ethnic group in Kenya. This community belongs to the larger linguistic stock known as the Bantu. The larger Luhya community is composed of 18 sub-groups distinct but mutually intelligible linguistic varieties which comprise the Bukusu, Nyala-K, Nyala-B, Tachoni, Maragoli, Marama, Idakho, Isukha, Khayo, Wanga, Tsotso, Kisa, Marachi, Samia, Wanga Kabarasi and Tiriki. Variations in dialects and customs reflect their diverse ancestry. The Luhya people are found both in Western Kenya and in urban centers (Simiyu, 2001).

The Luhya have a history of intermarriage, local trade, and shared social and cultural practices. The Luhya community moved to western Kenya around the year 1850 (Siundu, 2009). Colonization of Kenya by the British from the 1890s to 1963 forced many communities, including the Luhya, into migrant labour on settler plantations and in urban centres. The Luhya people mainly reside in western Kenya. Administratively, they occupy western Kenya and some parts of Rift Valley (Likoko & Mbachi, 2013). Luhya migration into the Rift Valley is relatively recent, dating

## Introduction

back to the first few years after independence when farms formerly occupied by colonial white settlers were bought by or given back to indigenous Africans.

Traditionally, the Luhya people believed in and worshiped only one god, also known as *Nyasaye*, who was worshipped through intermediaries, usually the spirits of dead relatives (Waswa & Imungi, 2014). The spirits held positive and destructive power and therefore had to be appeased through animal sacrifices such as cattle, goats and chicken. Christianity was introduced to Luhyaland at the turn of the twentieth century. The majority of the Luhya people are Christians, few being Muslims (Nanjala, 2012). The Luhya, who were converted to Christianity, took words, names, perceptions of what Christian missionaries told them about the Christian God and other aspects of their indigenous religious traditions and applied them to their interpretations of Christ and God. The first Bible translation in a Luhya language was produced in the Wanga language. Elaborate initiation ceremonies are performed to mark the transition from childhood to adulthood for boys (Mbachi & Kariuki, 2013). Economic activities by the Luhya are crop farming, cattle rearing, poultry keeping and fishing.

### 1.2.3. The Kikuyu

Kikuyu people live in almost all parts of Kenya though majority of them are found in Central Kenya, a land traditionally characterised with mountains, rivers, hills and ranges (Wanjohi, 1997). The language spoken by members of this community is Gikuyu, a Bantu language that is culturally related to other Bantu speaking people of East and Central Africa (Mwaniki, 1973). This community is closely associated with other Bantus namely; the Embu, Kamba and the Meru. The Kikuyu speak Gikuyu language which has lexical similarities with Kamba, Meru and Embu (Muriuki, 1974). Most of the Kikuyu people, who are multilingual, would communicate using the Kikuyu language with anyone who understands it.

### 1.2.4. The Luo

The Luo, a community that is part of the Nilotic group, speaks a language known as Dholuo. The tribe makes up to 13% of the Kenyan population (Sossou, 2002). Historians note that Luos travelled to their current home along the Nile River from Southern Sudan and Uganda before settling around Lake Victoria (Prince, 2004). Fishing is their main economic activity but they also engage in agriculture, growing sugarcane, cotton and rice.

### 1.2.5. The Kisii

This community is also known as the Gusii from the larger Bantu ethnic group. The Gusii people occupy the Kisii highlands in the Nyanza region. They neighbour the Luo, Kuria, Maasai, Luhya and the Kipsigis. Their language is known as Ekegusii. Among the larger Bantu group, the Meru people are close to the Kisii tribe, sharing almost a similar culture and language (Whiteley, 1965). The Gusii people came to Kenya through Western Kenya from Uganda and settled on their current land. Their economic activities are farming, pottery, basketry and soapstone carvings (Keragori, 1995). In farming they grow cash crops such as tea, pyrethrum and coffee.



### *1.3. History of Eldoret*

Eldoret town is located 330 km to the Northwest of Nairobi, lying at an altitude of 2,085 metres above sea level in Uasin Gishu County (Ngau, 2013). The name Eldoret originated from the term 'Eldore', a Maasai word that means 'stony river' which is River Sosiani (Mbwagwa, 1989). The town has a river known as Sosiani which flows through it in the East-west. The establishment and development of Eldoret trace its origin back to the activities of the colonialists who settled in Uasin Gishu (Lado, 2009). Their settling in this area brought about the provision of essential services such as transport, communication, security and social amenities (Musyoka, 2004). The year 1908 saw the emergence of Eldoret as a Centre of administration for coordinating the provision of essential services.

Eldoret town was founded by Afrikaan brothers; the Van Breda in 1903 (Ngau, 2013). They were later joined by Franz Arnold and his family two years later. The establishment of Eldoret revolved around the farms started by settlers and known to the locals as "64", or rather "Sisibo" alluding to the distance between Eldoret and the Uganda Railway at Kibigori. Eldoret town site officially started in 1910 after the establishment of a post office. Sixty more Afrikaaner families arrived in 1910. An administrative Centre was then established in the area in 1912, which saw the post office renamed from "64" to the current name; Eldoret (Musyoka, 2004). This elevated Eldoret to an administrative centre resulting to a huge increase in business in the planned town. Several shops, social places and a bank were established. In 1924, the railway towards Uganda from Kibigori reached Eldoret town kick starting a new era of flourishing development. As the town grew, piped water supply was introduced from river Sosiani. The newly established East African power and lighting company started to provide electricity through an installed electricity generator in 1933. Before this, Eldoret had low cost housing and a small airstrip built.

In the 1950s, the British also arrived in the town which led to Eldoret being divided into two. The division was done along the main street which is now Uganda Road. The Afrikaans remained on the north and the British on the south. Afrikaan children attended Highland school, currently known as Moi Girls High School and the British children attended Hill School. Recreation facilities were also separate; the Afrikaans used to converge at the Wagon Wheel Hotel while the British converged at Lincoln Hotel and the Race-Course. The town developed further under President Daniel Arap Moi between 1978 and 2002 (Musyoka, 2004). During his tenure as the president of the Republic of Kenya, Moi University and Eldoret International Airport were established. Currently, the town is governed by the Uasin Gishu County Government. Eldoret, which has now almost attained city status, has a number of residential estates such as Huruma, West Indies, Kapsoaya, Elgon View, Langas, Pioneer, Kapseret, Kahoya, Kapsoya, West, Kipkaren, Kimumu, Jerusalem, Annex, Mwanzo, Mailinne and Action. According to Agwanda (2012), Eldoret is the fifth largest town in Kenya with an estimated population of 500,000 people. Eldoret is the home to Moi University, Eldoret International Airport, Moi Teaching and Referral Hospital (MTRH), University of Eldoret and Rivatex Industry.

This study was conducted in Langas, Kiambaa, Yamumbi, Kipkaren, Huruma, Mailinne and Kimumu estates. The majority of the inhabitants of these areas are members of the Kalenjin, Luo, Kikuyu, Luhya and Kisii communities. These areas were classified as 'violence hotspots' during inter-ethnic conflicts in Uasin Gishu County in 2008. For instance, it is in Kiambaa area where

several people died in a church arson attack in early 2008 during the post-election election violence (Calas, 2008). All the other areas were also hard hit by the violence.

### *1.4. Stereotypes and Prejudices in Kenya*

For years, tribal stereotypes have been used by politicians to discredit their opponents and intimidate people from other communities with violence. Example of such violence is the post-election violence of 2007/2008. According to the findings of the Truth Justice and Reconciliation Commission (TJRC, 2008) report, negative sentiments have been used towards other people, tribes and other social groups. For instance, negative attributes have been directed at the Maasai and the Ogiek who are perceived to be warlike and primitive. The Somali are also perceived to be warlike while the Kikuyus are stereotyped as hardworking and deceitful. The Luhya and Kamba are perceived as naive and very loyal, the Luos are perceived as proud and arrogant while the coastal people are deemed as slovenly. These myths, stereotypes and perceptions against each other have become a social problem.

The Truth Justice and Reconciliation Commission (TJRC) report further says that colonialists first propagated stereotypes and other negative perceptions in Kenya today. The colonialists employed the divide and rule tactics as well as perpetuating ethnic stereotyping. For instance, the colonialists felt that the Kikuyus were untrustworthy and therefore decided to hire a large number of the Luo people to replace them as farm-workers on White lands. Members of the Kamba community dominated the army more than any other community. Some ethnic groups in Kenya partly blame their historical and economic marginalization on stereotypes and prejudices which have been used against them for a long time. At independence, The Kenya African National Union (KANU) government used the blueprint from the colonial government by also using divide and rule tactics in the 1980s and 1990s. The repercussions of this policy came to unfold later in the early 1990s with the re-introduction of multi-party politics. This was soon followed by a wave of ethnic violence in 1992.

Some stereotypes are humorous and mocking in nature. Though they annoy the targeted groups, they elicit the listeners' laughter. Some humorous stereotypes also promote culture and warn individuals of misdemeanour. For example, Bukusu stereotypes are used to warn the greedy, adulterous, gluttons and those who commit incest. Wilson (2013) asserts that politicians enjoy stereotypes at the expense of their own group or ideology. Most striking is the case of individual politicians from Western, Nyanza and Central Kenya who have been known not only to collect and cherish the stereotypes but also use stereotypes to dispel specific accusations made against them.

Tags are given to people eliminate the difficulties of understanding individuals who are unique about us. The tags provide us with a general overview of individuals so that we may know what to expect from them and how to handle them (Walton & Cohen, 2003). However, it is unfortunate that such huge numbers of stereotypes and prejudices are not accurate and are mostly used as a technique to isolate 'our' conduct from 'their' conduct. It is important to note that we don't always agree with or like the way another culture behaves since it is different and we, therefore, see it as wrong and develop negative or ugly portrayals. When we have issues with somebody from a different group, we tend to identify the problem as having to do with their group and not our group. Therefore, stereotypes hinder the way we think and feel, leading us to make extreme judgements about others which are shockingly wrong (Deaux, 1996: 216). In this respect

the Luhya people are judged as fit to be watchmen, Kikuyus judged as thievish and Turkana as unhygienic. This could be just a perception and overgeneralization of these groups of people. For instance, *Nkumei* is an image of dirt used to refer to the Turkana. Due to cattle rustling conflicts, the Samburu and the Turkana communities harbour hostility against each other. *Nkumei* is an abusive term used by the Samburu to portray the Turkana as unclean because they do not circumcise their boys and girls (Mahero, 2015). The Samburu believe that one gets clean and cleansed after initiation.

### *1.5. Statement of the Problem*

There has been a renewed concern in Kenya over the role of ethnic stereotypes and prejudice often referred to as 'hate speech' in fuelling ethnic tensions and which have of late culminated in the arrest of prominent personalities, including members of parliament. Hate speech is largely manifested through ethnic stereotypes and prejudices. Stereotypes and prejudices directed at minority communities often result in their isolation, discrimination and violence. Eldoret was the epicentre of the near- genocidal violence in 2007/2008, meted at particular communities through stereotypical and prejudicial utterances following the results of the disputed 2007 general election. Although stereotypes, in the form of hate speech, have been blamed for fanning of ethnic tensions and violence, no in depth linguistic study exists on their role and impact in fomenting ethnic tensions and violence in Kenya, and particularly a hot spot such as Eldoret where a sizeable number of minority communities live. The aim of this study was to examine ethnic stereotypes and prejudices, their form, causes and role in fuelling ethnic tensions, discrimination and violence between the majority and minority communities in Eldoret. The study also aimed at establishing the strategies to be employed to counter ethnic stereotypes and prejudices, for national cohesion and integration.

### *1.6. Objectives of the Study*

#### 1.6.1. General Objectives

This study aimed at investigating stereotypes and prejudices in relation to interethnic harmony in Eldoret, Kenya.

#### 1.6.2. Specific Objectives

- To establish the form, language, and use of linguistic stereotypes and prejudices in fuelling ethnic conflicts in Eldoret
- To find out strategies of communication and the major themes in linguistic stereotypes and prejudices among communities living in Eldoret and their role in fuelling conflicts among these communities
- To investigate the possible causes of linguistic stereotypes and prejudices based conflicts in Eldoret
- To analyse the social impact of linguistic stereotypes and prejudices on social harmony in Eldoret community
- To establish the strategies that may be employed to counter the effect of linguistic stereotypes and prejudices for national cohesion and integration in Kenya

### *1.7. Research Questions*

- What are the forms, language and use of linguistic stereotypes and prejudices in fuelling ethnic conflicts in Eldoret?
- What are the strategies of communication and the major themes in linguistic stereotypes and prejudices among communities living in Eldoret and their role in fuelling conflicts among these communities?
- What are the possible causes of linguistic stereotypes and prejudices based conflicts in Eldoret?
- What is the social impact of linguistic stereotypes and prejudices on social harmony in Eldoret?
- What are the strategies that may be employed to counter the effect of linguistic stereotypes and prejudices for national cohesion and integration in Kenya?

### *1.8. Significance and Justification of the Study*

People use stereotypes and prejudices as a way of simplifying their social world. This explains why the amount of processing we have to do is reduced when we come across a new person. When we stereotype and prejudice others, we deduce that an individual has a set of attributes that all members of a certain group have. Prejudice is an emotive feeling towards an individual or group member based exclusively on their group membership (Baxter, 2014). According to Kane (2013), a lot has been discussed among philosophers about the nature of utterance understanding and its relation to meaning while little or no attention has so far been paid to misunderstanding. The hidden language used in stereotypes and prejudices may be misinterpreted or misunderstood due to a lack of shared knowledge (Stangor, 2016).

Several reasons made this study significant. The study provided information on how language is intertwined with traditional and cultural practices. Henry and Tator (2002:16), as quoted by Mahero (2015), argue that language can be used to reveal hidden motives that serve people's self-interest, ensure subjugation and maintain superiority. This study portrays language as a powerful tool used to communicate stereotypes and prejudices.

This study also provides information on how language enables us to understand the social issues that affect the society, and which are brought about by stereotypes and prejudices. The study could be used by policy makers in formulating policies on peaceful co-existence among communities in Kenya and in other nations. Results from this study provided a significant amount of knowledge about ethnic stereotypes and prejudice among the Kalenjin, Kikuyu, Luhya, Luo and the Kisii communities living in Eldoret.

The present study largely draws from the fact that hardly any scholarly work has studied how literal and non-literal languages have been used to fuel ethnic animosity in Kenya. The study provided knowledge about ethnic stereotypes and prejudices against specific communities in Eldoret and suggested what can be done to end the resultant ethnic discrimination, isolation and violence. The Kalenjin, Kikuyu, Luhya, Luo and Kisii communities are suitable for this research due to the fact that a large number of the population of people living in Eldoret is drawn from these tribes. Research on ethnic stereotyping has been carried out by several researchers but very little research has been done on linguistic stereotypes and prejudices in interethnic conflicts in Eldoret, Kenya. To the best of my knowledge, no such research has been done on linguistic stereotyping and

prejudice in interethnic conflicts in Eldoret, Kenya. Therefore, the manner in which ethnic stereotypes and prejudices are used among majority and minority communities in Eldoret, Kenya may not be similar to the manner in which the same stereotypes are used elsewhere. This is because in Eldoret, ethnic stereotyping and prejudice has led to ethnic animosity resulting to tribal clashes before and after general elections, and this has never been witnessed in other major towns in Kenya. Many people do not know how and who to share ethnic stereotypes and prejudices with. If we continue to see ethnic stereotypes as just ways of expressing our emotions, we shall never understand stereotypes' real meaning and appeal. People use stereotypes and prejudices to spice up communication with the aim of obtaining truth around them.

### *1.9. Scope and Limitation*

This section discusses scope and limitations of the study based on linguistic stereotypes and prejudices in Eldoret, Kenya.

#### 1.9.1. Scope

The current study aimed at analysing ethnic stereotypes and prejudices and their effects on interethnic harmony among the Kalenjin, Luhya, Luo, Kisii and Kikuyu people in Eldoret, Kenya. The study focused on town dwellers only. Rural communities were not included for the reason that minority communities hardly live in rural areas. Inhabitants of these rural areas are drawn from the Kalenjin (majority) community, thus not suitable for the study. The areas the researcher visited are Langas, Huruma, Mailinne, Kimumu, Yamumbi, Kipkaren and Kiambaa. These areas are inhabited by both the majority and the minority communities. This study used structured questionnaires and oral interviews and observations to generate data. The study focused on the area of linguistics, of the mutual cognitive environment of the addresser and addressee during communication.

The study looked at the interpretation of stereotypes and prejudices. Stereotypes and prejudices come in the form of anecdotes, metaphors, synecdoche and metonymy and irony. The study confined itself to the interpretation of anecdotes, direct language, coded language and metaphors in interethnic stereotyping and prejudice among the majority and the minority communities in Eldoret. The study concentrated on the area of linguistics which falls under pragmatics, the subfield of linguistics that studies how setting adds to the significance. The study looks at verbal texts; namely; stereotypes and prejudices by five communities; Kalenjin, Kikuyu, Luhya, Luo, and Kisii who reside in Eldoret, Kenya. The data in this research are discussed under the tenets of relevance theory. Relevance theory is a proposal that seeks to explain a method of the communication (Sperber and Wilson, 1986/1995). According to relevance theory, communication process includes encoding, deduction, transfer and interpreting messages. Stereotyping and prejudice involve utterances with a variety of possible interpretations, which are all compatible with the information that is linguistically encoded (Wilson, 2013). The study considers figurativeness in language, anecdote and metaphors to a meaning different from the literal one.

#### 1.9.2. Limitations

The researcher would have wanted to investigate the role of stereotypes and prejudices in many other parts of the country which have experienced violence but due to limited time and resources, this was not possible. However, efforts were made to make the results of the study

replicable in other parts of the country. Further, the study was not able to generate data from possible non willing participants who perhaps have leadership roles and fear retribution but was mitigated by the researcher's personal charm in maintaining confidentiality. It was also not possible to investigate all the nuances of stereotype and prejudice in spoken language, but this did not adversely affect the key objectives of the study. Stereotypes and prejudices can be negative or positive but in this study, the focus was on negative stereotypes and prejudices which result into conflicts.

### *1.10. Definition of Terms*

#### 1.10.1. Antilocution

This is a type of discrimination in which negative verbal comments are directed at the target group. The comments are made in broad daylight and in private.

#### 1.10.2. Context

According to Kihara and Schroeder (2012), context is a set of mentally represented assumptions used in processing information. Context may include the situation in which an expression takes place or it includes the processing of text or discourse. Decisions made, actions taken and beliefs rely on context. Any utterance is processed mentally with the aid of subject-context. Sperber and Wilson (1995:15-16) posit that an utterance context is:

*The set of premises used in interpreting it. That context is the psychological construct, a subject of the hearer's assumptions about the immediate world. It is not limited to information about the immediate physical environment or immediately preceding utterances: expectations about the future, scientific hypothesis or religious beliefs, anecdotal recollections, general cultural presumptions, convictions about the mental condition of the speaker, may all play part in interpretation.*

In this study, context refers to a situation or the physical environment where the utterance is made. Context is not limited to information about the immediate physical environment or the utterances that follow immediately. Beliefs about characteristics of social groups are developed in their environment. The interpretation of stereotypes is made from its context because they are context oriented.

#### 1.10.3. Culture

Culture is what is referred to as the aggregate store of knowledge, encounter, convictions, values, states of mind, meanings, hierarchies, religious beliefs and codes of practice that make a community what it is. Culture is a reflection of meanings which people attribute to. Every community has a culture which alludes to fundamental values, convictions and decorum that a community is identified with.

1.10.4. Discrimination

This is the treatment of people that is based on bias. Discrimination is carried out on grounds of class, tribe, race or a social group. During socialization, discrimination is done based on the group a person is seen to belong to, disregarding his or her characteristics. This includes treatment of a person or group in view of their actual or perceived membership in a specific group or social class. Due to discrimination, members of a group may be restricted from accessing opportunities or benefits that are accessed by another group, prompting the exclusion of individuals on the basis of logical or irrational decision making.

1.10.5. Ethnic Humour

This is the kind of humour or comic drama that is based on thoughts, beliefs or stereotypes about racial or tribal group.

1.10.6. Ethnic Jokes

An ethnic joke is a comment that elicits humour and is identified with race, social group or tribe. It frequently alludes to ethnic stereotyping and prejudice of the people being referred to bring about punchline. These are jokes used with the intention of poking fun at races, tribes, nationalities and individuals. The aim of ethnic jokes is to ridicule, make fun of and hurt the targeted individuals. Most of these jokes may apply to other ethnic groups.

1.10.7. Ethnic Stereotypes

A system of convictions about common attributes of people of a given tribe, race, nationality, cultural norms and status in the society.

1.10.8. Extermination

It is an act of getting rid of by destroying a group of people as it happened in the post-election violence in Kenya; 2007/2008 when hundreds of people lost their lives.

1.10.9. Gender Stereotype

This is a summed assumption on the qualities or attributes of an individual whether man or woman. These kinds of stereotypes are both positive and negative, for instance the view that women are 'weak'. Gender stereotypes are beliefs which may lead one to make presuppositions about members of the targeted group who may be men or women.

1.10.10 Gender Stereotyping

This is the act of assigning a person; male or female particular qualities, traits or roles due to his or her membership in the social group of men and women. It is the custom of applying stereotypical beliefs to people.

1.10.11. Genocide

This is an international wrong-doing that includes acts committed with the intention to obliterate entirely or to some degree a citizen, a tribe, race or a religious group. This includes executing members of a group causing serious physical or mental harm to members of the group by

## Introduction

intentionally inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about physical decimation in totality. This can also be done by forcing measures that are intended to negatively interfere with births within a certain group or exchange kids of the group with another group by constraining.

### 1.10.12. In-group

It is a social group with which a person is psychologically identified as a member and feels some sense of belonging. The attachment depends on the opposition towards an out group. This is a group of people towards which members of an in group possess in regard to opposition, hatred and resistance.

### 1.10.13. Metaphor

A metaphor is an allegory which enables us to map one experience in the wording of another experience and hence acquire a comprehension of complex topics or new circumstances.

### 1.10.14. Metonymy

This is an analogy in which a thing or an idea isn't called by its own particular name but by the name of something closely associated with that thing or concept. By metonymy, a thing or a person is used to replace another thing or person.

### 1.10.15. Out-group

This is a social group that a person or people do not identify with. Out-groups are very important in the sense that without them, in-groups cannot exist (Cox & Devine, 2014). The existence of an out-group strengthens the allegiance that an in-group member has for one another and brings more attention to the attributes that differentiates the in-group from the out-group. Out groups are important because they play a crucial role in bringing together members of the in group despite the diversity of the in group.

### 1.10.16. Packers

This term as used in the study means those women who are untrustworthy. They are unpredictable in marriage and can pack and leave their matrimonial homes any time.

### 1.10.17. Prejudice

Prejudice in this study is defined as antagonism based on inflexible and faulty generalization. It may either be expressed or felt, and is concentrated on a group or individual for the reason that one is a member. Prejudice involves negative emotions, for example, anger, haughtiness, fear or disdain. Prejudice can prompt the favouritism of people belonging to an in-group and on the other hand discriminate against those who belong to the out-group. Gender prejudice is called sexism, while racial prejudice is known as racism.

### 1.10.18. Relevance Theory

This theory was proposed by Dan Sperber and Deidre Wilson (1986/1995). It explains a method of communication, one that considers understood deductions. According to this theory, communication process includes encoding, exchanging and unraveling of messages, as well as



numerous elements including inference and context. Stereotyping and prejudice involve utterances that have a variety of possible interpretations that are related to the information that is linguistically encoded.

1.10.19. Truth Justice and Reconciliation Commission (TJRC)

A Truth Justice and Reconciliation Commission was established to examine analyse and give an account of what occurred in the vicinity of 1963 and 2008. This is with respect to economic crimes, unlawful acquisition of public land, ethnic violence and marginalization of communities. The TJRC works in the context in which crimes occurred and educate the public about its work.

1.10.20. Utterance

This is a linguistically coded piece of evidence (Sperber & Wilson, 2002). Possible interpretations are derived from the expectations created by utterances.

1.10.21. Madoadoa

In this study *madoadoa* is a term used to refer to communities who are purported to be outsiders. They are referred to as outsiders because they are considered to have come from other parts of the country to settle in Eldoret.

## CHAPTER 2 | LITERATURE REVIEW

### 2.1. Introduction

This section details an understanding of literature on stereotypes and prejudices as well as the theories that have informed this study.

### 2.2. The Concepts of “Stereotype” and “Prejudice”

Chaney and Martin (2011) argue that individuals of the same culture share the same conceptual and linguistic universe which enables them to comprehend their world. Since people share concepts with their folks, it enables them to make sense of the world and build a social world together (Harjo, 2011). This view is echoed by Ngugi wa Thiong’o in *Homecoming*, where he defines culture as, “a way of life fashioned by a people in their collective endeavour to live and come to terms with their total environment” (Ngugi, 1972). Ngugi emphasises that living cultures are never static as individuals often struggle to master their physical environment while creating a collective social life together (Harjo, 2011). According to Harjo (2011:22-23), culture consists of basically all the things without which the world would be incomprehensible to human beings. Harjo argues that meaning arises from the shared conceptual frame-works or maps which members of different groups or of a shared culture have in common.

Stereotypes are convictions which are overgeneralized about individuals based on their affiliation to any social set up (Coates, 2013). Lippmann (1991) introduced the term stereotype to mean any picture that comes into mind when one thinks about a certain social set up. Early research on stereotypes conceptualized stereotyping as rather unyielding and flawed thinking. Later, research viewed stereotyping as a way of simplifying the environment which is known to be complex. Stereotypes are psychological patterns utilized by people in society to obtain information about others (Pettigrew, 2008). Stereotyping is a way of looking at people and generalizing about them by using exaggerated labels against them. Stereotypes are rigid but inaccurate concepts with an imperious to experience and they represent inadequate conceptualisation (Smith & White, 2007).

Stereotyping is based on the notion that when someone belongs to a certain tribe or race, the individual possesses attributes believed to be common with that community (Harjo, 2011). However, these characteristics are often inaccurate since they are not based on any objective criteria. The truths about the attributes of members of any categorized group are debatable as to whether the inferred characteristics are true (Badal & Harter, 2014). Discriminatory attitudes towards an ethnic group are possible when it is wrongfully characterised. This would appear to be a violation of the rights and freedom of such a group.

Stereotypes reflect convictions about characteristics portraying ordinary members of a group. These tags, whether positive or negative, have information about other attributes such as roles played by members in the society (Badal & Harter, 2014). In general, stereotypes exhibit a willingness to consider those characteristics which are consistent with the stereotype. Stereotype consistent characteristics are attended to most quickly at the earliest stages of perceptual processing (Miller, Eagly & Linn, 2015). An example is that on the grounds that social

categorizations connect African American individuals with a serious crime in America, the Whites quickly associate them with objects of crime such as guns.

Ethnic stereotypes exist due to cognitive and social reasons. Mentally, people frequently discount stereotypic discrepant practices, crediting them to factors based on situations while making dispositional attributions for stereotype and prejudice predictable practices (Amodio, 2014). Socially, people behave in ways that elicit stereotype and prejudice confirming reactions, creating self-fulfilling prophecies. One-sided expectations impact on how perceivers behave, causing targets, frequently without full awareness to conform to perceivers' desires (Minear & Park 2004). Stereotypes involve feelings because they shape people's attitudes and determine their social behaviour (Amodio, 2014). They view all those they stereotype together with the group they belong to with prepared attitudes. Attitudes have been shown to preserve and remain resistant to change, particularly if they are validated by the message of recipient's own experiences (Harjo, 2011). Depending on the way we stereotype people, our feelings towards them are likely to take the form of suspicion, fear, hatred, anger and contempt.

The most common stereotypes of current times are the ones that depict African American men as violent and their women counterparts as lazy (Tausch & Bryson, 2015). Recent research has demonstrated that whites are likely to hold these generalizations, particularly when matters to do with a crime are put into consideration (Steele & Davies, 2003). In countries such as the United States, negative stereotypes are usually expressed through policies because political and legislative decisions are controlled by white males. There is an obvious trend in this society to discriminate against and deny access to social institutions to African-Americans (Sengupta & Sibley, 2013). Plous and William conducted a study in 1997 which demonstrated that African Americans are judged more harshly than the whites would judge their fellow whites on issues of crime.

Recently, incidents indicating the existence of racial stereotypes were witnessed. According to Plous and William (1997), the Los Angeles police officers who beat an African American Rodney King in 1991 referred to a domestic issue among African Americans as "appropriate out of Gorillas in the Mist" (Plous & Williams, 1997: 812). This was in reference to African Americans as gorillas. Thereafter, the chief of Alcohol, Drug Abuse and Mental Health Administration resigned in the wake of "likening inner-city young African American people to monkeys in the wilderness".

A stereotype is a conviction that is held about certain ways of doing things or concerning a social group which could or could not always reflect reality. The stereotype concept is believed to have originated from a Greek word 'stereos'. This word means solid and firm. 'Typos' means impression. The first reference to the word stereotype was in the 1850s. This was in a noun that meant 'image perpetuated without change'. It was not until 1922 that the word stereotype was first used in modern psychological sense by American journalist Walter Lipmann (1922). Stereotypes are arrangements of information, convictions and anticipations ascribed to social groups. Stereotypes overgeneralize character attributes to members of a group. According to social psychologists, stereotype is related to other types of inter group attitudes such as prejudice and discrimination (Allport, 1954). Stereotypes are a representation of the cognitive component of attitudes within a particular group while prejudice and segregation are a representation of passionate and behavioral component e.g. slighting or excluding (Auestad, 2013).

Prejudice is the affective part of stereotyping but stereotypes are the mental components that happen regularly without cognizant awareness. Discrimination forms one of the behavioral

elements of responses to prejudice. Stereotyping, prejudice and discrimination form a tripartite perspective of inter-group attitudes. Stereotypes reflect desires and convictions about the traits of group members perceived as unique (Steele, 2011). Prejudice represents the emotional response and discrimination refers to actions. The three components can exist independently of each other even though they are related. According to Okonofua & Eberhardt (2015), stereotyping leads to ethnic prejudice when people react emotionally to the name of a group by ascribing characteristics to members of that group and then evaluating them. The most common stereotypes include; gender stereotypes, religious stereotypes, ethnic stereotypes, national stereotypes, work place stereotypes among others (Lepore, 1997).

The main aim by sociologists is to put the focus on the relations between different groups in a social structure. They purport that poor parenting, hatred, cultural practices and inadequate mental and emotional development all exist due to stereotypes and prejudices. According to Fiske (2000), stereotypes have two dimensions which are warmth and competence. The in-group members provide warmth because they do not compete for the same resources. In-group members only compete for resources which are assumed to be high in status. Considering the two groups, discrimination manifests as favoritism towards the in-group and the absence of equivalent favoritism towards the out-group. The out-group is perceived as being threatening to the members of an in-group. This phenomenon is popular with the in-group favoritism because it requires one to have affinity towards fellow members in the in-group (Stewart Latu, Kawakami & Myers, 2010). According to research, enmity towards members of the out-group occurs when they are perceived as hindering the goals targeted by members of the in-group. Enmity towards members of the out group is considered to be a natural consequence of the discrimination process.

Within the principles of Social Identity Theory, members of the in-group tend to discriminate against the out-group members in order to enhance self-esteem. Members of the in-group will always seek to find negative aspects towards members of the out-group to enhance self-image (Crenshaw & Nanda, 2015). Sometimes prejudicial views between cultures may bring about discrimination. Discrimination takes various forms such as keeping out-group members and failure to show positive influence, e.g. pity and trust towards out-group members (Stangor, 2016). Pro-social behavior such as helping and co-operation can be withheld. Stangor (2016) proposed that stereotyping is established on a normal cognitive process that involves grouping things together. This is why we tend to exaggerate the contrasts that exist between group members and the similarities that exist within a similar group and categorize them in a similar way. People see the group they belong to being different from the other groups. Social categorization, therefore, is an explanation for prejudiced attitudes.

According to Dawkins (2008), people think in groups to simplify and anticipate an otherwise immense complex environment. People use stereotypes to pass judgements and anticipate behaviours against members belonging to other groups. This is done by relying on the only available information of the group members. The groups may be ethnic, social or religious. Stereotypes thus raise prospects that in turn influence behavior.

Prejudice is an unfriendly attitude or emotion directed to a person merely because he or she fits into a group to which an individual has dispensed unpleasant qualities (Stangor, 2016). Generally, prejudice is referred to impartiality that occurs when somebody makes a decision in advance before understanding the whole depiction and all important facts regarding a particular

event. The concept of prejudice relates to a condition when one individual judges or articulates opinion about the other on the root of some peripheral characteristics devoid of even knowing him or her (Awake, 2009). Prejudices can both be overt and subtle. Prejudices require social sources which are closely linked with social differences, class structures and uniqueness in welfare levels. Aggression, frustration and the feeling that one person is superior to the other due to particular factors can be a motivation for being prejudicial. Other sources of prejudice are; attributions, categorization, uniqueness and credit.

Ultimately, prejudice is a delinquency of personality development and growth (Stangor, 2016). According to Vidmar (2003:1143), prejudice is a matter of economic, social class considerations. Haslam and Dovidio (2010) assert that a cross-disciplinary perspective can be fitting for understanding a complex phenomenon such as prejudice. Prejudice is brought about by several causes that include evolutionary, psychological (both psychodynamic and perceptual), sociological and rhetorical.

Evolutionary causes of prejudice center on how prejudice potency can be an inherited attribute. Under this approach, groups seek to preserve themselves e.g. because of fear of the stranger. The marginalization of strangers could comfort to reservation of a group's presence. According to Haslam and Dovidio (2010), this approach is sometimes used by politicians as a justification for conventional politics and provides a perception of "us" and "them" to exclude others.

The psychological phenomenon explaining prejudice is categorized into two major categories. The first is psychodynamic which recommends that prejudice helps as a mechanism aimed at persons to meet psychological wants. This is associated with items such as uncertainty from the parent's rigid nature organization and an essential for authority (Stangor, 2016). This is reflected in Kenneth Burke's methodology to rhetoric in the scrutiny of Hitler's campaign against Jewish people as a methodology of sidetracking negative emotions linked with political and economic difficulties from the Jews mainstream (Zappen, 2009).

The second context is the Psychological approach, which is about cognition or perception. This encompasses a scope of conceivable effects on prejudice that include other aspects, for example, specific consideration, perception, recall of the negative conduct of out-group individuals and the notion of attributional prejudices that influence how meanings to the behavior of those of our in-group and those of out- groups are given. Categorization of people is at the center of those explanations. They are divided into cognitive groups, for instance, in-groups and out-groups. Social Identity by Tajfel and Turner (1986) proposes that we cannot reflect of ourselves at a distance from the clusters to which we fit in. For people to make themselves feel better about their group, they engage in intergroup comparison. If their cluster does not relate well to the group that they appreciate or depend on in some way, they strategize to repossess intellect of conceit for their group or hold onto detachment from it (Hartmann & Tanis, 2013). Categorization under the Social Identity theory is not a method of prejudice; rather, it is a rational enlisting of people, things, schedules and features into rational boxes (Reid, 2012). Those boxes are carefully associated to the stereotypes that cleave to groups.

Prejudice is emotional feeling aimed at an individual or a group associate grounded only on their membership. The discussion regularly aims at predetermined, usually critical notions of their sex, masculinity, beliefs, tenets, social class, age, incapacity, religion, sexuality, ethnicity, language,

beauty, nationality, occupation, education, criminality, sport team association or other personal traits (Bigler & Liben, 2006). In this case, it denotes a positive or negative valuation of an individual based on their supposed group membership. According to Trepte, Schmitt and Dienlin (2016:1112), prejudice is categorized by symbolic transmission of a value-laden importance content on top of a socially moulded grouping and then on to people who are engaged to fit into that grouping. The first study on prejudice was conducted in the 1920s. The research aimed at proving white supremacy over the black. A conclusion from the research was that the white people were mentally superior compared to the black people. This study, together with other studies, led many psychologists to prejudice, as a natural response to inferior races.

In the 1930s and 1940s, theorists such as Theodore Adorno alleged that authoritarians were the most likely to possess prejudices towards groups of low status in the society. According to Adorno, thinking which is rigid is an important ingredient to prejudice. Gordon Allport (1954) related prejudice to unqualified intellect and claimed that prejudice is a usual and regular practice for humans. He further added that human awareness must be considered with the help of groupings. Once the groupings are moulded, they turn out to be the foundation for usual prejudgment. In the 1970s, investigations started to display that prejudice is founded on discrimination on the way to one's own group rather than negative feelings towards another group. According to Ellemers and Haslam (2012), prejudice may advance for the reason that positive emotions such as appreciation, expectation and sympathy are set aside for the in-groups.

According to Harwood and Roy (2005), people are torn between the desire to express prejudice and the desire to maintain a positive self-concept. This conflict enables people to be contended as to why they do not like people from other groups. They use this approval to do away with negative feelings about themselves when they act negatively towards out-groups. Prejudice may lead to depression, when somebody who is a prejudice victim is besieged by somebody else. Trepte, (2006) notes that prejudice can be illogical and have dreadful concerns. Prejudices are grounded on human affinity to classify entities and people founded on prior knowledge. When people make predictions about effects in a category based on prior understanding with the category, the consequential predictions are frequently correct though not at all times. According to Bloom, this method of categorization and forecast is essential for survival and regular collaboration.

### 2.2.1. The Nature of Stereotypes and Prejudices

Studies on stereotypes and related topics, particularly discrimination and prejudice have increased significantly. The studies include those on culture, gender and tribal issues. Nelson (2009) observes that stereotyping has become one of the most admired themes of discourse during reunions among social scientists.

Walter Lipman (1922) first predicted various important positions in the present day research on stereotypes; their prevalent subjective nature (Lee & McCauley, 2013), their utility as cognitive economy and energy saving instruments (Glaser, 2014) and the antagonism between stereotyping and individual processes (Fiske & Tablante, 2015). Lipmann compared stereotypes with the stable images in our heads that shorten our feelings. Generally, stereotypes are seen as a group of shared beliefs by a certain group (Jussim, 2012), feelings of sincere correspondence between members of a group and certain characteristics (Ramasubramanian, 2005). They are also seen as a natural function of the human and cultural mind (Fiske, 2010) and as constructions

describing both personality traits and behavior patterns.

Stone and McWhinnie (2008) posit that stereotypes are beliefs about the characteristics of an out-group or its members. Several variables such as social class, nationality, gender, level of education and sex determine these beliefs. According to Glaser (2014), stereotypes originate from social categorization. This means that we put people in a certain category by failing to view them as unique when we make assumptions about them based on one or two of the variables mentioned. Their personal traits are ignored and a certain interpretation is imposed on them (Kydd & Fleming, 2015). For instance, when we see a person with perforated ears and don't know anything about him or her, we might assume they are foolish because this attribution is always associated with people with perforated ears. Once a person has been assigned any one of the categories, patterns of interaction and thoughts that are related to the category activated instead of the real people that we are dealing with (Zannoni, 2008).

Prejudice is a prejudgment. It is the making of an assumption about someone without basing on appropriate information to create those suppositions (Payne, 2001). Prejudice may be racial, sexual category, spiritual, age, sexual alignment, class, tribe, culture etc. Prejudice arises in various situations and normally accepts negative or hostile defiance of one person to the other on the basis of sex (Arrow & Burns, 2004). Prejudice can be explicit and indirect. Overt insight and racist observation is a strong method of prejudice, though, less dangerous than indirect prejudice. According to Hogg (2006), inside refined prejudice, the targeted individual or group does not know why he or she is not encouraged at work or summoned to sling out by way of colleagues. Subtle discrimination transpires by way of people that are close to the person and whom the person relates on daily basis.

Tribal and racial prejudice affects people socially around the world. It brings about segregation, fear, intolerance, separation, hatred and discrimination. Tribal or racial prejudice is associated with constructing stereotypical positions by demanding, for instance, that every person from the tribe is thief and deceitful. These ideas are formed in people's minds due to friends, society and the media. Gender prejudice is founded on the hypothesis that one gender is superior to the other. Historically, women are perceived as belonging to a weaker sex. Gender prejudice creates a rift of jobs for men and women. For instance, insisting that women's roles are to cook and clean.

### 2.2.2. Forms of Stereotypes and Prejudices

This section provides an over view on the forms of stereotypes and prejudices.

#### 2.2.2.1. Gender Stereotypes and Prejudices

Gender stereotyping and prejudice refers to preconceived assumptions in which individuals are assigned characteristics and roles (Ziegert & Hanges, 2005). The roles are assumed to be common to males and females respectively (Baxter, 2014). These stereotypes are simplistic generalizations about the gender attributes and the various roles played by these people within the society. According to Kane (2013), information about gender is transmitted through the society by networking. Through an assortment of networks, information on gender stereotypes is easily assimilated. Differences in gender are determined by our biology and views from society. Within the African culture, gender roles manifest themselves from birth (Talbot, 2003).

## Literature Review

Roles played by either male or female are closely linked with gender stereotypes (Aronson, Quinn & Spencer, 1998). Stereotypes are overgeneralized beliefs about people based on their membership in social groups (Davies & Spencer, 2001). Gender stereotypes vary on four dimensions namely; traits, role of behaviors, physical characteristics and occupations (Pronin & Ross, 2001). For instance, men are more likely to be perceived as aggressive and competitive while women are more likely to be viewed as passive and cooperative. Traditionally, men have been viewed as financial providers while women have been viewed as caretakers. According to Osborne (2001:83), social class and race may not be mentioned while making inquiries about stereotypes on gender. Both men and women are affected by stereotypes in numerous ways. People are judged by how they conform to these stereotypes. Boys and men are compelled to accomplish standard masculinity (Chang & Demyan, 2007) and those who do not fulfil the standard will always suffer from low-esteem (Cheryan & Bodenhausen, 2000). The performance of men and women of various tasks can also be affected by gender stereotypes. The performance of these roles can be affected by stereotype threats. Stereotype threat is a person's awareness that he may be judged by negative stereotypes about his gender and tribe (Minear, & Park, 2004). Research indicates that stereotype threat can negatively affect performance in school or work-place by increasing anxiety. For example, Minear and Park (2004) found out that women failed to perform in a math test when the participants were led to believe that the test would probably bring out differences in gender but when the participants were led to believe that the test did not produce gender differences, women and men performed equally well.

Gender stereotypes are simplistic generalizations about the gender attributes, differences and roles of individuals or groups. Stereotypes which can be positive or negative rarely communicate accurate information about other people (Coffman, 2014). When people use gender assumptions against others either by basing on available evidence or not, they are perpetuating gender stereotyping (Meyer & Gelman, 2016). Even though many people recognize the dangers of gender stereotyping, they continue making these types of generalizations.

Traditionally, the role of women is to marry and bear children. She is also supposed to put the welfare of the family before her own by being caring, loving, compassionate and sympathetic. She is also supposed to be sexy and beautiful (Jost & Kay, 2005). The man's role is to provide finances to the family. He is also supposed to be competitive, assertive, independent, initiate sex, career focused, courageous and one to hold his emotions in check. These sorts of stereotypes can prove harmful and stifle individual expression and creativity (McGarrity & Huebner, 2014). They can also be a hindrance to personal and professional growth.

While growing up, boys are encouraged to act brave and not cry easily like girls will do. The boy learns to suppress his emotions by thinking that crying is associated with girls (Shapiro & Williams, 2012). The boy child will be encouraged to develop male 'interests' such as looking after domestic animals, fixing the fence, managing finances and outdoor chores among others (Lee, 2014). The boy will be discouraged from getting involved in chores or activities branded as those to be taken care of by girls, such as cooking, washing dishes and cleaning the house. When growing up, the girl child is allowed to cry and express herself emotionally (Hall & LaFrance, 2012). She is expected to develop traits such as; talking and laughing gently, be gentle, be submissive, among other traits.



Gender stereotypes include sentiments such as, women are responsible for raising children, women are bad drivers, women are good at gossiping, women love cooking (Cox & Devine, 2014). Men are branded as lovers of sports, good at math, brave, physically strong and they do not do house chores. Gender stereotyping at work places have often caused havoc to most women (Kane, 2013). They have resulted into discrimination, sexual harassment and lack of promotions. Common gender work place stereotypes are those that talk about attractiveness. According to these stereotypes, women who get promoted must have flirted or slept with their bosses (Dascal, 2003). Gender stereotypes can be harmful because they can limit the development of the natural talents and abilities in men and women (Haines & Lofaro, 2016). They are also bound to limit ambitions in education and opportunities in life. Women are generally considered as sensitive and caring. Men are perceived to be rational and decisive making them perfect for politics and business (Czopp & Cheryan, 2015). Women who succeed in industries dominated by men are the ones who fight off the stereotype tags against them.

### 2.2.2.2. Cultural Stereotypes and Prejudices

Ethnic stereotyping and prejudice come from diverse sources but are mostly dictated by appearances; the way groups, culture or genders look and act are not the same as each other (Macrae, 1996). Cultural stereotypes categorize and characterize people as types by focusing on ethnicity, gender, class, race, or other social groups and identities (Operario & Fiske, 2001). They summarize and generalize but are never neutral. Comparative evaluations are always part of the characterization even if implicit. One social psychologist calls them “a way of thinking about nationalities and religions and races other than our own with reference to our own standards” (Brown 1965:183). Stereotypes can present exaggeratedly favourable images as well as overly negative ones, but the latter are more likely to be challenged and condemned (Yuki & Brewer, 2013).

Stereotypes that are deep-rooted in a given culture are handed down from generation to generation during socialization (Schmader, 2003). They create areas of common knowledge which exerts influence on behaviours and attitudes of members of a community towards the stereotyped people (Freeman & Johnson, 2016). Knowledge on stereotypes is usually passed across orally. Members of a community not only share the information on the characteristics of any community but also evaluate it (Jewell, 1993). Stereotypes are passed on and reinforced through language used at home, school and in mass media.

### 2.2.2.3. Tribal Stereotypes and Prejudices

Tribal stereotypes are a misinterpretation of a tribal outfit using characteristics of one of the members of that tribal group. In tribal stereotyping, images are used to misrepresent a tribe. The tribal tags used rely on information about the status and patterns of behavior of any particular tribe (Battera, 2012). Tribal stereotypes can serve to perpetuate positive values that benefit a group over another although these stereotypes can be a hindrance to social cohesion and national integration.

Ethnic stereotypes and prejudices exist due to social and cognitive reasons (Some, 2009). Cognitively, stereotypes and prejudicial discrepant practices are regularly discounted by people and ascribe them to situational factors (Baxte, 1994). This is when they are making dispositional

attributions for stereotype and prejudice reliable practices (Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005). Socially, people behave in ways that elicit stereotype and prejudice confirming reactions which create self-fulfilling prophecies. One-sided hopes influence how perceivers behave, causing targets to comply regularly with perceivers without being aware of complying fully with the desires of the perceiver (Shapiro & Neuberg, 2007). The majority of ethnic stereotypes and prejudices are negative expressions which show contempt, insult and hatred towards the target community. Coded terms used in stereotypes and prejudices are historical and deep-rooted (Osborne, 2001). Negative expressions elicit the following possible scenarios:

- The community with bad practice is identified
- Expressions of contempt are considered immoral or childish
- Sense of mistrust about the target community is installed
- Deep-seated hate of the target community is expressed

Tribal stereotyping and prejudice revolve around areas of marriage, ethnicity, culture, tribalism etc. This is an aspect that has been around in Kenya for many years. Artists utilize tribal stereotypes in schools, colleges and media to elicit humour. According to Shapiro and Neuberg (2007), stereotypes and prejudices do not exist in a vacuum rather, they are informed by context. There is always an opportunity of stereotypes and prejudices to be used for constructive purposes although they can cause damage if not used tactfully (Wetherell, 2003). Stereotyping and prejudice can result to negative ethnicity if not used responsibly. This happens largely when different communities live together (Brown, 2009). Negative tribal stereotyping and prejudice have become widespread on the social media platform and tend to incorporate people's political association, particularly during electioneering period (Jenkins, 1997). This is a worrying pattern considering that hate speech has been blamed for playing a role in the 2007/2008 post-election violence in Kenya.

#### 2.2.2.4. Mchongoano as Stereotypes and Prejudices

"*Mchongoano*" is an acquired word from Kiswahili language. This is a form of a joke that has become very popular in Kenya, especially among the youth. With respect to *Mchongoano*, its primary function is socialization. It is not a way of expressing frustrations or rebelling against institutional authority, though it does challenge the social norms by confronting them head on. *Mchongoano* is a mechanism for social control among peer groups, because a lot of self-control is required for someone to stand the slurs directed at him or members of his family. This view places ritual insults as an art with a socialization function (Lafever, 1983:150-161). Kenyan websites like [www.classic105.com](http://www.classic105.com), [www.kenyanjokes.com](http://www.kenyanjokes.com), [Kisii.com](http://Kisii.com), [www.kisfm.co.ke](http://www.kisfm.co.ke) among others have become important sites in which participants share familiar discourse like *Mchongoano* purely for amusement. TV and Radio stations air programs which use *Mchongoano* to produce humour. "Churchill Live" on Nation TV, children programs on Citizen TV, and Radio station programs on Mulembe FM, Milele FM, among others, air *Mchongoano* programs.

Githinji (2007) defines *Mchongoano* as a ritualized sort of verbal duel, which is famous among the youth in Kenya. These duels are verbal in nature, where one antagonist takes on another. The duel can also pit one family against another or a tribe against another. They are intended to be amusing. *Mchongoano* uses figurative language; irony, hyperbole, metaphors, and metonymy among

other styles (Githinji, 2008). *Mchongoano* involves negotiation of status through the cultivation of self-esteem. Raising one's self esteem involves undermining of others. The duels use phrases like *wewe shosh* 'you are very old', *wewe mweusi* 'you are so black' etc. In most of *mchongoano*, cultural practices are the dominant topics. Cultural practices are packaged in images such as ugali eating contests by the Luhya and those that portray acts of witchcraft by the Kisii and Kamba people. The images are popular because they strike familiar chord that majority of Kenyans can relate to.

#### 2.2.2.5. Social Group Based Stereotypes and Prejudices

The process of categorizing individuals in groups based on similar traits is known as Social categorization. A person thinks of others in terms of their group membership (Allport, 1954/1979). Social categorization comes about when we think of someone as rich or poor, young or old, black or white, Luo or Kikuyu. People are categorized according to their social group memberships just the way objects are categorized into different types. Once categorization is done, the response is given to the categorized people portraying them more as members of a social group than individuals. Social categorization occurs spontaneously without much thought (Ladegaard, 2011b). Thus, spontaneous social category selection is guided by the content of the perceiver's stereotypes. Stereotype and prejudice activation and utilization is governed by functional ideas based on the perceivers undertaking, the usefulness of the stereotype in a circumstance and individual differences in stereotypic convictions (Talbot, 2003).

Within social groups, there are ways in which members perceive each other, which is in group stereotyping and prejudice. Out group stereotyping and prejudice perceives members of another group differently (Ladegaard, 2011a). There is a connection between the manner in which members in a group look at stereotypes and prejudices in their own group and the way people from another group look at the same stereotypes and prejudices (Hogg and Dominic, 2003). This is because individuals play different roles in the society. For instance, women are stereotyped as caring, while men are regarded as domineering (Condor, 2006). This is because men and women play different roles in social circles.

There are likely benefits when we think about others in terms of their membership to their social category (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). It is important to note that we should treat others based on their unique attributes instead of treating them on the basis of the groups they belong to. This is unfair and it leads to negative outcomes to the categorized individuals. Stereotypes and prejudices are learnt through communication with family members, peers and from practices we see depicted in the media. Young people learn cultural etiquette which entails good behaviours for young men and women. As they do this, they develop stereotypes and prejudices about tribe, appealness and age (Tileaga, 2005). Stereotypes are maintained through the information that confirms them. We easily remember the information that confirms our stereotypes and prejudices as we witness people of other social gatherings engage in behaviours, rather than remember the information that disconfirms our stereotypes (Permyakova, 2015). Stereotypes and prejudices influence the way we judge others as well as how we handle tasks that are important to us and beliefs about ourselves. We feel confident when these beliefs affect us positively (Nisbett, 2007). However, we feel discouraged when these beliefs create prophecies which are negatively self-fulfilling.

Although research on ethnic stereotyping and prejudice has been carried out by several scholars, very minimal research has been done on linguistic ethnic stereotyping and prejudice in

relation to interethnic harmony. To the best of my knowledge, no such research has been done on ethnic stereotyping and prejudice and its social impact on minority communities in Eldoret Township. Therefore, the manner in which ethnic stereotypes and prejudices are used among the majority and minority in Eldoret, Kenya, may not be similar to the manner in which the same stereotypes and prejudices are used elsewhere. This is because in Eldoret Township, ethnic stereotyping and prejudice has led to ethnic animosity resulting to tribal clashes before and after general elections, that has never been witnessed in other major towns in Kenya (Boone, 2012). Many people do not know how and who to share ethnic stereotypes and prejudices with. If we continue to see ethnic stereotypes and prejudices as just ways of expressing our emotions, we shall never understand stereotypes' and prejudices' real meaning and appeal. People use stereotypes and prejudices to spice up communication with the aim of obtaining truth around them.

### 2.2.3. Elements of Stereotypes and Prejudices

This section highlights the various elements of stereotypes and prejudices:

#### 2.2.3.1. Ethnic Group

According to McGlone and Aronson (2006), an ethnic group is a segment of a larger society whose members are thought to have a common origin. These people allot themselves the vital components of their culture and also participate in shared activities. Common origin and culture are important ingredients to such a group whose members are thought by themselves or others to have a common origin and to allot vital components of a common culture and participate in shared activities in which the common origin and culture are important ingredients (Posner, 2005). This study focused on the Kalenjin, Kikuyu, Luhya, Luo and Kisii ethnic groups. Members of an ethnic group will always identify with their group and treat all members of other tribes as out-groups. This is a psychologically inherent tendency that is common with social groups around the world.

#### 2.2.3.2. Ethnocentrism

The word ethnocentrism originates from the Greek word 'ethnos'. This means 'nation' or 'people' (Samovar, 2010). Ethnocentrism was first used by Sumner in 1906 to describe cultural narrowness in which an individual can rigidly acknowledge people he or she shares cultural attributes with but fail to acknowledge those from a different culture. Ethnocentrism is phenomenon in which a person's own tribe or group is considered as the focal point of every undertaking (Spencer-Oatey & Franklin, 2009). This phenomenon evolves from egocentrism which is the tendency of viewing the world from one's own perspective. This is a view in which a person sees the world in one's own way and is unable to see the world as others do. In situations where different groups of people live together, such as two or three different tribes, then conflicts usually arise (Pickering, 2001). During the formation of stereotypes and prejudices, ethnocentrism biases are used to evaluate members of the in-group and the out-group by labeling them (Lin & Rancer, 2003). According to Brunsch (2005:201), there are basic rules that determine the effect of ethnocentric biases and stereotypes:

- The more the differences between groups of people, physical appearance or any particular custom, the more likely it is that the future will appear in imagery of the stereotype and prejudice of each group.

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- Trait differences involved, when groups interact, will strongly and accurately be represented in reciprocated stereotypes and prejudices.
- The differences within in-groups and out-groups will be exaggerated in reciprocal stereotyping and prejudice.
- Racial rather than environmental causes of differences within groups may be considered.

Ethnocentric stereotypes and prejudices involve giving labels to those traits that are not shared by two groups and unlabel the traits which they share. The differences bring about stereotyping and prejudicial practices. For instance, the Luos in Kenya converse in English loudly because they consider themselves to be learned. Kikuyus, on the other hand, may consider this behaviour as noisy and arrogant. Kikuyus might converse in their mother tongue while in a public service vehicle and this is considered as selfish and tribal. These are examples of concealed recognized differences within a social group or norms in a cultural set up. In such a set-up, there are inter-personal relations labeled positively for group members and negatively for the out group members. These differences are supposed to be made conscious to assist in reducing stereotyping and prejudice.

Shared behaviour patterns give rise to the in-group and out-group labeling. The members of the in-group consider ethnocentrism as “loyalty” and “patriotism.” On the other hand, the out-group sees ethnocentrism as “favouritism” and clannisness”. A perception is created in that the in-group members possess positive traits, while those in the out-group possess negative traits. Ethnocentrism is of the regular qualities of relations between various groups of people. This is particularly when one group holds more power, enjoys more privileges and uses the difference as a leeway to dominate or discriminate against others (Pachucki & Breiger, 2010). Ethnocentrism is what Kenyans regard as negative ethnicity.

Ethnocentrism behaviour means when members of one group are in cooperation and, at the same time, do not cooperate with people of a different group from theirs. Schreiber and Carley (2013) argue that behaviours entail people cooperating with others in the groups they belong to but not with those who belong to the out-group membership. People who belong to a certain group are evaluated in terms of observable characteristics (Lizardo, 2006). These may be language, customs, religious affiliation, physical features, accent, tribe and political affiliation.

### 2.2.3.3. Culture

This term culture is synonymous with terms such as tribe, social group and race. These words have distinctions between them. All people belong to the human race but an ethnic group is about common origin and cultural practices. The race is both a political and a psychological concept. Žegarac (2007) alludes that culture is the arrangement of learned conduct whose components and elements are shared and transmitted by the individuals of a particular social group. The culture, which is a set of values and meanings, enables people to form a single society. Language as a tool of communication and culture are compatible (Byrne, 2011). Through communication, culture is created since without language, there is no culture.

### 2.2.3.4. Ethnicity

Ethnicity is defined by putting into consideration aspects such as historical, geographical locations, political, moral, religion, social class and language. Therefore, ethnicity consists of a group

of people who are seen to and conceive of themselves as being different from other groups of individuals (Malesevic & Hall, 2005). Differences ethnically are manifested in how people dress language, social customs and morals.

The visible differences are cultural symbols that are seen as part of the ethnic community as belonging to them as a group. In Kenya, and particularly Eldoret ethnic differentiation and linguistic cleavages are often essential considerations when trading stereotypes and prejudices among the Kalenjin, Kikuyu, Luhya, Luo and Kisii communities. Apparent ethnic differences are utilized by communities to form ethnic combination tags and assault on the perceived enemies from different ethnic groups during tribal clashes. Malesevic and Hall (2005) argue that ethnic groups are socially constructed and imagined communities that are subject to negotiation and re-negotiation.

Ethnicity has several basic dimensions at either the collective or the individual level. It can be used to possess both an objective and a subjective dimension (Parekh, 2000). Ethnicity is a multifaceted and changing phenomenon which can be viewed in different ways such as religion, where one was born, first language of an individual, the colour of one's skin and country of origin.

### 2.2.3.5. Hate Speech

Hate speech refers to all types of expressions which advance, promote, incite or condone tribal hatred and xenophobia. It also includes; aggressive nationalism, ethnocentrism, discrimination of migrants and tribe (Aileen, 2013). Hate speech is normally used against a person or group of persons who are considered by some to be inferior on the basis of some characteristics that are in line with their identity. The aim of hate speech is to incite violence, discriminatory treatment or the offence to the human dignity of target persons (Oucho, 2002). Hate speech entails identity-prejudicial abuse and harassment, uses of slurs and epithets. According to Mendel (2006:59-64) hate speech expresses, advocates, encourages, promotes or incites hatred of a group of individuals distinguished by a particular feature (Lebow, 2008). This term refers to verbal conduct and other symbolic actions that willfully express intense hostility towards groups or individuals on the basis of group membership (Subotic, 2011). Hate speech is not necessarily verbal act, it can be written or in any other form of non-verbal communication.

Various people in different contexts use the concept of hate speech. This term offends and insults or poses threats to the targeted people. Hate speech targets people because of their tribe, race, disability and other traits. Hate speech, being a kind of way in which people communicate, demeans members of a group. Forms of hate speech include; songs, speech, images and plays.

### 2.2.3.6. Discrimination

Discrimination denotes behavior that negates similar conduct to individuals for the reason that they fit to some cluster (Hallidenius, 2005). Discrimination is founded on the emotional state, dogmas, imaginations and motivations of prejudice (Hellmann, 2003). Institutional judgment, including intolerance to a definite group's capital or chances is a kind of discrimination (Brewer, 2001). At the life-threatening end of discrimination are genocide and ethnic cleansing. In Kenya for instance, ethnic cleansing was experienced in the years 1992, 2007/2008 during post-election violence, particularly in Eldoret, Kericho, Molo, Nakuru, Nairobi and Trans- Nzoia.

In 1915, the Ottoman Empire slaughtered 1.5 million Armenians of the Turkish Armenian inhabitants. Other ethnic cleansing and genocide have occurred in central Europe (the Holocaust),

Rwanda in 2004, Cambodia in the 1970s and Greek genocide of World War I, courtesy of discrimination. Many hate crimes and overt hate groups happen because of extreme discrimination. Discrimination also includes several forms of discriminatory communication such as jokes and statements about the inferiority and backwardness of a group. In Western countries like the US, Germany, Russia, among others, there is a heavy attendance of racial judgment that includes explicit aggression communicated by whites to members of underprivileged groups. Discrimination can also be skillful and unconscious-nonverbal hostility by use of body language and tone of voice on the basis of overall assumptions about people from a particular tribe.

Another aspect of discrimination is Statistical discrimination which is a situation of discernment on the foundation of opinions that replicate the real deliveries of features of diverse groups (Roscigno, 2007). It practices group appearances to create results about persons. The assumed cluster appearances are presumed to exert on to an individual decision. For instance, if an employer has faith in persons with criminal records that they will make good employees, the employer may well judge the job applicant on the foundation of social group averages rather than exclusively on the foundation of his or her individual education achievements. Discrimination operates in domains such as labour markets and employment, education, criminal justice, health care and housing and mortgage lending. Discrimination could consist of actively harmful behavior towards a person who belongs to an out-group (Allport, 1954:51). Discrimination encompasses not giving a group of people equality of treatment as they may wish (Charles, 2009). In the process of discrimination, prejudicial behaviors are used to harm or disadvantage individuals of other groups.

#### 2.2.4. Differing Perspective on Stereotyping and Prejudice

According to ego justification, stereotypes develop to project an individual's position (Lippman, 1922). The generalizations also develop so that behaviours and social status of a particular group are protected. Jost and Banaji (1994) assert that the two views are important and useful, but they do not adequately address issues such as negative stereotyping and prejudice of oneself or that of the in-group and the level to which stereotypes are traded among people and social groups. According to the two, system justification is the most suitable for addressing the social functions of stereotyping and prejudice.

According to Stricker and Ward (2008:79), three main orientations to the study of stereotypes and prejudices are emphasized. They emphasize that the social orientation of stereotypes and prejudices is in culture. Human beings acquire stereotypes during socialization and communication and they are reinforced through expressions. Stereotypes and prejudices constitute norms on how people or social affiliations should be treated. We can, therefore, say that children learn and acquire stereotypes from the social environment in which they live. Parents and other family members provide sources of stereotypes for children. During the process of acquiring stereotypes, reinforcement plays a vital role. Children's acquisition of stereotypes and prejudices is also influenced by the media, peer groups and learning institutions. Continuous use of negative stereotypes and prejudices can lead to conflict.

Lawrence and Dweck (2006) discuss the development of social categories and stereotypes among children with respect to Arab as a concept. They define stereotype and prejudice as a belief about the characteristics possessed by tribe or race. Formed stereotypes influence the way people behave and react towards members of other groups. In his study of the acquisition of the stereotype

of the Arab, Kassis (2013) posits that Jewish children stereotype and prejudice Arabs negatively, their social environment notwithstanding. According to Kassis (2013), children acquire such attitudes from the environment around them. The environment, in this case, can be home or school. Israeli children grow up using the word Arab in a manner that does not show that the term is being used in a derogatory way. What shapes their view on Arabs is the information from their environment. Whereby when the child attains 6 years of age, he or she already has a negative stereotype and prejudice of Arabs manifested in the way they use the term Arab.

Devine (1989:16) argues that, the acquisition of stereotypes and prejudices by children in their early stages of life has a lasting effect. Children acquire language so easily, in the same way they also acquire stereotypes and prejudices. Devine (1989) asserts that before children develop cognitive ability to be able to examine and evaluate how valid stereotypes and prejudices are, they already have stereotypes and prejudices which are well established in their memory. Devine further posits that early establishment of stereotypes and prejudices depends on widely spread conviction about what cultural stereotypes and prejudices are in the society. Personal beliefs about various groups are later developed by individuals.

The psychodynamic orientation emphasizes that stereotypes represent the impressions of the person who holds them. According to this theory, people tend to be hostile towards those who are innocent due to unpleasant encounters with individuals of the target group. Gioseffi (1993) in the authoritarian personality elaborated the psychodynamic theory of prejudice. In this theory Gioseffi asserts that an individual who wields power will always be uncompromising when dealing with members of the out-group. Within the concept of stereotyping and prejudice, people become harsh and punitive towards people in low status groups. Stereotypes play a big role in incidents involving violence acts. Poor parenting may be the reason why negative stereotypes reflecting interpersonal conflict in children are formed, hence the reason why this approach focuses on emotional experiences in children (Stone & McWhinnie, 2008).

2.2.4.1. Ethnocentrism as Ascribed to the Own and Other Groups

<b>In-group</b>	<b>Out-group</b>
We have self-esteem and treasure the traditions of our ancestors.	They are egotistical and self-centred. It is them first then we second.
We are faithful.	They are tribal and exclusive.
We are forthright and reliable among ourselves, but we are not suckers when foreigners try their tricks.	They will lie to them whenever they can. They are not forthright when dealing with them.
We are brave and progressive. We stand up for our own rights, defend what is ours, and can't be pushed around or bullied.	They are assertive and they want to get ahead of us.
We are a peaceful, loving people, hating only our vile enemies.	They are hostile people who hate us.
We are decent.	They are indecent.

*Table 1: How People Use Different Characteristics to Justify Their Own Actions, while Condemning Similar Actions by Other People (Tajfel 1986:87)*



### 2.2.5. The Process of Stereotyping and Prejudice

Stereotyping and prejudice manifest when an individual is assigned attributes based on the group that he belongs to. According to Harris-Perry (2011:123), stereotyping and prejudice are “the natural result of a communication process.” The two explanations on what stereotypes and prejudice complement each other. During communication, traits are categorized and attributed to people based on how they know their environment. According to Dente (2011), stereotyping and prejudice are a reflection of our culture, our language and most importantly our manner of thinking. The introduction of stereotyping by Lippman is what gave birth to various researches on stereotyping and prejudice afterwards. Views by Allport (1954:192) about stereotyping and prejudice were the same as those by Lipmann. Allport accepts that stereotyping and prejudice as processes entail describing the way people think concerning others and reasons why they do so but does not accept them as being simple cognitive tags.

Stereotyping and prejudice play a crucial role during conflicts among groups (Easley, 2010). There are many definitions of stereotypes that give a wide range of different opinions as discussed already. However, there are also similarities as far as these explanations emphasize on harmony because stereotypes are products of our cognitive system. Stereotyping and prejudice, therefore, deal with how a person or a group of people are viewed socially (Tausch & Hewstone, 2010). People’s biological identities or their social behavioral identities are the stimulants for the production of stereotypes and prejudices (Craig-Henderson, 2011). According to Craig-Henderson, stereotypes emphasize the cognitive component of attitudes because they are beliefs about the qualities and behaviours of a given group. Similarly, Shoard and Pulver (2014) refer to stereotypes to be ideological experiences of social gatherings. According to O’Brien and Crandall (2003), stereotypes and prejudices are the intergroup perceptions which influence relationships between groups.

### 2.2.6. Language and Stereotypes and / Prejudices

Language is a technique in which people communicate with the aim of passing their opinion to the listeners. It is a strong tool for stereotyping (Baker, 2001). Language is a tool that can be used to convey ideas in several ways. Language is not only verbal communication but all methods of communication including the written one and sign language (Elmes, 2013). Stereotypes and prejudices represent conventional qualities that reflect how a group or individuals exist. Stereotypes provide answers on the reasons why we perceive, process information about people and respond to them (Baldwin, et al. 2014). They are communicated via language discourse, socialization, and media. We, therefore, define stereotypes as beliefs, associations, and attributes of certain groups that define how group members think and behave towards certain groups (Colston & Katz, 2005). According to Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary, language can broadly be understood as “a system of words or signs” that humans use to communicate their “thoughts and feelings” to each other. Pennycook, (2014) argues that language is “a carrier of values fashioned by a people over a period of time”.

Since people’s concepts of the world find their way into communication through language, individuals must also have a shared way of interpreting meaning of the signs of language (Hall, 1997). Hall uses ‘language’ in its broadest sense to refer to a vast range of languages including, but

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not limited to the languages of speech and writing, electronic/digital languages and the use of the body or clothes for communicating meaning.

Hall perceives language as that provides meanings that we have in a form which can be communicated to other people. In other words, Hall regards language as that which “externalizes (makes available as a social fact/a social process) the meanings that we are making of the world and events”, without which meaning cannot be exchanged. Language, in the current study, presents language of dialogue, visual images and one that applies (uses) figures of speech. In that respect, this study is primarily concerned with language as a system used to communicate meaning.

In language, signs and symbols are used – building on sounds, formal written word, and images produced electronically, musical notes, and other symbolic representations like human ideals, feelings and concepts (Steen, 2013). According to Zhou (2005), language is one of the means through which views, ideas and emotional state are signified in a culture. Exemplification through language is a result of central processes by which connotation is produced (Hall, 1997). It is debated that language is the social establishment above all others. In addition, language plays a significant role in the spread of stereotypes. While communicating, people emphasise on the traits observed as the most instructive (Schaller & Tanchuk, 2002). Since stereotype and prejudice traits are unique to a group, people are further likely to use them in social discourse than traits supposed to be discrete to group membership (Cho, 2000). Stereotypical and prejudicial traits are largely from top to bottom on communicability (viewed as interesting and informative), causative to tireless use.

As noted by Lakoff (1993:79), tribal stereotypes are aspects related to metonymy - wherever the subcategory has a socially familiar status that signifies the category as one piece. This is frequently for the purpose of quick judgments about people. By using a mother prototype, Okoro, (2013) notes that housewife-mothers are viewed as enhanced examples of mothers than non-house wife mothers. This is a condition of metonymic model in which one sub grouping, the house wife-mother, stands for the complete category in outlining cultural potentials of mothers. Within the dialogue of ethnic stereotypes, it is also imperative to reference the presence of ethnic humour and ethnic jokes that imply the incidence of stereotyping in ordinary language (Ogechi, 2013). Jokes are viewed as invasive, though they silently remain prevalent. Several researchers: (Ritchie 2004, Norrick, 2001; Chiaro, 1992) claim that tribal jokes have a foundation, “a grain of truth.” They may reveal real national standards which might emerge from actions which are historical. Ethnic jokes and humour are agents of ethnic stereotyping and prejudice. They are used frequently and everywhere demonstrating the presence of stereotypes and prejudices in a number of speeches of certain communities (Zinken, 2004). This kind of ethnic humour is felt in everyday language use within communities.

Within the Social Identity theory, language is viewed as a form of social practice. Language is seen as a socialization process within a social system (Windisch, 2004). Language functions within a social system and cannot be separated from social functions. According to Jaspal (2008), language exists within a society, having meaning when placed within its social context and thus meaning cannot happen in isolation. Any meaning occurs within the social system and the meanings are constrained by social context. People learn language not only for the structural or linguistic system, but also for meaning in social situations (Harris, 2006). According to Dieckhoff (2004:187-200), the meaning of what people say is relative to the social situation which is

determined socially and culturally. The larger social-cultural climate influences the way in which people act and behave. According to Snell (2013), language use is a behaviour that is socially and culturally meaningful. Be in a social domain or in an individual domain, language is viewed as language within activity.

In conclusion, research on ethnic stereotyping has been carried out by several scholars but very little research has been done on ethnic linguistic stereotypes and prejudices in relation to interethnic harmony. To the best of my knowledge, no such research has been carried out on ethnic linguistic stereotypes and prejudices and their social impact on minority communities in Eldoret. Therefore, the manner in which ethnic stereotypes and prejudices are used among the majority and minority in Eldoret, Kenya, may not be similar to the manner in which the same stereotypes and prejudices are used elsewhere. This is because in Eldoret Township, ethnic linguistic stereotypes and prejudices have led to ethnic animosity resulting to tribal clashes before and after general elections.

### 2.2.7. Sources of Stereotypes and Prejudices

Prejudice emanates from concealed attitudes that result in a person warding off feelings of insufficiency by extending them to the target group (Bergh, 2011). One may use certain people or groups as scapegoats. Normally those without power are unfairly blamed. People are blamed as the ones who are a source of problems that a person is facing. Social studies worldwide have revealed that prejudice is linked to lower self-esteem. People enrich their intellect of self-worth and reputation by despising certain individuals – the minorities. There are more normal social reasons that underwrite to the existence of prejudice.

Numerous prejudices appear to be handed along from parents to their children. The media perpetuate demeaning images and stereotypes about women, the disabled, the elderly and ethnic minorities through television, radio, advertising and movies. Prejudices also emanate from conforming behaviors. Prejudice may bring support to people who are important to us. Rejecting prejudice may lead to losing social support. Benefits from the economy are also a source of prejudice. Groups of people bring about prejudice when they are in direct competition for resources and jobs. This describes why prejudice rises theatrically during periods of economic and social strain (Crawford, 2012). Persons with autocratic personality strictly lack questions to their seniors, cast-off those they ponder to be second-rate and express fanatical religious, tribal, cultural, and sexual sentiments. Autocratic personality may well have its origins in parents who are unloving and distant tyrants. The child, thus, learns to govern his or her fears through unyielding assertiveness.

### 2.2.8. Consequences of Prejudice

The magnitude of prejudice and manners inclined by them are diverse. Subsequently, various prejudices are existent all through the society in a complicated manner (Dasgupta & Rivera, 2006). Lives of millions of people worldwide are affected by prejudice. Prejudice has self-fulfilling effect since people are cognizant of the prejudices apprehended by others towards them. People plot a prejudice and treat others in a different way centered on how the person with prejudices desires others to act. These behavioral prospects are repeatedly grounded on stereotypes (Park & Judd, 2005). Behaviors of people vary when they interact with others, depending on whether they imagine hostility on or after others either in defiance or in deed. A person embattled by stereotype

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prospects detained by others may act as a stereotype (Chin, 2010). An individual is also less probable to act as the other person supposes him to perform. All these behaviors point out that prejudice disturbs everyday relations between people or social groups.

Concerns of daily prejudice go further than solely determining associations amongst people. Value judgments, such as skin, color, gender, tribe, culture, social class, religious affiliation and political views, lower one's self-esteem. People who are exposed to such prejudice turn out to be uncertain where they fit in society and as an outcome cultivates anger, detestation and wrath directed to those who possess prejudices against them. Such prejudices are destructive to individuals and hinder them from living up to their true potential. Damaging prejudicial exploits occasionally build barriers for entire populace such as the case of women or minorities. More often, these activities are intentional acts that are meant to degrade another person reflected to be inferior. Sometimes, it is not easy to determine if such an act is accidental. An individual embattled by prejudicial activities is not the only individual affected.

The projections of stereotypes against other individuals can generate a sense of shame or narrowed social worth, which comes in form of stigma. This creates nervousness contained by the stigmatized individual, and lowers prospects of opportunities in one's life (Plaut, 2007). People in a group belittled due to prejudices against them are placed in unbearable circumstances such that their way of behaving does not conform to expected behaviors or standards. The prejudice targeted individual becomes stigmatized if he/she accepts the conduct of the leading group to get away from prejudice (Schildkraut, 2007). African Americans, for instance, have sidelined blacks who embraced white mannerisms.

Stigma may also lead to downgrading. An individual or group turns out to be secluded from mainstream civilization. Marginalization might bring poverty, poor healthiness, lack of education, joblessness and lack of shelter due to displacement (Plaut, 2007). Prejudice due to an individuals' color, sexual preferences or tribe are the most common forms of marginalization (Vorauer, 2006). Poor states that are behind in economic expansion are sidelined to the degree that their individuals are permitted to die from starvation and diseases in huge numbers with little backing from advanced nations.

Violence is also an expression of prejudice. The measure of violence can be different, ranging from domestic violence to massacre (Wright & Lubensky, 2009). Intimidation and threats of violence constitute domestic violence. Frustrations resulting from deficiency in economic openings due to prejudice and discrimination can lead to domestic violence (Alston, 2010). Prejudiced individuals end up feeling hopeless. Like concerns of prejudice and discrimination, domestic violence has a lengthy range of consequences (Glasford & Calcagno, 2011). Children normally develop with conduct arrangements educated from their home-based life. Persons who witness domestic violence and mistreatment or were victims of manipulation themselves may well develop into adults having very related behavior arrangements.

Social protest is another consequence of prejudice. Prejudice leads to planned social disputes and skirmishes by besieged individuals (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). This may lead to property destruction, loss of life and loss of jobs. In 2007/2008, street remonstrations in major towns such as Nairobi, Mombasa, Kisumu, Eldoret, Kakamega and Nakuru, led to loss of jobs due to factories and other businesses closures. The protests resulted into deaths of hundreds of Kenyans

and the displacement of thousands (Yieke, 2008). Internally displaced persons lived in deplorable camps established for them across the country.

Prejudice can lead to the displacement of persons making citizens become refugees. Refugees are the people who cross international boundaries due to war or other difficulties in their countries. Political and religious crises are the most common causes for refugees (Olson, 2009). People leave their countries to escape prejudice and persecution. Genocide and dislocation have been witnessed in the recent past in some countries around the world. From 1917 to 1921, at least one million Armenians escaped genocide in Eastern Europe. During the First World War, the Turk Ottoman management killed and deported hundreds of thousands of Assyrians and Armenians accused of fighting on the side of the allies (Lahav, 2004). In 1939, some hundred thousand migrants ran to France before the Spanish civil war (Harward, 2011). In the late 1990s, there was a refugee crisis in Balkan region of the Kosovo when the Serbian forces carried out ethnic cleansing of ethnic Albanians. In 1994, the Rwandan genocide left over 800,000 people dead, mostly Tutsi and moderate Hutus. Similarly, thousands of people died in the Darfur crises and many others fled to Chad, Uganda, Ethiopia and Kenya to escape ethnic scrubbing by Muslims (Lunn, 2016). Bayne (2008) observes that in 2007/2008, Kenya experienced near genocidal interethnic strife in various parts of the country that included Eldoret, Nakuru, Kisumu, Naivasha, Mombasa and Nairobi.

The ultimate outcome of prejudice is mass slaughter. In genocide, one group targets to slaughter wholly followers of another group, tribe, race, ethnic relations, national affiliations or spiritual beliefs (Cohen-Almagor, 2013). Genocide has been a common occurrence in the history of the human race. The Holocaust in Germany under Hitler massacred over eleven million people including six million European Jews (Alston, 2010). This genocide was meticulously organized and executed by the Germans, with constructed camps where people were killed, railway line for transporting people to be killed, crematoriums and gas chambers (Suedfeld & Schaller, 2000). Hundreds of the targeted people were killed on a daily basis.

### *2.3. Studies on Stereotypes and Prejudices*

Several studies have been carried out in the past on stereotypes and prejudices in relation to violence. This section presents such studies outside Africa, in Africa and in Kenya.

#### 2.3.1. Studies on Stereotypes and Prejudices Outside Africa

Hayden (2012) carried out a study on national stereotypes and prejudices about the countries in the Western Balkans (area of former Yugoslavia). Stereotypes and prejudices played an important role in the conflicts between ethnic and national groups following the disintegration of Yugoslavia (Burdiak, 2010:160). The focus was on ethnic stereotypes and prejudices used by the group of communities against other ethnic groups before and after the disintegration of former Yugoslavia. Stereotypes and prejudices attribute characteristics based on affiliation with a particular social group in advance (Gupta & Turban, 2012). According to Lipman in Würtz, (2005:188), stereotypes and prejudices possess a selective self-fulfilling judgement which is ethnocentric and constitutes a fractional, scant approach of signifying the world.

Countries in former Yugoslavia have a history of fragmentation brought about by prejudices and stereotypes. Prejudices and stereotypes are interlinked in the sense that they result in ethnocentrism, the belief that own social group is superior in its position towards other groups of

people. The two are biases that cooperate to create and maintain attitude and feeling of being negative or positive or being conscious and non-conscious in reference of individuals in another social group (Roter & Ana Bojinović, 2015). On the other hand, stereotypes are referred to as definite group beliefs. These could be explanations describing how certain members of communities behave or look like.

According to the theory of Social Identity, prejudice can be dangerous. Categorization and assigning of attributes to somebody based on their connection with a specific social group leads to interethnic hostilities and armed conflict (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Stereotypes and prejudices in former Yugoslavia and Europe are not a new phenomenon of the modern era. Most great empires that expanded their reign to the Balkans, the Roman and the Byzantine empires were known for having perceived their own empire as superior and Orthodox, therefore, labeling all others as uncivilized pagans and barbarians (Ben, 2007). Ethnic stereotypes and prejudices in the territory of former Yugoslavia were, therefore, anchored in distant and recent history. Rašković and Boštjan (2016:78-91) argue that ethnic stereotyping and prejudice in this part of the world began even before the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Arabs and Jews have had their historical disputes and conflicts over a long period of time. Currently, the conflict is proven by the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. It is reported that the leading source of conflict is territorial dispute catalyzed by certain factors such as religion, ethnicity and nationalism. According to Barre (2012), the Arabs and Israelites are exposed to hatred through their own teaching against each other. They immensely use hate speech against each other. The hatred message is deep-rooted and hooked on both sides of the conflict via innumerable messages spoken through propaganda, culture, news media and education. Stereotypes and prejudices perpetuated and sustained by the print media are the source of tension in the two states (Israel and Palestine) resulting to conflicts between Arabs and Jews (Lentz & Nugent, 2000). The Arabs and Jews both demonize the other as extremely violent. According to Lentz and Nugent (2000:20), both Israeli-Jews and Arabs fight is premised on claims regarding who is the true victim of the conflict. For one to be a victim, one group has to taint the enemy to be a big monster.

Stereotypes and prejudices that depict Israeli-Jews and Arabs historically originated from power relationships. According to Arab world, stereotypes and prejudices between Israeli-Jewish violence emanated from real events related to the Israeli army. Arabs use the Israeli army as a representation for all Jews. The loaded language found in Arab media often demonizes Israeli-Jews. This is done via schoolbooks and news stories. Palestinian textbooks exaggerate Palestine and demote Jewish State to be land of Zionists, referring to an ugly term 'aggression.' Such stereotype by Arabs is propagated through their textbooks which adore violence against their Zionist enemy. The Israeli-Jews are also stereotyped as alien immigrants, outsiders and trespassers. They are also labeled as inhospitable and cold in dissimilarity to traditional Arabs, further heightening the tension due to cultural, religion and language differences (Oren, 2005). Arab stereotypes of Israeli-Jews lure on religious strife which condemns impurity to Islam. According to Arabs, Israel is labeled as cancer, the menacing wound found inside the body of Arabism, with the only cure being eradication (Hermann & Yuchtman-Yaar, 2002). The Israeli Jews possess their kind of stereotypes and prejudices of Arabs. They stereotype and prejudice them as violent, cruel and figures of immense strength that are sub-human in nature.

The first research on prejudice was conducted in 1920s. The aim of the research was to try to prove the supremacy of the whites over blacks. The research concluded that the white people were mentally superior to the black people. Then the study and other researches brought the prejudice by the psychologists on the natural response to inferior races.

During the 1930s and 1940s, scholars such as Theodore Adorno claimed that prejudice emanated from authoritarian personalities. He asserted that groups of people with authoritarian personalities are most likely to face prejudice than those groups at lower levels. Gordon Allport (1954) associated prejudice to thinking in terms of categories. The author noted that prejudice is part of a normal and natural process for humans. Allport asserts that human thinking is aided by categorization of information. As soon as the classification is framed, it turns into the reason for typical prejudgment. After the year 1970, studies started to explain prejudice on the basis of favoritism towards one's own group, as opposed to negative feelings towards another group. According to Monin and Miller (2000:87), prejudice may advance not for the reason that positive emotions such as admiration, trust and sympathy are earmarked for the in-group.

O'Brien and Crandall (2000) explain that conflict arises when people have a desire to express their prejudice and desire to maintain a positive self-idea. As a result, the conflict makes individuals look for reasons to detest an out-group and use the reasons to keep away from their own negative feelings and then utilize that justification to act with hatred towards the out-group. Although prejudice is natural and rational, at times it is unreasonable and can lead to severe consequences (Quillan, 2006). This is on the basis that prejudices are based on human tendencies to categorize people and objects through their prior experience. Thus, individuals form predictions about things on the basis of categories or through original experience, followed by the results which are estimated to be accurate but not always. Through the categorization process predictions become necessary for normal interaction and survival.

In summary, the consequences of stereotypes and prejudices outside Africa and Kenya are more or less the same. Countries in former Yugoslavia, Israel-Jews and Arabs, and communities living in Eldoret Township have had fragmented relationships because of stereotypes and prejudices. Countries such as Croatia and Serbia have had fragmented relationships due to their perception of each other. According to Social Identity Theory, the notion of in-group and out-group plays a big role in causing conflicts. In Eldoret Town, members of the Kalenjin community regard themselves as an in-group. This is how communities look at themselves compared to the rest. The most serious consequence of stereotyping and prejudice is violence. According to the ladder of prejudice by Allport (1954), the in-group and out- group members begin by trading insults and eventually engage in violent acts that would lead to genocide.

### 2.3.2. Studies on Stereotypes and Prejudices in Africa

In Rwanda, it was estimated that more than one million Tutsis and moderate Hutu's were butchered in 1994 in a genocide that lasted for three months (Straus, 2007). A few years later, more Rwandese were reported to have died in refugee camps, while others died during the unrest in Democratic Republic of Congo (Sebasoni, 2000). Before and during this massacre, tribal stereotypes clearly posited that becoming a Tutsi was superior to being a Hutu. Although these two ethnic groups are unified by culture and language, their differences were more than the shared unifications (Sebareenzi, 2009). Tutsis and the Hutus are defined by the tribe, class, occupation,

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social identity, and the caste. According to Samuel (2009:47-61), majority of Rwandans were agriculturalists, the minority being pastoralists. After a period of time, tables were turned whereby they started to assume they were superior to the other agriculturalists. According to African Rights (2004), the term “Tutsi” refers to an individual’s status, wealth that is a measure of the number of herds an individual owns. “Hutu” means masses of ordinary people.

Historical accounts of Rwanda show that early anthropologists from Europe carried with them their Eurocentric racism, creating an impression of the Tutsi people being descendants of Ham in Biblical view, a race closely linked to Europeans but not to the Bantu Hutus. Tutsi were stereotyped as tall, thin while the Hutus were stereotyped as short and stocky. The Europeans considered the Tutsi to be a superior race over the Hutus (Sebasoni, 2000). It is from Hamitic hypothesis, which is a hierarchy of superiority created in Rwanda case where the Tutsi who played a significant role in propagating ethnicity by what is known as ‘Hamite myth’. It preordained the ranking that Europeans were followed by Tutsi and Twa respectively in the pecking order. Tutsi were described as being intelligent and destined for governance. Based on their coarser features and physical strength, the Hutu were considered suitable for labour in the agricultural sector (Newbury, 1995). This is the manner by which conceptions preceding to colonialism has led to a more rigid and inflexible ethnic classifications on the basis of imperialists interventions. During the colonial period, Rwandese people were provided with identity cards which spelled the ethnic groups they belonged to. This was a design meant to stoke enmity between the Tutsi and Hutu that could lead to violence.

Before the 1994 genocide, the effects of ethnic stereotyping and prejudice, which were conceived by Hamitic hypothesis, were widely in existence. In the 1990s, Rwanda was a unified country but was faced with consequences of superiority and inferiority politics of identity emerging from its citizens (Ben, 2007). Hutus were referred to as *Ikipingo* (disagreeable) by the Tutsi and the Tutsi were labeled as *Inyenze* (cockroach). This word was derogative and it aided in fuelling animosity between Hutus and Tutsis. Hutus believed that they were the first to rule in Rwanda, a claim contested by the Tutsis. According to Karnell (2003:87), Hutu were the rulers but later, the Tutsi conquered them with the aid of Europeans. During the 1994 genocide, radio propaganda stated that time after time the killings were closely related to work euphemisms. Killings were described on the basis of community service of clearing vegetation along the roads (Karnell, 2003). The stereotyping and prejudice were on the Tutsi heights referred to as ‘tall trees’ to be cleared (Kuperman, 2000). The garden was the Rwandan state with its people being ‘weeds’ more like ‘tall weeds’ with children being referred to as ‘shoot’ to be uprooted. According to Mamdami (2002:23-27), tribal stereotypes of Hamatic hypothesis have made it impossible for Rwandese to redevelop a newer identity that outdoes the powerful narrative. This is due to the fact that the racial identities imposed by the colonialist became internalized. The Rwandese study is related to the current study by the fact that in the two studies, stereotypes are traded among communities leading to serious ethnic conflicts. Stereotypes and prejudices such as *ikipingo* (disagreeable), *Inyenze* (cockroach), *rumbwa* (dog), *madoadoa* (contaminated) and watchmen are exchanged.

Tonah’s (2005) study on Fulani pastoralists in Ghana found that prejudices and stereotypes have become vital elements of their local and national community discussions and policies. Prejudices and stereotypes in Ghana against the Fulani have led to their exclusion and discrimination. The Fulani are stereotyped and prejudiced as rapists, armed robbers, uncivilized



and violent. They argue that stereotypes and prejudices against the Fulani have been propagated through a social cognitive categorization. Findings from their study, established that Fulani pastoralists have been segregated and denied access to resources, and settlement with other communities due to the trending perceptions over them. It is through the community and media discourses that the Fulani suffer from prejudices and stereotypes against them. It is argued further that perceptions levied to them originated and developed from history and culture.

Fulani pastoralists have continued to be regular 'victims' of tribal related prejudices, stereotypes, and discrimination. They are regarded as 'non-citizens,' 'foreigners,' and 'aliens.' Pastoralism is their major economic activity. They also engage in business, trade, manufacturing and politics. Due to their power and population in the countries they live in, the nomadic Fulani are regarded as 'minority groups' and are spatially separated from the autochthon population. Various Fulani groups inhabit Nigeria, Chad, Niger, Senegal, Guinea, Mauritania, Burkina Faso, Mali, Benin and Ivory Coast (Barre, 2012).

During the national elections the second and third generations Fulani pastoralist are not allowed to vote. They may be allowed to vote only if the political parties view that their votes can strengthen them politically, boosting their chances of winning the election. Fulani pastoralists are left out in accessing resources and socio-political participation (Oppong, 2002). Within the Ghanaian society, Fulani are prejudiced as highway robbers, rapists, primitive, dirty, violent and uncouth. Most of these prejudicial tags are perpetuated by the media. When a couple of them are caught engaging in criminal activities, there are normally screaming headlines both by state owned and private media outlets such as 'POLICE ARREST FULANI ARMED ROBBER; FULANI ROBBERS BUSTED' etc. Other robbers are simply identified as Ghanaians but those from Fulani community are identified as Fulani. This clearly illustrates a type of ethnic labeling and social categorization labeling by Ghanaians upon all Fulani, propagated using media discourses as a result of stereotypes and prejudices.

In conclusion, stereotypes and prejudices perpetuated against the Fulani are tribal and have led to conflict between the Fulani and the rest of Ghanaian population. Fulani are discriminated against and many at times there has been violence between this group of people and the rest of the Ghanaian population. The violence, protest and retaliation have resulted in the loss of property, exclusions, hunger, loss of life, and the loss of self-esteem.

According to Allport (1954), prejudice leads to discrimination. In South Africa, xenophobia has significantly increased. This is after the installation of a democratic government in 1994. Foreigners in South Africa are often discriminated against especially immigrants from Malawi, Mozambique and Zimbabwe living in various urban centres in South Africa. Over the years, armed gangs have launched the campaign, "Buyelekhaya" (go back home). Foreigners are perceived to be criminals. They are also blamed for unemployment because of taking up jobs that belong to South Africans. Foreigners are targets of sexual pests. Discrimination against these foreigners has always culminated in violent attacks leading to deaths of foreigners (Yetunde, 2001). Foreigners are stereotyped as grabbers who snatch jobs that belong to the native South Africans. Violence before and after May 2008 saw Zimbabweans, Pakistanis and Somalis killed. Their shops were looted and their shacks burnt down in Atteridgeville near Pretoria.

### 2.3.3. Studies on Stereotypes and Prejudices in Kenya

In Kenya, the historical backdrop of ethnic stereotypes and prejudices goes back to colonial times when imperialists utilized ethnic stereotyping and prejudice as instruments for their 'divide and rule' policy in order to contain communities. During the colonial period, zones of meeting between various ethnic groups were systematically frozen (Galm, 2012). As a result, careful social engineering attached some negative ethnocentric tags among some Kenyan tribes. For instance, the Luo were tagged as genetically lazy, the Kamba as sex crazy people, the Kikuyu as brazen, the Maasai as trustworthy albeit savage natives and so on (Onyango, 2008). And in this mix, the process of ethnic stereotypes has taken on political and cultural significance wherein popular ethnic labels are highly socialized to the extent that they are acculturated into the ethnic groups that are being misrepresented.

Locally, the context of discourse of fear and mistrust that characterizes relationships between the Luos and the Kikuyu is helpful for augmenting this study. Interestingly, this fear of mistrust is not necessarily real. On the contrary, it is constructed through stereotypical representational practices which eventually enforce the discourse of incoherence between the two communities. For instance, the statement, "..... so you think you are perfect? ..... you people don't do ..... the manhood thing.....the cut in the movie is a culturally loaded statement in relation to leadership and power in the Kenyan nation, one must first of all place it in the context of pervasive cultural stereotypes and prejudices that persist in Kenya (Mungai, 2012).

Examining sentiments from one culture group towards another, for instance, Kalenjins towards Kikuyus, reveals how stereotyping and prejudice often co-occurs with gross power asymmetries (Hall, 1998). Generally, the effects of power are adversely felt by the subordinate or the excluded group. Certainly, binary oppositions such as Us/Them often engender a violent hierarchy that implies domination of one element over the other, in this case the Kikuyus over Luos, Kalenjins over Kikuyus and vice versa. Through the system of social stereotyping and prejudice, the dominant cultural groups attempt to influence the entire society through their own particularistic "world view, value system, sensibility and ideology" (Hall, 1998:259). This is what is sometimes referred to as "ethnocentrism", (Hall 1998: 257). The dominant group, therefore, attempts to project it as the universal, generally accepted, natural and inevitable order that everybody adhere to.

According to the late Nobel Laureate Professor Wangari Maathai, in her autobiographical account *Unbowed*, the problematic ethnic relationships and perception of difference among ethnic groups is partly attributable to Kenya's colonial history of stereotypical and discriminatory ethnic profiling (Muller, 2011). James Oginge tends towards a similar view when he highlights Ngugi wa Thiongo's argument that modern ethnicity in Kenya is partly a product of colonial history of divide and rule, which gave ethnicity its current lethal potency. However, this is not to deny individual agency in the circulation of ethnic stereotypes and prejudices. While deep rooted stereotypes and prejudices have a basis in the discriminatory and divisive colonial administration policies (Akoth, 2011:6), individuals play a significant role in the circulation of these stereotypes. In that regard, rigid cultural boundaries inevitably undermine the idea of the nation as a unified whole.

In the colonial era in Kenya, the Colonial government sponsored *the Kalenjin Monthly Magazine* to encourage hostility towards the Kikuyu community amid the Mau Mau Emergency (Egerton, 1989). The latter was a mostly Kikuyu-led anti-colonial insurgency that provoked an

official state of emergency that took place between October 1952 and January 1960. One of the most striking elements is the tension that existed between numerically dominant Bantu Kikuyu and less numerous Nilotes and Nilo-Hamitic Maasai and Kalenjin. Considering this and the desire of the colonial government was to smother the Mau Mau development by empowering Pan-Kalenjin identity (Kipkorir, 1973:4). This was probably the genesis of animosity between the Kalenjins and the Kikuyus. In Eldoret, the Kikuyu stereotype and prejudice the Kalenjins negatively as having long ears bearing big holes or torn ears, implying that they are foolish. They also refer to them as “kabila choma” – the ones who burn houses during tribal clashes as a result of ethnic stereotyping. On the other hand, Kalenjins refer to Kikuyus as “kwekwe” (weeds) which should be uprooted from their land, in Rift Valley. The Kikuyu refer to Kalenjins as a lazy lot (Lynch, 2006)

More than 40 ethnic communities reside in Kenya. The predominant ones are the Kikuyu, Luhya, Kalenjin, Luo, and Kisii communities. The Kikuyu account for 17%, Luo 13%, Luhya 14%, Kalenjin 12% and Kisii 6% of the whole Kenyan population (Kagwanja, 2003). In Kenya, ethnical differences are evident in accents, names, cultural practices, appearance and skin color (Posner, 2005). Stereotyping and prejudice are common in Kenya. Such stereotypes portray Kikuyus as untrustworthy, the Luhyas have cooking prowess, Kalenjins are talented in athletics, Luos are aggressive and intelligent, the Maasai value cattle than anything else and there are witches among the Kamba and the Kisii (VanWyk, 2004). Kenyans use stereotypes and prejudices to elicit humour even though politicians utilize this phenomenon in politics to institute hatred especially during electioneering periods (Ndonye et al., 2015). The most notable post-election violence is that of 2007/2008. The violence pitted Kikuyu over Kalenjin warriors and the Luo, leading to the deaths of about 1, 090 people and leaving more than 3,000 homeless (Makanda, 2010). Ethnic stereotypes before and after 2007 general election were echoed through ethnic hate messages on social media and local radio stations (Mbatia & Nderitu, 2010). The then president, Kibaki, was referred to as ‘a serpent’ that should be gotten rid of. He was regarded as cunning, untrustworthy and money loving, while Raila Odinga was referred to as an animal from the west (Yieke, 2008). The implication was that the Luo who are considered unfit to lead the country through Raila. The impression of him was that of a “child” (Cussac, 2008), owing to non-performance of the circumcision by the Luo community as part of the symbol of transition of childhood to adulthood.

Most of these ethnic stereotypes and prejudices date back to early days of independence reflecting history of mutual fear of ethnic domination through economic and political exclusion. At independence, the Kikuyu political elite felt that it was their right to assume the leadership as they considered themselves more entrepreneurial and smarter than all the other communities, and because of the leading role they had played in the Mau Mau rebellion during the struggle for independence (Kenyan Safari Guide, 2004). A Kikuyu (Kenyatta) was later chosen to lead the country in the first government in Kenya after independence. Despite the government being in the hands of Kikuyu leadership, they (Kikuyu) felt threatened by the populous Luo group and the popularity of its leaders who included Jaramogi Oginga Odinga and Tom Mboya (Elkins, 2005). The Kikuyu government marginalized the Luo politically to eliminate this threat. The then exclusion of the Luo heralded the Luo’s seemingly permanent opposition in contestation of national politics ever since. The government went on to re-distribute former British lands that belonged to the Kalenjin and Luo to the Kikuyus (Keller, 2001). These events shaped and embedded the stereotypes of the

untrustworthy, stealing, and grabbing of the Kikuyu and rebellious Luo in popular imagination (Kenyan Safari Guide, 2004).

Monyoncho (2014) did a study on stereotypes and prejudices on executive selection outcomes. The study focused on the influence of cultural beliefs on stereotypes and prejudices in the multinational organizations. The study set out to link cultural beliefs and stereotypes by considering social categorizations that leads to in-groups and out-groups at work places. Stereotypes and prejudices by in-groups towards out-groups tended to convey negative impression. The aspect of cultural beliefs and gender stereotypes and prejudices was also a focus in the study. Within various societies, men culturally differ from women. Their roles are not similar even though they can often perform the same duties from a technical perspective. Culturally, certain patterns of behavior are associated with individual differences in relation to beliefs about male and female (Aaltio & Mills, 2002). The study is related to the current research which addresses forms of stereotypes and prejudices. However, the study unlike the current one, does not address stereotypes and prejudices in relation to ethnic conflicts.

A study by Kuppens, Line and Langer (2016) on in-group bias and ethnic stereotypes and prejudices among secondary school teachers in Kenya observed that learning institutions play a vital role in shaping young people's social-political opinions. Group attitudes are also shaped in learning institutions. Teachers, therefore, play a very important role in shaping inter-group attitudes where stereotypes and prejudices appear to have an important impact on the performance of students academically. Attitudes and behavior between the in-groups and out-groups imparted on students by their teachers may have an impact beyond academic achievements, which may in the long run affect the society at large.

The study was tasked with analyzing the magnitude of stereotypes and prejudices among secondary school teachers in Kenya, an ethnic diverse country. The study found out that even though teachers appear to hold various ethnic stereotypes and prejudices, they seem to be very careful not to let these tags from their ethnic backgrounds influence their actual behavior towards their students. Teachers, through education, are supposed to help the society get rid of societal tags that may cause disharmony among various ethnic groups in Kenya.

### *2.4. Theoretical Framework*

#### 2.4.1. Introduction

The data collected was analysed in the light of Relevance Theory, Social Identity Theory and Allport's Scale of Prejudice Model, as the theoretical frameworks of the study.

#### 2.4 2. Relevance Theory

The Relevance Theory is a cognitive approach to communication projected by Sperber and Wilson (1986/1995). According to this theory, communication is an ostensive inferential process that makes adjustments in parallel. Relevance Theory centres on the position of purpose in each communicative act.

In their discussion on intent, Sperber and Wilson came close to the ideas of Grice (1975:72) that communication is centred on the addressee's acknowledgment of communicative purpose underlying utterance or stimulus. When one's intention becomes an explicit manifestation to the

hearer, then this intention becomes an ostensive communication action, and therefore satisfies the following requirements (Sperber and Wilson 1986: 153–154):

- Attracts the listeners' attention.
- Speaker deliberately gives a hint to the listener, ('ostensifies'), as to what he or she wishes to communicate. That is clue to his/her intention.
- The listener deduces the goal from the tipoff and the circumstance interceded information. The listener must clarify the hint, compelling into justification the setting and summarize what the speaker aimed to put across.

The Deduction will seal the breach amid the semantic depiction of statements and the communication that every statement in due course communicates (Sperber and Wilson 1987:125–130). They underline the starring role played by the communicators in displaying their communication and instructive target with the utterance, while the listener attempts to grind out diverse hypotheses as to what the right explanation is.

The current study employs Relevance Theory to explain the rational methods that lead to the production and comprehension of ethnic stereotypes and prejudices. Relevance Theory has been assumed to be a powerful tool for explaining the interpretation of all kinds of verbal communication, stereotypes and prejudices included (Sperber and Wilson, 1986/1995). Sperber and Wilson stress the importance of deduction in their interpretive model, thus binding together new and old material earlier kept in the listener's mind. This is known as cognitive contextualization. The contextualization can yield contextual special effects. A contextual effect is created once the framework is changed in a definite manner by the fresh information. The following example of the stereotype will aid in explaining this.

A man was overheard saying this to a driver of a public service vehicle: *Driver, be faster. My wife is from Nyeri.*

*Nyeri is one of the counties in Central Kenya occupied by the Kikuyu people. It is a stereotype and prejudice against Nyeri women who are alleged to be cruel and thrash their husbands. The joke stereotypes those who have married women from Nyeri. In the stereotype we are not told that the man is going to be beaten. The inference drawn is that Nyeri women beat up their husbands and thus when the commuter asks the driver to be faster for he is married to a Nyeri woman, the implicated conclusion is that any slight mistake a man makes may end with being "disciplined" by a Nyeri woman. Thus, the conclusion here is that the man does not want to be late because entering the house late calls for a beating. The Nyeri women are stereotyped and prejudiced as being harsh. Marrying a woman brought up in Nyeri then means a man is in trouble for the rest of his life.*

Sperber and Wilson's theory is summarized into four sentences. (Wilson 1994: 44):

- Each utterance entails a range of conceivable interpretation, all harmonious with the information that is linguistically programmed.
- Not all interpretations trail to the listener concurrently, a number of them take additional strength to reflect.
- Listeners are armed with a particular, broad interior for assessing explanation so that having created an explanation that fits the standard, the listener guises no more.

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- This is a standard that is influential enough to eradicate all but one solo understanding so that having created an understanding that fits the standard, the listener guises no more.

Ritchie (1999:104–105) posits that in conceiving an utterance (by the speaker) and choosing an explanation (by the hearer), both conversers keep an eye on a cognitive standard. This results into choosing the utterance (for speakers) and selecting interpretations of the identical utterance in the existing context (for hearers), which fulfils these two situations:

- An assumption is made relevant to an individual in the sense that the positive rational effects are realised when it is processed optimally.
- An assumption is related to an individual in the sense that effort needed to achieve positive effects is minimal.

Generally, the main understanding that fulfils these situations is the one that the listener inevitably picks first, overlooking any other potential explanations of the utterance.

The following outlines show relevance theoretical comprehension procedure (Wilson and Sperber 2004: 15).

- The hearer takes the linguistically encoded sentence implication by following the path of list struggle.
- He ought to enhance it at the explicit level and supplement it at implicit level
- And stop when the ensuing elucidation attains the prospect of importance.

Speakers are expected to make their utterances as easy to understand as possible so that the hearers take the footpath of minimum exertion. The hearers should halt at the main understanding that fulfils their potentials of significance. Speakers should formulate their utterances in a way that they are easy to understand so that the first explanation to please the hearer's anticipation of relevance decides with the proposed significance.

The significance theoretic understanding technique offers simultaneous responses. These are the enquiries the hearer resorts to in creating a hypothesis about the speaker's denotation:

- What was the speaker's explicit denotation?
- What was the speaker's implicit denotation?
- What was the anticipated setting (set of contextual assumptions)?

The relevance theory, an elaborative summary of comprehension of a stereotype and prejudice can be summarized as; a teller of stereotype or prejudice produces utterance which a receiver processes in the usual way developing the maximum relative effect for the minimum processing effort. During the production of the utterance, the speaker works on presupposition that the hearer will retain his or her processing attempt. At the first valid explanatory hypothesis he works out at repeatedly overlooking the possible presence of other substitutes. For example, when the stereotype and prejudice continues, the speaker brings in a portion of incongruity which shocks the listener and cuts short the activity of processing in order to get used to this new information which is compared to the one that delivered the stereotype or prejudice.

### 2.4.3. The Basic Tenets of Relevance Theory

Relevance concept as characterized in Relevance Theory is an asset of efforts to rational methods. The inputs among others include the external stimuli, for example, statements and inner illustrations, memoirs or suggestions from inferences that force them to be used as grounds for

additional inferences. An input is relevant to a person when treating it in a setting of the last existing presumptions.

This theory holds that because their cognitive arrangement has developed, human beings need an instinctive propensity to maximize applicability. As a consequence of continual choice of force towards efficiency, perceptual devices tend spontaneously to point out possible relevant stimuli, memory devices tend spontaneously to store and when suitable, retrieve important bits of knowledge, and deductive procedures have a tendency to automatically process these inputs productively.

#### 2.4.4. Relevance and Cognition

Instinctively, relevance is a prospective property for not merely utterances and additional noticeable phenomena, but of views, memories, and deduction of interpretations. According to this theory, any peripheral stimulus or internal depiction does provide rational decisions for an individual which can be relevant for a given period of time. The expectations of being relevant are raised by utterances because finding relevance is a basic primary feature of human cognition.

Relevance and cognition are two important aspects in elucidating stereotypes and prejudices. Stereotypes and prejudices are part of communicative act that enhances mental activities among individuals leading to production and reception processes. Relevance Theory which accounts for verbal communication and comprehension is the theory that sets out a general picture of the principles driving human cognitive system as a whole.

For stereotypes and prejudices to be comprehended, the interlocutors pick what is relevant to both of them. Relevance Theory deals with cognition, that is, what goes on in the mind. A particular situation differs in interpretations depending on what comes from an individual's own views. We understand communication based on assumptions that are relevant to it. Sperber and Wilson (1995) developed two general principles guiding relevance roles in communication and cognition.

#### 2.4.5. The Cognitive Principle of Relevance

This principle states that human cognition is aimed at maximization of relevance (Sperber and Wilson, 1995:260). It denotes that human mind has developed in a biologically conditioned way to grasp information that is relevant. The mind has the ability to constantly filter and dismiss information that is not worth processing, hence retaining what is relevant.

When stereotyping and prejudicing, both the speaker and the hearer work on the principle of relevance. The speaker has intentions relevant to him while the hearer filters information according to what is relevant to him. The speaker will always pick the assumptions that will form the set up and the punch line: the hearer will try to resolve the incongruity by using assumptions that will lead to the punch line. The speaker inspires the listener to concentrate on utterances that seem relevant to them during the conversations. The descriptions define the Communicative Principle of Relevance.

#### 2.4.6. The Communicative Principle of Relevance

It is a communicative principle which denotes that every overt communication act is an assumption of own positional relevance (Sperber and Wilson, 1995:262). According to the

principle, relevance is guaranteed from communicated information. In this principle, an utterance conveys an assumption of relevancy with the idea of “optimal relevance” incarnations. An expression is majorly relevant to the listener in case it is worthy in terms of listening and processing ability.

During the processing of stereotypes and prejudice, the listener is permitted to anticipate that the utterance will be significant enough to warrant processing. It means that an expression needs to be distinctively relevant than other alternative inputs available at that particular time. The Communicative Principle of Relevance provides an interpreting methodology for explaining expressions in which the speakers were meant to deliver. The communicator wanting her communication to succeed must then prove that the utterance is relevant to the targeted audiences. Thus the speaker has to have communicative and informative intentions. They must have an intention of informing the audience of something and providing the required informative intension.

### 2.4.7. Relevance-guided Comprehension Procedure

For one to interpret (comprehend) a stereotype or prejudice, a procedure has to be followed. Relevance Theory helps in explaining this procedure. According to Yus (2008:133–135), the comprehension procedure defines a complicated cognitive procedure involving three mutual parallel sources of information: the speaker’s explicit interpretation of utterances, speaker’s implicated interpretation, and the required context of information to obtain direct and indirect interpretations. This procedure leads to three sub-tasks: three hypotheses are formed. These are hypotheses at the explication, the implicated premises and implicated conclusion.

The relevance-guided comprehension procedure is summarized as follows:

- The Listener is required to adopt the outlined linguistic meaning
- adopt a path of the least effort
- enrich it at the explicit level
- and ensure that the compliment at the implicit level results to interpretations that meet the expectations.

The assumption is that the listeners should automatically keep in touch with the outlined guided comprehension which is factually tested by either exploiting the effort accorded or it can further be tested by manipulating the effect factor and obtaining specific interpretations by factoring the listener’s expectations and relevance. A hypothesis is formed on the basis of context.

Context refers to assumptions expressed or implicated. In stereotype and prejudice interpretation, the new hypothesis leads to the punch line that is the climax of a stereotype and prejudice.

### 2.4.8. General View on Relevance Theory

According to Zufferey (2015:203), the perceptual systems have evolved in a way that they generally respond to stimuli automatically. This aided the study in analyzing the cognitive process in human understanding. The relevance of information links with the present representation of the world in order to provide for improvements, contributing to how relevant information is achieved. Sperber’s (2004:65) basic tenets of Relevance Theory were beneficial to the study since they are the key aspects that the study focused on in the understanding of how cognitive works. Cognition is



a basic feature that needs clear understanding in relation to a hearer making inferences about the speaker's utterances.

The structural claim of Relevance Theory is that it critically provides anticipation of optimal relevance in human communication (Wilson & Sperber, 2012b). According to Wilson and Sperber, communication acts do modify some assumptions held by individuals to provide a rewarding result, thus provide the basis for understanding the cognitive effects in communication. It provides a clear interpretation for the current study in explaining ethnic stereotypes and prejudices in Eldoret, Kenya.

Stereotypes and prejudices are expressed through language, which is analyzed in context. In the case of Eldoret, stereotypes and prejudices are expressed through Nandi language, a sub-tribe of the Kalenjin community, Gikuyu, Dholuo, Luhya and Ekegusi languages. Yule (2010:101) defines context as an intellectual explanation for those aspects that are physical; that are used to arrive at mental representation of what is physically out there that we use in arriving at an interpretation. The physical context provides our reading and hearing processing for which we are faced with linguistic expressions. Context plays a key role in the interpretation of an utterance. Context is like the encyclopedic entry of the world and defines norms and cultures of a given society; it provides personal cultural norms and belief system of the knowledge that communicators have harboured in the time of conversations (Schroeder, 2013). In relevance, sets of contextual assumptions are generally not fixed prior to the conversation. They are constructed as part of the interpretation process. This provides a strong ground in analyzing stereotypes and prejudices based on context. The context employed is seen as a set of presumptions made of the world, which provides a mental challenge in which the listener must have to conceptualize the utterance (Wilson, 2013). Context does not correspond to any actual state of the world. It is not a signifier of social structures that affect communication in general and specifically the understanding of the production of utterances; rather, it is subjected into a logical-psychological construct used in interpreting an utterance. This clearly means that context is not taken to be physical but that which is stored in mind against which utterances are understood.

This study looks at the interpretation of stereotypic and prejudicial utterances. Relevance theory is a tool that is able to analyze such utterances using inference, as a strategy to deduce meaning from what is communicated. During the interpretation of utterances (stereotypes and prejudices), the inference, which is the added information that any listener will use to connect between what was stated and what it meant, becomes an important factor. Inference is useful to this study because stereotypical and prejudicial utterances involve the connection between an utterance that is explicitly expressed but has an implied meaning. According to Clark (2013) as quoted by Karimi (2013), Relevance Theory is framed on the presumption that individual minds are designed and evolved to maximize relevance automatically through its intellectual capacity. The theory is important in the current study as it contributes to the highlighting of how relevance is achieved in utterances. A lot of stereotypes and prejudices are used in Eldoret Township, elsewhere in Kenya and the rest of the world. They are provocative in nature, thus annoying. For instance, when the Luhya or Kikuyu refer to the Kalenjins as those with 'perforated ears', from inference, through Relevance theory, the Kalenjins understand that they are being referred to as foolish. They get annoyed because they feel despised. This is made worse by the fact that the derogatory insults are directed to them by people who are foreigners in their land.

### 2.4.9. The Incongruity

Incongruity marks the conflict between what is expected and what actually occurs in stereotyping and prejudice situation. Its focus is on the cognitive or thinking side. Veale (2004:103-105) posits that stereotyping, prejudice and incongruity appear to be closely related. This is because for at the most of every heart of every stereotype or prejudice, one can point to some violation of expectation. Stereotypes and prejudices at times elicit humour but when analysed further, they carry different messages. Stereotyping and prejudice are phenomena which depend heavily on incongruity. The structure of stereotypes cannot, therefore, be studied without studying the Incongruity Theory and Incongruity Resolution.

By and large, this study investigates whether incongruity resolution is really a driving force in the creation of stereotypes and prejudices or just a by-product of under specification and listener's choice. Two different scripts that are opposed to each other in a special way are always related to stereotyping. A stereotype or prejudice is unambiguous up to the punchline point. The switch from one script to another makes the hearer realize that more interpretations of the text are possible from the beginning, which is referred to as punchline. The focus of incongruity is on the cognitive side. For stereotypes to be interpreted, the mind has to be used; hence the application of the cognitive theories in the interpretation of stereotypes Relevance Theory which is a cognitive theory works together with Incongruity Theory and Incongruity Resolution Theory. Incongruity is a conflict between what is expected and what occurs in a joke. The idea behind the Incongruity Theory is that we live in an orderly world, where we have come to expect certain patterns among things, properties and events. We laugh when we experience something that does not fit into the above-mentioned patterns. As a matter of fact, incongruity is a violation of pattern in someone's picture of how things are supposed to be. Therefore, what any individual finds incongruous will depend on what his experience has been and what his expectations are.

### 2.4.10. The Role of Incongruity

Incongruity helps in explaining the elucidation of stereotypes and prejudices. Incongruity in stereotyping and prejudice is achieved through violation of world of knowledge of both the speaker and the hearer as mutually manifested in the context of the mind of the interlocutors (Kihara & Schroeder, 2012:68). Stereotypes elicit laughter and displeasure. The use of figurative language such as metaphors and hyperboles brings out the violations of the world of knowledge of both the speaker and the hearer. Another source of rich incongruity is stereotypes, implicatures and explicatures.

### 2.4.11. Incongruity Expressed through Stereotypes and Prejudices

An entire group of people is stereotyped and prejudiced when assumptions are made based on one or two observations. Observations are ascribed to all members of a group regardless of whether it applies to them or not. These observations are mostly based on tribe and race. Incongruity is achieved through the exploitation of people's traits. These traits are not just mere summaries of behavior but have underlying sets of motives and attitudes that dictate the behavior. According to Yus (2008:131), a stereotype is a belief we have about a social group. This could be information about how one looks like, what one aspires to be or how he or she behaves. In this chapter, we also discuss the elucidation, analysis and processing of selected jokes in stereotypical

environment. Stereotypical jokes are the type of jokes that relate to stereotypical views held by people in the community. People believe that someone has a particular character only because this is what many people believe of them.

#### 2.4.12. Incongruity Expressed through Explicatures

Incongruity and explicatures when combined help to explain how stereotypes and prejudices are elucidated at the explicature level. What causes laughter or displeasure in stereotyping and prejudice is the sudden perception of incongruity which occurs between a concept and the real objects. It is what the hearer expects but turns out to be the opposite. This process involves a search for maximal relevance, finding irrelevance (incongruous phenomena) and deriving optimal relevance. Rothbart (1976:84–85) posits that incongruity which is a conflict between what a person expects and what is actually experienced is essential to all forms of humour. Incongruity may be resolved by reconciling the incongruous elements, such as understanding the content of a stereotype. While it is controversial whether resolution of incongruity is always necessary for humour appreciation, there is agreement that incongruity and resolution are both important in the appreciation of stereotypes.

According to the Relevance Theory, incongruity develops as a result of violation manifested in the encyclopedic cognitive environment of the hearer. The incongruity resolution is the realization that there is a violation of the world knowledge.

#### 2.4.13. Incongruity Expressed through Implicatures

According to Sperber and Wilson (1986:250), implicatures are contextual assumptions that the hearer has to recover from satisfying himself. The hearer satisfies himself that the speaker has observed the principle of relevance. Further, they define implicature as “an extensively communicated assumption that is derived solely via the process of pragmatic inference.” Implicatures are intended contextual assumptions and so function as premises in inference process. Implicatures enable interpretations to be consistent with the principle of relevance. A speaker expects the hearer to derive them if he wants his utterance to be relevant. Two types of implicatures are proposed: implicated premises and implicated conclusions. To derive implicatures from an explicatures, two-step processes are required. These are implicated premises and implicated conclusions resulting to incongruity that leads to the interpretation of a stereotype or prejudice.

#### 2.4.14. Context

The human mind processes all kinds of information; in form of thoughts and utterances, by employing a “filter” of relevance to all the possible contexts within which this information can be processed. According to Penco (1999:271), context is a set of mentally represented assumptions used in processing given information. The context may include the situation or the environment in which the utterance occurs or includes the proceeding text or discourse. In every belief, decision or action, context is important. It is the mental representation of objects or situations that the hearer constructs and uses in identifying with the speaker’s meaning. What accounts for context selection is relevance. We search for accessible context during utterance interpretation process (Sperber & Wilson, 1995:15-16).

The interpretation of stereotypes is made from its context because they are context oriented. A stereotype is designed by resorting to the mind reading ability of the speaker and the hearer, in order to achieve relevance. The speaker can predict that certain stimuli will be more relevant than others and the audience will inevitably entertain that certain assumptions during comprehension of the stereotype and prejudice. The first interpretation of the stereotype and prejudice that the audience finds satisfying in a specific context is the interpretation which is acceptable as optimally relevant. The interpretation of any stereotype will depend on the hearer's extraction of contextual implications.

For instance, before elections in Kenya, politicians while addressing political rallies in their home areas use hate speech. In Rift Valley Province particularly in Eldoret Township, local politicians use terms such as *otutu labotonik* - meaning all the non-Kalenjins residing there. This stereotype and prejudice was commonly used between 1991 and 1992 during President Moi's era. The term was used by politicians from the Kalenjin community urging the local residents to chase away those who allegedly did not belong to their tribal community such as the Kikuyu, Luo, Luhya and the Kisii. Before and after the 2007/2008 violence, expressions such as *madoadoa* (stains) were used to refer to those purported to be outsiders. Negative expressions show contempt, insult and at times outright hatred about out-groups (targeted communities).

### 2.4.15. Culture, Stereotypes and Prejudices

Stereotypes and prejudices are a pervasive feature of human life which crosses cultural divisions. Sperber (1996: 32–55) speaks of cultural representations and notes that every culture has trends of cultural manifestations that are unique to it. The cultural dimension of context starts with the mental representations of all the individuals taken collectively and, in addition, includes the artifacts and objects of that culture. In any language, the expressions used are inventions of the society in which the language is spoken. Stereotypes and prejudices from various ethnic communities make use of their respective languages. Schroeder (2013:5) defines culture as a set of accessible convictions that play a very important role in the selection of context when interpreting utterances. In this regard, culture, a social behavior of a people, makes use of language. Communication is made possible through language. Communication is based on assumptions that are relevant to us. For successful communication to take place, it requires that the message and meaning intended by the speaker should be correctly received and interpreted by the listener.

The Relevance Theory (RT) as a theory of communication has its basis in human cognition (Sperber & Wilson 1986, 1995, 2004) and can be used to analyze ethnic stereotypes and prejudices manifested in *mchongoano*. This theory is cognitive inferential and pragmatic in nature. It works on a cost benefit basis for comprehension and interpretation. During the exchange of *mchongoano* duels, information is shifted from the speaker to the hearer by being channeled through the principle of relevance. Whoever receives the message targets any interpretation that can interpret the communicated expressions. The principle of relevance for communication and context are the important components of this theory.

### 2.4.16. The Violation of Relevance in Mchongoano

This section provides a pragmatic analysis of *mchongoano* within the theoretical tenets of Relevance theory. The researcher strived to explain the comprehension of the speech event and the impact of inter-ethnic harmony in Eldoret, Kenya. As a performed genre, *mchongoano* has more

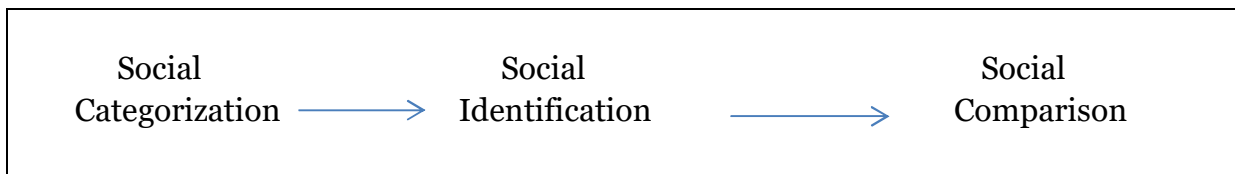
than one participant. There is general agreement that stereotypes and prejudices against an opponent are nothing but jokes and should not be taken literally or made personal (Githinji, 2007). *Mchongoano* works on the mutual understanding that the verbal play is a teasing game where the playful provocation uttered as a fictional proposition is not meant to hurt or criticize, although if analyzed critically, the verbal plays become offensive. *Mchongoano* stereotypes and prejudices exploit the concept of incongruity of events and situations. The incongruity discovered in the *mchongoano* stereotypes is achieved through the violation of world of knowledge of both speaker and hearer as mutually manifested in the context of the mind of the interlocutors. The violation of the world of knowledge is brought out through explicatures, the use of stereotypes, metaphors, metonymy and hyperboles. In this study, *mchongoano* is used because children in primary schools, in the estates and homes, express stereotypes and prejudices through *mchongoano*. Most of the stereotypes and prejudices are transmitted from generation to generation. Children modify the learnt generalizations to *mchongoano* form. The media in Kenya – television and radio are also sources of stereotypes and prejudices.

### 2.5. Social Identity Theory

The proponent of this theory is Henri Tajfel (1986). According to this theory, groups of people such as club members, clan and community are sources of dignity. Coming together as a group is a significant component because it provides a sense of identity and belonging to a social world. We enhance our own group status by holding stereotypes and prejudices against other groups we are not part of in order to increase our self-image.

The theory states that the in-group would discriminate those in out-group through stereotyping and prejudice to enhance their own self-image. Henri (1986) further claims that stereotyping and prejudice is linked with normal rational process; which is the ability to group things together. Through that they are able to distinctively state differences and similarities between items found in the same groups (Martiny & Rubin, 2016). It becomes possible for people to categorize the group they belong to (Abrams & Hogg, 2010). They see that the group they belong to (the in-group) is different from the others (the out-group).

Tajfel and Turner (1986) outline three mental models that provide a process used to evaluate others as “us” or “them”.



Social categorization is the first category in the model. It states that objects are placed in categories in order to identify and classify them. Similarly it explains reasons for categorizing people including ourselves to provide explanations of the social environment. Social categories such as Kalenjin, Luhya, Kikuyu, Kisii, Christian, Muslim, White, Black, teacher, student, Jubilee and NASA are used. Individuals can understand the category they belong to by understanding things related to themselves and devising appropriate behaviour towards others, and own groups.

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Social identification is the second stage in the model. A group's identity is adopted after categorization. For example, if an individual has categorized himself as a white person, there is no likelihood that the person would adopt identity of a black person. One can also identify himself or herself as a Kikuyu or Luhya and will most likely behave within the group's defined norms. Emotional significance will be manifested with the group identity and self-esteem will be limited to the group membership.

Social comparison is the last stage of the model. It argues that when we categorize ourselves as part of certain groups, we then make comparisons between the in-groups and out-groups in order to maintain the self-esteem. For us to maintain self-esteem, the group we are in must then compare with other groups. This propagates prejudice and discrimination because we tend to view other members of the out-groups in the negative in order to boost our own self-esteem.

When comparing one group to another, several things tend to happen. Members of an in-group tend to:

- Favour the in group over the out-group
- Maximise the distinction between the in-group and the out-group
- Maximise differences of group members based on perception. This increases in-group cohesion
- Providing remembrance of the positive and negative information about the in- group and the out-group respectively.

The perspectives that are regularly utilised in modern social science research affecting the ethnic minority are elucidated through Social Identity theory. The framework is useful in defining and analysing perspectives of individuals, inter group relations, and group structure and process. Categorization, construction of stereotypical, prejudicial views and labelling are the processes within the Social Identity theory (Kang & Bodenhausen, 2015). From the theory, individuals seek to belong to a group and continue developing positive self-image that gives them advantage by comparing with other groups.

This framework is vital in explaining the close relation between attitude towards out- groups and tribal identities (Hogg, 2012), with the intersection between race and gender on the basis of social identity (La Macchia & Louis, 2016). The major contributor in people's behaviour is to possess identity and having a sense of being to a certain group in line with the Social Identity theory. People can discover the value of their own group through the theory by distinguishing between out-groups and in- groups (Adams, Tormala, & O'Brien, 2006). The responses make individuals obtain positive membership in their respective group. A person's membership to a group originates from the loyalty and respect accorded to the group which defines the importance of a social group (Crisp & Hewstone, 2007). Loyalty brings out bias found in members of a group that makes it unique in its appearance. The out-group comes into place when an individual in a social group contemplates to form opposition and compete. Family members, people of the same gender, race, religion and culture are the commonly encountered in-groups (Charles, 2000). Out-group membership is subject to out-group homogeneousness biases. People in many situations take privilege of in-groups over the opposing out-group (Tajfel, 1978).

Based on the Social Identity theory, a number of research have proven that individuals regard minority groups to be more negative than the majority groups even though they have identical

features and behaviours. In Eldoret, Kalenjin community perceive other communities especially the Kikuyu, Luhya, Kisii and Luo as foreigners in their land. Kikuyus, in particular, are singled out as people who came to steal land belonging to the Kalenjin people. The Kalenjin (in-group) and the Kikuyu (out-group) have on several occasions had serious fights leading to deaths and loss of property. In the past, especially during elections, politicians have always used stereotypes and prejudices (hate speech) against members of the other communities (out-groups) who are considered as the minority, resulting into tribal clashes as in the case of 2007/2008 post-election violence in Kenya. The interethnic clashes in Kenya have caused loss of lives, property and displacement from homes. From the differences emanating from minority and majority, the research is able to make inferences about differences between out-groups and in-groups. Members of out-group are considered as possessing less admirable traits compared to those of the in-group, but are also found to be highly homogeneous in behaviour and structure. The outcome is known as “out-group homogenous effect” in which persons have faith in that most out-group members share the qualities of the specific out-group members whom they encounter and the group-level stereotypes and prejudice are possible to label different group members (Martiny & Rubin, 2016). Schildkraut (2007:69) observes that perceptions of out-group homogeneity are triggered by the circumstance that evidently, people know further in-group members than out-group individuals and thereby regain more occasions when building in-group unevenness judgements, than out-group ones. This superior retrieval of in-group occasions prompts more noteworthy impressions of in- group heterogeneity.

Tajfel and Turner (1986: 89) purports that Social Identity Theory (SIT) is the leading and dominant theory explaining inter group behaviours. The theory is on the premise that our social environment classified into groups and social classes passing on meanings and orientations to respective group membership. Social identity is then defined as “that piece of a person’s self-idea which derives from his knowledge of his participation of the social gathering together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership” (Tajfel, 1986). In this theory, the idea of social identity is a tri-dimensional construct in the sense that it is a cognitive component, an evaluative component and an affective component. Social Identity Theory underlines the peculiarity stuck between the personal and social identity and, disparity, between conditions that are indomitable by interpersonal as opposed to intergroup methods (Jones & Jetten, 2011).

Special focus in Social Identity Theory for the conversation on ethnic stereotypes is today’s leading rational understanding which positions that an ethnic group is a grouping which the individual ponders himself to fit in and which consequently gets an exceptional role by connecting the views of facts dispensation and self-evaluation. According to Tajfel (1986), classifying people on the basis of their ethnic or nation-wide affiliation marks the decision of their features. The identities of those who belong to it are considered within the category. Our own group is proficient to be “in-group biased,” uninterruptedly being overrated as opposite to the out-group. The advent of national or ethnic stereotypes: the mutual representative of people fitting to one grouping, which at the similar period is the account of features distinguishing them as of other classes, as a consequence of asymmetrical relation.

Social categorization under the frame work of Social Identity Theory, which occurs naturally, is unavoidable (Hirsh & Kang, 2016). As a phenomenon, it is not restricted to people. It ranges from the kinds of foods we eat, houses, music to lifestyle etc. Social categorization is also important

because it is a prerequisite for social identity. The sensation of belonging and acceptance is achieved by defining one group apart from other groups through classifying ourselves more favourably than others. Haslam (2014), as cited in Stangor (2009:6) notes that when an individual or group is identified as belonging to a certain category, definite features are related with them. Consequently stereotyping is an addition of social categorization. The type of rational relations one clutches depends on which stereotypes and prejudices are regularly replicated in the society we belong to.

### *2.6. Allport's ladder of Prejudice Theory*

The proponent of this theory, Gordon Allport (1954) in his book, *The Nature of Prejudice*, conceptualizes and describes the escalating levels of prejudice as a type of ladder that signifies negative actions which emanate from prejudice and stereotyping. According to Allport (1954), prejudice emerges from talking negatively about a group of people. The negative expressions about people are a result of stereotyping. The negative remarks often go unnoticed but with time may bring about people or a group behaving badly. He presents the levels of the ladder of prejudice as follows:

#### 2.6.1. Spoken Abuse

Speech appears first on the ladder of negative actions. This often takes the form of talking or joking about a group as if all members of that group were one personality or had one set of features. Spoken abuse includes all of the following:

- Names degrading
- Verbal attacks
- Stereotyping
- Prejudicing
- Music/songs which are degrading
- Jokes
- Rumours
- Ascribing all manner of evil to one group as if they were one personality

Spoken abuse leads to antagonism. Comments in the form of verbal abuse may not be regarded as serious enough to be illegal, but comprise a clear form of antagonism. When combined with non-verbal expressions of antagonism, they create unfriendly environment in learning institutions, villages, workplaces and neighbourhoods (Gibbs, 2014). Verbal and non-verbal hostility are the first steps of inter-ethnic harm doing. The two are reliable indicators of discriminatory effects. In Eldoret, Kalenjins are insulted as primitive, foolish and uncivilised, by members of the other communities. Kikuyus are stereotyped and prejudiced as thieves; Luos are branded as unclean because Luo men don't undergo circumcision; Luhyas stereotyped as those who like eating; Kisii are branded as those who practice witchcraft.

#### 2.6.2. Avoidance

Avoidance refers to selecting the well-being of one's individual ethnic group (in- group) in excess of collaboration with additional ethnic group (out-group). When people of a certain cluster



are evaded by those of another group, pain is caused. Apart from causing pain to the targeted group, the way for more harmful acts is prepared. Avoidance results to xenophobia which is the fear of strangers or foreigners (Sutton & Vingneswaran, 2011). Avoidance appears meaningless in any specified condition but when it keeps occurring across conditions, it leads to long term prohibition and isolation. In particular, it may be a problem in situations in which social networking matters such as employment, educational opportunities and promotions are considered. In work settings optional interaction may push out-group members into lower status occupations (Nieftagodien, 2011). During tensions heightened by political activities, some communities living in Eldoret avoid one another at social places, market centers, learning institutions and at health facilities due to prejudice and stereotyping. During the 2007/2008 post-election violence, there was a lot of avoidance amongst communities in Eldoret. Colleagues working in learning institutions could not see eye to eye with each other. It took time for everyone to recover from the trauma and stress suffered during and after the violence. Most teachers from the Kikuyu, Luhya, Luo and Kisii communities left Eldoret to go back to their home districts to avoid contact with their Kalenjin colleagues and other locals. At health facilities, most patients avoided medical personnel who did not hail from their communities.

### 2.6.3. Discrimination

Discrimination is evident in cases where persons exclude other people or groups from the allotment of resources and access to schools and colleges. Discrimination is envisioned to hurt a group by hindering attainment of goals, education or employment. In the United States, obvious discrimination is demonstrated through verbal and non-verbal hostility and over racial evasion and denial of definite chances because of race (Todisco, 2015). Members of a disadvantaged community may face statistical discernment or profiling. In this particular position, a person or a group uses overall beliefs about a group to make decisions about an individual from that group (Hanson & Hawley, 2011). It is assumed that the perceived group physical characteristics apply to an individual. This means that whatever an individual does, it is assumed to be what the whole community or tribe does. For instance, if one person from the Kikuyu tribe is caught stealing, people from other communities form an opinion about the whole tribe being thieves.

### 2.6.4. Physical Attack

This is regarded as hate crime. Groups of people become victim of destruction, involving burning of property or even physical attacks towards individual's physical integrity for example by lynching etc. Historically, prejudice and stereotyping in several countries in the world have led to physical attacks. In the past, it happened in Europe during Holocaust, where Jews and other nationalities were attacked physically. In 1992, in the former Yugoslavia when Croats and the Serbians attacked one another, 1994 Rwandan genocide and the Kenyan case of 1992, 1997 and 2007/2008.

### 2.6.5. Extermination

Extermination or mass killings based on ethnic animus do occur. The killing of people who belong to a certain group through genocide, ethnic cleansing, etc. is known as extermination. It is what was witnessed during the Holocaust by the killing of six million Jewish people and other

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people targeted by the Nazi, Rwanda; the killing of more than 800,000 Tutsis and moderate Hutus, in former Yugoslavia, in the war involving the Serbians and Croatians. In 1992, Kenya went through a difficult moment where interethnic clashes occurred in Trans-Nzoia, Uasin Gishu, Mt. Elgon, Molo, Nakuru and Kericho because of hatred brought by linguistic stereotypes and prejudices were experienced. Hundreds of Kenyans lost their lives during that time. In all these places, certain communities were fighting one another. In parts of Trans-Nzoia, the Kalenjins fought the Kikuyus and the Luhya. Hundreds were killed and property worth millions burnt. In Kericho, Molo and Nakuru, interethnic fighting pitted the Kipsigis against the Kisii, Luo, Luhya and the Kikuyu.

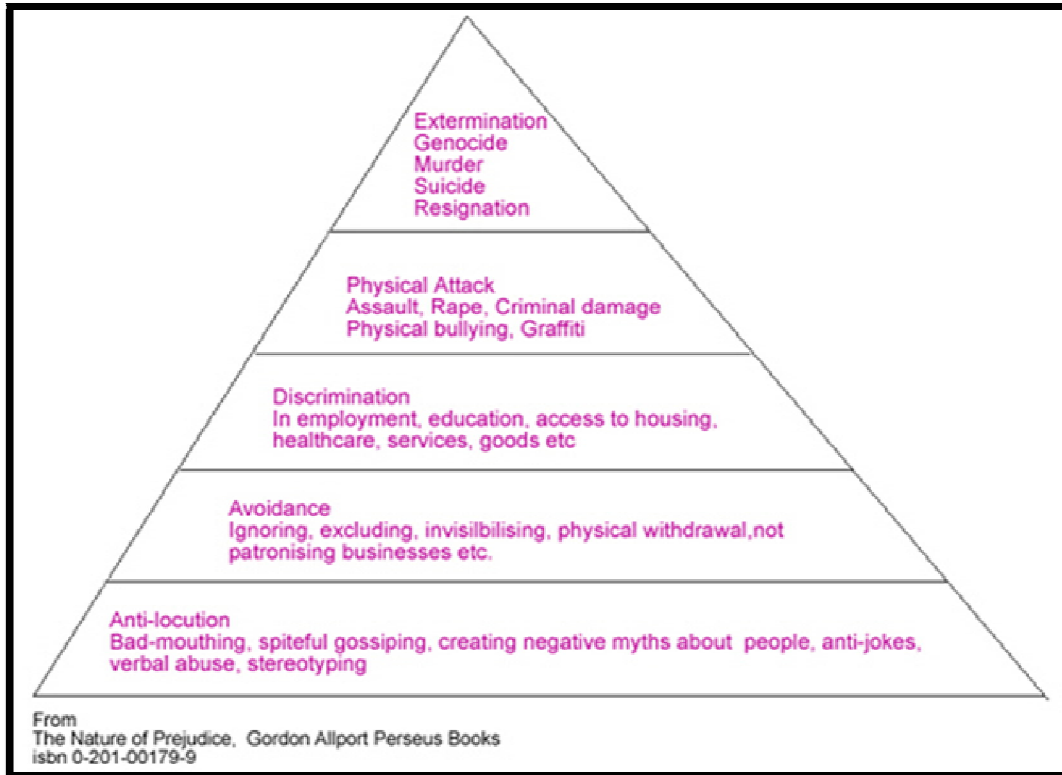


Figure 1: Allports 5 Stages of Prejudice (Allport, 1954:89)

## CHAPTER 3 | RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

### *3.1. Introduction*

This section presents the research design, study location, target population, the sampling technique and sample representations, methods of collecting data, data analysis procedures, and research ethics. In the quest for answers to issues under investigation the rationale for every choice made in this study is also discussed in this chapter.

### *3.2. Research Design*

A research design is a framework that is used in conducting the process of research (Patton, 2001). It contains the blue print used for data collection, measuring variables and analyzing data. The study adopted descriptive qualitative research methods. The ethnography of communication within the qualitative approach was used. This is where communities' social actions and events were studied through methods of participation, observation, face to face interviews and open ended questionnaires. According to Blaikie (2000: 239), qualitative research is linked with the social world in terms of events and actions which denote meanings from responses of individuals by discovering their socially constructed reality through defining how they conduct their activities. The study set out to examine and analyze linguistic ethnic stereotypes and prejudices and their role in ethnic conflicts in Eldoret, Kenya.

Ethnographic qualitative approach is a description and interpretation of customs, culture, behaviors and the way people live. In addition, it addresses meanings on the language, behavior and cultural interactions of the sharing groups. This kind of a description is an expressive account of life socially and culturally within a social system which is often thought as "a portrait of people." In effect, it is concerned with a holistic view of patterns, experiences and shared meanings. Qualitative research includes several approaches; ethnography grounded theory and phenomenology. The approaches used share two common purposes; first they address a phenomenon in natural setting (real world) and contextually understanding the phenomena in all complexities (Creswell, 2003). There are several communities in Kenya that trade stereotypes and prejudices against each other. They include: Kalenjin, Kikuyu, Kamba, Luo, Maasai, Samburu, Luhya, Embu, Meru, Mijikenda, among others. However, this research focused on the Kalenjin, Luhya, Kikuyu, Luo and the Kisii communities.

### *3.3. Location of the Study*

Data for this study was collected from Uasin Gishu County, Eldoret, in Langas, Yamumbi, Huruma, Mailinne, Kimumu, Kipkaren and Kiambaa. These areas were chosen because they were affected by the 2007/2008 post-election violence. It was, therefore, easier to access ethnic stereotypes and prejudices in these estates because the Kalenjin, Luhya, Kikuyu, Luo and the Kisii communities reside here. The required data was limited to discussions on the effects of ethnic stereotypes and prejudices on social harmony in Eldoret. The data collected included metaphors, synecdoche, anecdotes and ethnic jokes.

### *3.4. Target Population*

Target population represents a group of individuals with distinct characteristics in which the research wishes to generalize results for the study. In the study, target population comprised native speakers of Kikuyu, Luhya, Kalenjin, Luo and Kisii languages, who form 95% of the population in Eldoret.

### *3.5. Sample and Sampling Procedures*

The study sample was derived from the Kalenjin, Kikuyu, Luhya, Luo and Kisii native speakers living in Eldoret. There was a purposive sampling of five diverse ethnic based clusters from which fifty respondents were randomly chosen from the five major ethnic communities living in Eldoret. The town's population is estimated at three hundred and eighty nine thousand, one hundred and forty five (389,145) (Kiptum & Ndambuki, 2012). The sample comprised 10 respondents, each representing Kalenjin, Luhya, Kikuyu, Luo and Kisii ethnic communities to make a total sample of 50 respondents. Each cohort of 10 respondents from the ethnic groups cited was drawn from the local learning institutions, churches, local community leadership, hospitals, administration, Jua Kali industry, hawkers, idlers and public transport. The respondents' age ranged between 14 and 60 years and above. The age bracket was considered because ethnic stereotypes and prejudices are used by the young and the old in the society. Each section of society identified supplied both male and female respondents. Interviews were carried out when the researcher met purposively sampled respondents from each group.

### *3.6. Data Collection Methods and Instrumentation*

Questionnaires and personal (face-face) interviews were used to collect data. Open ended questionnaires were administered personally to respondents in their place of residence during day time. Each of the instruments is described below:

#### 3.6.1. Open Ended Questionnaires

Open ended questionnaire comprised short answer and specific open-ended questions. The questionnaire comprised 17 questions, in section B. Questions asked were specifically about ethnic stereotypes and prejudices; what motivates one community to stereotype and prejudice members of another community. The open ended questionnaire administered had the following items in respect to each objective: Item one mentioned the five ethnic communities the study focused on; Kalenjin, Kikuyu, Luo, Luhya and Kisii. The study entailed linguistic ethnic stereotypes and prejudices, and respondents were required to name stereotypes and prejudices used by their communities against members of the other communities. The stereotypes and prejudices elicited were part of the data later used in the analysis of the study. This item is relevant to the first objective that required establishing the form and language of ethnic stereotypes. Responses from the respondents indicated that there are various forms of ethnic stereotypes and prejudices and they come in various types (forms) of figurative language, for instance, metaphors, direct language, anecdotes and coded language.

Item two aimed at establishing whether stereotypes and prejudices by members of one community about members of another community are true. According to Blum (2004:276) stereotyping and prejudice involve addressing group members as individuals. This is a situation

where a group or a community is judged based on an individual or a couple of individuals who hail from the same group or community. At times people experience weird stereotypes and prejudices about their communities. The Kisii people, for instance, are said to practice witchcraft and eat dead bodies. Item three, which is related to item two, aimed at establishing falsehood in stereotypes. When an individual somewhere, for example a Kikuyu is caught stealing and it's all over TV stations during 7.00 pm news broadcast. You will hear words such as "si hao ni wezi tu" (those are known to be thieves).

Item four is in line with objective three. It aimed at establishing the causes of ethnic stereotypes that lead to interethnic conflicts in Eldoret. Interethnic conflicts normally result to social problems such as displacement of people, loss of property, deaths etc. Item five addressed the effects of stereotypes and prejudices on the people they are directed at. Do these stereotypes and prejudices lower individuals' self-esteem or not? Do people get offended or harmed by stereotypes and prejudices? In the case of Eldoret Township, stereotypes and prejudices have caused harm to Kalenjins, Kikuyus, Luhyas, Luos and Kisiis in the past years; 1992, 1997, 2007/2008 electioneering periods.

Items eight and nine addressed the negative consequences of hate speech particularly in Eldoret Township. Hate speech is related to stereotyping. These items investigated whether hate speech had ever played a role in the interethnic conflicts in Eldoret. The rest of the items in the questionnaire addressed strategies that can be employed to counter the effect of ethnic stereotypes for national cohesion and integration in Kenya.

### 3.6.2. Face to Face Interviews

The researcher prepared an interview schedule to be administered on purposively selected respondents in Langas, Kipkaren, Maili Nnne, Yamuumbi, Kimumu, Kapsereret, Kiambaa and Huruma areas, in Eldoret. Four respondents; two males and two females from each cohort of 10 respondents from the ethnic groups cited, were interviewed daily. Each interview took between 35-45 minutes. The local research assistants assisted the researcher in familiarizing with the respondents, creating a good rapport and translation during the interview sessions. Conversations, during the interviews, were recorded on a tape recorder and in a note book, for use during data analysis.

Face to face interviews elicited very interesting data especially from respondents in primary schools. Data obtained from this group were stereotypes and prejudices in form of "*mchongoano*". *Mchongoano* is a Kenyan speech event very similar to what Americans call "playing the dozens" *mchongoano* is a speech event genre which is about playful ritual insults directed at an opponent or from their close related family members e.g. mother, father, brother, sister, friends and other participants in the conversation (Morgan, 2002; Labrador, 2004). The insults are intended to be funny and are often played to an audience (Schwegler, 2007). In *mchongoano* verbal hyperbole, irony, indirection, metaphor, stereotypes, prejudices, metonymy and the semantically unexpected are used (Githinji, 2008)

According to Githinji (2007:89) *Mchongoano* is "a ritualized genre of verbal duel famous with the Kenyan youth where one opponent insults another or their family members." The term *mchongoano* seems to have derived from a Kiswahili verb "*chongoa*" which means to sharpen the edges of something but the noun *Mchongoano* may be said to belong to sheng than Kiswahili. It is

worthy to note that it represents a language of communication in *mchongoano*. It has characteristics of mixing its vocabulary with words from a variety of languages such as Kiswahili, Dholuo, Kikamba, Gikuyu, Luhya and English. In this thesis, the researcher looked at *mchongoano* from a linguistic pragmatic angle. Specifically, the researcher wanted to show that the humorous effect of *mchongoano* is realized when it violates the communicative principle of relevance “laid down” in Sperber and Wilson (1986/1995/2004). The researcher carried out interviews with groups of children at Hill School Eldoret, Uasin Gishu primary, Langas primary, Greenvale Academy, Potters House Academy, University of Eldoret Primary School, Langas, Huruma, Kipkarren and Kimumu and Mailinne estates. Among the stereotypes and prejudices expressed through *mchongoano* were that kids develop or come up with stereotypes from various sources e.g. from television programs such as Churchill live on NTV. For instance:

- *Wasee! Wasee!.... sheria imewekwa kuhusu job yetu ya kuiba ... sheria ya kwanza, hatutapora soja, anaweza kuwa ni mtu wa kwetu.*

(Friends! Friends! We agreed on the rule of stealing ... the first rule, we should not rob a watchman, he could be our person)

This is a joke derived from the stereotypes and prejudices associated with the Luhya community. In this stereotype the comedian was trying to show that there is a higher possibility that a watchman is from the Luhya ethnic community

- *Wasee! Wasee! .... Wasapere ni wezi mpaka venye nilienda kugoogle “ Onyango stole my fone” ikaniletea “Did you mean Kamau stole my fone?” then kwa related searches “Njoroge steals a fone “Nderitu hijacked a car” Wangui takes of with a fone”*

(Kikuyu are terrible thieves such that when I googled “Onyango stole my phone” I got the message, “Did you mean, “Kamau stole my phone?”, then in the related searches, I got the following: “Njoroge steals a phone” “Nderitu hijacks a car, and Wangui takes off with a phone”)

The contents from interviews between the researcher and those from age 14 to above 60 years old were more or less similar to the content obtained from the open ended questionnaires. The data obtained was in form of anecdotes, metaphors, direct language and coded language.

### 3.6.3. Observation Schedules

The researcher carried out observations, asked questions and took notes. In some situations, the researcher carried out interviews. Observations were done at market centers, looking at patterns of behavior during the buying and selling of goods. Health centers, Jua Kali industry and social places were also targeted for observation. During this process ethical considerations were put in place by informing the subjects what the research entailed and their responses were only for the purposes of research. The researcher assured the respondents of confidentiality and anonymity.

The researcher aimed to observe behavior patterns of people from Kalenjin, Kikuyu, Luhya, Luo and Kisii communities at various places such as, market places, learning institutions, health centres and social places. The researcher observed the following:

In the markets, Kalenjin customers would frequently purchase fruits, vegetables, maize, beans, potatoes, peas and other commodities at the stalls owned by Kalenjin traders. Kikuyu, Luos, Luhyas and Kisii followed suit by targeting to purchase goods from sellers who hailed from their

own ethnic communities. Members of these communities would buy goods from traders outside their communities only when traders from their ethnic communities could not supply such commodities. This is a form of discrimination and avoidance (Allport, 1954). At the health centres, Kalenjins preferred medical personnel from their own community. Luhyas preferred those from their own community. Kikuyu, Luos, Kisiis behaved the same. In social places (clubs, bars), it was common to find members of one ethnic community hanging out together. There are also those entertainment joints that are synonymous with members of one ethnic community. From observations for instance, 'Paradise' and 'Nyanyas' drinking joints were exclusively patronized by the Kalenjin people.

### *3.7. Pilot Testing of the Research Instruments*

The pilot test was intended to enhance the actual process of data collection. It involved conducting research on a smaller scale to obtain feedback to show how well the research instruments were able to forecast the 'real world' situation. Normal pilot test necessitates targeting a smaller number of respondents and administering to them research instruments. The smaller pilot group had similar characteristics representing the whole population. The process was conducted to stimulate the respondents to represent the data collected from the targeted population. Pilot testing gave the researcher the opportunity to adjust the research instruments so that suitable questions are asked, data is collected using the right procedure, right data is collected and appropriate data collection methods are used. A pilot testing was carried out in Eldoret to establish reliability and efficiency of research tools and instruments used in the study. That test was carried out in Langas, Huruma and Kimumu areas. Three male and three female respondents were chosen from the mentioned areas for the sake of gender balance. The small number was chosen in order to allow the researcher to carry out in-depth interviews. Respondents who participated in pilot test were excluded from the final research conducted.

### *3.8. Results of the Pilot Test*

During the pilot study, the researcher found out that the tools were reliable but the research instruments needed to be revised. Results of the pilot test indicated that: each respondent required a minimum of one hour because respondents were not in a structured set up like a classroom thus interviews took time. Due to the amount of time taken, the researcher decided to reduce the number of respondents from 20 to 10 to make a total sample of 50. This was done to have more exhaustive data from respondents. The size of the sample was also reduced because some respondents were suspicious and uncommitted. Reduction was also done due to the unavailability of genuine respondents. The genuine respondents from all the five communities gave genuine and reliable data. They were all retained for the study. The data was sourced from various groups that included informal traders, local leadership (administration, local community leadership), educational institutions, religious organizations and medical facilities. In each of these categories there were five male and five female respondents from each ethnic community. As a result of the pilot study, the researcher decided to categorize the age differences because each age category had a unique way in which stereotypes and prejudices are manifested in the conflict. The age categories considered in the research were: 14-19 years, young adults (20-40 years) - those who fight in

conflicts, 40-60 years – the ones who are active in the society (administrators and educationists) and above 60 years (in private practice and consultancy).

The researcher faced challenges with meeting some respondents, especially those in the informal sector. He decided to, at times, position himself in strategic positions where the chances of meeting those who would be respondents were higher. Sometimes the researcher would spend the whole day without finding a suitable respondent. At times the researcher would meet a hostile respondent. Some respondents would demand cash. Whenever possible, the researcher would visit offices and business premises but when not possible, the researcher would do it in town. Where recording was required, the researcher sought permission from the respondents. Some respondents answered questions themselves. Some were not able and the researcher read questions for them. In the two variations, the results were similar.

### *3.9. Revision of the Research Instruments*

Revision of the research instruments was done to facilitate decisions on the number of questions used in the questionnaire by either adding or reducing them. The types of questions asked were retained. The amount of time used during interviews was retained because the number of respondents from each cohort was reduced.

### *3.10. Data Compilation*

The main data was arranged in cohorts comprising: cohorts from the settlements, sex based cohorts from each settlement and cohorts based on ethnicity from each locality, then categorized in terms of Allport's levels of stereotypes' and prejudice categorization. According to Allport (1954), levels of stereotypes are: antilocution, avoidance, discrimination and subtle aggression, physical attack and extermination. These levels involve jokes and hateful opinions about another community, avoiding members of another community in preparation of harmful acts, denial of equal access to opportunities, communities becoming victims of vandalism and violent attacks as well as extermination of groups of people through ethnic cleansing and genocide.

### *3.11. Research Assistants*

The researcher engaged research assistants, one from each of the ethnic groups (Kalenjin, Kikuyu, Luo and Kisii communities). The research assistants were residents of Eldoret, Uasin Gishu County. The researcher had met them while working as volunteer sports coordinator and a teacher in the same area. The four research assistants work in different sectors, namely; in teaching profession, informal sector, business and sports. They assisted the researcher in the process of data collection by doing translation since the researcher does not speak Kalenjin, Kikuyu, Luo and Kisii languages.

### *3.12. Ethical Considerations*

Ethical considerations in research are critical. According to Joe and Phillips (2016), the four major ethical issues in the process of research are, informed consent, confidentiality (which is respect for privacy), beneficent (do not harm), and respect for anonymity. The researcher used informed consent as respondents were informed that their responses were only for the purposes of research. Participation in the research by respondents was purely voluntary as none of them was



forced to participate. The respondents were also informed what the research was up to and permission from the relevant authorities such as learning institutions and parents of the participants was obtained. The respondents were informed that the responses they gave would be assured of anonymity and confidentiality. No names were mentioned in the actual discussion and data analysis.

### *3.13. Data Analysis Procedure*

Data collected by the researcher was in form of *mchongoano*, anecdotes, metaphors, direct language, coded language and notes from observation schedules. Data inform of *mchongoano* was collected from respondents in primary schools while metaphors, anecdotes, coded language, direct language and notes from observation schedules were obtained from respondents aged between 14 and above 60 years old. Collected data was analyzed under the frameworks of relevance theory opined by Sperber and Wilson (1986/1995), social identity theory by Henri Tajfel (1986) and Ladder of Prejudice theory by Gordon Allport (1954).

### *3.14. Transcription*

Broad transcription was used in this research since the research was mainly interested in words and the person who speaks the words and to whom. A number of transcription symbols were adopted and used in the broad transcription of the data. Transcription of data collected in Kiswahili and other languages was translated into English.

### *3.15. Translation and Interpretation*

Collected data was transcribed and then interpreted with the help of native speakers of the Kalenjin, Kikuyu, Luo and Kisii languages. Translation in the study was necessary because the researcher does not understand the mentioned languages. Ethnic stereotypes and prejudices are mostly communicated using figurative language; metaphors, coded language and direct language hence the need for translation.

Interpretation was done after translation. Utterances in coded language were assigned meaning during interpretation. During interpretation, each utterance was handled from the words, phrases, sentences, systematically until the whole text was done. Native research assistants from the cited communities were used to overcome the challenge of language barrier.

### *3.16. Summary*

Several issues were discussed in this chapter. These included the study design, location of study, target population, sampling procedures and study sample. Procedures for data collection used were open ended questionnaires, face to face interviews, observation schedules and note taking. Also discussed in this chapter were procedures for data analysis and interpretation that included interpretation and transcription. Pilot testing of the research instruments and the performance of the instruments as well as their revision was discussed. Lastly, ethical consideration in the research was discussed.

# CHAPTER 4 | DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

## 4.1. Introduction

This chapter presents details on background information, data analysis and its interpretation. The bulk of the data was collected from members of the following ethnic groups: Kalenjins, Kikuyus, Luhyas, Luos and Kisiis. Data were collected and compiled under the five major objectives of the study. The data included anecdotes, conversations, linguistic references, metaphors, speeches and interviews. In this chapter, an explanation on how stereotypes and prejudices were interpreted was based on the Relevance Theory, Social Identity Theory and Allport's Scale of Prejudice Model.

## 4.2. Data Compilation

Data in this study were arranged in cohorts. The cohorts comprised data drawn from members of Kalenjin, Kikuyu, Luhya, Luo and Kisii communities living in Eldoret. Each cohort of respondents was drawn from the local learning institutions, places of worship, local leadership, health facilities, Jua Kali industry, local market centres and social places. Compiled data comprised among others stereotypes and prejudices in the form of jokes and hateful utterances about one community from the point of view of members of another community. The data was then categorized in terms of Allport's levels of stereotypes and prejudice namely; antilocution, avoidance, discrimination and subtle aggression, physical attack and extermination. The levels by Allport (1954:76) ranged from members of one community avoiding members of another community to the extermination of groups of people from the targeted community through ethnic cleansing and genocide.

## 4.3. Data Description

Data was described based on the objectives of the study which were;

- *To establish the form, language and use of linguistic stereotypes and prejudices in Eldoret*
- *To find out the strategies and major themes of linguistic stereotypes and prejudices communication and how they are manifested*
- *To investigate the role of linguistic stereotypes and prejudices in interethnic conflicts in Eldoret*
- *To analyse the possible causes of linguistic ethnic stereotypes and prejudices*
- *To establish strategies that may be employed to counter the effects of linguistic stereotypes and prejudices in Eldoret, Kenya*

## 4.4. Data Presentation

To answer objective one which was about forms, language and use of ethnic stereotypes and prejudices in fueling ethnic conflicts in Eldoret, the respondents were asked to give various

forms of stereotypes against the Kalenjins, Kikuyus, Luos, Luhyas and Kisiis. The following were the responses during data collection:

#### 4.4.1. Stereotypes and Prejudices against the Kalenjins

Generally, the Kalenjins are stereotyped and prejudiced as arsonists and backward leading to their avoidance or verbal attack. In this stereotype majority of the Kikuyu, Luo, Kisii and Luhya respondents painted the Kalenjins as primitive arsonists. The following transcripts from a sample of Luhya and Kikuyu respondents attest to this stereotype.

##### 4.4.1.1. Transcript 1

###### 4.4.1.1.1. Kalenjins Stereotyped and Prejudiced by Kikuyus and Luhyas

Excerpts (from the Luhya respondents stereotyping and prejudicing Kalenjins)

- ***Bosyanju*** (*those who burn houses*)
- ***Lekhana nende bekamarandule bano babe. Sebalinende kamakesi tawe*** (*Leave alone the people with torn ears; they are fools characterized by mutilated ears*)

Exerpts (from Kikuyu respondents stereotyping Kalenjins)

- ***Nduriri iria icinaga nyumba*** (the tribe that burns houses)
- ***Andu matari bata*** (people of little value)
- ***Ni warumbwa*** (derogatorily referred to as Lumbwa). It is a Maasai term for people who have taken up farming instead of cattle keeping. It is a stereotype by the Kikuyus
- ***Rumbwa ni irimuturamarutire wonjoria muthenya ungi*** (Kalenjins are fools. We taught them business the other day)

In the above excerpts, the Kalenjin are painted by the majority of the respondents from the Kikuyu tribe as cheap and foolish. They are also stereotyped as those who eat dogs. Most respondents from the Kikuyu tribe said that the word *Rumbwa*, which was originally, *Lumbwa* is used to stereotype the Kipsigis (Kalenjin) people as those who eat dogs. This word changed to its current form due to analogy. Originally, *Lumbwa* was a name of a place in Kipkelion but with time it acquired some stereotypic connotation. This led to respondents keeping away from the Kalenjins for fear of retaliation in form of violence. The Kalenjins did not sit back as they also threw abusive words towards the Kikuyus.

#### 4.4.2. Stereotypes and Prejudices against the Kikuyu

In a majority of cases Kikuyus are stereotyped by Kalenjins, Luos, Luhyas and Kisiis as thieves and untrustworthy. In this stereotype, majority of non-Kikuyus living in Eldoret perceive and stereotype Kikuyus as prone to thieving tendencies and people who cannot be relied upon because of their chicanery tendency. In the following excerpts these stereotypes are clearly evident:

##### 4.4.2.1. Transcript 2

###### 4.4.2.1.1. Kikuyus Stereotyped by Luos, Kalenjins, Luhyas and Kisiis

Exerpt from Kikuyu respondent (about a stereotype she heard about Kikuyus)

*Andu aingi numaiguite uhoro wa atumia Agikuyu. Muthenya omwe ungikainuka, ukure mutimia na ciana nimorire, waku ni mugikuyu. Nimoikaine na kubanga tumirigo. Abangaga tumirigotwa ciana na indo iria mwethete nake miaka mirono ina, akora na cio. Kwiragwo ati; **“mutimia mugikuyu agutuaga ta muthamaki riria wina mbecha no agaguikia na nja ta mutura riria wahara.”**“Mutimia umwe niaiguirwo akiuga uu;” **Kaba kurira ndi mathindethi thiinii gukira gutheka ndi baithikiri iguru.**” Ungihe mutimia mugikuyu ndeti ya mbere aroraga thaithi ya wareti, githomo haria ukinyite, mibango yaku ya matuku meguka na maundu maingi ta macio. Ukimuhe ndeti yakeri, ugwikora ukimurihira nyumba iria akomborete.*

#### Translation

Everyone has heard about Kikuyu women. If one day you return home to find an empty house and your children gone, then you are in the groove with a Kikuyu woman. They are known to be “packers”. They will pack and go with the children and the furniture even after 40 years of marriage and hard labour in a marriage. A popular saying goes: “A Kikuyu woman will treat you like a king as long as you have money, but toss you like a rotten traditional Kikuyu sausage (mutura) once you are broke”. One woman is said to have coined the following phrase: “I would rather cry inside a Mercedes Benz than laugh on a bicycle”. It is stereotyped that when a man is given a first date, a Kikuyu woman will size up his wallet size, level of education, and even future ambitions. So, by the time one goes out with her for a date the second time, one will be paying house rent for her.

#### 4.4.2.2. Transcript 3

##### 4.4.2.2.1. A Popular Excerpt by Kalenjins, Luos, Luhyas and Kisiis about Kikuyu Women Said in Sheng, a Kenyan Mixed Language

In this stereotype respondents are overheard talking loudly in social places in Eldoret. They stereotype the Kikuyu women as pick pockets. As a result, the victims are avoided and words of insult directed towards them.

*Ukienda kudance na msichana kwa night club Eldoret muulize jina. Akisema Njoki, dance like this.....  
With both hands in your pocket – Njoki or Kikuyu is likely to pick pocket you.*

#### Translation

If you are in an Eldoret night club and you invite a girl to dance with you, first ask for her name. If she says she is Njoki, dance like this ..... with both hands in your pocket. Njoki or Kikuyu is likely to pick pocket you.

#### 4.4.2.3. Transcript 4

##### 4.4.2.3.1. Several Other Popular Excerpts Often by Kalenjins, Luos, Luhyas and Kisiis about Kikuyus in Respect of Thievery, Dishonesty and Domestic Violence Go as Follows (Said in Sheng, a Kenyan Mixed Language)

Kikuyu men beaten by their wives

*These Kikuyu men who are always getting “kichapo” (beating) from women wanatuambia nini? (What can they tell us?) Thank God I am able to befriend Luos and we are in agreement that Kikuyus are a common enemy. The biggest insecurity in Kenya is caused by Kikuyus, forget about the Alshabab.*

Translation

What can Kikuyu men tell us given that they are always being clobbered by their wives? Thank God my friends are Luos who also detest the Kikuyu community. Insecurity in Kenya is caused by Kikuyus - our common enemy. Insecurity in Kenya is caused by Kikuyus and not the **Alshabab** (a Somali militia).

(Further excerpt on **Kikuyu men being beaten by their wives**)

A man was overheard saying this to a driver of a public service vehicle:

*Driver, be faster. My wife is from Nyeri*

Translation

Speed up driver, lest my wife (*a Kikuyu from Nyeri reputed to beat husbands*) accosts me if am late.

4.4.2.4. Transcript 5

4.4.2.4.1. Generally Kikuyus Presented as Thieves by a Respondent Overheard Saying the Excerpt Given below

*Wezi wote huku Rift Valley wachomwe*

Translation

All thieves in Rift Valley should be burnt (a stereotype for Kikuyus)

4.4.2.5. Transcript 6

4.4.2.5.1. Kikuyus Stereotyped as Weeds Fit to be Uprooted and as Pests to be Sprayed)

*Hao ni sangari, nakwambia*

Translation

Those (Kikuyus) are couch grass to (should be uprooted)

*Kipsigaa*

Translation

Those (Kikuyu) are Mongoose (by Kalenjins)

*Kikuyus are like pests. Killing (finishing) them is not easy, even if it is through spraying (a Luo stereotype)*

Translation

Kikuyus are equated to pests who are difficult to eradicate even through spraying

*Chorindet*

Translation

They (Kikuyus) are thieves (by Kalenjins)

Jokwoye (thieves) by the Luos

4.4.2.6. Transcript 7

4.4.2.6.1. Kikuyus Stereotyped as Proscribed Primitive Gangs

This stereotype is attributed to one of the senior politicians in Eldoret before the August 2017 general election by a Kalenjin respondent:

*“Kama wewe ni mkazi wa Eldoret hata uwe nani, lazima upige kura kama wenyeji wa hapa. Kuna wengine hapa ambao wanajifanya kunipinga mimi. Ikiwa hawaambatani na matakwa yetu basi warudi kwao. Mwangi Kiunjuri kuja uchukuwe Mungiki zako upeleke huko kwenyu central.”*

Translation

“If you are a resident of Eldoret, you must vote the way the locals do. Some of you want to oppose me by voting for my rival. If at all you won't vote according to the wishes of the locals then go back to where you belong. Mwangi Kiunjuri (A politician from Central Kenya) should come and pick his *Mungiki's* (an outlawed violent sect) and take them back to Central Kenya.”

4.4.3. Stereotypes and Prejudices against the Luo

Luos are normally stereotyped and prejudiced as unruly, childish, uncircumcised and violent. The following transcripts from a sample of Luhya, Kikuyu, Kisii and Kalenjin respondents attest to this stereotype:

4.4.3.1. Transcript 8

4.4.3.1.1. Luo Men Stereotyped by Luhyas, Kikuyus, Kalenjins and Kisiis as Uncircumcised

*Mjaruo akitaka kutawala hi nchi ni heri aende akatahiri kwanza*

Translation

If a Luo wants to rule this country, he should first get circumcised

*Kikuyus refer to Luos (Raila) as “Afilitsi (uncircumcised)*

Translation

Luos are like Philistines, who don't circumcise their male children

*Jaluo zote zinazoishi Eldoret zitoke polepole. Coz lazima mtahiri na mabati atamkose kuanza fujo. Iyo ni kitu imepangwa vizuri.*

Translation

“All Luos in Eldoret should start leaving slowly because you will be forcefully circumcised using pieces of iron sheets even if you don’t cause mayhem. This is something that has been well planned.”

4.4.3.2. Transcript 9

4.4.3.2.1. General Stereotyping of the Luos as Unruly and Violent

*“Wajaluo tukishindwa I know we must ngoa reli, rusha mawe, choma maduka ya kuuza maziwa, kuchoma tyre barabarni.” “Turushe mawe kabisa hadi Mungu wetu Raila Agwambo aje atuambie tuache. Sisi ni Sirkal!; kwani twangojani? Si tuanze fujo? Mimi ni mwanamke but kazi ntakayoifanya mtapenda. I hate Kenyanz. I hate land grabbers! I hate thieves!”*

Translation

“We Luos know if we lose presidential election we must uproot the railway line, throw stones, burn milk shops and barricade roads. We will throw stones until our god Raila Agwambo tells us to stop. We are the government! What are we waiting for? We should start violence. I am a woman but I will unleash terrible violence on our opponents. I hate land grabbers! I hate thieves!”

In the above stereotype, a Luo woman is overheard by one of the respondents shouting in one of the streets in Eldoret town, directing her anger at the Kikuyu people.

*Mawe yana kazi tofauti Luo Nyanza; kuna ya kuita mtoto na ya kupiga adui*

Translation

We have stones for different tasks in Luo Nyanza; there are stones for signaling children to come and for attacking enemies.

4.4.3.3. Transcript 10

4.4.3.3.1. Luos Stereotyped by the Kisii, Kalenjins, Kikuyus and Luhyas

According to a Luo lady respondent, there is hatred towards members of her community by the Kikuyus, Luhyas, Kalenjin and the Kisii. In the stereotype she feels her community is discriminated against due to its political stand. What annoys her are the antilocutionary remarks about Luos’ heads as being full silver cyprinid.

*“I am a Luo. There is nothing that will make me NOT Luo. It’s ok to have an opinion, a political opinion. However, if you come online as part of expressing your (political) opinion and start saying how you hate Luos, how they are brainless, vichwa vimejaa omena (heads full of silver cyprinid). Seriously, are you being fair to our friendship? Have you forgotten that me ACHIENG OWUOR, your friend, I am Luo too? Must hating an entire tribe be part of your political expression?”*

#### 4.4.4. Stereotypes and Prejudices against the Luhya

Stereotypes and prejudices about the Luhya by Kikuyus, Kalenjins, Luos and Kisiis are mostly about them being retrogressive cheap labourers, foodious and unambitious. In the following excerpts these stereotypes are clearly evident:

##### 4.4.4.1. Transcript 11

###### 4.4.4.1.1. Bukusus (Luhyas) Stereotyped as Bakitosi

This stereotype is used to present the Bukusu people of the Luhya community as fools

*Bakitosi*

Translation

Fools

##### 4.4.4.2. Transcript 12

###### 4.4.4.2.1. Luhyas Stereotyped as Watchmen and Nannies by Kalenjins, Kikuyus, Luos and Kisiis

Teacher: *Wasike, what would you like to become when you grow up?*

Wasike: *I would like to be a watchman who wears uniform*

Teacher: *What about you Nekesa?*

Nekesa: *I would like to be a maid who wears uniform.*

Translation

Wasike and Nekesa, who are Luhyas, seem not to be ambitious at all and when asked what they would like to be when they grow up, they say a watchman and a house help respectively.

##### 4.4.4.3. Transcript 13

###### 4.4.4.3.1. Luhyas Stereotyped as Foodious by the Kikuyus, Kalenjins, Luos and Kisiis

In the following excerpt, Luhyas are stereotyped as those who like eating a lot. This is stereotype and prejudice by majority respondents from the above communities. This stereotype and prejudice was overheard by the researcher in one of the hotels in Eldoret Town. It was from one of the teenagers in a group of about 10 who were having fun at a restaurant in Eldoret town.

*A dead body turns up at the mortuary, with a big smile on its face*

*After autopsies, the pathologist calls the police Inspector*

*Pathologist: "This body is for a Luhya man, who died of constipation after a very heavy meal of ugali and chicken."*



4.4.4.4. Transcript 14

4.4.4.4.1. Luhyas Stereotyped as *Ogwang* by the Luo

In the excerpt below, Luhyas are stereotyped as untrustworthy especially politically. A wildcat such as a leopard has different colours.

*Ogwang*

Translation

Wildcat

4.4.4.5. Transcript 15

4.4.4.5.1. The Following Stereotype Portray Luhya Women as Cheap and Easy Going

Excerpt from Luhya respondent (about a stereotype she heard about Luhya women)  
*Bakhaana baluyaa basima limenya lieaasi. Basima bekhale engo patala yekhucha khulia muchioteli chimbofu, pora echai ekhatambao tawe. Busuma nende engokho bilabao aaba ewe omukhasi wanyola. Lundi bamanyikhana khuba mubiasara bie khusala babaana. Nakhanunia tawe, manya busa oli kaesisie. Mulukungo, kaokoka, niye aaba treshara wenasari, sekritari we kumukanda kwe basiele. Bamanyikhana khulondekhana nenda ekalikiti mwichune.*

Translation

Luhya women are known to be modest. They would rather stay at home so long as there is enough tea than have you take her out to an expensive hotel. So long as there is constant supply of ugali and chicken, she is yours for keeps. They are also known to be in the business of making children. If she is not breast feeding, she is pregnant. In the village, she is known as being born again. She is the treasurer of the kindergarten, secretary of the women merry-go-round and curly kitted hair is their distinctive look.

4.4.4.6. Transcript 16

4.4.4.6.1. Stereotype in form of *mchongoano* against the Luhya Portraying Them as Poor

*Bali ewenywe butambi bukali, muli nende enju ye bunyasi, babefwi nebola mungo baloma bali, "khemwikuleo namwe khurere chikhafu."*

Translation

That at your home you are so poor that your house is grass thatched and when robbers come, they say, "open up or we bring cows."

4.4.5. Stereotypes and Prejudices against the Kisii by the Kalenjins, Luos, Kikuyus and Luhyas as Witches and Temperamental

People from the Kisii community are perceived by their neighbours in Eldoret as those who practice witchcraft, cannibalism and being hot tempered.

4.4.5.1. Transcript 17

4.4.5.1.1. Kisii Stereotyped by the Kalenjins, Luos and Luhyas as Witches

A Kipsigis respondent attested to the following excerpts about Kisiiis being witches. According to the respondent, if you are a neighbor to a Kisii person and you disagree over some issues, one should ask for forgiveness. If one doesn't ask for forgiveness, then be sure that when you go to milk your cows, you will get blood instead of milk. If you are a farmer, then your crops won't do well.

*Bakisi balosi (stereotype by the Luhya)*

*Jo Kisii gin jojuoki (stereotype by the Luos)*

Translation

Kisiiis are witches

4.4.5.2. Transcript 18

4.4.5.2.1. Kisii Stereotyped by the Kalenjins, Kikuyus, Luos and Luhyas as Unruly and Noisy

The excerpt below is about Kisii people who are generally perceived as unruly and noisy. There seems to be nothing wrong with the words unruly and noisy in this stereotype and prejudice but with time it has gained some stereotypic and prejudicial connotation. It paints Kisii people as temperamental and irritating.

*Kisii people are unruly and noisy*

4.4.5.3. Transcript 19

4.4.5.3.1. The Kisii Stereotyped and Prejudiced as 'Cannibals' by Kikuyu, Luo, Kalenjins and Luhyas

It is alleged that the Kisii people feed on dead human bodies who are the victims of their witchcraft. See the following excerpt:

*Bakisii balichanga babandu bafwile (stereotype by the Luhya)*

Translation

Kisii people eat dead human bodies

4.4.5.4. Transcript 20

4.4.5.4.1. Luo, Kisii, Kalenjins and Luhyas Stereotyped and Prejudiced as 'Animals' by the Kikuyus

In the following excerpts, the Kikuyu paint the mentioned communities as 'animals' and enemies.

*Nyamu cia ruguru*

Translation

Animals from the west and Rift Valley

4.4.5.5. Transcript 21

4.4.5.5.1. Luo, Luhyas, Kikuyus and Kisiis Referred to as Enemies

*Bunyot*

Translation

Enemy

*4.5. Discussion*

After the pilot testing of the research instruments and subsequent revision of the instruments, the instrument was administered to the respondents formally. Data collected using the instrument was compiled with respect to the following cohorts: Instrument specific data i.e. data from interviews, data from questionnaires and data from observation schedules. Data from specific instruments was further categorized with respect to its source – from Kikuyu, Kalenjin, Luhya, Luo and Kisii communities, finally, the collected data was further categorized based on gender – male and female data. Data in this study has been organized and analyzed according to different sources and categorized according to age. Data was sourced from learning institutions, health facilities, market places and social places. Collection of data was based on age categories of 14-19 years (early youth), 20-40 years (young adults), 41-60 years (the ones who are active in the society) and above 60 years (in private practice and consultancy).

The main theory of the study is the Relevance theory. Using this theory as proposed by Sperber and Wilson (1986, 1995 and 2004), this study discusses stereotypes and prejudices based on the hidden frames of relevance. Stereotypes and prejudices are discussed in terms of their functions, factors behind their different interpretations and their linguistic nature. These hidden frames of relevance; Incongruity, inference and context in Relevance Theory are important in the current study. Relevance theory and an input of incongruity and Incongruity Resolution from Forabosco (2008), is used to elucidate stereotypes and prejudices. In this study, attempts are made to give explanations on the production and comprehension of stereotypes prejudices in inter-ethnic conflicts in Eldoret, Kenya. Functions and nature of stereotypes and prejudices exploit incongruity. Yus (2008:142) observes that incongruity of stereotypes and prejudices is achieved through the pragmatic means of recovery of explicature and implicature. The two other theories used are Social Identity Theory by Tajfel (1986) and Allport's Theory of prejudice (1954). The three theories complement each other in the sense that Relevance theory deals with the interpretation of verbal utterances (stereotypes and prejudices). Social Identity theory refers to the in-groups and out-groups which are in line with discrimination brought about by stereotypes and prejudices. Allport's Theory of Prejudice deals with prejudices and stereotypes which eventually degenerate into violence during ethnic conflicts.

4.5.1. Forms of Stereotypes and Prejudices

This section answers objective one of the study which was about the form and use of ethnic stereotypes and prejudices in Eldoret conflicts. The stereotypes and prejudices in section 4.3 are

further discussed and analyzed under gender, cultural, tribal social group based categories and *mchongoano*.

#### 4.5.2. Gender Stereotypes and Prejudices

Gender stereotypes and prejudices allude to biased presumptions in which people are allocated certain qualities (Stangor, 2009). These generalizations are oversimplified speculations about the sex characteristics, contrasts and parts of people inside the general public. As indicated by Aboud, (2008), sex-related data is transmitted through society by method of systems of data that take into consideration some data to be more effortlessly acclimatized than others. Sexual orientation contrasts and personality are dictated by our science, as well as from the perspectives of our general public. Sexual orientation parts show themselves from birth inside the African culture (Kasara, 2013).

Gender orientation parts are firmly connected with sex generalizations (Eagly, 2012). Stereotypes and prejudices are convictions that are overgeneralized about individuals in relation to their participation in one of the numerous social classifications (Ghavami & Peplau, 2012). Gender-based stereotypes and prejudices fluctuate on four measurements, namely; attributes, part practices, physical qualities and occupations (Greenwood, 2012). For example, men will probably be seen as forceful and focused, while ladies will probably be seen as aloof and agreeable. In most communities, men have been seen as those who provide monetary support. On the other hand, ladies have been seen as caretakers.

Gender roles and generalizations influence men and ladies in different ways. Men and women might be judged by how well they fit in with conventional generalizations (Steffens & Viladot, 2015). In his hypothesis of manly sex part strain, Zotos and Tschla (2014) declared that young men are influenced to satisfy a standard manliness. Young men for instance, who don't satisfy the standard, frequently experience the ill effects of low self-worth (Zayer and Coleman, 2015). Sex generalizations can also influence actions of men and women. The danger with stereotyping is characterized by a person's mindfulness that he or she might be judged by antagonistic stereotypes about his or her gender or ethnic group (Lips, 2001). Research shows that generalization risk can contrarily influence execution by expanding nervousness. For instance, Lee (2014) found that ladies performed altogether more awful than men in a math test when the members were persuaded that the test would most likely create sex contrasts. Conversely, ladies and men performed similarly well when the members were persuaded that the test did not create sex contrasts (Koenig & Eagly, 2014). Gender stereotypes and prejudices are exaggerated speculations about people with their properties of sex and their differences (Shapiro & Amy, 2012). Stereotypes and prejudices can be positive or negative, therefore, hardly convey precise data about others.

Generally, the female stereotyping and prejudice part is to wed and have kids (Eddy & Brownell, 2016). She is supposed to put her family's welfare before her own by cherishing, caring, being mindful, supportive and thoughtful. In addition, she is also supposed to create time for attractiveness and feel lovely. The male stereotyping and prejudice part is the financial support to the family (Danbold & Yuen, 2017). He is additionally to be confident, aggressive, autonomous, bold, and career-focused; keep his feelings under wraps; and dependably start sex. According to Randi and Guillamon (2016), these sorts of generalizations can demonstrate insecurity.

While growing up, young men are urged to overcome emotions by being relied upon not to cry like young ladies. The boy figures out how to smother his feelings as he believes that crying is related with young ladies. The boy will be urged to create male interests, such as, caring for household creatures, repairing the fence, overseeing funds and running errands among others (Jahna, 2015). The boy will be demoralized getting associated with tasks or exercises marked as those to be dealt with by young ladies, for example, cooking, washing dishes and cleaning the house. While growing up, the young lady will be permitted to cry and emotionally convey her needs (Rhoton, 2011). She is relied upon to create qualities, such as, talking and giggling delicately, being delicate, and tame, among different attributes.

Gender stereotypes and prejudices incorporate conclusions; for example, ladies are in charge of bringing up youngsters, ladies are terrible drivers, ladies are great at tattling and ladies cherish cooking (Swers, 2013). Men are marked as admirers of games, great at math, are physically solid and don't do house errands. Sex stereotyping and prejudices at workplaces have regularly made distractions especially to women. They have come about into separation, inappropriate behavior and absence of advancements. Normal sexual orientation generalizations at work places allude to ladies who get advanced probably as having laid down with their managers (Preece & Stoddard, 2015). Sex generalizations can be destructive as they can restrain the advancement of the regular gifts and capacities of men and ladies, and also their instructive aspirations and openings throughout everyday life. Pratto and Walker (2004) argue that, for the most part, ladies are thought to sustain and fortify the generalization that they are ideal for attention in the general public. Men are seen to be normal and definitive, which makes them ideal for business or legislative issues. Ladies who prevail in male overwhelmed businesses are the ones who fend off the stereotyping and prejudice tag against them. Gender stereotypes and prejudices in learning institutions, most homes and workplaces tend to be directed at women mostly. Women are stereotyped and prejudiced as people whose roles are reduced to domestic chores and less demanding jobs at workplaces. The following is a discussion of stereotypes on gender:

#### 4.5.2.2. ST. No. 4

##### 4.5.2.2.1. Gikuyu Women

The joke about Gikuyu women goes like this;

*Andu aingi numaiquite uhoru wa atumia Agikuyu. Muthenya omwe ungikainuka, ukure mutimia na ciana nimorire, waku ni mugikuyu. Nimoikaine na kubanga tumirigo. Abangaga tumirigo twa ciana na indo iria mwethete nake miaka mirongo ina, akora na cio. Kwiragwo ati; **"mutimia mugikuyu agutuaga ta muthamaki riria wina mbecha no agaguikia na nja ta mutura riria wahara."** "Mutimia umwe niaiguirwo akiuga uu;" **Kaba kurira ndi mathindethi thiinii gukira gutheka ndi baithikiri iguru."** Ungihe mutimia mugikuyu ndeti ya mbere aroraga thaithi ya wareti, githomo haria ukinyite, mibango yaku ya matuku meguka na maundu maingi ta macio. Ukimuhe ndeti yakeri, ugwikora ukimurihira nyumba iria akomborete.*

### Translation

Everyone has heard about Kikuyu women that if a man returns home to find an empty house and his children gone, then you are in problems with a Kikuyu woman. They are famous of being “packers”. After 40 years of marriage and hard labour, they will pack up everything and leave with the children. A familiar saying goes: “A man will be treated like a royal by a Kikuyu woman as long as he is loaded with money but dropped like a rotten traditional Gikuyu sausage (mutura) once he is broke”. One lady is said to have come up with following phrase: “I would rather cry inside a Mercedes Benz than laugh on a bicycle”. It is said that when a man dates a Kikuyu woman for the first time, the woman keenly observes his wallet, his future ambitions and his level of education. After the second date, the man will be paying rent for the Kikuyu woman.

These women are painted as materialistic. They will only stay in marriage as long as there is steady supply of cash to enable them wallow in riches. They fancy expensive things such as classy cars. They hate living in poverty but happily. For instance, they wouldn't want to 'laugh on a bicycle'. According to them, this is not life worth living. When dating a man, they look at what he has and not how he looks like. They say 'mwanaume ni wallet'. Marriage to such women is seasonal. When there is steady supply of money from a man, a Kikuyu woman will stay. When the pockets dry up, such women pack and leave. Therefore, the implicated conclusion in this stereotypical joke is that Kikuyu women only love money but not the provider; they do not love their husbands genuinely and they like running away from their matrimonial homes because they are materialistic. In Eldoret men from Kalenjin, Luhya, Luo and Kisii communities are very cautious while dealing with women from Gikuyu community. Most of them are even forewarned about marrying from the Gikuyu community.

#### 4.5.2.3. ST. No. 5

The following is a conversation recorded by one of the researchers at a social joint at Huruma area in Eldoret Township by a group of men from the Luo community;

*Ukienda kudance na msichana kwa night club Eldoret muulize jina. Akisema Njoki, dance like this..... With both hands in your pocket – Njoki or Kikuyu is likely to pick pocket you.*

When you go dancing with a girl in a night club in Eldoret, ask her what her name is. If she says she is Njoki, dance like this ..... with both hands in your pocket. Njoki or Kikuyu is likely to pick pocket you.

This is a stereotypical joke people will comprehend through the world of knowledge since the girl has identified herself as Njoki; a Kikuyu. The inference of the stereotype is that Kikuyus are known to be thieves. The audience is aware of why the dancer keeps his hands in the pocket while dancing. Njoki being a Kikuyu is likely to pickpocket him, hence he better be on the lookout. Generally, Kikuyu women are avoided in social places in Eldoret because of the anticipated danger of being robbed.

#### 4.5.2.4. ST. No. 6

This stereotypical joke is neither from the Kikuyus nor Luos. It goes as follows;

*These Kikuyu men who are always getting “kichapo” (beating) from women wanatuambia nini? (What can they tell us?) Thank God I am able to befriend Luos and we are in agreement that Kikuyus are a common enemy. The biggest insecurity in Kenya is caused by Kikuyus, forget about the Alshabab.*

This stereotype ridicules Kikuyu men as weaklings because of being battered by their wives. Kikuyus who are stereotyped as thieves and conmen are worse off than the Alshabaab because unlike the Alshabaab, violent robberies cause deaths daily, impacting negatively on the economy of the Kenyan nation. When the economy of a country like Kenya is brought down to its knees, the sources of livelihood are limited leading to suffering through hunger e.t.c. The author, who seems to be a Luo sympathizer, portrays the Kikuyus as a nuisance.

#### 4.5.2.5. ST. No 7

A man was heard saying this to a driver of a public service vehicle:

*“Driver, be faster. My wife is from Nyeri”*

This stereotype is about women from Nyeri. It is said that these women are harsh and beat up their husbands. The stereotype in form of a joke has been taken from the Kikuyu community and is used to warn against marrying women from this county. In the stereotype, we are not told that the man is going to be beaten. The inference drawn is that Nyeri women beat up their husbands and thus the commuter asks the driver to be faster for he is married to a Nyeri woman. The implicated conclusion is that men married to Nyeri women have to be very careful because any little provocation will be met with a violent response. Thus, the conclusion here is that the man does not want to be late because entering the house late calls for a beating. The Nyeri women are stereotyped as being harsh. Marrying a woman brought up in Nyeri then means a man is in trouble for the rest of his life. The word *Nyeri* represents all women from the Kikuyu community of whom men from other communities such as Kalenjin, Luo, Luhya and Kisii will always want to avoid marrying because they are known for battering their husbands.

#### 4.5.2.6. S T No. 17

##### 4.5.2.6.1. Luhya Women

*Bakhaana baluyaa basima limenya lieaasi. Basima bekhale engo patala yekhucha khulia muchioteli chimbofu, pora echai ekhatambao tawe. Busuma, murere, esufwa nende engokho bilabao aaba ewe omukhasi wanyola. Lundi bamanyikhana khuba mubiasara bie khusala babaana. Nakhanunia tawe, manya busa oli kaesisie. Mulukungo, kaokoka, niye aaba treshara wenasari, sekritari we kumukanda kwe basiele. Bamanyikhana khulondekhana nende ekalikiti mwichune.*

#### Translation

Luhya women are known to be modest. They would rather stay at home so long as there is enough tea than have you take her out to an expensive hotel. So long as there is constant supply of ugali and chicken, she is yours for keeps. They are also known to be in the business of making

children. If she is not breast feeding, she is pregnant. In the village, she is known as being born again. She is the treasurer of the kindergarten, secretary of the women merry-go-round and curly kitted hair is their distinctive look.

This excerpt stereotypes and prejudices Luhya women negatively. These women are known to be modest and to have austerity. They are not extravagant at all. The inference drawn is that Luhya women are not problematic. They like staying at home and not hanging out in expensive restaurants for dinner and lunch. They are not ambitious in the sense that their lives revolve around the village. They derive satisfaction in life when they serve the community as, treasurer of the Kindergarten and secretary to the women merry-go-round. In this case, the incongruity is resolved when they are stereotyped as women who lack ambition and like giving birth to many children. The implicated conclusion here is that men who marry Luhya women should be prepared to give birth to many children and provide enough in terms of food.

### 4.5.3. Cultural Stereotypes and Prejudice

Culture alludes to the fundamental esteems, convictions and codes of training that make a group what it is. It mirrors the implications and understandings that individuals regularly ascribe to circumstances and the arrangements that they apply to basic issues. They illuminate the generalizations which individuals have against other ethnic gatherings and sex. Culture alludes to the fundamental qualities, convictions and codes of practice that make a community what it is (Parker & Wang, 2013). Culture can, therefore, be intuitive reflecting the meaning and understanding which people ascribe to circumstances and the resolutions that they use to solve issues. They inform the stereotypes and prejudices, which people have against other ethnic groups and gender, as a result, find their way into the organizational decision-making process.

It is guaranteed that reasons for ethnic stereotyping and prejudice originate from different sources. Most generalizations are dictated by appearances; the way gatherings, culture or sexual orientations look and act are not quite the same (Whiten & Mesoudi, 2016). Social generalizations arrange and describe individuals as sorts, regardless of whether concentrated on ethnicity, sexual orientation, sex, class, race, or other social gatherings and personalities. They abridge and sum up; however, they are never nonpartisan. One social clinician calls them "a state of mind about nationalities and religions and races other than our own with reference to our own benchmarks" (Moffat & Wilson, J. 2011). Generalizations can display exaggeratedly ideal pictures and excessively negative ones; however, the last will probably be tested and censured.

Generalizations established in a given culture are passed on from age to age during the time spent on socialization. They make regions of basic learning which affects the group individuals' conduct and states of mind towards stereotyped individuals (Haines & Lofaro, 2016). Information on generalizations is typically passed orally. Individuals from a group do not just share the data on the attributes of the group delegates but also assess it. Stereotypes and prejudices are passed on and strengthened by the dialect utilized at home, school and broad communications (writing, radio, TV, press and promotion).

Ways of life of people influence the way they perceive people of different genders, handicap, social class, tribe and work. A social presumption is a situation in which a person has certain esteems and understanding of his social background (Dawkins, 2016). Social suspicions are a critical part of understanding the environment. Culture is what people believe in, their qualities and



the way they go on about life. Culture means a social group such as nations or more particularly groups, for example, those at war.

Social convictions are known to be passed down starting with one's age then onto the next in a social learning process. The hypothesis of social learning (Cunningham & Macrae, 2011) states that social conduct is found out principally by watching and copying the activities and practices of others around you. The general public has a method for fulfilling or rebuffing practices of its individuals, in this manner, killing or strengthening certain practices and activities. This is the reason generalizations spread and are summed up in whole groups or gatherings. Generalizations are summed up convictions held by individuals against particular gatherings of individuals or sexual orientation.

Generalizations are, for the most part, contrary, despite the fact that there are few examples where individuals have been emphatically stereotyped and prejudiced. Generalizations emerging from social convictions are dynamic and develop with changes in the environment. Since social convictions are learnt, people and gatherings can likewise change their social convictions through social inclining forms by presentation to altering impacts (Clark & Kashima, 2007). Different cultural practices are closely associated with respective ethnic groups. Every ethnic community has its own beliefs, codes and values of practice that make it what it is. For instance, Luo men do not undergo circumcision and Luhyas' favourite delicacy is ugali and chicken. It is also alleged that Kikuyus are thieves, Kisiis are witches and Kalenjins are arsonists. Most of these generalizations (stereotypes and prejudices) are exaggerated ideal pictures. These tags are passed on from generation to generation.

#### 4.5.3.1. ST No. 3

##### 4.5.3.1.1. Luo Men Stereotyped as Uncircumcised

*Mjaruo akitaka kutawala hi nchi ni heri aende akatahiri kwanza*

(If a Luo wants to rule this country, then he should go and get circumcised first)

The Luo people are stereotyped and prejudiced as uncircumcised ones. Such a stereotype driven by traditional cultural beliefs and practices is dangerous and leads to ethnic animosity. Men from communities, that don't practice circumcision, have always been stigmatized and regarded as lesser and weaker men. As a result, they are seen as incapable of or unsuitable to take political leadership of the country. During electoral period, some leaders have gone public saying that Raila Odinga cannot lead this country because he is uncircumcised. This stereotype and prejudice has not only been used on the political arena to discredit politicians from communities that do not practice male circumcision but also fueled targeted and barbaric forms of violence against members of such communities. Such violence was meted out particularly to the members of the Luo community in 2007/2008 post-election violence at Kisumu Ndogo area within the larger Langas Estate in Eldoret.

#### 4.5.4. Tribal Stereotypes and Prejudices

Tribal or Ethnic stereotyping and prejudice is a marvel that has been utilized as a part of Kenya throughout the years, particularly for the purpose of humor. Stereotyping and prejudice is common in schools and colleges' dramatization activities, in radio and TV slots amongst

companions and contemporaries. Augoustinos and Rosewarne (2001:88-102) contends that stereotyping is general and is utilized for various purposes. Dummett (2004) notes that generalizations don't happen in a vacuum. While generalizations can be utilized for productive purposes (Rothenberg, 2016), they can cause harm when not utilized thoughtfully (Kite & Whitley, 2016). For instance, while stereotyping isn't utilized mindfully, it can worsen into negative ethnicity or more terrible still; abhor discourse, particularly when groups are parodied.

Ethnic stereotyping and prejudice is a confusion of an ancestral gathering utilizing what are believed to be illustrative attributes of individuals from that ethnic gathering. Inborn marks are pictures that are utilized to distort a clan and they hand-off fundamental messages about status, behavioral examples and social group. Tribal generalizations can serve to fortify positive esteems that advantage a group over another and then again, these generalizations can be a deterrent to social attachment and national integration.

Ethnic generalizations can, at times, continue on for subjective and social reasons. Intellectually, individuals regularly markdown generalization discrepant practices, ascribing them to situational factors, while making dispositional attributions for generalization reliable practices (Vezzali, 2015). Socially, individuals carry on in ways that inspire generalization affirming responses, making inevitable outcomes (Purdie-Vaughns & Walton, 2011). A big part of ethnic generalizations are negative articulations which indicate scorn, affront and at times inside and out loathe about the objective groups. The vast majority of the coded terms utilized as a part of generalizations are authentic and profound established as in they have been passed on starting with one age then onto the next.

In Kenya, tribal stereotypes and prejudices have been in place since independence. More recently, politicians have utilized these generalizations for political gain. In this study, the Kalenjins, Kikuyus, Luos, Luhyas and the Kisii use stereotypes and prejudices against one another. For instance, there have been political sentiments in the past about Luhyas as watchmen and cooks, Luos as lazy and dirty, Kikuyus as thieves, Kalenjins as foolish and primitive, and Kisii as witches. Most of the tribal stereotypes and prejudices hurt the targeted groups and thus bring about ethnic animosity. See the following stereotype and prejudices:

#### 4.5.4.1. S T No. 23

Witchcraft featured among the respondents as a stereotype associated with members of certain communities living in Eldoret. Members of the Kisii community are stereotyped as those who practice witchcraft and sorcery. It is alleged that witchcraft among the Kisii people has led to deaths of relatives and neighbors. Those, who lose their beloved ones, don't take it lightly, instead vent their anger on the suspects by lynching them and burning their homes. In Eldoret, according to respondents from the Luo and Luhya communities, both male and female members of the Kisii communities are accused of being witches and night runners. Kisii elderly women are particularly targeted in this stereotype.

During data collection, one of the respondents at Mailinne in Eldoret claimed that his cow died because of witchcraft from a neighbor from the Kisii community. A respondent from the Kipsigis community talked of the Kisii people feeding on the dead bodies of their victims killed through witchcraft. Respondents from Kalenjin community also accused the Luhyas of night running, a kind of witchcraft. The Luhyas also allege the Luos practice witchcraft.

Generally, respondents from different communities felt that witches, where women are disproportionately represented, are dangerous in the society and people fear and avoid them. This is in line with Allport's levels 2, 3 and 4 of his scale of prejudice and stereotyping. The following excerpt attests to the fact that witchcraft is commonly used as a stereotype against members of the Kisii community:

*The commonest Kisii stereotype is that they are witches as stated by Kipsigis (Kalenjins) respondents. A respondent who was Kipsigis confirmed that some of the Kisii neighbors indeed practice witchcraft. She noted that if you share a boarder with a Kisii and you disagree over small issues and refuse to ask for forgiveness, then you will be sure that when milking your cows, you will get blood instead of milk and if you have plantations then your crops will never do well.*

This stereotype about Kisii's and witchcraft is scary. Members of the Luo, Kalenjins and Luhya communities believed that Kisii people are dangerous because of being associated with witchcraft. Those, who believe witchcraft exists, say that victims may die or even run mad. In this regard, the majority will scorn, beat up, burn and chase away those who are suspected to practice this vice. Their property is also vandalized. This has often happened in Kisii land, Luo land and in Eldoret. In the case of Eldoret, the mentioned communities dislike the members of the Kisii community because of associating with witchcraft and night running.

#### 4.5.4.2. S T No. 13

Kikuyus refer to Luos (Raila) as "Afilistsi" (uncircumcised)

Some Kikuyus in Kenya compare themselves to the Biblical Jews. They consider themselves as mature, clean, full of wisdom and the most suitable community for leadership. On the other hand, they scorn the Luo people by referring to Raila Odinga as "Afilistsi". Based on the Bible, the Philistines never practiced circumcision. The Jews and other groups despised them a lot as people who were dirty, immature and cowards. Luos and Kikuyus have been fierce political rivals since independence. This rivalry has led to peddling of lies by the Kikuyu towards the Luo through ethnic stereotyping. According to the Kikuyu, one, who is uncircumcised, is not a grown up and is unfit for leadership of the country Kenya. In the 2007/2008 Post-Election Violence (PEV), members of these two communities turned against each other in Eldoret due to ethnic stereotypes such as the above one resulting to several deaths. The Kikuyu also use the term "Kihii" uncircumcised when referring members of the Luo community. Members of the Luhya community have not been left behind as they have also a terms that refer to the Luo men; *Kiminyolo* (uncircumcised) and *Kiekamafunga* (those with the fore skin).

#### 4.5.4.3. S T No. 14

Kalenjins refer to Bukusus as Kitosi ('Bakitosi') – meaning fools

Members of the Kalenjin community, especially the Nandi, refer to the Bukusu of the Luhya community as "Kitosi". During colonial times, the term "Kitosi" was used by imperialists to refer to a

place in Western Kenya. With time this word gained another connotation among the Nandi people, a sub-tribe of the Kalenjin community. It is used to stereotype and prejudice the Bukusu people of the Luhya community as fools. This tribal slur is both offensive and demeaning.

#### 4.5.4.4. S T No. 15

##### 4.5.4.4.1. Luhya Community

Luhya men and women are best stereotyped and prejudiced as suited for the jobs of watchmen and nannies respectively. These stereotypes are used to demean the Luhya community on several fronts. In the following excerpt from one of the respondents ridiculing the Luhya, Luhya men and women are stereotyped as those fit for menial jobs:

Teacher: *Wasike (name of a male Luhya person), what would you like to become when you grow up?*

Wasike: *I would like to be a watchman who wears uniform.*

Teacher: *What about you Nekesa (name of a female Luhya person)?*

Nekesa: *I would like to be a maid who wears uniform.*

It is said that members of the Luhya community are the most trusted domestic workers and security guards and that people from other communities may not be employed as watchmen and nannies respectively, especially Kikuyus because of being associated with thievery traits. In turn, members of the Luhya community are discriminated or avoided in serious jobs in the belief that they are only fit for menial jobs. This outcome agrees with levels 2 and 3 of Allport's scale of prejudice.

#### 4.5.4.5. S T No. 16

##### 4.5.4.5.1. Pathologist Kenya

A dead body turns up at the mortuary, with a big smile on its face

After autopsies, the pathologist calls the police Inspector

Pathologist: "This is a Luhya man's body who died of constipation after a very heavy meal of ugali and chicken."

This joke stereotypes Luhya men who are known to consume large amounts of food, especially if it is ugali served with chicken. The incongruity of this joke lies in the violation of world of knowledge that food kills instead of providing energy. The explication in this joke, that Luhya like ugali and chicken is entertained. The implicated solution in this stereotype is that the Luyhas will always remain unproblematic as long as they have eaten "ugali". Members of other communities simply refer to them as "watu wa ugali". Politically, they are cheap to buy. The humorous effect is achieved through the strengthening of the stereotype that the Luhya are gluttons.

#### 4.5.5. Social Group Based Stereotypes and Prejudices

Social classification is the way of arranging individuals into groups in view of comparable attributes. A man considers others as far as their group affiliation is concerned (Allport, 1954/1979). Social classification comes to fruition when we consider somebody a man or lady, old or youngster, a dark or white individual. Social order happens suddenly without much idea (Brannon & Walton, 2013). This is why uncontrolled choices within a social structure are guided by the quality of the perceiver's generalizations. It is further contended that generalization enactment and application are, to a great extent, represented by utilitarian standards in light of the perceiver's job, the importance of the stereotype and prejudice in a circumstance and individual differences in stereotypic and prejudicial convictions.

Inside social gatherings, there are manners by which individuals see each other – in group stereotyping and prejudice. This is when individuals from one group perceive individuals from another group differently – out group generalizations (Carter & Murphy, 2015). There is a relationship between the way people perceive see the stereotypes and prejudices of their own group and how individuals from different social groups see regard the same stereotypes and prejudices (Everett, 2015). This is on account that people assume distinctive parts in the general public. For example, ladies are stereotyped and prejudiced as supporting and men are stereotyped and prejudiced as successful (Kite & Whitley, 2016). This may happen on the grounds that all things considered, men and ladies end up in various social parts inside a culture.

Considering others with regard to their social classification has some potential advantages for the individual who does the ordering. However, arranging others as opposed to regarding them as novel attributes has a wide assortment of negative and frequently unjustifiable results for the individuals who are sorted. Generalizations showed in social classes contort our observations with the end goal that we have a tendency to overstate the contrasts between individuals from various social gatherings while in the meantime seeing individuals from gatherings, especially out gatherings as more like each other than they really are (Cameron, 2012). Overgeneralization makes it more probable for us to consider and treat all individuals from a social group in a similar way (Link & Phelan, 2010). Stereotypes and prejudices are learnt through correspondence with guardians, peers and from practices we see depicted in the media (Quinn & Chaudoir, 2009). Youthful youngsters have learnt social standards about fitting exercises and practices for young men and young ladies (McGarrity & Huebner, 2014). They likewise create generalizations about age, race and physical appeal. For instance;

##### 4.5.5.1. S T No. 11

###### 4.5.5.1.1. Non Kikuyus Stereotyped as Animals

The following tribal stereotype is by the Kikuyu towards other tribes: Kalenjins, Luos, Luhyas and Kisiis;

*The kikuyus refer to other communities; Kalenjins, Luos. Luhyas and Kisiis as Nyamu cia ruguru (animals)*

According to this stereotype, Kikuyus refer to other communities as animals. This stereotype is offensive because it equates other communities to animals. Such stereotypes have

often left the targeted communities annoyed as they are demeaning and offensive. The inference drawn from this stereotype is that Rumbwa eat dogs, which is provocative and thus, the Kalenjins retaliate through violence. Animals are uncivilized, dirty, uncouth, stupid and primitive.

#### 4.5.6. Mchongoano

“*Mchongoano*” is a borrowed word from the Kiswahili language. This is a form of a joke that has become very popular in Kenya especially among the youth. The primary function of *Mchongoano* is socialization. It is not a way of expressing pent up frustrations or rebelling against institutional authority, though it does challenge the social norms by confronting them head on. *Mchongoano* is a mechanism for social control among peer groups, because a lot of self-control is required for someone to stand the slurs directed at him or at people close to him e.g. other participants in the conversation (Githinji, 2007). This view places ritual insults as an art with a socialization function.

Kenyan websites like [www.classic105.com](http://www.classic105.com), [www.kenyanjokes.com](http://www.kenyanjokes.com), [Kisii.com](http://Kisii.com), and [www.kisfm.co.ke](http://www.kisfm.co.ke) have become important sites in which participants share familiar discourse like *Mchongoano* purely for amusement. TV and Radio stations air programs which use *Mchongoano* to produce humour. “Churchill Live” on Nation TV, children programs on Citizen TV, and Radio station programs on Mulembe FM, Milele FM, and air *Mchongoano* programs. According to Githinji (2007:51) *Mchongoano* is a ritualized verbal contest. It is popular with Kenyan school going kids especially those in primary schools. It is a process where an opponent takes on another by slandering him or members of his family. The aim of *mchongoano* is to elicit humour. *Mchongoano* uses figurative language; irony, hyperbole, metaphors, and metonymy among other styles.

*Mchongoano* involves negotiation of status through the cultivation of self-esteem. Raising one’s self esteem involves undermining that of others. The subject in *mchongoano* is usually an attribute expressed in phrases such as *wewe mweusi*- ‘you are too black,’ *wewe nimpoor*- ‘you are very poor,’ *budako mkondee sana*-‘your dad is so slim’ etc. In these duels, the dominant topic is poverty portrayed in images of tiny houses, packaged in various images of suffering, shanties, ridiculous meals and crime. The images are popular because they strike familiar chord that majority of Kenyans can relate to.

##### 4.5.6.1. ST No. 1

###### 4.5.6.1.1. *Mchongoano* about Kikuyus

Wasapere ni wezi mpaka venye nilienda kugoogle “Akuku stole my fone” ikaniletea, did you mean? “Kamau stole my phone?” and in related searches, it brought “Njuguna steals a phone,” “Njeri hijacks a car.”

(*Kikuyus are such thieves that when I google “Akuku stole my phone” I got the message, did you mean “Kamau stole my phone?” then in related searches I got the following: “Njuguna steals a phone,” “Njeri hijacks a car.”*)

The *mchongoano* illustrated above has to be enriched. The hearer has to recover the stereotype and prejudice it is based on. The stereotype and prejudice are inspired by the Kenyan

social context where members of the Kikuyu community are stereotyped as being thieves and see the theme of thievery. This stereotype is available from the interlocutor's cognitive environment at the time they engage in the duel. The incongruity of this ethnic stereotype and prejudice lie in the violation of world of knowledge that computers have no memory about Luos being thieves but do have the same about Kikuyus. Therefore, the search for optimal relevance is violated. As the hearer tries to recover the stereotype for optimal relevance, the following implicatures are entertained:

- Kikuyus referred to as *Wasapere* in sheng are well known thieves such that even internet search engines such as Google know that.
- Luos are not thieves and even Google knows that as well and can only suggest that the people known for stealing are Kikuyus.
- Since Kamau, Njuguna and Njeri are Kikuyu names, they must be thieves.

*Mchongoano* verbal plays are meant for entertainment by children as already stated. Through entertainment of the implicatures the search for relevance is recovered as the awareness is created that the insult and humorous effect is achieved through strengthening the ethnic stereotype that Kikuyus are thieves based on the incongruent situation that Google knows this is Kenyan stereotype. Search engines of the internet are expected to be impartial and not to judge. This is not so in ST No. 1 where the search engine exonerates the Luo, Akuku from being accused as a thief. The stereotype about Kikuyus is consolidated and achieved through exaggeration of Google's ability to judge. This stereotype employs the processes of lexical adjustment. "Wasapere" is a metonymy that stands for the Kikuyu tribe. The name "Akuku" stands for the Luo ethnic community. The word "googled" is a neologism having developed from the search engine "Google."

#### 4.5.6.2. ST No. 2

##### 4.5.6.2.1. *Mchongoano* about Luhyas

Wasee! Wasee!.....sheria imewekwa kuhusu job yetu ya kuiba ..... sheria ya kwanza, hatutapora soja, anaweza kuwa ni mtu wa kwetu.

*(Friends! Friends! We agreed on the rule of stealing ..... the first rule, we should not rob a watchman, he could be one of our own)*

This joke is derived from the stereotypes associated with the Luhya community. In the stereotype, the communicator was trying to show that there is a higher possibility that a watchman will come from the Luhya ethnic community. Luhyas (men) are stereotyped by members of other communities as watchmen; see the theme of watchmen and cooks.

#### 4.5.6.3. ST No. 3

Bali ewenywe butambi bukali, muli nende enju ye bunyasi, babefwi nebula mungo baloma bali, "khemwikuleo namwe khurere chikhafu."

*That at your home you are so poor that your house is grass thatched and when robbers come, they say, "Open up or we bring cows."*

This stereotype is derived from the implicature that Luhyas are poor because they live in grass thatched houses. The exposure of the poverty and the fact that cows can bring down the roof is the insult of the stereotype. The assumption is that protection is offered by the roof which is not the case here as robbers do not need much effort to get into the house.

### *4.6. Strategies of Communication and the Major Themes in Stereotypes and Prejudices*

This section answers objective two which was about how stereotypes and prejudices are communicated as well as major themes in the stereotypes and prejudices. The following strategies are used to communicate stereotypes and prejudices: Ethnic stereotypes and prejudices are expressions communicated mainly using coded language.

#### 4.6.1. Strategies of Communicating Stereotypes and Prejudices

Several strategies used to communicate stereotypes and prejudices emerged from the responses generated from the respondents as the following categories indicate:

##### 4.6.1.1. Metaphors

A metaphor is one of the figurative languages used daily in language. Wilson and Sperber (2012:16), states that metaphors and other tropes are cases where the meaning covered by the use of a word goes beyond the linguistically encoded since they simply mean that metaphors communicate in implicated meaning. Veale (2012:213) views metaphor as a cognitive mechanism of the human mind allowing cross domain mappings. In this case a metaphor is a cognitive semantic approach. Semino (2010:205-226) says that a metaphor envisions two more things not normally thought of as connected, are brought together and fused in the imagination of the other. The understanding of metaphors as a figurative language depends on the context and it works on implicature.

##### 4.6.1.1.1. The Metaphor of the Weed - Sangari

*Sangari* is a type of weed that is not required by farmers especially in maize plantations. This weed is dangerous to the survival of a crop and it is upon the farmers to uproot it before it suffocates the crop. In the process of raising any crop in the farm, farmers use all manner of mechanisms to weed out unwanted plants that may hinder the normal growth of the main crop. If a farmer does not weed them out then the yield will be very low. According to most Kalenjin respondents, Kikuyus in Eldoret are referred to as *sangari* (weed) - *Haoni sangari, nakwambia* (They are like weeds). *Sangari* is a very stubborn weed and removing it from the main crop is not easy at all. If it is not uprooted, it ends up suffocating the main crop in the field. Kikuyus are equated to this weed because the Kalenjins have always felt that they are domineering in business and farming denying them opportunities in their own land. This is why occasionally they would rise up against the Kikuyus, fighting them fiercely to forcefully remove them from their land.

In this stereotype, Kikuyus are referred to as *Sangari* (*couch grass weed, unwanted plant species*). *Sangari* is a type of weed that is not required by farmers especially in maize fields. This weed is dangerous to the survival of a crop and it is upon the farmers to uproot it before it suffocates the crop. Since weeds are problematic and choke plants, they are usually uprooted by



farmers. The soil being useful is shaken off soil from the weed and then the weed is burned. If a farmer does not weed them out, then the yield will be very low. In this stereotype, Kikuyus in Eldoret Township are like *sangari* (couch grass weed).

Some Kalenjins have always felt that they are domineering in business and farming, denying them of the opportunities in their own land. In the years 1992, 1997 and 2007/2008, the Kalenjin community in Eldoret advocated for “this dangerous weed” to be uprooted, soil shaken off it, put together and burnt – all in reference to the Kikuyu people. This is why occasionally they would rise up against the Kikuyus, fighting them fiercely to remove them from their land. In this stereotype and prejudice Kikuyu women bear the brunt of violence or spoken abuse for giving birth to Kikuyus. They are seen as agents of this pervasive weed (the Kikuyu tribe). There have been reports of communal rape of Kikuyu women during conflicts or even splitting open of the wombs of pregnant Kikuyu women to kill their fetuses in the hope of removing this *sangari* (couch grass).

#### 4.6.1.1.2. Metaphor of the Animal - *rumbwa*

According to this stereotype from members of the Kikuyu community, Kikuyus refer to members of the Kalenjin community as animals. This stereotype and prejudice is offensive because it equates other communities to animals. Such stereotypes have often left the members of the targeted annoyed as they are demeaning and offensive. The inference drawn from this stereotype is that *rumbwa* eat dogs, which is provocative and thus, the Kalenjins retaliate through violence. Animals are uncivilized, dirty, uncouth, stupid and primitive - see transcript 20.

#### 4.6.1.1.3. Metaphor of the Mongoose

*Mongoose* is a metaphor used by the Kalenjin people towards the Kikuyu people. According to Kalenjins, Kikuyus behave like a mongoose – an animal which steals their chicken (land). The implicature in this metaphor is that the members of the Kikuyu community are interlopers, dangerous and essentially thieves. A mongoose is a dangerous animal which must be hunted down or else it will wipe out all the chicken that one has. In 1992, 1997 and 2007/2008, members of the Kikuyu community were fought, hundreds killed and chased away from Eldoret by the Kalenjin community. The use of this term implies that such a person is an enemy of the Kalenjin community and therefore leads to discrimination and avoidance. See transcript 6 excerpt (ii).

#### 4.6.1.1.4. Metaphor of the Kitosi

Members of the Bukusu (Luhya) community are referred to as *kitosi*. According to the Kalenjins, *kitosi* is reference for foolishness. This is a tribal slur that belittles and demeans the victims. The use of this term leads to the target group (out-group) avoiding the in-group. This kind of slur may lead to hatred and avoidance of the out-group. See transcript 11.

#### 4.6.1.1.5. Metaphor of the Hare - *kiplingwet*

*Kiplingwet* is the name of hare in the Kalenjin community. Hare is an animal considered to be very sly. The Kalenjin people refer to members of the Kikuyu people as *kiplingwet* – the sly ones who can cheat and con them of their property such as land. The use of this term, therefore, leads to the out-group being avoided resulting to discrimination. The term limits people in the out-group in terms of social interaction. See transcript 6 excerpt (iii).

#### 4.6.1.1.6. Metaphor of Backwardness and Arsonists

##### 4.6.1.1.6.1. S T No. 10

##### 4.6.1.1.6.1.1. Kalenjins Stereotyped as Arsonists and Backward

In the following stereotype, Luhyas and Kikuyus stereotype Kalenjins by the following terms;

- ❖ Luhyas – (a) Luhyas stereotype Kalenjins as *Bosyanju (those who burn houses)*  
(b) Luhyas stereotype Kalenjins by referring to them as, *abano bekamarandule. Sebalinende kamakesi tawe.* (These are people with torn ears. They are fools because they think using their mutilated ears)
- ❖ Kikuyus stereotype and prejudice Kalenjins as *kabila choma (people who burn houses)*

These tribal stereotypes by the Luhya and Kikuyu negatively portray the Kalenjins. The word “bekamarandule” (those with torn ears) is derogatory and very annoying and provocative to the targeted group. The metaphor “bekamarandule” refers to foolishness and backwardness. Anybody with mutilated ears is assumed to be foolish because he/she cannot understand anything taught. The inference in this stereotype “kabila choma” is that Kalenjins are people who are not friendly, violent, destroy other people’s property through arson and kill those they feel are their enemies, more so political enemies. During elections, especially in Eldoret, Kalenjins will demand that other communities - always referred to as outsiders, should vote for political candidates along with the natives. This has been witnessed in the past and in the August 2017 general election where by Kikuyus, Luhyas, Luos and Kisiis were told to vote for one particular gubernatorial aspirant, failure to do so would warrant the wrath of the natives.

#### 4.6.1.2. Anecdotes

These are short narratives about a person or an event. They are sometimes humorous. Their main aim is to amuse people and to reveal a truth in a more general way than the short narrative itself. These narratives are used in social situations that are not formal. Anecdotes are utilized by people to communicate notional ideas about other people, things and places by use of tangible details.

##### 4.6.1.2.1. Anecdote on Kikuyu Men

The anecdote, in transcript 4, stereotypes and prejudices Kikuyu men as weaklings before their women; and that insecurity in Kenya is caused by the Kikuyus, not the Alshabab. This study found out that Kikuyus who are stereotyped as thieves are regarded as stealing from the country directly and through corruption activities leading to poverty. The reference to insecurity is poverty which is said to be caused by Kikuyus. The inference in this stereotype and prejudice is that, poverty is a greater insecurity compared to Alshabab activities. See transcript 4 excerpts (i) and (ii).

##### 4.6.1.2.2. Anecdote on Kikuyu Women

The stereotype and prejudice in transcript 2 portrays Kikuyu women as packers. It does not matter how long a man has been married to anyone of them. It is said that she will pack and leave

anytime. One may leave even after 40 years of marriage. These women are said to be materialistic and after money but will drop a man like a hot potato when he is broke. Kikuyu women will not want anything to do with you when you don't have money. Such traits lead to avoidance and discrimination. See the following transcript:

*Andu aingi numaiguiti uhoro wa atumia Agikuyu. Muthenya omwe ungikainuka, ukuri mutimia na ciana nimaure, waku ni mugikuyu. Nimoikaini na kubanga tumirigu. Mbangaga tumirigu ca ciana na indo iria mwethita nake miaka mirongo ina, akora na cio.*

#### Translation

Everyone has heard about Gikuyu women. If one day you return home to find an empty house and your children gone, then you are in the groove with a Gikuyu woman. They are known to be “packers”. They will pack and go with the children and the furniture even after 40 years of marriage and hard labour on a marriage.

#### 4.6.1.2.3. Anecdote on Kikuyus

The stereotype and prejudice in transcript 7 comes in form of hate speech. It is by one of the senior politicians in Eldoret Township. The politician calls on all non residents of Eldoret to vote for him or else they should go back to their native land. The reference on the *mungiki* as **persona non grata** is being directed at the Kikuyu people. It is claimed that they are not wanted in Eldoret and should be taken back to central province, their homeland. They are considered out-groups. See the following transcript:

*“Kama wewe ni mkazi wa Eldoret hata uwe nani, lazima upige kura kama wenyeji wa hapa. Kuna wengine hapa ambao wanajifanya kunipinga mimi. Ikiwa hawaambatani na matakw yetu basi warudi kwao. Mwangi Kihunjuri kuja uchukuwe Mungiki zako upeleke huko kwenyu central.”*

#### Translation

“If you are a resident of Eldoret, you must vote the way the locals do. Some of you want to oppose me by voting for my rival. If at all you won't vote according to the wishes of the locals, then you should go back to where you belong. Mwangi Kihunjuri should come and pick his *Mungiki's* and take them back to Central Kenya.”

During political campaigns in the last general election, Eldoret experienced a fierce battle between two rivals vying for the Uasin Gishu Governors position. Sensing defeat, one of the aspirants employed threats towards the supporters of his bitter rival. *Mungiki* is a dreaded terror gang in Kenya closely associated with members of the Kikuyu community. It is in world of knowledge that some Kikuyu people belong to the *Mungiki* sect. Being a terror group, everyone dreads it. Members of this group - Kikuyus unleash all sorts of terror that includes land grabbing, domineering, monopoly of trading activities, thuggery etc. Such threats are antagonistic which leave the targeted groups of people worried, anxious and hopeless.

#### 4.6.1.2.4. Anecdote on Luo Men

This anecdote in transcript 8 is discriminative and demeaning. Culturally, Luo men do not take the male cut. They are considered dirty and referred to as grown up babies who are unfit for

leadership of the country. The call for forceful circumcision is discriminative of the out-group. The out-group, on the other hand, avoids the in- group. The following excerpt from a respondent was a warning against Luo leadership purportedly because Luo men are children:

*Mjaluo akitaka kutawala hii nchi ni heri aende akatahiri kwanza*

(If a Luo wants to rule this country, then he should go and get circumcised first)

Men from tribes, that don't practice circumcision, are stigmatized and taken to be lesser and weaker men and therefore incapable of political leadership of the country. This stereotype has been used on the political arena to discredit politicians from communities that do not practice male circumcision. It has also been used to fuel targeted and barbaric forms of violence against members of such communities. Such violence was meted out particularly to the members of the Luo community in 2007/2008 post-election violence at Huruma area in Eldoret. Male members of the Luo community have suffered because of avoidance, discrimination and physical attack which are in line with Allport's scale of prejudice and stereotyping.

#### 4.6.1.2.5. Anecdote on Luos

Transcript 9 is an anecdote that associates the Luo community with violence. It is a call to cause harm and vandalism of property through acts of stone throwing and arson in case one of their own does not win the presidential election. Land grabbers and thieves in this anecdote allegedly are members of the Kikuyu community perceived as thieves who steal elections and land. For instance:

##### 4.6.1.2.5.1. S T No. 20

*"Wajaluo tukishindwa I know we must ngoa reli, rasha mawe, choma maduka ya kuuza maziwa, kuchoma tyre barabarni." "Turushe mawe kabisa hadi Mungu wetu Raila Agwambo aje atuambie tuache. Sisi ni Sirkal!; kwani twangojani? Si tuanze fujo? Mimi ni mwanamke but kazi ntkayoifanya mtapenda. I hate Kenyanz. I hate land grabbers! I hate thieves!*

("We Luos I know if we lose presidential election, we must uproot the railway line, throw stones, burn milk shops, barricade roads. We will throw stones until our god Raila Agwambo tells us to stop. We are the government! What are we waiting for? We should start violence. I am a woman but I will unleash terrible violence on our opponents. I hate land grabbers! I hate thieves!")

This rhetoric was by a Luo woman having fun at a certain joint in Eldoret. She was among Luo men and having taken a lot of alcohol, she shouts calling for violence against the Kikuyus countrywide if Raila loses the presidential election. The speaker refers to Raila as god because to the Luo community, he is their undisputed leader. It is an explicit and unlawful call to members of the Luo community against Kikuyus. Generally, Luos are stereotyped as unruly and violent, especially during elections. Implicitly the Kikuyus are considered to be land grabbers and thieves who steal votes during elections. This stereotype is used to warn them against land grabbing and stealing of votes during elections. The call for burning milk selling shops is because milk sold in

shops is produced by factories owned by President Uhuru Kenyatta, a Kikuyu political rival of Raila Odinga.

#### 4.6.1.2.5.2. S T No. 24

Data from the study indicates that, in general, Luo community is stereotyped as violent as the following excerpt from a respondent shows:

*Mawe yana kazi tofauti Luo Nyanza; kuna ya kuita mtoto na ya kupiga adui*

(Stones have different tasks in Luo Nyanza; there are stones for signaling children to come and for attacking enemies).

This stereotype joke is meant to portray the Luo as an unruly and violent community that uses stones as it has been believed for long in Kenya. Gor Mahia, a soccer team named after the Luo legend is associated with fans who throw stones mostly when they are defeated on the field and politically. The implicature in this stereotype is that any defeat to members of the Luo community, be it in soccer or politically, is a bitter pill to swallow. The joke also instills a stereotype that communication in the Luo community is done through stones, and thus, it is part of their inherent behavioral pattern.

#### 4.6.1.2.6. Anecdote on Luos

The expression in transcript 10 is by a Luo lady in one of the social places in Eldoret. She is annoyed and concerned by all the insults, stereotypes and prejudices directed at members of her community. Hatred directed at the community because of politics is her great concern. Such are sentiments that lead to discrimination and avoidance. For instance;

This stereotype is in form of an appeal by a Luo to non-Luos:

*"I am a Luo. There is nothing that will make me NOT Luo. It's ok to have an opinion-a political opinion. However, if you come online as part of expressing your (political) opinion and start saying how you hate Luos, how they are brainless, vichwa vimejaa omena (heads full of silver cyprinid). Seriously, are you being fair to our friendship? Have you forgotten that me ACHIENG OWUOR, your friend, I am Luo too? Must hating an entire tribe be part of your political expression?"*

In the above stereotype, Achieng, who is Luo, expresses her anger towards insults directed to the members of the Luo community because of Kenyan politics. This stereotype probably from a member of the Kikuyu community metaphorically compares Luos to Silver Cyprinid popularly known as *omena*. The implication in the stereotype is that Luos are foolish due to the implication that their heads have little but *omena* (a type of fish). The Luos have always received criticisms for their kind of politics since independence, which have left the community languishing in poverty.

#### 4.6.1.3. Direct Use of Language

This is the use of words of a language in their literal sense. Meaning is conferred to words in the sense that the meaning brought out is outside that of any figure of speech. A consistent meaning

is maintained irrespective of the context with the intended meaning. The meaning intended corresponds exactly with the meaning of individual words.

#### 4.6.1.3.1. Chorindet - Thief

*Chorindet* refers to a thief who can do it secretly or without the use of open force. Various stereotypes and prejudice in this study are connected to theft. Even though thieves are found in every community, most of the stereotypes and prejudices point at Kikuyus as thieves. According to Allport's scale of prejudice, such out-groups are avoided, discriminated up on and attacked by members of other groups (in group). In the field during this study, it was revealed that Kikuyus have borne the brunt of being stereotyped as thieves. This tag brings about ethnic animosity anytime it is used to refer to members of this community. See transcript 6 excerpt (iv).

#### 4.6.1.3.2. Uncircumcised

In the study, Luo men are stereotyped and prejudiced as those who do not undergo circumcision. See transcripts 8 excerpts (i), (ii) and (iii). This terminology is used to portray Luo men as children, premature and not fully developed. From the same transcript, there is an argument by members of the Kikuyu community that they won't accept to be smeared with "porridge" This is an insult directed towards Luo men in the sense since Luo men are not circumcised, members of the Kikuyu community stereotype and prejudice them as "makers of porridge". Luos may, therefore, use porridge to smear the Kikuyus in case Raila Odinga, the opposition leader ascends to presidency. See the stereotype and prejudice below:

*Kikuyus refer to Luos (Raila) as "Aflitsi (uncircumcised)*

#### Translation

Luos are like Philistines, who don't circumcise their male children

#### 4.6.1.3.3. Lazy Hooligans

It is said that Luos are a lazy lot. They like lazing around and making merry. Members of the Luo community become violent when they are provoked, especially politically. When Gor Mahia, a soccer club, plays; its supporters, majority of whom are Luos, will engage in hooliganism whether they win or lose. Shops are looted and vehicles stoned. The acts of hooliganism often lead to avoidance and discrimination. It is claimed that members of this community do not give dialogue any chance and would rather throw stones to express disappointment. See the excerpt below;

*"Wajaluo tukishindwa I know we must ngoa reli, rasha mawe, choma maduka ya kuuza maziwa, kuchoma tyre barabarni." "Turushe mawe kabisa hadi Mungu wetu Raila Agwambo aje atuambie tuache. Sisi ni Sirkal!; kwani twangojani? Si tuanze fujo? Mimi ni mwanamke but kazi ntkayoifanya mtapenda. I hate Kenyanz. I hate land grabbers! I hate thieves!*

#### Translation

"We Luos I know if we lose presidential election, we must uproot the railway line, throw stones, burn shops for selling milk, barricade roads. We will throw stones until our god Raila Agwambo tells us to stop. We are the Government! What are we waiting for? We should start

violence. I am a woman but I will unleash violence to our opponents. I hate land grabbers! I hate thieves!"

#### 4.6.1.3.4. Hardworking

The Kikuyu community is known for producing excellent merchants and businessmen. They are known for coming in, and taking over other tribes' land and within a short period of time, utilize it appropriately to start making money. They consider this a good trait, but other tribes see them as greedy and think that they will take over all the opportunities of making money. Many Kenyans resent them because of this.

#### 4.6.1.4. Coded Language

Coded language is defined as the use of language in a manner intended to conceal the normal meanings of expressions. The codes used are well known to the users. The users, in this case, could be a social group that uses it. The target communities may not be aware of the meaning of the codes used. According to Blum (2015:29), coded language has an almost symbolic relationship. Negative coded expressions about other people or groups are usually expressed in coded language. Coded expressions reflect stereotypes held by the in-group about the out-group (Muaka, 2011). In Kenya, ethnic communities have certain beliefs about other communities. These beliefs are about behaviours, weaknesses, strengths and abilities of other communities (Ogechi, 2013). Every tribe in Kenya uses coded expressions about other tribes. According to Abdulaziz (2012:51-53), some coded expressions are specifically used by particular communities while others are general and refer to all other communities in Kenya. Coded phrases are aimed at excluding and including certain groups from a conversation.

##### 4.6.1.4.1. Ogowang –Wildcat

According to a Luo respondent, this term is used to refer to the Luhya people as untrustworthy. The term is derived from the leopard aspect of having different colours. It is believed that Luyhas can never be trusted more so politically.

##### 4.6.1.4.2. Abalibandu Vaseve

This is an expression in Luhya that means people who 'eat' others. The Luhya use it in reference to the members of the Kikuyu community. The implication is that Kikuyus are people known to exploit members of other communities. In this regard, therefore, people from other communities are always very cautious while dealing with them either in business or any other engagement. Many at times Kikuyus are avoided leading to discrimination.

##### 4.6.1.4.3. Jokwoye

This is a term used by the Luo people in reference to the Kikuyu people as thieves. The word thief seems to be a normal term but it is used by other communities to signify negative emotional feelings when referring to the Kikuyu nation. This term stirs ethnic animosity anytime it is used in reference to members of the Kikuyu community. For example,

4.6.1.4.3.1. S T No. 8

4.6.1.4.3.1.1. Kikuyus Stereotyped as Thieves

Theft is common among all communities in Kenya, though only a few are mentioned as thieves in ethnic stereotypes and prejudices. The most mentioned in stereotypes to do with theft are members of the Kikuyu community. Kikuyus are stereotyped and prejudiced as pick pockets, bank robbers, packers (prostitutes) and those who steal land. Such stereotypes and prejudices have in the past fueled enmity resulting to violence against members of this community.

While the word thief is a normal term in day to day life, it emerged from the study that communities such as the Kalenjins, Luos and Luhyas use the term to connote negative emotive feelings while referring to the members of the Kikuyu community. For the term “thief” the Luo use the term *Jakuoye* while the Kalenjins use the term *Chorindet* and the Luhyas the term *Kimikondo*. This term tends to stir ethnic animosity anytime it is used to refer to members of the Kikuyu community.

In one incident, one respondent demonstrated how the general statement below which was about ordinary thieves was interpreted as a code word to mean all Kikuyus as a prelude to ethnic attacks directed at members of the Kikuyu community:

*Wezi wote huku Rift Valley wachomwe*

(“All thieves” (Kikuyus) in Rift Valley should be burnt)

Generally, the inference made from the above stereotype is that members of the Kikuyu community are thieves. A thief is a dangerous person. The metaphor ‘thief’ is used to refer to various kinds of thieves namely; pickpockets, armed robbers, land grabbers, etc. In many instances, the punishment meted out to a thief is burning by fire. The Kikuyus in Rift Valley are stereotyped as those who steal land that belongs to Kalenjins and therefore, the Kalenjin people, on several occasions, have burnt their homes, killed and vandalized Kikuyus property in order to chase them away from the Rift Valley as witnessed in electioneering periods of 1991 and 2007/2008.

4.6.1.4.3.1.2. Bunyot

According to some Kalenjin respondents, this term is used in reference to the Kikuyu and Kisii people as enemies. The inference in this stereotype is that are perceived as enemies by the Kalenjin people because the Kikuyus and Kisiis encroached on their land in the Rift Valley.

4.6.2. Themes in Stereotypes and Prejudices

The following key themes in the stereotypes and prejudices characterize ethnic conflicts in Eldoret:

4.6.2.1. Theme of Women Aggression and Infidelity in Marriage

Women’s aggression and infidelity in marriage was a common theme that dominated the stereotyped and prejudiced perception of women among the Kikuyu. Of the women from the five ethnic communities living in Eldoret no other women get as much flak as Kikuyu women. It is alleged that Kikuyu women do all manner of vices. According to most respondents from the Kalenjin, Luhya, Luo and Kisii communities, Kikuyu women are not only domineering over their



husbands but also cheat on them, beat them up, and kill them with a view of taking over their property. The stereotypes sometimes seem so bad that some parents including fellow Kikuyus warn their sons against marrying these women. Although Kisii women are stereotyped as temperamental and violent when their husbands cheat on them or get home drunk, it is only Kikuyu women who bear most blame for aggression and infidelity. See the following excerpt;

*Driver, be faster. My wife is from Nyeri*

Translation

Speed up driver, lest my wife (*a Kikuyu from Nyeri reputed to beat husbands*) accosts me if am late.

4.6.2.2. Theme of Violence

Most people living in Eldoret can turn to violence when provoked according to a substantial number of respondents from this study. But most of the stereotypical and prejudicial violence has been heaped on the Kalenjin although Luos have also been equally stereotyped as violent to a large extent. In the Eldoret situation inter-community violence has been witnessed in the years 1992, 1997 and in 2007/2008 during and after general elections (KHNCR, 2012). The Kalenjins have been stereotyped as having fought Kikuyus, Luos, Luhyas and the Kisiis in Eldoret Township on all these occasions with little provocation e.g.

***Bosyanju*** (*those who burn houses*)

4.6.2.3. Theme of Witchcraft

Members of the Kisii community are stereotyped as those who practice witchcraft and sorcery. It is alleged that witchcraft among the Kisii people has led to deaths of not only own relatives and neighbors but also the communities with whom they live together. Those, who lose their beloved, are stereotyped to vent their anger on Kisii suspects whom they stereotype as witches by lynching them and burning up their homes. In the Huruma area, respondents from the Luo and the Luhya communities reported that members of the Kisii community are not only stereotyped as night runners, but they also practice witchcraft. One of the respondents at Mailinne in Eldoret during data collection exercise is alleged to have lost his dairy cow through death because of witchcraft from a neighbor from the Kisii community. A respondent from the Kipsigis community talked of the Kisii people feeding on the dead bodies of their victims killed through witchcraft. Respondents from Kalenjin community also stereotype the Luhyas of being night runners, a kind of witchcraft practice. The Luhyas also stereotype the Luos as people who practice witchcraft e.g.

***Bakisi balosi*** (Kisiis are witches) - By the Luhya.

4.6.2.4. Theme of Thievery

Theft is stereotyped as being common among all communities living in Eldoret The community most mentioned in stereotypes to do with theft are members of the Kikuyu community. According to most respondents, Kikuyus are stereotyped and prejudiced as pick pockets, bank robbers, “packers” and those who steal land. Such stereotypes and prejudices have in the past

fueled enmity against the Kikuyu resulting to violence against members of this community. While the word “thief” is a normal term in day to day life, it emerged from the study that communities such as the Kalenjins, Luos and Luhyas have terms that connote negative emotive feelings when referring to the members of the Kikuyu community. The Luo say, *Jokwoye*, Kalenjins say *Chorindet* and the Luhyas say *Kimikondo* in reference to stereotyped thievery among the Kikuyu. This term tends to stir ethnic animosity anytime it is used to refer to members of the Kikuyu community.

#### 4.6.2.5. Theme of Arson

During and after elections in Kenya, there were acts of violence such as arson. Reports by Kenya National Commission on Human Rights (2012) indicate that during inter-ethnic violence, acts of arson were witnessed in Rift Valley, Western, Nyanza, Coast and Nairobi. In this report, members of the Kalenjin community are stereotyped to be the main aggressors in Rift valley burning houses and property belonging to the members of the Kikuyu, Luhya, Kisii and Luo communities. In the same report, Luos are also linked to acts of arson in stereotypes such as *Bosyanju* (*those who burn houses*).

#### 4.6.2.6. Theme of Cannibalism

Apart from being blamed for witchcraft, the Kisii are also associated with cannibalism. It is said that buried bodies belonging to the witchcraft victims are exhumed by witches and eaten. It is alleged that witches in the Kisii community gain more powers to cast their spells depending on the amount of human flesh they consume. It is for this reason that the witches will fight to share human flesh whenever an opportunity arises. Another community rumored to be associated with cannibalism is the Bukusu (Luhya). This could have come about as a result of the Bukusu being the cousins to the Bagisu of Uganda who are said to be cannibals, e.g.

*Bakisii balichanga babandu bafwile* (*stereotype by the Luhya*)

#### Translation

Kisii people eat dead human bodies

#### 4.6.2.7. Theme of Backwardness

Tribal stereotypes by the Luhya and Kikuyu portray the Kalenjins as backward. The word “bekamarandule” (those with torn ears) used by the Luhya is derogatory, very annoying and provocative to the targeted group. The metaphor “bekamarandule” refers to foolishness and backwardness. Anybody with mutilated ears is assumed to be foolish because he/she cannot understand anything taught. This stereotype results in avoidance of Kalenjin women by other communities living in Eldoret or openly abusing them e.g.

*Lekhana nende bekamarandule bano babe. Sebalinende kamakesi tawe* (*Leave alone the people with torn ears; they are fools characterized by mutilated ears*).

#### 4.6.2.8. Theme of Servitude

Luhya men and women are stereotyped as best suited for the jobs of watchmen and nannies respectively. These stereotypes are used to demean the Luhya community on several fronts especially to gain political mileage. These stereotypes and prejudices are not only used to demean

the Luhya community, but also to discourage them from contending for better job opportunities and the political offices such as presidency of the country. In the following excerpt from one of the respondents, Luhya men and women are stereotyped as fit for menial jobs:

Teacher: *Wasike (name of a male Luhya person), what would you like to become when you grow up?*

Wasike: *I would like to be a watchman who wears uniform,*

Teacher: *What about you Nekesa (name of a female Luhya person)?*

Nekesa: *I would like to be a maid who wears uniform.*

It is said that members of the Luhya community are the most trusted domestic workers and security guards and that people from other communities may not be employed as watchmen and nannies respectively, especially Kikuyus because of being associated with thievery traits. In turn, members of the Luhya community are discriminated against or avoided in serious jobs in the belief that they are only fit for menial jobs. This outcome agrees with levels 2 and 3 of Allport's scale of prejudice.

#### 4.6.2.9. Theme of Exploitation

In this stereotype, Kikuyus are referred to as *Sangari (couch grass weed, unwanted plant species.) Sangari* is a type of weed that is not required by farmers, especially in maize fields. This weed is dangerous to the survival of a crop and it is upon the farmers to uproot it before it suffocates the crop. Since weeds are problematic and usually choke the healthy plants, they are usually uprooted by farmers. The soil is, however, useful, so all one does is to shake off soil from the weed and then burn the weed. If a farmer does not weed them out, then the yield will be very low. In this stereotype, Kikuyus in Eldoret are like *sangari* (couch grass weed).

The Kalenjins have always felt that Kikuyus are domineering in business and farming, denying them of opportunities in their own land. In the years 1992, 1997 and 2007/2008, the Kalenjin community in Eldoret campaigned for "this dangerous weed" to be uprooted, soil shaken off it, put together and burnt – all in reference to the Kikuyu people. Occasionally, they would rise up against the Kikuyus, fighting them fiercely to remove them from their land. In this stereotype, Kikuyu women bear the brunt of violence, especially the spoken abuses for giving birth to Kikuyus. They are seen as agents of this pervasive weed (the Kikuyu tribe). There have been reports of communal rape of Kikuyu women during conflicts or even splitting open of tummies of pregnant Kikuyu women to kill their fetuses in the hope of removing this *sangari* (couch grass).

#### 4.6.2.10. Theme of "Childishness"

The term "childishness" is frequently used to refer to the members of the Luo ethnic community who culturally do not circumcise to initiate the youth into adulthood. According to many respondents the term is, therefore, used negatively by various communities to portray all the men in the Luo community as children, premature and not fully developed. In reference to Luo men who are not normally circumcised, members of other communities stereotype them as children. In this regard, the Kikuyus use the term *Kihii*, the Kalenjins use the term *Ngetik*, while the Kisii use the term *abachabu* and the Luhya use the term *Kimisinde* in reference to Luos as "children".

Ethnic terms stereotyping Luo men as uncircumcised and hence not fit to be considered adults are very common in Eldoret. The term is, therefore, used negatively by various communities to portray all the men in the Luo community as children, premature and not fully developed. The Luo ethnic community culturally does not use circumcision to initiate the boy child into manhood. See the following excerpt:

*"Jaluo zote ziko Eldoret zitoke polepole. Sababu lazima mtahirishwena mabati ata hamutaanza fujo. Iyo nikitu imepangwa vizuri.*

("Luos in Eldoret should start moving out of there because you will be forcefully circumcised using iron sheets even if you don't cause chaos. This is something that has been well planned.")

The above hate speech message in the form of a threat was noted down by the researcher at one of the social places in Eldoret. It was said in both Kiswahili and English. It was a political warning calling for violence against members of the Luo community residing in Eldoret before the 2017 general election.

#### *4.7. Causes of Linguistic Stereotypes and Prejudices Based Conflicts in Eldoret*

This section answers objective three which was about the possible causes of ethnic stereotypes and prejudices based conflicts in Eldoret. According to several respondents in this study, the possible causes of ethnic based conflicts in Eldoret Township are as follows:

##### 4.7.1. Ownership and Distribution of Land

Land ownership and distribution is one of the causes of ethnic conflicts in Eldoret. According to respondents, land disputes between the Kalenjins and the Kikuyus started long before independence. Issues of land ownership in parts of Rift Valley Province have brought many conflicts between these two communities. The Kalenjins regard themselves as the indigenous community in this region while the Kikuyus are seen as the immigrants (Harbeson, 2012). The dispute emanates from the notion held by the Kalenjin community that the government helped the Kikuyus during the era of the first president of Kenya, Jomo Kenyatta, to acquire land in Rift Valley region (Boone, 2012). Stereotypes and prejudices about the Kikuyu people, by the Kalenjins such as *sangari*, *madoadoa* and thieves immensely contributed to the fueling of ethnic conflicts in this area. Kalenjins perceive members of the Kikuyu as those who steal land from the natives.

When Kenya gained independence in 1963, some of the land was handed over but not to the people from whom it had been taken from. The new government and its officials using the colonial laws drafted by the British deprived the rightful owner of their land. These laws did not encourage the collective land rights for communities. Instead they introduced and encouraged the concept of private individual property ownership. Several indigeneous groups were upset by the introduction of the concept of private individual property without the recognition of collective land rights. This is due to the fact that several of these communities still valued land occupation and use on traditional collective practices such as pastoralism. The government's land policies that were put in place at independence were partly to blame for the ethnic strife of 1992, 1997 and 2007/2008

respectively. Accordingly, Kikuyus, Luhyas, Kisiis and the Luos became new settlers in Uasin Gishu and other parts of Rift Valley (The Saturday Nation, February 9<sup>th</sup>, 2008).

Kenya's first president Mzee Jomo Kenyatta is perceived to have encouraged Kikuyu land occupation by funding massive Kikuyu penetration into the Rift Valley Province. After independence, his government could no longer recognize customary land use in law or practice. It, instead, sold the land it acquired from British settlers under the principle of willing buyer. A large portion of parcels land ended up in the hands of the Kikuyu people. The communities from which the land had been taken from missed out. Over time this created resentment among the ethnic communities who consider themselves as indigenous of the region (Odoyo, 2010). Part of the land was also used by Kenyatta for patronage purposes and building of political alliances. This trend was to continue under his successor President Daniel Arap Moi. In this connection, animosity is incited and directed against the Kikuyu people while often ignoring the role played by the locals who, in most cases, sold them land willingly.

Land ownership around Eldoret and its environments has been a thorn in the flesh among various ethnic communities. According to respondents in this study, the land issue has seen the rise of mistrust between the majority Kalenjins and the minority groups such as the Luhya, Kikuyu, Kisii and the Luo. The tensions were made worse by tribal divisions between the main political competing set ups in the 2007 election campaigns. ODM political outfit had a huge support base from this region. The party was overwhelmingly supported by the Kalenjins and the Luos. The PNU drew its support mainly from the Kikuyu people. Around Eldoret, many Kalenjin politicians from the community are purported to have incited the Kalenjin people, mainly the youth to rise up against members of the Kikuyu nation.

According to a respondent from the Kalenjin community, in 2007 at Soy centre, a Kalenjin councilor told a public gathering that if ODM formed government, it would *uproot some roots* in the area. This meant all the Kikuyu people living in the area. As a prominent local Kalenjin politician would later confess to Human Rights Watch, some ODM politicians would say, "there is a snake that we must get rid of." This was a metaphor used in reference to the Kikuyu people living in Eldoret and its environs. The ethnic sentiments by the politicians left members of the Kalenjin community convinced that the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) elected government would somehow repossess land owned by the Kikuyu people in the area and give it back to the locals. According to the several Kalenjins involved in the hate crusade against Kikuyus, they would do by force what could not be done by the ballot box. Ethnic violence, on several occasions, has been due to land ownership issues that have not been addressed for a long time. The issues date back to the colonial days when the imperialists displaced the Maasai and the Kalenjins from the White Highlands in the Rift Valley. At independence the colonialist left and some of this land was occupied by communities such as the Kikuyu, Luhya, Kisii and the Luo.

#### 4.7.2. Social Economic Disparity

According to majority of the people in Eldoret, this is another factor that has worked towards contributing to inter-ethnic violence in Kenya. Most communities in Kenya feel that national resources are not fairly distributed. This issue, together with others such as high rates of unemployment and poor governance, have all made a contribution towards inter-ethnic violence in Eldoret. Under The National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) government, members of the Kalenjin and

Luo communities felt that the government favoured only members of those communities affiliated to the government. They felt that there was inequitable distribution of national resources and that people from their communities were decimated up on. This resulted in mistrust among communities especially in Eldoret where members of the Kalenjin and Kikuyu communities could not see eye to eye. During election campaigns in the run up to the 2007 elections in Kenya, politicians in Rift Valley, Western and Nyanza convinced their youth that their problems would only end with change in the presidency. The politicians also wanted the resolutions made concerning the historical injustices. They blamed the dominant tribes of Mt. Kenya who allegedly enriched themselves at the expense of other tribes. On land ownership, members of the Kalenjin community stereotype and prejudice the Kikuyus as thieves (those who steal land).

### 4.7.3. Politicians

According to the study, politicians also do play a role in interethnic conflicts in Eldoret. They have always created the notion that the Rift Valley region is for the Kalenjin community. This notion has led to untold miseries among other ethnic communities such as Kikuyus, Luhyas, Luos and the Kisiis living in this region. The hostility against other communities in Eldoret re-occurs during electioneering period since 1992. However, the 2007 disputed presidential elections caused extraordinary crisis in Eldoret and other parts of the country. According to the respondents in this study, politicians in this region have in the past come up with stereotypes and prejudices such as *sangari* (roots), *madoadoa* (contamination) and *otutu labotonik* (all non-Kalenjins). These stereotypes and prejudices create suspicions which result to violence with slight provocation. Politicians may stoke inter-ethnic conflicts by either failing to intervene or by spreading propaganda that undermines the relationships between different ethnic communities (TJRC, 2008). In political circles, leaders or aspirants tend to influence the behavior of their followers before, during or after an electioneering exercise. In circumstances where politicians feel that their greatest threat comes from an opponent who enjoys support of a particular ethnic group, incitement against the ethnic groups may arise so that the opponent's supporters may be displaced during elections.

The first multiparty general election in 1992 saw forceful evictions of ethnic groups with different political views from those of their neighboring communities (Musau, 2008). A good number of politicians in Kenya are associated with incitement and ethnic stereotypes and prejudices that impede the good relationship between different ethnic groups living in the same region (Avruch & Mitchell, 2013). Such incitements create animosity between different ethnic groups in places such as Eldoret.

### 4.7.4. Ignorance

In Eldoret, the Kikuyu, Kalenjin, Luhya, Luo and the Kisii trade negative expressions against one another. According to TJRC (2008) report, stereotypes and prejudices play a role in inciting communities against one another leading to violence in Kenya. Continued use of ethnic stereotypes and prejudices creates tension among the communities. Some of the perceptions that are used by the mentioned communities against each other may create anger and animosity amongst them. According to some respondents, for instance the Kikuyu refer to the Kalenjins as *rumbwa*, a terminology literally taken to mean dog. The history of this terminology dates back to the colonial

period when the Kipsigis split half a dog in Kipkelion (Lumbwa), in order to bring about truce with the British (Okia, 2012). The Kipsigis, on the other hand, refer to the Kikuyus as *Kibirir Kelda*, meaning people with brown teeth. The use of the two terminologies *lumbwa* and *kibirirkelda* as entrenched in the linguistics of the two communities is only used in derogative inference to the people of the ethnic groups. These stereotypes and prejudices among others allegedly fuel ethnic animosity leading to violence in Eldoret Township.

Stereotypes and prejudices are common in Kenyan politics. The tags have always been used negatively to institute tribal hatred leading to violence especially during and after electioneering period. The 2007/2008 post-election violence marked the climax of ethnic violence in Eldoret. The announcement of presidential results of December 2007 triggered ethnic violence when Kalenjins and Luos began fighting the Kikuyus after Kibaki, Party of National Unity's (PNU) candidate won controversially against Raila Odinga, the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) candidate. These stereotypes and prejudices can be traced back to the early days of independence and the ensuing history of mutual fear of ethnic domination through economic and political exclusion. According to Hornsby (2013: 257), Kikuyu political elite felt that it was right to rule as they perceived themselves to be smarter and more entrepreneurial than other communities. After Jomo Kenyatta assumed the presidency of Kenya at independence, the Kikuyu elite felt threatened by the populous Luo group and the popularity of its leaders including Jaramogi Oginga Odinga and Tom Mboya (Battera, 2012). To eliminate this threat, Kenyatta's government marginalized the Luo politically. It was around this time that the government redistributed former British lands to members of Kikuyu community even though they had originally belonged to communities such as the Kalenjin Luhyas and Luos (Kasara, 2013). These events shaped and embedded the stereotypes and prejudices of untrustworthy, grabbing Kikuyu and the rebellious Luo.

#### 4.7.5. Cultural Differences

Kenya is a country with diverse cultures based on various ethnic communities. In this study, most respondents pointed out that some communities have taken advantage of some cultural practices to cause ethnic disharmony in the country. In Rift Valley, some cultural practices like circumcision ceremonies among the Kalenjin include lessons for young initiates on how to protect their community that inevitably include training on the use of weapons to attack enemy groups and the encouragement of the new initiates to be ready to act when called upon. In this region and places such as Eldoret acts of violence, have in the past, been meted out against communities perceived to be outsiders by Kalenjin youth. Luos who come from Nyanza do not circumcise the male youth. It is cultural in their community that men do not take the cut. Uncircumcised is a term that has been used repeatedly in reference to the Luo community who culturally do not use circumcision to initiate their male youth into adulthood. According to most respondents, this term is, therefore, used with negative connotation by various communities to portray Luo men as premature and not fully developed. The Kikuyu call them *Kihii*, Kisii; *Abaisia*, Luhya; *Kimisinde* and Kalenjin; *Ngetik*.

Members of the Kisii community are perceived to possess the greatest art of witchcraft. The Kisii are said to be night runners as well as cannibals. They are, therefore, accused of exhuming their dead and eating their bodies. Members of the Luhya ethnic community are allotted their characteristics based on their staple food; chicken and ugali. They are said to adore eating a lot such

that they consider a plate of *githeri* only a snack as one awaits the real meal of ugali and chicken. Members of this community are portrayed to be loyalists, a fact that accounts for their employment as watchmen and cooks.

As a result of the mentioned cultural practices, the communities practicing them have had to suffer because of the stereotypes and prejudices associated with them. Luo men have been forcefully circumcised in the past by the *mungiki* group of the Kikuyu community during ethnic violence in Kenya. The Bukusu people of the Luhya community have not also spared them. During times of circumcision in the community, the Bukusu have, on several occasions, forcefully circumcised some Luo men. Members of the Kisii community who are suspected to practice witchcraft are lynched by their fellow kinsmen and discriminated upon by people from other communities. All these negative tags when used by different ethnic communities have ended up causing a lot of harm to the targeted communities.

#### *4.8. How Linguistic Stereotypes and Prejudices Impact on People's Lives in Eldoret*

This section answers objective four of the study. Ethnic clashes have numerous effects on the communities who engage in war. Violent conflicts impact negatively on the key sectors of a country's economy. Various social impacts of stereotypes and prejudices on social harmony in Eldoret are discussed as per the following themes:

##### 4.8.1. Displacement of Persons

Ethnic stereotypes and prejudices are contributory factors in ethnic conflicts in Eldoret. Due to battles arising among the communities living in Eldoret, namely the Kikuyus, Kalenjins, Luhyas, Luos and Kisii, victims are often displaced from their homes. Njuguna (O.I, 2018) noted that,

In the 1992, 1997 and 2007/2008 clashes between the Kalenjins, Luos, Kikuyus, Luhyas and Kisiis; we were forced to flee from our homes for safety. We stayed at the Catholic Church in Kimumu and Marula Primary schools for some time. Travelling to our ancestral homes was not easy without police escort due to danger. We had to stay in congested makeshift structures in the church and school compounds. The women, children and old men got sick. We suffered from shortage of food because, on several occasions, many of us were caught unaware and our food stores had been burned and looted by the Kalenjins.

This assertion got the support of Kerubo (O.I, 2018) who also observed that the Kikuyu and Kisii people attacked the Kalenjins in retaliation. A few members of the Kalenjin community would also leave their homes temporarily, only to come back later. This was the situation in 1992 and 1997 where children and women sought refuge in schools and churches. In 2007/2008 conflict, the Kikuyu, Luo, Luhya and Kisii took refuge at The Sacred Heart Cathedral and Eldoret National show ground. The conditions in these places were deplorable due to poor sanitation and inadequate water. There was an outbreak of diseases such as cholera in such camps.

In Eldoret, literally, every community, among the Kalenjins, Kikuyus, Luhyas, Luos and Kisiis were displaced by the conflicts. Displacements came during electioneering period, before and after actual polling day. This benefitted some politicians eyeing various posts in the area. Displacement comes with a number of consequences on the affected people. Those displaced seek refuge in



congested areas, and face hunger crises since many may not have carried the food while escaping from their aggressors.

Results of this study indicate that continued ethnic polarization after years of tribal conflicts has made communities migrate in large numbers to certain segregated neighbourhoods where they feel safer and free with kinsmen. Specific clearly defined compartmentalized ethnic communities populate neighbourhoods such as Yamuumbi, Kipkaren and Huruma. Many of these people live, own businesses, and buy land where members of their ethnic communities live. The same people further tend to attend ethnic specific churches, schools, hotels, and shopping centres. Results further indicate that stereotypes and prejudices beget a violent culture as communities prepare to defend themselves from real or imaginary enemies who are their neighbours and who "hate" and are ready to harm them.

#### 4.8.2. Intolerance and Inhibition of Social Interaction

The results of this study indicate that there is minimal interethnic socialization and tolerance as a result of age-old held stereotypes and prejudices. Interethnic marriages are not encouraged and when they happen, they are frowned at. Friendship along ethnic lines is rare. People hardly engage in interethnic businesses because of these stereotypes. The consequence of these outcomes is discrimination and avoidance.

In Eldoret, land ownership has been a very sensitive issue since independence. The advent of multiparty politics in 1991 did not help the situation, rather made it worse. Ownership of land by communities assumed to be outsiders is not encouraged by the members of the Kalenjin community. The Kikuyu, Luhya, Luo and Kisii communities tend to be discriminated upon when it comes to owning land. For instance, Aleke (O.I, 2018) shared the following:

I am married to a Kalenjin. In 2003, I went to buy land at Chepkanga area on the outskirts of Eldoret. When the land owner and the locals realized that I belong to the Luhya community, they declined. I pleaded with him but he was categorical that the community could not allow. When eventually I informed him that it was my wife who wanted to purchase the piece of land, he accepted because she is Kalenjin. Today I own the piece of land with the documents bearing my wife's name.

This claim was related to what Kamau (O.I, 2018) and Nyamweya (O.I, 2018) observed. Kamau desired to own a plot at Chepkoilel near University of Eldoret but the owner who was a Kalenjin refused to sell to him. The same happened to Nyamweya who wanted to own a plot at Kipkorogot but the Kalenjin owner declined because he was a Kisii.

Blatant discrimination within Eldoret also stem from employment. Within Eldoret, there is Moi Teaching and Referral Hospital, Rivatex Textile Company, Eldoret National Polytechnic, University of Eldoret among other potential employers. At Moi Teaching and Referral Hospital and the rest, clerical, manual jobs are a preserve for members from the local community. The rest are discriminated upon. For instance Ouko (O.I, 2018)

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In 2013, I applied for a clerical job at Moi Teaching and Referral Hospital. Five positions were up for grabs. I was invited for an interview and I attended. When the results came out, all the vacancies were given to members of the Kalenjin community.

This assertion was supported by Wairimu (O.I, 2018) who also attended an interview to be employed as a nurse. There were three vacancies and all were filled by the locals. Nafula (O.I, 2018) Missed out on a job at Rivatex Textile Company in 2014 as a textile engineer because she was from the Luhya community. Recruitment in the disciplined forces only favoured the locals during and after president Moi regime. Those from communities considered to be outsiders could not be given slots to join Kenya police, Kenya Defense forces, Kenya Wild Life Services and Administration Police. Though most of the youths, considered to be outsiders, were born and raised in Eldoret, they were denied of the opportunity to join and serve in the disciplined forces. As noted by Wesonga (O.I, 2018).

My home county is Busia but I was born and brought up in Eldoret. To me, my home is in Eldoret, at Langas Estate. After completion of my secondary school education at Uasin Gishu High school in the year 2000, I decided to join the Kenya Defense Forces as a service man. During recruitment I was denied of the opportunity to join because I was not from the Local community.

Such sentiments were also heard from Kimani (O.I, 2018), Oloo (O.I, 2018) and Akama (O.I, 2018), who could not join Kenya Police Service and Kenya Wildlife services respectively by virtue of not being from the Local Community.

Discrimination was also cited among members of the Kalenjin community; inter-ethnic discrimination. Whenever opportunities aroused, members of the Keiyo community would look at their own. Nandi, Tugen, Kipsigis and Marakwet sub-communities would do the same. Rono (O.I, 2018) points out that, members of the Keiyo community dominated Kenya Pipeline Company because the managing director came from that sub-Kalenjin community. The company employed mainly members of the Keiyo, sub-tribe. Members of the Nandi sub-tribe dominated the National Cereals and Produce Board. This is according to Chelule (O.I, 2018), who asserts that, being from the Kipsigis sub-tribe he was denied of employment. Several other members of the Kipsigis sub-tribe were allegedly denied of employment at the National Cereals and Produce Board.

Discrimination leads to underdevelopment. On your own, development may not be realized. For instance, a Kalenjin with surplus milk will not have market for this product because of segregation in Eldoret. A Luhya cannot buy maize or milk from a Kisii because the Kisii are stereotyped and prejudiced as witches and therefore, he or she will avoid members of the Kisii community for fear of being bewitched. The stereotype of watchmen as directed to members of the Luhya community, affects their self-esteem leading to avoidance and discrimination. Members of the Luhya community are likely to avoid those from other communities who stereotype and prejudice them.

In conclusion, discrimination is self-destruction. All communities involved end up losing a lot economically.

#### 4.8.3. Disruption of Economic Activities

In times of conflict, there is a lot of destruction of property, business and institutions. Sometimes, the destruction is so huge that reconstruction takes almost a lifetime. Rails are uprooted, banks and learning institutions looted and burnt down, homes and plantations torched and worst of all, lives taken away. Almost a million working Rwandese were exterminated during the ethnic genocide. Many died in the Kenya's PEV violence too. In the 2007-2008 PEV in Kenya, local and international channels showed a rail being uprooted, homes worth millions being torched, businesses looted and vandalized as the case of the Equity Bank in Kisumu. The worth of these destructions runs into billions, money that people sweat for in many years.

The opportunity cost of the rebellion as ethnic groups go into the streets to fight affects business tremendously. As the youths in Central Africa Republic or in Sudan or even in the coastal town of Tana River go to fight, no one is left to work to improve the lives of their families and generate something for the common basket, the tax. The ethnic conflicts all over are driven by energetic youths who could do farming, office work, casual jobs in roads construction, industries among other government business hubs. This way, therefore, a lot of public wealth goes to waste. For instance, when the Kikuyu youths engaged their counterparts from the Kalenjin tribe in 1992, 1997 and 2007-2008, none remained to harvest tea in Kericho, maize in Eldoret and Kitale. None went to weed crops in Molo, milk cows in Nakuru, Kitale, Kericho and Kisii. As Otieno (O.I, 2018) noted, laborers on tea plantations in Kericho and Nandi Hills, from non-local community could not provide labour during conflicts. This also affected labour services in Uasin Gishu, Trans-Nzoia and Nakuru. Any ethnic conflict leads to loss on labour and misplacement of energy and ultimately big loss in a country's growth.

During violence, trading activities are disrupted. For instance in Eldoret, the cultivation of maize, carrots beans, kales cabbages and Irish potatoes was affected by violence in 1992, 1997 and 2007/2008. For instance, Mugo (O.I, 2018) pointed out,

I own a stall at the main market in town. During ethnic conflicts in Eldoret, trade is almost nonexistent. Traders, who supply goods to us, could not do so due to insecurity emanating from tribal clashes. The goods we sell at the market are obtained from farmers in the rural areas within and outside the county. In 1992, 1997 and 2007/2008, during and after elections business activities were very minimal. Farmers within Uasin Gishu and neighboring counties were unable to supply goods to the market due to ethnic violence.

According to Rohwerder (2015:19-23), war is known to interfere directly with food production by not allowing farmers to plant and harvest on time. This assertion is supported by Rotich (O.I, 2018) who claimed that,

During times of conflict, farmers could not cultivate, weed or harvest their crops as they were always on the run to save their lives. Those who keep animals could not take them out for grazing due to fear of being killed or their animals stolen by their foes. Famine was experienced in conflict areas such as Uasin Gishu due to limited agricultural activities. Disruption of agricultural activities also led to the drop in

supply of raw materials to industries in Uasin Gishu such as Kenya Cooperative Creameries and maize milers industry. This, in turn, resulted in the increase in prices of such commodities.

According to Momanyi (O.I, 2018), due to the conflict, farm produce could not easily find ways to the available market centres. Market centers like Kiambaa, Huruma, Langas, Kipkaren, Mailinne and Kimumu could no longer attract enough customers on daily basis. Harvested crops could not reach the market because of barricaded roads. Customers dwindled in number due to the violence leading to losses as harvested crops were left to rot at home. House owners lost earnings from rent collection because some houses got burned in the conflict and others were left vacant by victims of the violence.

Ethnic conflict by its very nature is a volatile, unstable and violent environment not good for business. It brings in tension and this way institutions and businesses are closed down until normalcy is restored. The investors may decide to move base of their business to other countries that are relatively peaceful. A lot of investors moved out of South Sudan when Dinka and Nuer started fighting which brought the economy of the oil rich country down. In Rwanda, in the year of 1994, when the greatest African ethnical fight happened, French and other major investors left the country and pitched tent in other countries with others going back to Europe. The war that pitted the Hutus and Tutsi communities brought the Rwandese economy down. After the horrific genocide of 1994, the country was at the blink of annihilation economically. The farms and animals across the country were destroyed. The bigger tragedy was since about 20% of the population died, there were no workers to rebuild the economy.

Further still, according to Allport and his scale of prejudice which was designed for the US government in an attempt to understand the Holocaust in Nazi Germany, ethnic stereotyping leads to prejudice. Whilst not perfect and rather simplistic, it does provide an indicative link between what many consider normal behaviour such as jokes and remarks about a particular group and the ultimate human tragedy of genocide. According to Allport's (1954) scale of prejudice, there are five stages classified in terms of harm they generate.

#### 4.8.4. Antilocution

Antilocution means speaking against people, race or tribe. Minority groups suffer most from negative stereotyping and prejudice directed at them by the majority groups. Antilocution can also mean speech that can bring out negative stereotypes and images in the form of hateful opinions known as hate speech. Antilocution may not be harmful initially but after some time vent out more devastating outlets for prejudice and stereotyping. Antilocution which is a form of discrimination is done verbally. Remarks that hurt are directed towards people or tribe. This is done privately or publicly. Antilocution is more or less like gossiping or "talking behind one's back". On a larger scale, like an in-group shunning the out-group. For instance, the Nazi Germany's shunning of non-Aryans. The Nazis used images of the Jews in form of cartoons repeatedly in posters and artwork to advocate for the exclusion of the Jews. In their expressions, they referred to the Jews as 'an epidemic,' 'lice' etc. Antilocution is more or less like hate speech although it is more focused on particular targets. Another example is the Rwanda situation where before and after the genocide, the Hutus openly referred to the Tutsis as cockroaches multiple times. The Tutsis were renamed

cockroaches to portray their appearance to others, simply as, parasites with no particular value to life giving justification for their actions.

Antilocution is often believed to be harmless but in actual sense it hurts. Directing derogatory speech commonly known as hate speech and making ethnic jokes about another community is part of antilocution. Antilocution lowers self-esteem of the people, clearing the way for dangerous and damaging forms of prejudice. According to respondents in this study, for several years now, Eldoret has experienced this. Local politicians have been heard referring to other communities as *madoadoa* (contamination) and *kwekwe* (weeds). This term is used by the locals to express dissatisfaction with other communities living with them in this area. The Kalenjins refer to other communities; Kikuyus, Luhyas, Luos and Kisiis using all sorts of derogatory terms such as, thieves, weeds etc. In retaliation, the other communities refer to them as primitive, dirty, backward, etc. Continued antilocution is dangerous and can degenerate into a serious conflict. According to Allport (1979: 83-90), persistent and intense verbal hostility always results to riots. In Eldoret, stereotypes and prejudices are used to dehumanize members of the targeted groups by depicting out-groups as outsiders, intruders and thieves. Antilocution involves hate speech emanating from politicians. This is a kind of hate propaganda that promotes animosity and foments social unrest. According to Allport (1979: 93-99), a bite is preceded by barking. Hate language targeting groups promotes discrimination against them.

#### 4.8.5. Avoidance

This is the second level of the ladder of prejudice. At this level, people tend to avoid a stereotyped tribe or race. Just like speech, avoidance seems harmless in the beginning but later degenerates to violence. According to most of the respondents in the study, people have a right to choose suitable friends and avoid those they feel are not the right ones for them. In this case, a group of people are tirelessly kept at arm's length because they belong to another group. Too much isolation leads to more harm which could be a preparation for more devastating acts. According to the study, business premises, schools, medical facilities and places of worship are avoided because members of a certain community do not like members from other communities. According to respondents, this happened in Eldoret during and after 2007/2008 ethnic violence. For instance, public and private schools close to areas dominated by members of the Kalenjin community were deserted by students and teachers from the Kikuyu community for fear of harm. The sick avoided health facilities perceived to be in areas dominated by a community considered as an enemy during the conflicts.

#### 4.8.6. Discrimination

Avoidance leads to the third level known as discrimination. People, tribe or race, that is not wanted, is kept out of some villages, locations and even larger areas such as provinces. For instance, from 1933 to 1938 laws were enacted against the Jews of Germany. The laws aimed at separating the Jews from the rest of the German population. Discrimination can simply be a matter of excluding Kikuyus or Luos, Kalenjins or Luhyas. Black slaves became free after the civil war in the United States. As a result of this sudden freedom, many of the southern states passed special laws to "keep them in their place." Laws were enacted to deny African Americans of their rights to

participate in elections. The African Americans were also barred for owning weapons, be witnesses in court and serve on juries.

Discrimination becomes the next stage once isolation has been achieved through avoidance. Denial of opportunities and services is part of discrimination. Discrimination aims at harming individuals from the minority groups. These people are prevented from accessing education opportunities, jobs and achieving own goals. In relation to inter-group relations, discrimination has derogatory significance. It concerns mistreatment of people or the groups they belong to. Discrimination may include negative approaches towards group membership aimed at lowering their self-esteem. As per Allport (1954), discrimination entails failure to treat people, races or tribes equally. Flinn (2015:45-50) asserts that discrimination is 'those activities that are aimed at favouring own group attributes.' Discrimination is mostly understood to favour one group over the other. This is done by including all the activities that ridicule an out-group and support those that work in favour of own group (in-group). Allport (1954) observed that discrimination against people works towards in-group bonding while working to achieve hostility against out-group membership.

People are discriminated upon when they are denied of services and opportunities. According to the respondents in this study, during Kenya African National Union's (KANU) regime before multi-partism in Kenya, majority of job opportunities in the government, disciplined forces and parastatals were given to members of a particular ethnic community while denying other communities. The introduction of multi-party politics in Kenya in 1992 gave birth to a lot of challenges socially and economically. Nepotism rose to high heights as people from communities, that were not politically correct, were discriminated against in the award of job opportunities. In Eldoret, members of the Kalenjin community perceived people from other communities as outsiders. Politicians from the community and the locals used stereotypes and prejudices such as *madoadoa*, *sangari*, and *ngetik* against purported outsiders. Job opportunities locally in Eldoret Municipal Council, National Cereals Board and Rivatex Textile Company were inclined towards the Kalenjin tribe because the rest were considered outsiders thanks to the ethnic stereotypes and prejudices. There are areas in Eldoret such as Chepkanga where land ownership is only reserved for the local Kalenjin community.

### 4.8.7. Physical Attack

At this level, people belonging to the majority group feel that they are justified to violent wage attacks against the minority. They also vandalize and burn their property. Villages and homes are destroyed through acts of arson. In Eldoret, fights have been experienced in the past mostly, Kikuyus against Kalenjins; Kikuyus against Luos and Kalenjins against the other communities. In 1992, Kalenjins fought the Luhyas, Kikuyus and Kisiis in the whole of Uasin Gishu County. The 2007 violence was the climax of ethnic violence in Eldoret. Kalenjin youths are said to have moved in organized groups causing mayhem all over. It is alleged that the Kalenjin youths attacked members of the Kikuyu community during the day and night. They would physically harm their victims by beating them up and in some cases kill them. They also used bows and arrows during attacks. The Kikuyus, on the other hand, attacked the Kalenjin people at the slightest of the opportunities. Such attacks are said to have taken place in areas such as Huruma, Mailinne, Kiambaa, Langas and Kimumu. In January 2008, Ainamoi MP was killed in Eldoret at West Indies Estate. This sparked a

fresh wave of violence in Eldoret Town. Some business premises were torched within minutes after the news broke out that he had been shot dead by a police officer from the Kisii community (Daily Nation, 20<sup>th</sup> January, 2008). The Kalenjin youth went round in some parts of Eldoret physically attacking anyone at sight perceived to be from the Kisii community.

#### 4.8.8. Extermination

This marks the last stage of prejudice and stereotyping which is also known as genocide. Ultimately, extermination is the consequence of prejudice and stereotyping. According to Adrian (2013), a tribe or race may go after another in an attempt to butcher its members because of their religious affiliation, race, tribal relations or nationality. Throughout the history of human beings extermination has been a common occurrence. This stage sees people lynched and murdered because they belong to an unwanted group. Extermination marks the final level of prejudice and stereotyping. This is the final and the most intense level of prejudice and stereotyping. The group of people considered to be the majority aims to completely wipe out people of the minority group. In 1992, 1997 and 2007/2008, Kenya experienced near genocidal tribal clashes; the worst being the 2007/2008 post-election violence in Kenya which left more than 1000 people losing their lives, a significant number coming from Eldoret. The dead in Eldoret included the Kikuyu, Kalenjin, Luo, Luhya and the Kisii. Kiambaa church killings in Eldoret are one of the most horrifying scenes of post-election bloodshed in Kenya where a mob set ablaze church where terrified Kikuyu residents were seeking refuge. The mattresses the victims had brought with them were soaked in petrol and stack against the church building. At least 30 people were burned to death including a handicapped woman who died in her wheelchair. Extermination comes about as a result of ethnic stereotyping and prejudice.

Indisputable examples in history are the Holocaust and the Rwanda genocide in 1994. From 1933 to 1945, the German government exterminated eleven million people who included 6 million Jews. Others were Poles, Jews, Slavs and various political opponents targeted by the Germans. The Germany government wanted to get rid of those people they considered unpleasant contributors to the idealized German society. Genocide became an industry by Germany with specially constructed death camps and a well-organized transport system used to transport people to be killed. Death chambers were disguised as showers which could kill thousand within a short period of time. This kind of organization only required a small number of staff.

In the two notable incidences, 6 million Jews and 800,000 Rwandans were executed. The Jews and the Rwandan victims formed part of the minority groups that suffered at the hands of the majority. The aim of the 1994 genocide in Rwanda was to eliminate the Tutsi people who comprised 14% of the country's population. It is claimed that factions within the Rwandan government organized the genocide. Other notable killings occurred in the Darfur region of Sudan. The killings, perpetrated by the Janjaweed militias with the support of Sudanese government, had been in progress since 1983. The world also witnessed the killing of 1.7 million Cambodians by the Khmer Rouge, an extremist political outfit in Cambodia in 1975. The group targeted the ethnic Vietnamese, Thais and Chinese. Intellectuals, opposition leaders and the clergy were also targeted. The other was the killing of the eight thousand Bosnian Muslim men in the Balkans by Serbian Forces in 1995.

In conclusion, this study reveals that ethnic stereotypes and prejudice tend to escalate hatred and mistrust among communities. They also create a lot of dislike and fear of other communities. People tend to be secretive among themselves for fear of leaking information to the other community. Minimal interaction between communities has largely suppressed interethnic businesses leading to a certain degree of underdevelopment. The verbal abuses, discriminations, avoidance and outright violence are harmful to business and subsequently slow development.

### 4.8.9. Summary

Ethnic conflicts impact communities negatively. There is a direct linkage between ethnic conflicts stunted economic growth and development. Any economic, social or political development requires a stable and peaceful environment. More specifically, economic growth and development requires the players to be in a non-conflict situation. Ethnic conflicts also destroy any existing development projects. It breaks structures created for economic development; businesses are brought down, infrastructure is destroyed and lives of people who drive development activities are lost. Countries like Nigeria, Congo, Rwanda, Syria and parts of Kenya have had instances of underdevelopment precipitated by ethnic conflicts. According to Kobia (2009:67-70), while it is true that ethnic conflict affects the economy, economic interests of a country or community may play a big role in ethnic conflict and hence lead to even more destruction into the economy. It ends up being a never ending vicious cycle. Amutabi (2009:23-28) says that ethnic conflict is the greatest contributor to the slow pace of development in Africa. Many decades after independence, ethnic conflicts are still in the news today from central Africa to Nigeria. The effects of these conflicts have been on income, growth and economic policies. There can never be any meaningful economic growth when there is war. The warring communities divert their resources and energies to fighting with each other, losing out on opportunities to develop their communities by engaging in meaningful economic activities. Underdevelopment is considered to be the slow development of structures and systems which are meant to uplift the standards of living. According to March 2008 Ushahidi report, Kenya went through a difficult time during the 2007/2008 tribal conflicts. Soon after the announcement of the presidential results of the December 2007 elections fighting erupted in Rift Valley, Nairobi and Kisumu. The fighting was between the supporters of the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) and those of the Party of National Unity (PNU). The fighting spread pretty fast to other parts of the country such as Naivasha, Nakuru, Western and Mombasa. In Eldoret, Nakuru, Kisumu and Kericho, organized youths attacked people believed to be opponents of ODM party. Kikuyu youths, on the other hand, organized themselves and engaged their opponents in retaliatory attacks in Naivasha, Nakuru, Mathare, Kikuyu and in some parts of Eldoret.

There were major ramifications to the ethnic strife. Many people were killed, others were displaced from their homes, property torched, houses burnt, livestock and harvested crops stolen, business premises razed and vandalized and there was loss of personal household items. There emerged a new phenomenon of internally displaced persons living in tents all over the country. The violence had a negative impact on the country's economy. Businesses suffered severely due to forced closure, while others were looted and vandalized. Highly perishable goods were destroyed because they could not reach markets as roads had been blocked by the warring youths. Nations within the East and Central African region also felt the heat of the conflict. Countries such as Rwanda, South Sudan, Congo and Burundi suffered economically because the highway from



Mombasa to Kampala had several points blocked due to the conflict. The tourism sector was not spared either. Foreign tourists could no longer travel to Kenya for fear of being caught up in the war. As a result, earnings from this crucial sector of the country's economy went down.

Ethnic conflict by its very nature is a volatile. Unstable and violent environment causes tension forcing institutions and businesses to close down. The investors may decide to move base of their business to other countries that are relatively peaceful. A lot of investors moved out of South Sudan when Dinka and Nuer took on each other, a fight that brought the economy of the oil rich country down (Lunn, 2016). In Rwanda, in the year of 1994, when the greatest African ethnical fight happened, French and other major investors left the country and pitched tent in other countries with others going back to Europe (Kay, 2013). The war that pitted the Hutus and Tutsi communities brought the economy down. According to Lunn (2016:41-59), after the horrific genocide of 1994, the country was at the brink of annihilation economically. The farms and animals that were all across the country were destroyed. And the bigger tragedy was that about 20% of the population died, therefore there were no workers left to rebuild the economy.

The 2007/08 post-election violence in Kenya also led to an increase in crime levels in Eldoret as many people, who took refuge in market places, were deprived of honest means of earning income. This led to increase in violent crimes in places such as Huruma, Langas, and Kipkaren estates. The incidents were attributed to the fact that most of the internally displaced persons who had been hosted in schools, churches and at Eldoret Show Ground did not go back to their farms in spite of the government's initiative dubbed *Operation Rudi Nyumbani*. Unsure of their security in the areas they had come from, they remained in town and some turned to crime for survival.

### *4.9. Strategies Employed to Overcome Linguistic Stereotypes and Prejudices*

This section answers objective five; how to overcome ethnic stereotypes and prejudices in Eldoret. Ethnic stereotypes and prejudices have negatively affected relationships among communities in Kenya. This study came up with possible suggestions to eradicate ethnic stereotypes and prejudices in Kenya.

#### 4.9.1. Education

Education reduces stereotyping and prejudice. More educated people tend to express fewer stereotypes and prejudices. In schools and colleges, new social norms regarding what is right or wrong are introduced thus stereotypical generalizations can be changed. Colleges and universities in Kenya should offer a variety of courses on gender and ethnic diversity. Social norms have a long-lasting impact on social groups. Norms always influence people to re-evaluate their beliefs about out-groups. Changes in social norms will always influence how people perceive out-group members. Stereotypes and prejudices work well in environments that they are considered to be normal. They only fade away when social norms, put in place, cannot tolerate them. Social norms play an important role in instilling good behavior patterns in individuals that help reduce stereotyping and prejudice. Kenyans should be encouraged to accept and accommodate customs and practices that are different are different from theirs.

Viewing out-group members as different is one of the reasons why people hold stereotypes and prejudices. For instance, a Kikuyu sees a Kalenjin as being different. Fear of discomfort when

interacting with members of other social groups creates anxieties which become a justification for avoiding associating with such members. To overcome stereotypes and prejudices, people should be encouraged to have closer ties with people from other groups, tribes or race. People tend to show positive attitudes towards others once they begin seeing them as those close to them. They also start building closer ties with them; learn to see those other people as more similar to them, as closer to the self and to be more concerned about them.

### 4.9.2. Contact Hypothesis

The contact hypothesis also works towards overcoming stereotypes and prejudices. For instance, when kids from different social groups play together while in learning institutions or in neighborhood, they positively change their attitudes towards each other. Students in Kenya should be encouraged to attend high schools and colleges outside their home counties. This will allow them to meet their counter parts from other communities, thus enabling them to interact with other cultures. Stereotyping and prejudice form part of negative ethnicity. The quota system of education should be discouraged because it has been one of those factors that promote negative ethnicity. Kenyans should embrace the culture of free-thinking which is outside their respective tribal cocoons. Tribal thinking denies people of an opportunity to think rationally. This should be put aside and people should embrace the spirit of brotherhood for national unity. Kenyans should rid themselves of ethnic tags. They should, instead, identify people from other communities with their traits and attributes. The culture of associating people with their tribes such as, *yule kijana mluhya*, *yule mjaluo*, *yule mkisii* robs us of our identities as individuals and ties us to an ethnic group.

### 4.9.3. Strict Laws

The government should enforce strict laws that regulate discriminatory practices among communities in Kenya. In this regard, parliament should enact laws through legislation to curb ethnic stereotyping and prejudice among the ethnic communities in Kenya. Legislation should be put in place to sanction expressions portraying stereotypes in the form of hate speech. Expressions which perpetuate hate speech should not be tolerated as they are harmful and dangerous to peace and tranquility. It should be made clear that enacted laws should be for the sole purpose of protecting people against hostility and violence but belief systems.

### 4.9.4. Sports and Games

The most important attributes of sports and games particularly football, athletics, volleyball etc. is to bond people and communities together. In bridging communities separated by conflicts, games and sports play a very important role, more specifically, why the society is experiencing ethnic divides. After the 2007/2008 violence, football matches were organized by several Non-Governmental Organizations in advocating for peaceful co-existence among the communities living in Eldoret. In Eldoret, the tournaments brought together Kikuyus, Kalenjins, Luhyas, Kisiis and Luos to help to restore peaceful co-existence among them. The tournaments are sponsored by the organizations targeting the youth and the elderly from both genders. The various extravaganzas targeted Kiambaa, Langas, Yamuumbi, Kipkaren, Mailinne, Kimumu and Huruma areas of Eldoret. Sports and games activities also targeted other places in the country such as Trans-Nzoia, Nakuru, Western, Nyanza and Coast Province. Globally, there is football for peace initiative that organizes

football matches between Jewish and Arab youth in Israel from the year 2001. The Peres center for peace has been used to bring about peace between Israel and Palestine. Apart from organized games and sports activities for peace and reconciliation, there are activities for schools and colleges all the way from county level and thereafter between countries in East Africa. There are also Inter-County games once every year to foster peaceful co-existence among Kenyans.

#### 4.9.5. Peace Caravans

Peace caravans have been held throughout Kenya since the last tribal violence in 2007/2008 during election time. The peace caravans in Eldoret and the country at large were meant to;

- Encourage the youth to promote peace amongst their neighboring communities (urban & rural) through peace initiatives such as clubs, networks, forums in schools, religious institutions, and social gatherings.
- Encourage the youth to take up active citizen engagement roles at the devolved units levels and maintain vigilance on issues of social accountability.
- Protect and conserve our natural environment, through tree planting.
- Share ideas on creative, innovative and practical entrepreneurial ideas of products and services that use locally available resources using upgraded simple technologies.
- Encourage various communities; Kalenjin, Kikuyu, Luhya, Luo and Kisii to live together in peace and harmony.

The peace caravans hold highly motivated interaction sessions on specific issues affecting communities living in various areas within the counties on possible solutions in workshops, sports challenges, roadshows, camping, tree planting, traditional and contemporary dances, drama and theatre. Screening of peace documentaries and showing of goodwill messages captured from already visited communities conveying their greetings and messages to fellow Kenyans in different geographical/ethnic locations is also done. Visited communities are afforded the firsthand opportunity to integrate with fellow Kenyans against whom stereotypes abound which is a major cause of tension in the country. Exchanges also show the similarity in social-economic challenges at the grassroots levels irrespective of ethnic, political or religious leanings underlying the need for citizen engagement in social accountability involvement.

According to several respondents, a section of Uasin Gishu youth has also had a peace caravan of their own to create awareness among North Rift residents. The initiative aimed at bringing harmony among all tribes living in Eldoret by educating residents on the need to live in harmony and avoid tribal confrontations. All communities should work towards achieving national cohesion and integration by avoiding confrontations and live as one community. A clear message is passed across that they should live as one people irrespective of their religious and tribal backgrounds.

#### 4.9.6. Inter-marriages

Inter-marriage unites feuding communities living together. The communities are united as in-laws creating larger social networks amongst themselves. Among the communities that have been in conflict for some time especially the Kalenjins and Kikuyus in Eldoret, marriage bonds may

end up bringing about peaceful relations among communities. If the relations are between two communities, for instance, Kalenjins and Kikuyus, their neighbors such as Luos, Luhyas and Kisiis are likely to be influenced in a similar direction. Intermarriages strengthen personal and community security due to the fact that all these communities will respect their in-laws, nephews and nieces (Kakai, 2000). The in-laws will occasionally assist one another hence enhancing strong ties among them.

### 4.9.7. Community Retribution

The core idea of retributive justice is for people to get what they deserve concerning their behavior. A person in the community, who commits a crime, should take personal responsibility. Various respondents suggested that if they use hate speech or ethnic stereotypes and prejudices against members of another community, then they should be punished by either being fined or forced to engage in community service as punishment. Members from every community in conflict areas should adhere to the moral perception which emphasizes on peace over justice (Freeman, 2006). Any punishment given out to those who have used these tags should fit the crime and should not be excessive. Retribution depends on specific communities. Some will demand compensation with goats, sheep or even cows. This type of justice has already been used in Rwanda after the international community deemed it an appropriate response to the Rwandan genocide. This kind of justice seeks to end the culture of impunity.

### 4.9.8. Surrounding Oneself with a Variety of People

According to various respondents, diversity may be a factor that can contribute to the ability to deal with stereotyping and prejudice. One should be exposed to different cultures, races, communities, different genders and religious outfits so that diversities existing in the world can be accepted. People should get to know others; where they come from, their culture and traditions in order to be careful while making judgement about these people. People should travel to other counties, or even towns and market centres in order to experience diversity.

### 4.9.9. Avoid Justifying Stereotypes and Prejudices while Interacting with Others

According to the study, prejudice may occur when formerly held ideas are substantiated through stereotypes or stigma. At times this occurs because stereotypes are sometimes seen as socially acceptable. There are all manners of stereotypes; good and bad, for example, Kikuyus are thieves, Luhyas are watchmen and cooks, Luos are uncircumcised and learned, Kisiis are witches, Kalenjins are arsonists, Kikuyus are hardworking, e.t.c. Through prejudice, positive stereotypes become negative. One ends up judging other people negatively if he/she expects these people to be the same due to failure to meet his/her standards. Justifying stereotypes can be avoided by disagreeing with individuals when they make stereotypical comments. For instance, if a friend says, "All Kikuyus are thieves." Obviously this stereotype is negative and if a person believes it is true, it can result in prejudice. Such stereotypes may be countered by gently confronting the source person and say something such as "That is a negative stereotype."

#### 4.9.10. Keeping Oneself Accountable

Stereotypes and prejudices are kinds of an impediment to one's perspective as it prohibits one from thinking beyond his/her assumptions and builds a virtual wall around objective thinking. According to respondents in this study, people should acknowledge that they are biased and use prejudices against out-groups. Once they accept that they do this, they should replace these biases and prejudicial remarks with other suitable possibilities. For example, when one thinks of anything stereotypical or prejudicial that refers to either man or woman, ethnic community, religious affiliation or culture, he or she should remind oneself that this is a bias against another community or group that is over generalized.

#### 4.9.11. Summary

This chapter discussed data in respect to the objectives of the study and theoretical frameworks. The discussion focused on: forms of linguistic stereotypes and prejudices in Eldoret; strategies and the main themes in linguistic stereotypes and prejudices communication; the causes of linguistic stereotypes and prejudices based conflicts in Eldoret; how linguistic stereotypes and prejudices impact on people's lives in Eldoret and the strategies employed to overcome linguistic stereotypes and prejudices for cohesion and integration in Kenya.

# CHAPTER 5 | SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

## *5.1. Introduction*

In this chapter, the summary of the study is done in relation to the research questions that were set in the study. The findings of the research questions are given based on data collected in the field and the analysis and interpretation given in chapter four in the light of the theoretical frameworks of the study. This section also makes recommendations on areas for further studies.

## *5.2. Summary of the Findings*

The summary of the findings in this chapter is presented in line with the objectives of the study. They include: form and language of ethnic stereotypes and prejudices, strategies and the main themes of stereotypes and prejudices communication and their role in interethnic conflicts, the causes of ethnic stereotypes and prejudice based conflicts, the social impact of ethnic stereotypes and prejudice on social harmony, strategies to employ to counter the effect of ethnic stereotypes and prejudice for national cohesion and integration in Kenya.

### 5.2.1. Forms of Stereotypes

The study findings have established that stereotypes and prejudices fall under gender, culture, tribal and social groups. Gender stereotypes and prejudices allude to bias presumptions where people are allocated qualities based on whether one is male or female. Gender stereotypes and prejudices are oversimplified speculations about the sex properties, constructs and parts of people. Stereotypes and prejudices can be positive or negative. Generally, the female stereotyping and prejudice portray the role of women to marry and have children. She is also expected to put her family's welfare before her own by being cherishing, caring, mindful and supportive. The male stereotyping and prejudice part is to be the monetary supplier. In addition, he is supposed to be confident, aggressive, autonomous, bold and career-focused. Gender stereotypes incorporate conclusions such as women are in charge of bringing up youngsters, women are terrible drivers, and they are good at tattling and cherishing cooking. Men are branded as admirers of games, good at maths, physically endowed and don't do house errands. Gender stereotypes and prejudices in learning institutions, in most homes and work-places mostly tend to be directed at women, who are stereotyped and prejudiced as people whose roles are confined to domestic chores and less demanding jobs at work places.

Culture, which alludes to the fundamental esteems, convictions and codes of training, makes a group what it is. Ethnic stereotyping and prejudice originate from different sources. Most generalizations are dictated by appearances, culture or sexual orientations. Cultural generalizations describe individuals based on their race, whether one is male or female, class, tribe and personalities. Generalizations established in a given culture are passed on from generation to generation during socialization. Stereotypes and prejudices are passed on and strengthened by the language used at home, school, place of work and social places. Every community has its own values

beliefs and codes of practice that make it what it is. For instance, it is alleged that Kikuyus are thieves, Kisiis are witches, Kalenjins are arsonists, Luo men do not undergo circumcision and Luhyas like eating a lot. Most of these generalizations are exaggerated ideal pictures that are passed on from generation to generation.

In Kenya, tribal stereotypes and prejudices have been in place since independence. Time and again, politicians have utilized these generalizations for political gain. The study findings established that members of the Kalenjin, Kikuyu, Luhya, Luo and Kisii communities use stereotypes and prejudices against one another. In the past for instance, there have been political sentiments about Luhyas as watchmen and cooks, Luos as Lazy and dirty, Kikuyus are thieves, Kalenjins as foolish and primitive, and Kisiis as witches. Most of the tribal stereotypes and prejudices hurt the targeted groups resulting in tribal animosity.

### 5.2.2. Strategies of Stereotypes and Prejudices Communication

The findings of the study confirm that in several Kenyan communities, there are entrenched beliefs amongst the people about the behaviour, attitudes, attributes, abilities and weaknesses of members of other ethnic communities. The study revealed that most linguistic communities in Kenya use coded expressions against one another. Some expressions are specific to particular communities, while others are general. These communities have both positive and negative stereotypes and prejudices. Positive coded stereotypes and prejudices reflect such beliefs as; courage, loyalty to deals, generosity, success in education and excellence in sports about the target groups. According to the study, negative coded expressions show contempt, insult and hatred of the target communities. Findings also reveal that some stereotypes and prejudices that are in form of coded words are associated with tribal animosity in Kenya, for instance as witnessed in the 2007/2008 post-election violence in Kenya, in places such as Eldoret, Nairobi, Nakuru, Kisumu and Mombasa. Coded expressions in form of metaphors have been used severally, especially in the years 1992, 1997, 2007/2008. For instance, one Kenyan community is referred to by a few others as *kabila choma* due to their perceived roles (burning houses) during election violence.

The study reveals that several stereotypes and prejudices expressed through metaphors reflect the cultures of the target communities. For instance, members of the communities that practice male circumcision and those that do not, have coded terms that reflect the identities directed at them (or used against them). For example, members of the Luo community are associated with expressions that identify them as the uncircumcised. The findings further reveal that members of the Kikuyu community are stereotyped and prejudiced as *sangari*, a type of weed that is dangerous to the survival of the crops. The (Kalenjins) feel that Kikuyus have always denied them of opportunities in their own land. The Kikuyu refer to Kalenjins as *rumbwa* (those who eat dogs). This term is provocative in nature and hence it is alleged that Kalenjin retaliate by unleashing violence to the members of the Kikuyu community. There are also metaphors of mongoose in this study used by Kalenjins against Kikuyus and the metaphor of *kitosi* towards the Bukusu (Luhya) implying foolishness.

The study also revealed that anecdotes are used by members of the Kalenjin, Kikuyu, Luhya Luo and Kisii communities toward one another. Anecdotes are occasionally humorous where their primary purpose is to communicate an abstract idea about a person, place or thing through the concrete details of a short narrative. Below are examples of anecdotes:

## Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations

*"Jaluo zote ziko bonde la Eldoret zitoke polepole. Coz lazima mtahiri na mabati ata mkose kuanza fujo. Iyo ni kitu imepangwa vizuri.*

### Translation

All Luos residing in Eldoret should begin leaving because you will be forcefully circumcised using iron sheets even if you don't cause chaos. This is something that has been well planned."

*"Wajaluo tukishindwa I know we must n'goa reli, rusha mawe, choma maduka ya kuuza maziwa, kuchoma tyre barabarni." "Turushe mawe kabisa hadi Mungu wetu Raila Agwambo aje atuambie tuache. Sisi ni Sirkal!; kwani twangojani? Si tuanze fujo? Mimi ni mwanamke but kazi ntkayoifanya mtapenda. I hate Kenyanz. I hate land grabbers! I hate thieves!*

### Translation

"We Luos I know if we lose presidential election, we must uproot the railway line, throw stones, burn shops for selling milk, barricade roads. We will throw stones until our god Raila Agwambo tells us to stop. We are the Government! What are we waiting for? We should start violence. I am a woman but I will unleash violence to our opponents. I hate land grabbers! I hate thieves!"

According to the study, direct language is also another technique used to communicate stereotypes and prejudices. Words are used precisely according to their conventionally accepted meanings or denotation. Meaning is conferred to words in the sense they have by themselves outside any figures of speech. Examples of direct language in the study are; *chorindent* (thief) by the Kalenjin towards Kikuyu, uncircumcised tag and lazy hooligans towards the Luo by members of other communities, and hardworking tag towards the Kikuyus by members of other communities.

Coded language is also used to communicate stereotypes and prejudices in the study. Language is used in a manner intended to conceal the normal meanings of expressions. The language used is known to the users, while the target communities may not be aware about it or its meanings. According to the study, it was discovered that coded words and phrases are aimed at excluding and including certain groups from a conversation, done with motives of which negative ones can bring about rifts in the society which is a major challenge towards peaceful co-existence in Eldoret. The Luo use the term *Ogwang-wildcat*, referring to the Luhya to imply that they are those who can never be trusted, more so politically. *Abalibandu vaseve* (exploiters) is an expression by the Luhya that implies people who 'eat' others. This term implicates the Kikuyus as those who exploit members of other communities. *Jokwoye* is a term used by members of the Luo community in reference to the members of the Kikuyu community as thieves. While the word thief is a normal term in day to day life, it is used by other communities to connote negative feelings while referring to the Kikuyu community. The term tends to stir ethnic animosity anytime it is used in reference to members of the Kikuyu community.

The study also revealed that violence is associated with individuals with malice who are always after putting emphasis on negative stereotypes and prejudices and possible use of coded language to incite certain ethnic communities against others for selfish reasons. It is evident that coded language was widely used during the 2007/2008 election period in Kenya and partly contributed to inter-ethnic tensions that resulted in ethnic violence. Coded language is used by politicians during political campaigns to rally support of members of inner communities against target communities.



### 5.2.3. Causes of Ethnic Stereotypes and Prejudices Based Conflicts

In this study, the following causes were found to be the reason behind ethnic conflicts in Eldoret:

Land ownership and distribution in Eldoret has resulted in ethnic conflicts especially between Kalenjins and Kikuyus. The dispute stems from Kalenjins' premise that Kikuyus were helped by the government of Mzee Jomo Kenyatta to acquire land in their ancestral home. The land issue leads to stereotypes and prejudices such as *madoadoa* (contamination), *sangari* (weed) and thieves. Such stereotypical and prejudicial tags have contributed to the fueling of ethnic conflicts in Eldoret. Members of the Kikuyu community are perceived as those who steal land from the Kalenjins, who are the natives. Tensions over land ownership have long been a source of mistrust and violence between the majority of Kalenjin population and the minority groups of the Kikuyus, Luhya, Luo and Kisii around Eldoret.

Social economic disparity in Kenya is also believed to be another cause of ethnic- based conflicts in Kenya, particularly in Eldoret. Inadequate distribution of national resources, mistrust among the different ethnic groups and high rate of unemployment, especially among the youth have contributed towards inter-ethnic violence in Eldoret and elsewhere in Kenya. Members of the Kalenjin and Luo communities felt that the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) government favored only members of the communities affiliated to the government. They felt that there was inequitable distribution of national resources and jobs and that people from their communities were discriminated upon. This resulted into mistrust among communities especially in Eldoret where members of the Kalenjin and Kikuyus communities could not see eye to eye.

According to the findings of the study, politicians do play a role in interethnic conflicts in Eldoret. Politicians from the Rift Valley Region have always created the notion that the region exclusively belongs to the Kalenjin community. Since 1992 such notion has caused untold miseries to other ethnic communities such as Kikuyus, Luhyas, Luos and the Kisiis living in the region. During elections, politicians in this region have in the past come up with stereotypes and prejudices such as *sangari* (weeds), *madoadoa* (contamination) and *otutu lobotonik* (enemy). These stereotypes and prejudices have created suspicions that have resulted inter-ethnic violence with little provocation. The study pointed out that the politicians stoke ethnic conflicts by either failure of intervention or by spreading propaganda that undermines the relationship between different ethnic communities.

Trading of ethnic stereotypes and prejudice among members of the Kalenjin, Kikuyus, Luo, Luhya and Kisii communities bring about negative perceptions against each other. Several reports such as Truth Justice and Reconciliation Committee (TJRC, 2008) indicate that stereotypes and prejudices play a significant role in causing ethnic tensions that have led to bloodshed and displacement for many years. Ethnic stereotypes and prejudices have come to be entrenched within Kenyan politics and have been used to instigate ethnic hatred leading to violence particularly around election times. Ethnic stereotypes and prejudices from politicians can be traced back to the early days of independence and the ensuing history of mutual fear of ethnic domination through economic and political exclusion.

Kenya with diverse cultures based on various ethnic communities has had challenges due to ethnic stereotypes and prejudices. The study's findings indicate that some communities have taken advantage of some cultural practices to cause ethnic disharmony in the country. Culturally, the Luo

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as a community does not circumcise their male youth. In this regard, uncircumcised as a term used to refer to the Luo is used negatively by various communities to portray members of the Luo community as children, premature and not fully developed. The Luhya call them *Kimisinde*, Kikuyu; *kihii* and Kalenjin; *ngetik*. It is purported that members of the Kisii community pose the greatest art of witchcraft. It is claimed that they are night runners and cannibals. They are accused of exhuming the dead and then eating their bodies. Members of the Luhya community are branded as those who like eating a lot. As a result of the mentioned cultural practices, the communities practising them suffer because of the stereotypes and prejudices associated with them. Luo men have in the past been forcefully circumcised by the *Mungiki* group of the Kikuyu community during the 2007/2008 ethnic violence in Kenya. The Bukusu people of the Luhya community have, on several occasions, forcefully circumcised some Luo men. Members of the Kisii community, who have been suspected to practice witchcraft, have been lynched by their fellow Kinsmen and discriminated against by people from other communities. All those negative tags have ended up causing a lot of harm to the targeted communities.

### 5.2.4. Social Impact of Ethnic Stereotypes and Prejudices on Social Harmony

According to the study, the social impact of ethnic stereotypes and prejudices included the destruction of infrastructure, displacement of people, early pregnancies, rape, break up in marriages spread of diseases, poor school attendance, and a drop in agricultural production. During ethnic violence as it has been witnessed in Eldoret in the past, members of the warring groups lose their lives, others are displaced from their homes with their property that include houses burnt, livestock and harvested crops stolen. Business premises are closed down and others vandalized. As the study points out, those affected by the conflicts lose personal items and household goods. Majority of the displaced persons end up living in Internally Displaced Persons (IDP) camps under inhuman conditions. The conditions in the camps for Internally Displaced Persons lead to break up of families, early pregnancies, rape and epidemics break out. Business premises are razed down and vandalized. Major roads are closed by warring groups as it happened during the 2017/2018 conflicts in Kenya. Some schools close because some are razed down and looted or are used as IDP camps consequently disrupting learning. During this conflict, the Nairobi Malaba highway remained closed for several days and as a result goods from Mombasa port to Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi could not be transported resulting in the loss of revenue by the government of Kenya and consequently impacting negatively to the country's economy. The tourism sector suffered a great deal as the hotels and animal parks remained closed. Horticulture and tea farming lost earnings during the conflicts. The flower business, for instance, lost millions of dollars because flowers are highly perishable commodities. Ethnic violence also drove away potential investors in the country. The investors have shied away from Kenya before and after election violence, for instance, the 1992, 1997, 2007/ 2008 tribal violence. During violence in Eldoret, businesses ceased in cosmopolitan markets of Kiambaa, Huruma, Langas, Kipkaren, Maillinne and Kimumu. Many residents lost their source of livelihood and as a consequence resorting to criminal activities in order to survive. Crime levels went up.

### 5.2.5. How to Overcome Linguistic Ethnic Stereotypes and Prejudices

The study came up with several possible suggestions on how to eradicate ethnic stereotypes and prejudices in Kenya:

According to most respondents, education is very important to the development of any nation. Education can be used effectively to reduce stereotypes and prejudices because educated people tend to express fewer stereotypes and prejudices. Social norms are more often introduced in schools and colleges and these define what is appropriate and inappropriate hence working towards changing stereotypes and prejudices. According to the study, colleges and universities in Kenya should offer a variety of courses on gender and ethnic diversity in order to change beliefs about out-groups courtesy of changes in social norms through education. Social norms imparted through education assist in instilling good behavior patterns. This goes a long way in reducing stereotyping and prejudice for peaceful co-existence. The government of Kenya, through the Education Ministry, should facilitate education for all Kenyans. Through education, learners, at all levels, should be encouraged to accept and accommodate customs and practices that are different from theirs.

Another suggestion for overcoming generalizations is the contact hypothesis. Students in schools and colleges should be encouraged through strict policies to attend learning institutions outside their home counties. This will help get rid of ethnic badges of identifying people with their tribes, for instance; *yule kijana mkisii, yule mjaluo, yule mkikuyu, yule mkalenjini*.

The government should also enforce strict laws to regulate discriminatory practices among communities in Kenya. Parliament should enact laws that should send a strong state-sanctioned message saying that stereotypes and prejudices in form of hate speech are unacceptable, harmful and dangerous, and should not be tolerated.

Sports and games have an important role to play in bridging communities separated by conflicts. After the 2007/2008 post-election violence, football matches were organized by several Non-Governmental Organizations in advocating for peaceful co-existence among the communities such as the Kalenjin, Kikuyu, Luhya, Luo and the Kisii. The sports and games tournaments are sponsored by the organizations that target the youth and the elderly from both genders. Every year in Kenya, there are also Inter-County games that are used to foster peaceful co-existence among Kenyans.

In summary, the peace caravans hold highly motivated interaction sessions on specific issues affecting communities living in various areas within the counties on possible solutions in workshops, sports challenges, roadshows, camping, tree planting, traditional, and contemporary dances, drama and theatre.

Intermarriages should be encouraged in conflict areas and throughout the country. In-law bonds should be used to facilitate peaceful relations between families that have been in conflict. For instance, if the relations are between two communities, Kalenjins and Kikuyus, their neighbors such as Luyhas, Kisiis and Luos are likely to be influenced in a similar direction. Intermarriage is important because it strengthens personal and community security due to the fact that all these communities have a lot of respect for their in-laws, their nephews and nieces.

Retributive justice is yet another way of overcoming ethnic stereotypes and prejudices. An individual in a community, who commits a crime, should take personal responsibility. Whoever uses hate speech or ethnic stereotyping and prejudice against members of other communities,

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should be subjected to retribution justice by either being fined, asked to apologize or forced to engage in community service as punishment. Punishment given should fit the crime and should not be excessive.

### 5.2.6. Summary

The findings of the study proved that majority of ethnic stereotypes and prejudices carried negative expressions of contempt, insult and sometimes outright violence against members of the target communities. Ethnic stereotypes and prejudices play a significant role in inter-ethnic conflicts in Eldoret and the rest of Kenya. Most of the coded terms used in stereotypes and prejudices are historical and deeply rooted in the sense that they have been passed on from one generation to another. In congruence with Allport's (1954) thinking, the study noted five levels ethnic based stereotypes and prejudice reported in Eldoret conflicts: open insults, avoidance, discrimination, violence, and outright ethnic cleansing.

#### 5.2.6.1. Stage 1

##### 5.2.6.1.1. Spoken Abuse (Antilocution)

Most people who have prejudices and stereotypes of this nature talk about them with like-minded friends, occasionally with strangers, they may express their antagonism freely. But many people never go beyond this mild degree of antipathetic action. Antilocution is often believed to be harmless. It is said that sticks and stones will break your bones but names will hurt. Directing derogatory speech commonly known as hate speech and making ethnic jokes about another community is part of antilocution. Antilocution can harm the self-esteem of the people of the targeted group and can clear the way for more harmful forms of prejudice. Continued antilocution is dangerous hence can degenerate into a serious conflict. According to Allport (1979: 83-90), prolonged and intense verbal hostility always precedes a riot. Antilocution involves hate speech emanating from politicians. This is a kind of hate propaganda that promotes animosity and foments social unrest. According to Allport (1979: 93-99), a bite is preceded by barking. Hate language targeting groups promotes discrimination against them. According to various respondents, Eldoret has had several experiences trading of insults among the Kikuyu, Kalenjin, Luhya, Luo and Kisii communities. Abuses such as *sangari* (weeds), *wezi* (thieves), *rumbwa* (dogs) and *kabila choma* (those who burn houses) have been frequently used.

#### 5.2.6.2. Stage 2

##### 5.2.6.2.1. Avoidance

This is a situation where members of another group actively avoid a group of people. Harm is done through isolation and preparing the way for more harmful acts. Business premises, schools and places of worship are avoided because members of a certain community do not like members from other communities. This happened in Eldoret during the 1992, 1997 and 2007/2008 post-election violence. Other places in Kenya, namely Nakuru, Nairobi, Kericho and Naivasha have also been affected in the past. Across the borders, avoidance was common during apartheid in South Africa, Former Yugoslavia and in Germany during Hitler's time.

### 5.2.6.3. Stage 3

#### 5.2.6.3.1. Discrimination

Discrimination is done when people, who belong to a particular group, are denied access to services and opportunities. A group of people is discriminated upon by denying them equal access to opportunities and services. A group of people suffers from discrimination when it is prevented from getting education, jobs or achieving its goals. For instance, according to respondents in this study, in Kenya during KANU regime before multi-partism, majority of job opportunities in the government, disciplined forces and parastatals were given to members of his ethnic community while denying other communities.

### 5.2.6.4. Stage 4

#### 5.2.6.4.1. Physical Attack

According to the findings of this study, people from targeted groups are attacked and beaten, and their property is vandalized. Villages and homes are destroyed through acts of arson. In Eldoret, fights have been experienced in the past mostly between; Kikuyu nation against Kalenjin nation, Kikuyu community against Luo community and Kalenjin community against the other communities. In 1992, Kalenjins fought the Luhyas, Kikuyus and Kisiis in the whole of Uasin Gishu County.

#### 5.2.6.4.2. Extermination or Genocide

Extermination aims at destroying an entire population of people through lynching and massacres. According to Allport (1954:144-152), it starts with minor forms of insults, which grow into deadly violence. Genocide is the ultimate consequence for prejudice and stereotyping. Extermination is a case of one social group trying to wipe a tribe or people of one nationality (Gallagher, 2013). Throughout human history genocide has been an all too common occurrence. Extermination marks the last level of the ladder of prejudice which is about mass killings.

Eldoret is a multiethnic and multilanguage environment where diverse ethnic communities live side by side and where ethnic conflicts are common. According to the findings of the study, these conflicts are partly due to linguistic ethnic stereotypes and prejudices. Continued stereotyping and prejudice leads to escalation of the conflicts. Highly stereotyped and prejudiced groups are anger prone and hostile and resentful to groups that look down upon them. The effects of stereotypes and prejudices on individual's emotional and psychological state of mind are anger, frustration, irritability and hostility towards assumed enemies.

This study reveals that there are low levels of literacy coupled with high levels of illiteracy among these people; many of them know little about other ethnic groups and have never travelled outside their ethnic enclaves. Competition for valuable and limited resources results in conflicts and group selfishness; groups that have more are resented and this makes them feel threatened. Prejudiced groups receive second class medical care, an inferior education, and fewer social privileges. The net result of linguistic stereotypes and prejudices corroborates Allport's (1954) scale of prejudice starting with mild verbal abuse, avoidance, discrimination, violence and outright ethnic cleansing and mass murder, popularly known as genocide as has been in the case of Eldoret

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in the years: 1992, 1997 and 2007/2008. The results of this study demand concerted effort by all in order to restructure the stereotyped and prejudiced mindset of individuals and groups. In addition, literacy levels among groups need to be raised so that people's perceptions of others can be improved.

### *5.3. Recommendations*

The study made the following recommendations based on the findings of the study:

#### 5.3.1. Recommendations for Further Research

Further research should be conducted on other communities in other parts of the country which practice ethnic stereotyping and prejudice. This should be done to compare whether ethnic stereotypes and prejudices in those areas lead to ethnic violence as in the case of Eldoret.

During the research, it was discovered that some mental cases are directly associated with ethnic violence partly resulting from ethnic stereotyping and prejudice. It was noted that there are differences in how ethnic violence has impacted on men who are said to have died as a result of stress in comparison to women. During interviews with various respondents, the male appeared more affected by the violence. Future research should consider the gender aspect of ethnic violence as a result of ethnic stereotyping and prejudice.

Additionally, a future study on implicit and explicit, stereotypes and prejudices against people with disabilities should be carried out.

Kenya intends to achieve the third gender third rule especially in relation to representation in County Assemblies, Senate and Parliament to bring women into limelight. The affirmative action also affects job opportunities in various sectors of the economy. It is in this regard that future research should consider an inquiry on gender stereotypes and prejudices at work places.

Education plays a vital role in producing skilled labour force, enabling people to understand different cultures and peace enhancement. Schools and colleges are places where students from different ethnic groups meet. Future research on the impact of ethnic stereotypes and prejudices in our universities should be considered.

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# APPENDIX I

## INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

This interview schedule seeks to gather information to be used in the current study. Respondents are kindly requested to respond to questions asked by the interviewee.

### Section A: Demographic Questions

1. (A) Gender                      Male                      [   ]                      Female                      [   ]

(B) Education Level                      [   ]

(i) Primary School Education                      [   ]

(ii) Secondary School Education                      [   ]

(iii) Post-Secondary/College Education                      [   ]

(iv) University Education                      [   ]

(C) Age Bracket

(i) 16 – 30                      [   ]

(ii) 31– 45                      [   ]

(iii) 46 – 60                      [   ]

(iv) Above 60                      [   ]

(D) Economic Activity

(i) Self-employed/Business owner                      [   ]                      (ii) Employed                      [   ]

(iii) Unemployed                      [   ]

(E) Religion

(i) Christianity                      [   ]

(ii) Islam                      [   ]

(iii) Hindu                      [   ]

(iv) Traditional African Religion                      [   ]

(V) Any Other \_\_\_\_\_

(F) Place of birth (County) \_\_\_\_\_

(G) If your place of residence is not same as place of birth, please state how long you have lived in your current place of residence \_\_\_\_\_(years)

(H) Occupation \_\_\_\_\_

**Section B: Interview Questions**

Stereotypes are negative attributes given to a group of people, most of them are often hurtful and not true. Please answer the following questions for my University research about stereotypes used in Eldoret. The answers to my questions will be confidential. Answer the questions as truthfully as possible.

1. Which community do you hail from? \_\_\_\_\_
  
2. What stereotypes and prejudices do members of your community have about members of other communities i.e.  
Kikuyu \_\_\_\_\_  
  
Kalenjin \_\_\_\_\_  
  
Luhya \_\_\_\_\_  
  
Luo \_\_\_\_\_  
  
Kisii \_\_\_\_\_
  
3. Do you think that is true about them? Why?  
\_\_\_\_\_
  
4. What in your view are the causes of these stereotypes and prejudices?  
\_\_\_\_\_
  
5. Have you ever been falsely stereotyped? In what way?  
\_\_\_\_\_
  
6. What do you think causes people to stereotype others?  
\_\_\_\_\_
  
7. How, in your view, do these stereotypes and prejudices contribute to ethnic strife and conflict?  
\_\_\_\_\_
  
8. Can stereotyping be harmful or offensive? Give specific examples you have witnessed.  
\_\_\_\_\_
  
9. The law warns us against use of hate speech on people we don't like. Have you ever experienced hate speech? If yes, in what way?  
\_\_\_\_\_

Appendix I

10. (i) Do you think hate speech may have negative consequences (please tick one only)

- |                       |     |              |     |
|-----------------------|-----|--------------|-----|
| (a) Strongly agree    | [ ] | (b) Agree    | [ ] |
| (c) Disagree          | [ ] |              |     |
| (d) Strongly disagree | [ ] | (e) Negative | [ ] |

(ii) Please explain your answer

---

11. Do you think hate speech may have led to ethnic conflicts in Eldoret? Explain.

---

12. What do you think can be done to minimize ethnic stereotypes and prejudices in stopping ethnic conflicts?

---

13. What three negative attributes (characteristics) do you associate the following groups of people with?

Kalenjins:

---

---

Kikuyus:

---

---

Luhyas:

---

---

Luos:

---

---

Kisiis:

---

---

14. How have you dealt with these people in Eldoret in respect to your decisions? In what way?

---

15. What are the perceptions Kikuyu youth have of Kalenjin youth?

---

16. What are the perceptions Kalenjin youth have of the Kikuyu, Luhya, Luo and the Kisii youth?

---

17. What are the perceptions Luo youth have of Kikuyu and Kalenjin youths?

---

18. When you hear the word Kikuyu, Kalenjin, Luhya, Luo and Kisii, what comes to mind?

---

19. How do you feel people from Kikuyu, Kalenjin, Luhya, Luo, or Kisii perceive you? Why?

---

20. Why is there always tension between Kalenjins and other communities, especially the Kikuyu, Luhya, Luo and Kisii in Eldoret?

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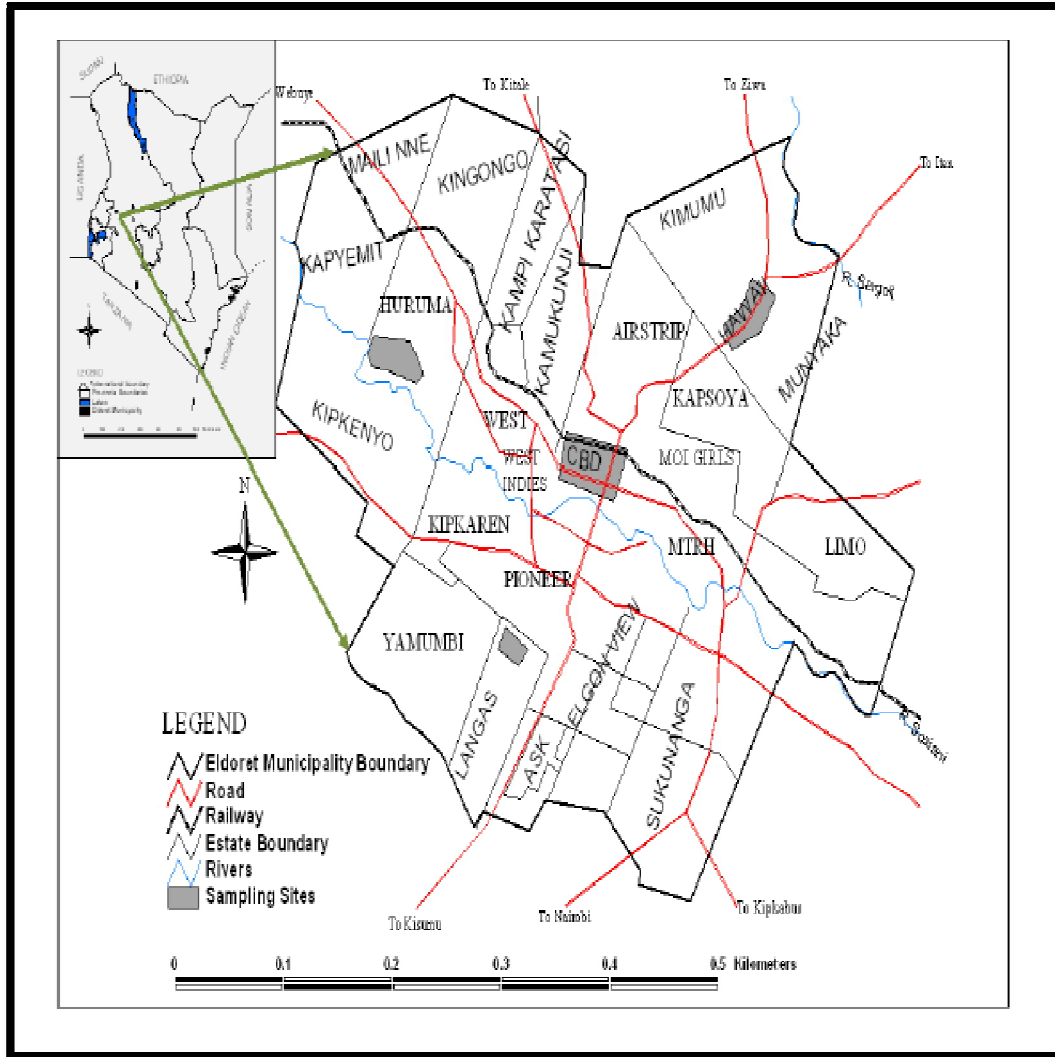
## APPENDIX II | OBSERVATION SCHEDULE

The researcher observed the following behavior patterns from members of the Kalenjin, Luhya, Kikuyu, Kisii and Luo communities in the following places within Eldoret

AT PUBLIC HEALTH FACILITIES	COMMENTS
Linguistic dialects used among workers and among patients	
Handling of patients from various communities by medics	
Signs of discrimination avoidance on basis of communities	
MARKET CENTRES AND SHOPS	
The handling of customers from different communities	
Buying and selling behavior patterns	
Linguistic dialects used at the market centres	
AT SOCIAL PLACES	
Avoidance	
Discrimination	
Antilocution	
LEARNING INSTITUTIONS	
Socialization patterns	
Avoidance	
Discrimination	



# APPENDIX III | MAP OF THE STUDY AREA



# APPENDIX IV | RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION



## NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION

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P.O. Box 30623-00100  
NAIROBI-KENYA

Ref. No. **NACOSTI/P/18/63136/25198**

Date: **12<sup>th</sup> September, 2018**

Martin Situma  
Laikipia University  
P.O. Box 1100 – 20300  
NYAHURURU.

### **RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION**

Following your application for authority to carry out research on "*Linguistic stereotypes and prejudices in inter-ethnic conflicts in Eldoret Township, Kenya*" I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in **Uasin Gishu County** for the period ending **12<sup>th</sup> September, 2019**.

You are advised to report to **the County Commissioner and the County Director of Education, Uasin Gishu 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  
Uasin Gishu County.


The County Director of Education  
Uasin Gishu County.

*National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation is ISO9001:2008 Certified*

# APPENDIX V | RESEARCH PERMIT

**THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT:**  
**MR. MARTIN SITUMA**  
**of LAIKIPIA UNIVERSITY, 7127-30100**  
**ELDORET, has been permitted to conduct**  
**research in Uasin-Gishu County**  
**on the topic: LINGUISTIC STEREOTYPES**  
**AND PREJUDICES IN INTER-ETHNIC**  
**CONFLICTS IN ELDORET TOWNSHIP,**  
**KENYA**  
**for the period ending:**  
**12th September, 2019**

**Permit No : NACOSTI/P/18/63136/25198**  
**Date Of Issue : 12th September, 2018**  
**Fee Received :Ksh 2000**



*M. Situma*  
Applicant's  
Signature

*[Signature]*  
Director General  
National Commission for Science,  
Technology & Innovation



This book grew out of a PhD thesis, ‘Linguistic Stereotypes and Prejudices in Inter-Ethnic Conflicts in Eldoret, Kenya’. For many years, Eldoret has been the epicentre of ethnic conflicts in Kenya, especially during and after general elections. This book addresses the role played by linguistic stereotypes and prejudices in fueling ethnic conflicts in Eldoret, Kenya. The motivation to write this book was to interrogate the possible linguistic stereotypes and prejudices as the cause of ethnic clashes in Eldoret, Kenya. Recommendations in this book aim to advise policy makers in Kenya as they seek for long-term solutions to end ethnic animosity in Kenya.



Martin Situma (PhD) is a linguist. He is a teacher by profession who has taught English in primary and secondary schools for more than 18 years. Currently, he works as a part time lecturer at the University of Nairobi, Eldoret Centre and Koitalel Samoei University College. He lives in Eldoret, Kenya. His research interests are in Phonetics, Phonology, Pragmatics, Semantics and Sociolinguistics.



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