COPING WITH ‘ETHNIC’ CONFLICT: AN ANALYSIS OF TEACHER RESPONSES IN KENYA

AQEELA A. DATOO
ST. CATHERINE’S COLLEGE

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ABSTRACT

During post-conflict reconstruction, various roles are bestowed on teachers to manage the effects of violence such as peace educator, conflict resolution expert, counsellor and so on. However, there are no empirical studies that examine what teachers actually do when faced with the challenges of post-conflict schooling. More importantly, most policies often neglect the fact that teachers are not necessarily neutral in conflict. Whilst being professionals, many are also political and social beings that come from the community they serve. Surely the tension between their personal beliefs and professional practice has some impact on how teachers deal with the effects of conflict. This research investigates how teachers, who maintain a reflexive relationship with their community, feel about transforming their role to manage the effects of ethnic conflict.

The case of Kenya offers a suitable context in which to research this particular phenomenon because of its continuous association with conflict, consequent corrosion in ethnic relations, and increasing ethnic segregation in education systems. Employing a case study strategy, data was collected using semi-structured interviews and document analysis. The sample size consisted of twenty head teachers and seventy teachers and counsellors from government secondary schools in Nakuru and Kericho.

Analysis of the data suggests that ethnic tensions have seeped into schools affecting not only peer relationships but also teacher-student interactions. These tensions and fears continue to impair teachers from actively participating in schools and assuming the role of managing the effects of the conflict. Aside from this, various other factors in their classrooms realities shape the manner in which they deal with the effects of the conflict. Some of these factors include external support, professional capacity, their purpose and motivation as well as the school culture.

This research concludes that teachers require adequate support and guidance from their head teacher in order to conceptualise their role in relation to managing the effects of violence. While the focus of external institutions is on relaying concepts of ‘peace’ and ‘conflict resolution’ to the students, there is merit in taking a more gradual approach and equipping teachers with the necessary skills and knowledge to teach these concepts. Moreover, teachers too require space to confront their own biases and prejudices towards other groups in order to assume these new roles. Finally, the creation of support networks is essential during post-conflict reconstruction as it ensures that teachers and students are provided with the necessary guidance, knowledge, and assistance in the absence of support from the state.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Dedication

There are two people who I know would have loved to share in my joy: My grandmother, Gulnar, whose grace, strength and grit continues to inspire generations of women in my family; and my father, Amirali, whose wisdom, kind-heartedness, and thirst for knowledge has been an enduring source of guidance. I dedicate this thesis to them.
# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-governmental organisations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CIPEV</td>
<td>Commission of Inquiry into the Post-election Violence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PNU</td>
<td>Party of National Unity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCCK</td>
<td>National Council of Churches of Kenya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KCPE</td>
<td>Kenya Certificate of Primary Examination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KCSE</td>
<td>Kenya Certificate of Secondary Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TSC</td>
<td>Teachers Service Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SACMEQ</td>
<td>Southern African Consortium for Monitoring in Education Quality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KANU</td>
<td>Kenya African National Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KADU</td>
<td>Kenya African Democratic Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MP</td>
<td>Member Of Parliament</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NARC</td>
<td>The National Alliance Rainbow Coalition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KNCHR</td>
<td>Kenya National Commission on Human Rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ODM</td>
<td>Orange Democratic Movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IDP</td>
<td>Internally Displaced Person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HRW</td>
<td>Human Rights Watch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INEE</td>
<td>Inter-Agency Network for Education and Emergencies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNICEF</td>
<td>The United Nations Children’s Fund</td>
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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

The principal concern of this doctoral dissertation is on the function of teachers at the school level during post-conflict reconstruction. The focus therefore is on appreciating the realities in schools affected by violence. In the case of ethnic conflicts, these realities also entail cleavages created between communities and a breakdown in communal relations, which reflect in the school environment. A number of academics have discussed the importance of context in shaping the way teachers make sense of and execute their role in classrooms (Hurst, 1981; Little, 1987). Yet, empirical studies in the field of post-conflict reconstruction have lacked sensitivity to the context within which teachers work and how they negotiate the changes in their role owing to the altered needs of their students. In light of these details, this doctoral research examines how teachers, who maintain a reflexive relationship with the community, feel about transforming their role to manage the effects of ethnic conflict and what factors in their school realities shaped their willingness to do so.

Rationale of the study

The theme of post-conflict reconstruction is a relatively new addition in the field of educational development. Thus not much literature exists regarding the realities found in schools affected by conflict. Much of the research within this field is devoted to portraying the devastating effects of conflict on education systems. A good example of this is Buckland’s Reshaping the future: Education and postconflict reconstruction (2005) in which he details effects such as unqualified and ill-equipped teachers, lack of resources, students affected trauma, and a divergence between the school curriculum and altered needs of students. These are followed by recommendations to address these challenges such as decentralising the education system, purging textbooks, building
capacity and so on (Buckland 2005:xvii). As is evident, the emphasis of these examinations have remained at the system level and thus failed to consider the realities found within post-conflict schools.

Subsequently vast amounts of literature exist which study the relationship between education and conflict. In their work ‘The two faces of education in ethnic conflict’, Bush and Saltarelli (2000) argue that just as education can perpetuate divisions and ideologies that breed conflict between groups, it can also be an avenue through which to nurture peace and cohesion. Similarly, Davies (2004) uses complexity theory to examine the role of education in both instigating violence and creating systems that promote conflict resolution, peace, democracy and citizenship. The impetus for harnessing the capability of education to create a culture conducive for peace has given way to several initiatives implemented by governments and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) to counter these effects on a theoretical level. As a result, various interpretations of peace are introduced in education systems, such as multicultural education, conflict resolution, education for diversity and so on. In her study, Learning to live together: Building skills, values and attitudes for the twenty-first century, Sinclair (2004) outlines various strategies that may be employed in post-conflict societies. This examination, which is targeted towards policymakers and curriculum specialists, presents a myriad of recommendations regarding the practical implication of peace building programmes such as life skills, conflict resolution and citizenship, to name a few. These concepts when introduced into schools alter the traditional ‘climate of learning’, which inadvertently transforms the role of teachers to include counsellor, mediator, peace advocate or agent of change. The focus therefore is on what teachers ought to do in conflict-affected schools.

However, it must also be noted that whilst being professionals, teachers are also political and social beings that come from the community they serve and are equally affected by conflict. It is therefore expected that they are not necessarily neutral in conflict. Surely the tension between
their personal beliefs and professional practice has some impact on how teachers execute their role in managing the effects of violence. This is an imperative notion to consider given the rise in identity-based conflicts. In the field of ethnic conflict, vast amounts of literature discuss the harmful effects of employing ethnicity as a tool to mobilise groups into violence. Countries that have experienced conflict on the lines of ethnicity often entrench themselves in pre-existing prejudices and harbour feelings of injustice towards ‘the other’ (Zuzovski 1997, cited Johnson 2007:21). Being a part of the community, it is not difficult to see why teachers inadvertently exhibit and live through the same perspectives as other community members; evidence of this however remains weak.

This research therefore addresses these gaps in the literature. Rather than focus on the system level, it examines the challenges of post-conflict reconstruction at the individual school level and how teachers realistically manage the effects of ethnic conflict within the altered realities of their schools. Finally, this research takes into account that teachers maintain a reflexive relationship with their community and therefore places significance on appreciating the manner in which their personal attitudes and biases shape their willingness to take on new roles in the context of strained ethnic relations.

**Overarching Research Question**

Based on the gaps identified in the relevant literature from the fields of ethnic conflict and post-conflict reconstruction, the overarching question that steers this research is: Given their reflexive relationship with the community, how do teachers feel about transforming their role to deal with the effects of ethnic conflict? More detailed sub-questions are presented in the subsequent chapter.
Conceptual Framework

In examining teachers’ perceptions of their role in managing the effects of ethnic conflict, no prior theories were available that explicitly theorise this issue in the context of post-conflict reconstruction. Studies from the field of educational reform and planned change however offer insights in teachers’ behaviour to educational changes, which were useful in conceptualising a preliminary framework (Lewin, 1958; Doyle and Ponder, 1977; Olson, 1985).

Based on an examination of the relevant theories, this research views teachers as ‘reasonably skeptical’ and argues that the decisions they make regarding changes in their role must be considered logical given their familiarity with the context in which they work (Hurst 1981). Their realities, rather than being independent variables, play a significant part in shaping teachers’ perceptions of their role in managing the effects of ethnic conflict. As a result, this research proposes that to understand teachers’ willingness and ability to take on new roles, it is necessary to understand their rationale within the context of their school realities. To do so, it adopts the structure of the ‘classroots realities’ framework proposed by O’Sullivan (2002) and contextualises it within this research. This framework categorises teachers’ realities into objective realities and subjective realities. ‘Objective realities’ are the physical and personal contexts within which teachers work whereas ‘subjective realities’ relate to teachers’ social and emotional context. This categorisation aids in drawing out the variables in their realities that shape their willingness to assume new roles.

Employing the case of Kenya

The case of Kenya offered a suitable context in which to research this particular phenomenon for two reasons. Firstly, Kenya has maintained an unfortunate association with violence since 1991, which has consistently erupted along the lines of ethnicity. Politicians have historically employed ethnicity to mobilise groups into conflict by increasing ethnic consciousness over
historical grievances. The consistent use of ethnicity in this manner has corroded ethnic relations and heightened prejudices and stereotypes. The presence of strained tensions in the wider community served as a suitable context within which to examine how teachers negotiate their personal predispositions to take on new roles in order to manage the effects of ethnic conflict.

Secondly, the post-election violence in Kenya erupted in December 2007 and thus the subsequent challenges schools faced were still recent and ongoing when this research was conducted in 2009 (pilot study) and in 2010 (fieldwork). This made the process of asking teachers to recollect their experiences of the conflict as well as their responses simpler. Moreover, the intensity of the conflict caused politicians, head teachers, churches, and local NGOs to emphasise a need for peace education, conflict resolution and Life Skills, which led to the introduction of new initiatives and teacher workshops. Therefore, teachers were experiencing transformations in their traditional role during this research, which was beneficial in examining how they felt about these changes.

**Research Design**

Based on the conceptual framework proposed above, this study necessitated a research design that emphasises the context of the research and data collection methods that sufficiently considered the voice of teachers. For these reasons, the research was conducted using a qualitative approach. More specifically, it utilised an instrumental case study strategy with the case being government-run secondary schools in Kenya. Data was collected using semi-structured interviews along with document analysis.

The data sample was drawn from two conflict-affected regions in Kenya: Nakuru and Kericho. Participants included secondary school teachers, head teachers, and school counsellors. A total of ninety individuals were interviewed, seventy teachers and school counsellors and twenty head
teachers. The interviews were analysed using thematic analysis (Hayes 1997, 2000) as well as the framework proposed by Miles and Huberman (1994), which was useful in managing large quantities of data.

The documents included in analysis were the Life Skills students’ workbooks and any handouts provided by churches during teacher workshops. These were analysed using thematic analysis and the objective was to determine the nature and clarity of support provided to teachers, its suitability within their current realities, and the expectations placed on them.

Assumptions and limitations of the study

This research was conducted under the assumption that the realities within which teachers work can be understood through discussions with participants. Therefore, one of the chief assumptions of this research is that teachers and head teachers have answered truthfully and accurately about their personal experiences. To encourage their honest participation, respondents were assured that their confidentiality and anonymity would be preserved throughout the research process.

In relation to the research design, this research also assumes that semi-structured interviews were a suitable method of data collection to examine the rationale that shaped teachers’ responses to the effects of the violence. This technique was successfully tested during the pilot study to ensure its suitability for the context of the research and the comfort of the participants.

Finally, this research assumes that the sample size chosen for the study is sufficient for portraying the diverse perspectives of teachers in relation to their changing role. Rather than predetermine a specific sample size, interviews were conducted till saturation point, or the point at which teachers were not offering any new information. This ensured that the data was rich in
diverse perceptions. Moreover, the aim of this research is not to generalise its findings, but to portray in detail the realities teachers face during post-conflict reconstruction to ensure its transferability.

Along with these assumptions, this study also avoids several issues that fall beyond the scope and length of this study. The first is the issue of transforming the attitudes of teachers. This study does not attempt to offer solutions for those teachers who hesitate to respond to a specific effect of conflict or offer guidelines on how to change teachers’ attitudes. The purpose is to shed light on how teachers realistically contend with the effects of violence and the aspects in their realities that shape teachers’ responses. It offers recommendations regarding avenues that must be given due thought when offering guidance or support, but not in a strategising manner.

Additionally, this research does not attempt to judge the nature of teachers’ responses to the violence as appropriate or inappropriate. Rather, the aim is to determine whether they were managing all the effects of the conflict and why they responded in a particular manner. Neither does it engage in debates over the suitability of implementing peace education using a western interpretation, which may not be appropriate for the context of Kenya. Given that the objective of this study is to examine the realities found in post-conflict schools and how teachers manage these, the focus is on whether teachers accept or reject the inclusion of peace education in their realities and why they made these decisions.

This study is concerned only with government-run secondary schools. Public universities in Kenya have seen an increase in ethnocentrism, however, issues related to ethnicity and conflict are considered extremely sensitive due to the current state of affairs. Furthermore, the effects of the violence were more pronounced in secondary schools than primary schools, thus restricting the data sample. This focus also aided in limiting the length of the study in order to make it
manageable. In addition to this, only government secondary schools were researched as private schools often have access to a large pool of donations and receive a majority of their guidance from external institutions rather than the state.

Finally, this research limits itself to two districts in the Rift Valley province: Nakuru and Kericho. These regions were chosen because of their continuous association with violence as well as the ability to access these schools with ease owing to the contacts of a local NGO. This research therefore does not offer a representative sample of the entire population of teachers in the country. However, the hope is that by detailing the realities which teachers contend with during post-conflict reconstruction, the findings of this research may be transferable to other contexts.

**Use of the term ‘post-conflict’**

Since no standard definition of post-conflict exists in the literature, this research adopts a relatively broad definition of ‘post-conflict’ as the period after which violent conflict has formally ceased. Episodes of violent conflict may be particularly long or short and intense, like in the case of Kenya. Moreover, the cessation of violence does not suggest that all violent conflict has officially ended. Indeed, small pockets of violence may continue to erupt in such countries. In the case of Kenya, the threat of future post-election violence remains and outbursts of conflict are witnessed in certain regions. Therefore, this research defines the period of relative stability after violence ends as ‘post-conflict’.

**Organisation of the dissertation**

Chapter II – *Locating the ‘teacher’ in post-conflict reconstruction: Analysis and conceptual framework*

This chapter reviews relevant literature in the fields of post-conflict reconstruction and ethnic conflict to identify relevant terms and themes in the literature. It defines the term ‘ethnicity’ and discusses how its use to mobilise groups into conflict causes deep fissures between communities,
which reflect in the school environment. It also contains an examination of the various roles ascribed to teachers during post-conflict reconstruction as a means of identifying the expectations placed on teachers. Finally, it presents a conceptual framework for analysing teachers’ willingness to take on new roles to deal with the effects of ethnic conflict.

Chapter III – *Exploring the context of Kenya*

An in-depth discussion of the context of this research is presented within this chapter. This includes a general introduction to Kenya and its education system, which is followed by an examination of the historical development of ‘ethnicity’ in Kenya and the causes of the 2007 post-election violence. This chapter aids in highlighting various issues that are relevant in Kenya such as political tensions, ethnic distrust, and insecurities regarding land rights, which collectively help to situate this research.

Chapter IV – *The research process*

This chapter presents the research design employed by this study. It discusses the rationale for using a case study strategy with semi-structured interviews and document analysis as methods of data collection. It also reviews the techniques used to analyse the data. Finally, it considers issues related to ethical dilemmas and the rigour of the study.

Chapter V – *Effects of the 2007 post-election violence on teachers’ realities*

Chapter V is the first of three chapters that contain the findings of this research. These chapters are organised based on the research questions presented in Chapter II, which are linked to the conceptual framework, and conclude with a brief discussion of the findings.

The first findings chapter provides an extensive overview of the varied effects of the post-election violence on teachers, students and the schools. It also contains the manner in which
teachers responded to these challenges. Finally, it presents various insights and observations regarding the data in relation to teachers’ responses to the effects.

Chapter VI – *Appreciating teachers' professional responses to the post-election violence: An analysis of their classroom realities*

The second findings chapter examines teachers’ realities and the variables within these contexts that shaped their responses to the effects of violence. It carefully considers each variable individually and then presents a discussion, which considers how the interplay of these variables enabled or prevented teachers from managing the effects of the conflict.

Chapter VII – *Looking to the future: Back to normal or changing roles?*

Analysis of the data determined that ethnic tensions, fears, and hostilities continue remain in the school environment two years after the conflict. Given these realities, the last findings chapter contains teachers’ perceptions of the support they continue to receive from the state (policy) and school (school culture) in maintaining these transformed roles to deal with the residual effects of the violence. This is an even more pertinent issue given the rising fears of violence due to the imminent national elections in March 2013, which requires an urgent need for teachers to retain these new roles.

Chapter VIII – *The changing role of teachers: Implications of findings on the field of post-conflict reconstruction*

This chapter draws on the findings of this research to ascertain their implications for the field of post-conflict reconstruction. It discusses various issues in relation to the support teachers require during this period and offers a renewed focus for policymakers.
Chapter IX – Conclusion: A way forward

Finally, Chapter IX presents the conclusion of this dissertation, which provides an overview of the purpose, methods and the findings of this research. It also discusses the contribution of this research to the field and suggestions for further research.

The following research chapter reviews literature in the fields of ethnic conflict and post-conflict reconstruction in order to identify gaps in the literature as well as relevant terms and themes. It also presents the ‘classrooms realities’ conceptual framework, which provides a perspective upon which this study is based.
Chapter II

LOCATING THE ‘TEACHER’ IN POST-CONFLICT RECONSTRUCTION: ANALYSIS AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Literature in the field of post-conflict reconstruction mainly focuses on portraying the devastating effects of conflict on education systems such as an increase in unqualified and ill-equipped teachers, psychosocial trauma, ethnic tensions, and a divergence between the school curriculum and altered needs of students (Buckland 2005). This is followed by literature regarding the nature of initiatives to counter these effects on a theoretical level such as peace-building projects and conflict resolution programmes. Such initiatives often bestow diverse roles on teachers from counsellor and mediator to peace advocate and agent of change. The focus of these areas have left an apparent gap on how teachers, who have a reflexive relationship with their community and are equally affected by conflict, realistically deal with the effects of ethnic conflict as well as how prepared they feel to take on these diverse roles.

The primary focus of this chapter is to examine the relevant studies, terms, and themes in order to shed light on the realities teachers face in societies affected by ethnic conflict as well as their own disposition towards this matter given their link to the community. In doing so, it principally deliberates over literature from the fields of ethnic conflict and post-conflict reconstruction. However, it also borrows pertinent literature from various other fields such as anthropology, educational reform, peace education, planned change and teacher emotions.

The first section of this chapter investigates the primordial and instrumentalist interpretations of ‘ethnicity’ and ‘ethnic mobilisation’ ultimately arguing for a greater focus on the instrumentalist aspects of ethnicisation. This section emphasises the role of ethnicity in creating fissures in
communal relations during conflict, which equally affects teachers. Much is to be said about ‘ethnicity’ in the context of Kenya and the politicisation of ethnicity, however, this matter will be discussed in the subsequent chapter, ‘Exploring the context of Kenya’. The second section of this chapter engages the literature on the role of teachers in post-conflict reconstruction highlighting the various expectations and challenges awarded to them during this period. Finally, the last section entails a deliberation over the field of educational reform and planned change in order to conceptualise a framework suitable for examining teachers’ responses in the context of post-conflict reconstruction.

‘Ethnicity’ and ethnic mobilisation

Data on the incidences of conflict depict a steady rise in the proportion of ethnic conflicts from 15% in 1953 to 60% in 2005 (Marshall 2006, cited Stewart 2008:7). Yet, numerous researchers have rejected the notion that these conflicts are entirely ethnic in nature and have offered various theories that point to grievances in relation to political, economic and social differences (see Gurr, 1970; Horowitz, 1985; Stewart, 2008). Cohen (1974:94) articulates this point well:

Men may and do certainly joke about or ridicule the strange and bizarre customs of men from other ethnic groups, because these customs are different from their own. But they do not fight over such differences alone. When men do, on the other hand, fight across ethnic lines it is nearly always the case that they fight over some fundamental issues concerning the distribution and exercise of power, whether economic, political, or both.

Thus, while many conflicts have been categorised as ‘ethnic’, ‘ethnicity is the ideological form, not the substance of conflict’ (Fukui and Markakis 1994:10). Yet, the undeniably powerful role ethnicity plays in mobilising groups into conflict cannot be ignored. In order to grasp the significance of ethnicity, it is necessary to explore the various theoretical debates regarding ‘ethnicity’ and ethnic mobilisation. Deliberations over these concepts have given rise to two competing lines of thought in anthropology, primordialism on the one end and instrumentalism on the other end.
The primordial view of ethnicity is plagued by numerous definitions of the term ‘primordial’. For these reasons, the biological, psychological, and culturalist schools of thought also offer varied understandings of the concept of ‘ethnicity’. This has made the primordial conception of ethnicity vulnerable to debates and counter-debates. For instance, Shils (1957:133), who coined the term ‘primordial’, defined it as ‘a common territory of origin and residence, a common place of work or ties of blood and sexual connection’ that may have a degree of sacredness attached to it by the individual. Thus, ethnicity is the result of ties of race, language, blood, region, and custom, which are all predetermined givens (Shils 1957). Subscribing to a biological approach, Van den Berghe (1979) argues that ethnicity is the result of a biological instinct and thus determined by socio-biological factors. From a culturalist point of view, Geertz (1973) contends that the predetermined ‘givens’ that create kinship are attributes that individuals ascribe meaning to thus making it seem biological to them as opposed to being a cognitive or cultural construction. Perhaps a suitable definition is the one offered by Douglas (1988:192): ‘ethnicity is a cultural given, a quasi-natural state of being determined by one’s descent and with, in the extreme view, socio-biological determinants’. The only modification being that these ‘cultural given’ must be defined as constructions based on the meaning individuals ascribe to them.

In terms of its susceptibility to mobilisation, Van den Berghe (1981:20) notes that ethnic groups will always favour their own interests over those of the other group and ‘altruistic transactions can be expected if, and only if, the cost benefit ratio of the transaction is smaller than the coefficient of genetic relatedness between the two actors’. Thus individuals are ‘biologically programmed to be nepotistic’ (Van den Berghe 1981:360) and therefore conflict between groups is inevitable to a certain degree. Grosby (1994:169) further argues that the efficacy and dominance of predetermined identifications are ‘one of the reasons why human beings have sacrificed their lives and continue to sacrifice their lives for their own family and for their own nation’. Finally, Geertz (1973:259) maintains that ‘these congruities of blood, speech, custom,
and so on are seen to have an ineffable, and at times overpowering coerciveness in and of themselves. Therefore, primordialists argue that ethnicity is susceptible to mobilisation over fundamental differences in primordial characteristics such as biological features and traditional beliefs and memories as well as a due to nepotism.

However the primordialist view fails to sufficiently consider the factor of change and variation. Indeed, ethnic groups are characterised by internal diversity and ethnicity is susceptible to change and dissolution. Ranger (1983) and Fearon (2008) offer several historical accounts of ethnicity where the boundaries of ethnic groups were influenced by external and internal redefinitions and redrawn. Furthermore, a growing number of scholars argue that conflict between groups is not an inevitable result of persistent frictions but rather is the product of economic, political, and social inequalities where the active role of a political or intellectual elite is necessary to achieve mobilisation (Horowitz, 1985; Stewart, 2008). Therefore, this view does not significantly consider periods when ethnic groups peacefully coexisted (Radcliffe 1994:7), which renders it ineffectual in studies embedded in a context of ethnic conflict.

Instrumentalists, on the other hand, view ethnicity as an instrument developed by groups and leaders in order to achieve economic or political goals (Cohen, 1969, 1974; Glazer and Moynihan, 1975). Cohen (1969:190) maintains that ethnicity essentially ‘operates within contemporary political contexts and is not an archaic survival arrangement carried over into the present by conservative people’. Thus, ethnicity is not a biological determinant but an attribute intentionally created for the interests of a group in reference to valued goods. As per the instrumentalist aspect of ethnicity, the role of a group leader is vital in its construction. Given that group consciousness regarding in-group identity is enhanced by political and intellectual elites, ethnicity essentially carries political connotations. The demands of group members for valued goods or economic and political gains are voiced through a group leader or political elite.
Additionally, instrumentalists recognise that only in the case where cultural symbols or characteristics exist and an awareness of the ‘other’ is established is it possible to exploit these differences for political or economic gain. In his argument regarding ethnic formation Cohen (1974) maintains that the creation of ethnic groups arise out of a calculated use of symbols such as language, traditions, geographical habitat, or historical memoirs. Ethnicity, therefore, is a form of social identity that is based on a combination of three features: culturally distinctive symbols and practices; an awareness of common historical origin; and a sense of belonging to the group, which is divergent from other groups, the goal being to acquire goods that are considered valuable by the group (Maré 1992, cited Campbell, et. al. 1995:288). Particularly pertinent is the role that the past or ‘memories, myths and traditions’ play in upholding the collective life of ethnic groups (Smith 1991:358). Representations of the past in symbolic terms allow people to maintain the individuality of their groups, offering a source of comfort and stability in the context of change (Cohen 1985).

This use of ‘culturally distinctive symbols’ in enhancing group consciousness gives way to two notions relevant to the role of ethnicity in conflict. Firstly, the act of heightening awareness of the ‘other’ in relation to one’s ethnic groups aids in cementing the distinctions felt by group members, which subsequently allows group members to view these shared symbols and practices as fixed and static. Turton (1997:82) notes that the efficacy of ethnicity in establishing boundaries between ethnic groups ‘depends upon its being seen as “primordial”’ by those who make claims in its name’. Therefore, despite ethnicity being a socially constructed concept, it maintains a primordial identity for its group members.

Secondly, it is this awareness of ethnic symbols and shared characteristics, which groups employ to differentiate between ‘us’ and ‘them’ that allows ethnicity to be susceptible to mobilisation. These differences are highlighted and repeatedly referred to by political and intellectual elites in
order to raise group consciousness to achieve mobilisation. Specifically important in this regard is the construction and reconstruction of history, which is learned not only through personal, but also collective memory. The reconstruction of past histories may invoke a sense of ‘victimhood’ creating anger, resentment, and feelings of sympathy subsequently justifying negative reactions and heightening ethnic loyalties (McGrellis, 2004; Bekerman and Zemblyas, 2008). Cohen (1969) presents a further argument for the importance of cultural symbols in achieving mobilisation:

Ethnic groups are in an advantageous strategic position, for it is difficult and costly for any state to suppress the customs of a group in such respects as marriage and kinship, friendship, ceremonial, and ritual beliefs and practices. And it is these very customs that can readily serve as instruments for the development of an informal political organization. Within the new developing states, a grouping of this type is more stable and more effective in achieving its aims than a formal association in which loyalties derive only from contractual, interests (1969:3).

Furthermore, instrumentalists contend that if the purpose of arousing group consciousness is the acquisition of power or valued goods, then the pursuit or protection of these goals validates the mobilisation of groups in the eyes of the ethnic groups (Brass 1991). In the context of change or transformation, if the interests, status or rights of one group are favoured over the other, it could lead to an increase in in-group consciousness in relation to the ‘other’ as well as inter-group competition. Grievances regarding differential treatment or inequalities, whether these may be objectively measured or subjectively felt, offer a solid basis for group leaders to mobilise groups into conflict. Therefore, where in-group identity and grievances are strong, political leaders are able to organise and focus these sentiments into powerful political movements and prolonged communal conflicts in order to meet the demands of group members or achieve political and economic gains (Gurr 1993:167). Indeed, ‘ethnicity has proved devastatingly powerful in its ability to motivate people to commit acts in particular historical and political circumstances’ (Turton 1997:4).
Primary criticism of the instrumentalist view of ethnicity concerns its singular emphasis on material gains and power of elites to manipulate groups. Golden (1999:141) argues that this perspective fails to consider that individuals will need to be certain of material gains before supporting political elites. In reference to the role of the elite, Hutchinson and Smith (1996:09, cited Balcha 2008:12) contend that emphasis on the ability of the elite to manipulate the masses neglects the ‘wider cultural environment in which elite competition and rational maximization take place’. Finally, Hempel (2004) contends that the focus on material interests undervalues the emotional power of ethnicity.

In light of these anthropological debates regarding ‘ethnicity’, this research supports the fluid aspect of ethnicity that may be enhanced by leaders through the used of cultural symbols; that is the instrumentalist aspect. Yet, it also recognises that group members must view these shared characteristics of tradition, language, geographical habitat, and historical memoirs, as ‘primordial’ in order to enhance ethnic loyalties and boundaries. As a result, this study conceptualises ethnicity as a salient identity that manifests itself as being primordial in nature, yet is socially constructed for the pursuit of valued political, social and economic gains. Owing to the emphasis on group consciousness and collective action, ethnicity may be transformed by contextual changes and/or redefined over time for economic, political and/or social gains by political and intellectual elites making it susceptible to mobilisation. Of particular importance is the use of ethnic symbols and past memories which, when constructed through personal and collective memory, may invoke a renewed sense of loyalty and awareness of ‘us’ versus ‘them’. When ethnic groups with a strong in-group identity carry grievances related to either subjective or objective inequalities, political leaders are able to mobilise groups into conflict in order to meet those demands for political or economic gains. This view of ethnicity is particularly relevant and instructive given that this study is embedded in the context of ethnic conflict where politics and land have played a substantial role. Particularly important is the construction and reconstruction
of history to mobilise groups in the context of Kenya; these notions will be revisited and discussed at length in the subsequent chapter.

Ethnic mobilisation can leave destructive effects on the harmony of a society. Applying an ethnic definition to conflicts allows them to become more comprehensive in terms of the issues and populations involved (Azarya 2003). Moreover, waging conflict in the name of a particular group often leads to the implication of the entire ethnic group, which inadvertently makes the group a target of the government or other opposing ethnic groups. Not only does this situation implicitly create an incentive for some individuals to join the conflict in order to defend the members of their family (Eck 2009:374), but also encourages members of other ethnic groups to view the mobilised group negatively. Opposing groups continue to hold on to perceptions of the other by persistently venerating their own ‘chosen traumas’ and ‘chosen glories’ (Volkan 1998, cited Johnson 2007:21). Gurr (1993:189) notes that once a group is committed to a particular attitude, self-sustaining conflict dynamics tend to lead to conflicting groups getting locked in an action-reaction sequence from which it is difficult to escape. As time elapses, the multifaceted incentives behind conflict are over-simplified, pre-existing prejudices are heightened, and inter-ethnic relations deteriorate leading conflicts to engulf entire ethnic groups (Assefa 1996).

The fissures created between communities owing to the repeated use of ethnicity to mobilise groups are often mirrored in the school environment with tensions arising between colleagues as well as in teacher-student relationships. Indeed, several sparse accounts of grey literature exist regarding the role of teachers in conflict. Non-governmental organisations, both local and international, have repeatedly emphasised the biased and prejudiced behaviour teachers exhibit in the context of conflict. In a study for UNICEF, ‘The two faces of education in ethnic conflict’, Bush and Saltarelli (2000:14) note that ‘teachers from majority cultures may display negative attitudes towards minority students, expect very little from them and fail to recognize and encourage their
individual talents’. Other scholars such as Williams (2004), Cairns (1996), and Lamb (2003) have provided specific examples of the role teachers have played in perpetuating negative ideologies, threatening students and taking part in violence.

Just as educational reforms consider schools to be ‘empty vessels’ that are ‘value-free’, there is a tendency to view teachers as neutral observers (Corbett, et al. 1987:57). However, emerging studies in the field of teacher emotions are beginning to counter this view of teachers as impartial and objective. For instance, a study conducted by Zemblyas (2011) examined the role that teachers’ emotions play in relation to ethnicity and the manifestations of these emotions in the classroom. Data for this ethnographic research was collected through in-depth interviews, ethnographic observations and school documents, which included focus groups. In his findings, Zemblyas (2011:156) notes that both teachers’ and students’ negative emotions did not remain private and played out in the ‘exclusionary aspects of everyday school life’ confirming that ethnic tensions present in the society maintain their pervasive presence in social interactions within schools. This study sheds light on two pertinent issues related to the role of teachers in countries affected by ethnic conflict. Firstly, it confirms the oft-repeated notion that schools reflect the biases and prejudices of society. Secondly, teachers too, both consciously and subconsciously, differentiate between ‘us’ and ‘them’ as well as justify their negative emotions to themselves in relation to what they feel is a threat to them.

Given these accounts and emerging studies, which confirm that teachers are not necessarily neutral in the context of ethnic tensions, it is perplexing that these realities are often not considered in the field of post-conflict reconstruction when defining the role teachers can play in rebuilding education systems as well as in peace-building projects. The following section serves to present an analysis of the varied and diverse roles awarded to teachers in post-conflict
reconstruction, the expectations placed on them in this regard, as well as current research on how teachers feel about taking on these roles.

**‘Teachers’ in the field of post-conflict reconstruction: Some challenges**

Several researchers have offered extensive accounts of the ‘two faces’ of education and its ability to perpetuate divisions and instil dogmatic ideologies as well as its importance in instilling values, attitudes, and beliefs imperative for the growth of intergroup relations (Bush and Saltarelli, 2000; Davies, 2004; Buckland, 2005). The education-war interface model proposed by Davies (2006) provides a vivid account of the role of education and conflict (see Figure 2.1). In this model, Davies proposes that education can play both a passive and active role in fostering negative conflict as well as positive conflict, where ‘positive conflict’ is defined as a type of conflict ‘necessary for a functioning democracy whereby challenges are made to injustice or to incompetent governance’ (Davies 2004:15). An active approach to negative conflict would entail a ‘hate’ curriculum, which is prejudiced towards a certain group over another and defames the enemy. On the other hand, an active approach to positive conflict translates into an education system that actively teaches about conflict as well as provides skills to challenge aggression and hold the government accountable (Davies 2006:13). Essentially, education is viewed as an avenue through which both negative and positive ideologies can be passed on to the future of the country.

For these reasons, the field of education is given considerable importance in the context of post-conflict reconstruction and rebuilding fragmented societies. If a country aspires for peace, then various interpretations of peace education are implemented in the education curriculum. If the goal is creating a culture conducive for positive diversity, then multicultural education finds its way into the education system. This reasonably affects the traditional role of teachers and the expectations placed on them when reconstructing schools or recovering from violence. Njoroge
(2002, cited Njoroge 2007:218) is quick to note that ‘to help society fully comprehend this [peaceful] nature of humanity and work towards restoring the hope that it is possible to exploit the good side of this humanity, the challenge is thrown to teachers’.

Figure 2.1: Negative and Positive conflict in education (Davies 2006)

In researching how prepared teachers feel to take on these diverse roles and deal with the effects of ethnic conflict, it is necessary to examine the expectations placed on teachers during post-conflict reconstruction. Given the dearth of research on this account, this section borrows studies from the field of teacher education, teacher emotions, peace education, and integrated education in order to offer a thorough analysis of the role of teachers in post-conflict reconstruction. Some of these studies are embedded in the context of developed countries; however their findings shed light on the behaviour teachers exhibit in relation to changes in their roles and responsibilities. For these reasons, this section references studies situated in such contexts as well.

The effects of conflict on education systems are both long-term and multifaceted presenting a myriad of challenges and hurdles for educators. From the more technical aspect, schools are
plagued with a lack of resources such as textbooks, desks and chairs, and writing instruments as well as overcrowded classrooms, and shortages in qualified teachers, all of which cumulatively impact the quality of education. Additionally, teachers and students alike suffer from communal tensions, post-traumatic stress disorder, fear, aggressive behaviour and so forth. As conflicts often cause a temporary collapse or a prolonged breakdown in governmental institutions, the central actors in reconstructing education systems are often international NGOs, who in conjunction with the existing government address the varied obstacles schools face after violence ceases. Once governments are able to reorganise themselves, NGOs continue to play a key role in assisting them with the design and initial implementation of educational reforms, which includes providing the necessary resources and training for teachers.

During reconstruction, the primary focus is often placed on the technical aspects of schools in order to ensure children have access to education. If schools were attacked during the conflict, an emphasis is placed on reconstructing these. These efforts are often followed by an emphasis on creating safe and secure classrooms for children, which translates into training sessions that require teachers to adopt new teaching methods to replace the traditional authoritarian style and practice of corporal punishment (Davies, 2004; Beck, 2006; Save the Children, 2010). For students who have experienced conflict, corporal punishment reinstates the message that ‘problems can be solved by the abuse of the weaker by the stronger’ (Davies 2004:66). A transformation in teaching style is imperative to reduce the sense of powerlessness children already feel in conflict-affected countries. These transformations however present themselves as particularly challenging for teachers as they require a significant alteration in the hierarchical structure of the teacher-student relationship that they are commonly attuned to in their culture (Sommers 2002:7). Disassociating themselves from the cultural belief that beatings are necessary to motivate and discipline students is particularly difficult. Johnson, et al. (1994) confirmed this hesitation through findings from their data gathered through questionnaires of 3,500 teachers. In
their comments, some teachers expressed a desire to return to beating children as a suitable and effective method of discipline: ‘…a swift stroke of the cane would bring them back in line’ (Johnson, et al. 1994:269). These methodological shifts therefore cannot be expected to occur swiftly.

In reference to the prevalence of post-traumatic stress disorder, the education system is once again considered as a useful avenue through which to aid students in rebuilding their lives by teaching them coping strategies. This is essential not just in countries that have experienced decades of protracted conflict, but also in countries that have witnessed shorter periods of violence. ‘Only a few moments of war experience can produce images of such power that they reverberate over weeks, months, years…’ possibly affecting an individual’s whole life (Garbarino 1991:5, cited Sommers 2002:8). Moreover, the trauma of witnessing conflict causes an individual to constantly oscillate between ‘the extremes of amnesia or of reliving the trauma, between floods of intense, overwhelming feeling and arid states of no feeling at all’ (Herman 1997:47).

Several researchers note that psychosocial interventions in educational settings can play a significant role in improving the lives and educational potential of children affected by conflict by means of creating a classroom climate that is open and supportive (Nylund, et al., 1999; Smith and Vaux, 2003). These psychosocial interventions require teachers to direct structured activities such as drawing, painting, story telling, drama, dance, and music, all of which provide an outlet for children to narrate their experiences and receive acknowledgement of the events they were subjected to during the conflict (Sommers 2002).

Another area that receives considerable focus in post-conflict reconstruction is the teaching of history. As mentioned in the previous section, the construction and reconstruction of history plays a significant role in raising group consciousness and in-group loyalties. By holding on to their own perceptions of the conflict, ethnic groups get locked into an endless clash over whose
history provides an accurate account of the violence. Indeed, countries that have experienced severe, identity-based conflicts have rewritten their history curriculum to allow teachers to deliver a critical account of the violence without portraying any one group as a victim and the other as perpetrator; a chief example of this is Rwanda. Therefore, learning the history of past conflicts in such societies compels students to critically analyse their own history through open inquiry (Bush and Saltarelli, 2000; Bekerman and McGlynn, 2007). The role of teachers in relaying this history requires them to ‘conduct themselves in a manner that does not favour or stereotype any one ethnic group over the other’ or favour any one version of history over the others (Njoroge 2007:222). Thus, the role of teachers is to expose their students to multiple historical narratives and lead them in unbiased and unprejudiced open inquiries. To achieve this, it becomes imperative for teachers to confront their own biases through candid discussions with members of the out-group before taking on the role of teaching history. Based on an analysis of teacher evaluations and videotaped presentations of the Facing History workshops, Weldon (2010) concludes that teachers value the open space provided to them in order to discuss their own history and experiences of segregation as a way of confronting their own pre-existing prejudices. This exercise allows teachers to feel more prepared in leading discussions of sensitive issues related to their past.

Reconstruction of education in post-conflict societies is often accompanied with alterations in educational pedagogies aimed at instilling values related to peace and conflict resolution. Such peace programmes take on varied interpretations depending on what specific values the government deems necessary for the progress of the country. For instance, a focus on democracy may lead to implementation of citizenship education, a preference for tolerance may indicate the need for multicultural education, while an emphasis on human rights would necessitate human rights education. Other such programmes include but are not limited to peace education, humanitarian education, conflict resolution and life skills, all of which fundamentally
highlight the concept of peace. The role of the teacher is critical for the realisation of these initiatives. Bar-Tal (2002) notes that the success of peace education is highly dependent on the views, motivations and abilities of teachers. He argues that teaching peace education is unlike preaching concepts and more dependent on exhibiting and adopting values and behavioural tendencies in line with those of the curriculum. Moreover, if a teacher’s behaviour is built on the essence of conflict and dominance, then teaching children about peace and conflict resolution can produce anxiety and distress in their students (Boyden and Ryder 1996:55). Thus it is of immense importance that teachers are able to transform their minds, hearts and spirits to take these steps towards peace building (Toh Swee Hin 1997, cited Njoroge 2007:218). To realise this, it becomes necessary for teachers to internalise behaviours conducive to peace and reconciliation as well as deviate from an emphasis on rote-memorisation to different methodologies such as experiential learning and participatory strategies, which construct skills essential to peace building and conflict resolution.

Additionally, in contexts where conflict has occurred on the basis of identity, the integration of opposing groups is viewed as essential to building and sustaining peace. In some countries, this concept of integration takes root in education systems through the means of integrated schools. Even in the case where societies have not been deliberately segregated or geographically divided, schools offer an avenue where rival groups unite for a common goal. In such contexts it is necessary for the teacher to rise above their predisposition to define themselves primarily in terms of group loyalties. Moreover, Dakwa (2003, cited Bray and Joubert, 2007:55) notes that teachers must ‘make a continuous effort to gain a working understanding of the cultural morals and practices of various ethnic groups’. In effect, teachers are required to shed their own prejudices and stereotypes of the out-group in order to convey these same values to their students.
Emerging studies are beginning to shed light on the discomfort teachers feel in overcoming ethnic tensions as well as teaching about reconciliation. Zemblyas, et al. (2011), for example, conducted a study on teachers’ emotions in relation to implementing and teaching reconciliation in Greek-Cypriot schools where segregation is a prevalent issue. Survey questionnaires were sent to 1200 teachers from 90 primary and secondary schools and 40 teachers were interviewed regarding their disposition and emotional resistance towards this new initiative as well as the perceived complexities in accomplishing success. Researchers discovered that most of the teachers interviewed were not emotionally ready to deal with controversial political issues. Although they valued the concept of coexistence between Greek-Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, most teachers showed a lack of willingness in implementing this initiative. Moreover, they also exhibited scepticism regarding the feasibility of this initiative given the thoroughly political and delicate context of implementation. Finally, they were unsure how to practically go about teaching reconciliation due to the lack of direction offered by the Ministry of Education. Given their lack of preparedness towards teaching issues that they consider controversial and sensitive, Zemblyas et al. (2011:340) conclude that teachers require additional support and training to critically reflect over their perceptions of ‘peace’ and ‘conflict’ in order to become more comfortable tackling these issues in their classrooms. Murphy and Gallagher (2009) and Bar-Tal (2004) corroborate these conclusions noting that teachers display scepticism and avoid dealing with reconciliation initiatives in conflict-affected countries due to their personal experiences during the conflict and their reflexive relationship with the community.

Similar conclusions have been drawn from studies regarding integrating education systems as well as desegregating schools. Based on intensive semi-structured interviews of principals of integrated schools in Northern Ireland, McGlynn (2007) concluded that such schools require more practical and sustained support in order to truly integrate the schools. One of the school principals interviewed remarked that teachers are simply not ready to deal with issues of diversity
and integration (McGlynn 2007:281). In another study that examined the success of desegregating schools in South Africa, Johnson (2007) noted that many teachers do not feel prepared to serve the altered demographic makeup of students least of all implement peace-building mechanisms within classrooms.

As is evident from the varied responses taken by international NGOs and governments in post-conflict societies, the function of the teacher is essential in achieving successful implementation; teachers are viewed as ‘the most critical resource in education reconstruction’ (Buckland 2005:49). Whether their role is to aid children in rebuilding their lives, employing a critical approach to teaching history, or imparting peace-building skills through participatory strategies, teachers are viewed as the fundamental tool through which such initiatives can be realised. For these reasons, teachers’ traditional roles are transformed to ‘agents of change’ or ‘social change agents’, a role bestowed on them repeatedly by researchers, NGOs and bilateral organisations (see Delors, et al. 1996; Cole and Barsalou, 2006; Weldon, 2010). This expectedly requires teachers, who maintain a reflexive relationship with their community and reproduce the same structural inequalities and biases of their society, to transform their disposition and inculcate values and beliefs favourable for peace building.

However emerging evidence implicates a certain level of discomfort, hesitation and avoidance among teachers in dealing with ethnic tensions and concepts such as ‘peace’ and ‘reconciliation’ in post-conflict societies. Cole and Barsalou (2006:11) report that teachers ‘generally are under enormous pressure in post-conflict societies to play too many roles—from psychologist and guidance counsellor to conflict resolution expert and mediator’ and their ability to take on these roles must be duly considered. It is noteworthy that these studies examine responses to systemic reforms and educational objectives in segregated or previously segregated countries. The demands placed on teachers in these contexts are unlike those witnessed during post-conflict
reconstruction in which teachers must deal with the immediate effects of the violence in a climate of uncertainty where institutional support is often marginal. Thus, there is an urgent need for research that considers teachers’ resistance to taking on these diverse roles in post-conflict schooling.

‘Classroots realities’: Towards a conceptual framework

Literature from the fields of ethnic conflict and post-conflict reconstruction collectively aid in portraying the varied and complex challenges teachers encounter in schools affected by conflict. These include, but are not limited to, unqualified teachers, lack of resources, psychosocial trauma, ethnic tensions and fear. Sparse accounts by NGOs and emerging studies conclude that teachers are not immune to these tensions and indeed participate in the violence as perpetrators or exhibit hostility towards rival ethnic groups in their classrooms. Once post-conflict reconstruction begins, teachers find themselves playing diverse roles in their classrooms to manage the varied effects of violence. Moreover, some peace building initiatives require teachers to tackle sensitive issues regarding reconciliation and ethnicity. These new innovations not only require a modification in curriculum materials such as resources and content, but also an alteration in the behaviour, understanding, and beliefs of teachers in relation to the particular innovation. In other words, such initiatives require teachers to carry out something new, placing them in the core of implementation.

A growing body of recent studies on teacher emotions, peace education, and integrated education conclude that teachers are resistant and hesitant to teach about reconciliation and integration. However, these studies are primarily focused on systemic reforms in relation to segregation, therefore, there is still much to be understood about teachers’ responses to changes in their role in unpredictable and unstable contexts of post-conflict reconstruction. While the field of post-conflict reconstruction is silent on these issues, studies in the field of educational
reform and planned change offer valuable insights (Doyle and Ponder, 1977; Hurst, 1981; Olson, 1985). Conclusions drawn from these studies prove to be beneficial for conceptualising a preliminary framework suitable for examining teachers’ responses to change. This section reviews relevant literature regarding teachers’ behaviour towards educational changes and reforms. Employing these discussions, it proposes a framework suitable for the context of this research.

Initial studies in the field of planned change in education suggest that teachers are inherently conservative and unwilling to change without significant coercion. This view of teacher resistance as the foremost barrier to innovation is a position rooted in social psychological tradition stemming back to the work of Lewin (1952). Drawing from his work in administrative experience, Beeby (1966) concurs with this view of teachers in the context of change. He too lists resistance and conservatism on the part of the user as key detriments of implementation. He further proposes that the degree to which change is implemented in education systems is determined by the ability of teachers, which he defines as being shaped by the level of their general education and the volume and nature of their professional education. This view offers a rather cynical representation of teachers whose unwillingness to change is unrelated to the conditions of schools in which they teach. Teachers are therefore viewed as obstacles in the implementation process that operate with a sense of dependability on traditional methods and procedures.

From an alternative perspective, Gross et al. (1971) conclude that teacher resistance in itself is rooted in a rational defence against innovations that are inadequately organised. That is, teachers systematically deliberate over innovations and identify problems, which if communicated with policy makers can be reoriented or reworked. A considerable body of literature in this field therefore places emphasis on teachers as ‘rational adopters’, termed so by Doyle and Ponder.
In this perspective, obstacles to implementation are considered technical and temporary, which may be amendable through sufficient training workshops and careful planning. Yet, the assumption that teachers are rational beings who will eagerly implement any reasonable, well-planned innovation is rather improbable. Indeed, Doyle and Ponder (1977:4) note that teachers use ‘a variety of normative and pragmatic criteria in selecting classroom procedures’. Moreover, this view of teachers as rational adopters fails to include such contributory variables as the context in which the initiative is to be implemented and the willingness of teachers to adopt these changes.

Doyle and Ponder (1977) propose that teachers are ‘pragmatic skeptics’ who ascertain the practicality of an initiative through its instrumentality, congruence and cost. ‘Instrumentality’ refers to how clearly the innovation and its procedures are communicated to teachers. ‘Congruence’ denotes how well the innovation suits the current situation in which teachers work. That is, it must be a good fit in line with the way the teacher normally conducts their classroom, the nature of the setting, as well as their self-image and chosen method of interacting with students. In essence, the new innovation must sustain established classroom procedures. Finally, the new changes must be worth the ‘cost’ or effort, not simply in monetary terms but in relation to recognition, students’ enthusiasm, or other such social factors. Yet, the assumption that new innovations must fit with the status quo of teachers’ classrooms raises doubts over the success of any new change. Furthermore, it would be misleading to postulate that the teacher’s rejection of an innovation is rooted in practicality, whereas the innovation is presumed to be rational or worthy. ‘The matter cannot be settled simply by assuming that the system’s plans make more sense than those of the teachers’ (Olson 1985:297).

An additional perspective in the field proposes an examination of organisational factors as determinants for teachers’ preparedness to change. Little (1987) suggests that factors in teachers’
school conditions such as the degree of innovativeness and collegiality are imperative in shaping teachers’ willingness to change. Similarly, Huberman and Miles (1984) analyse the role of administrators in the adoption of new innovations. This perspective offers a suitable explanation for why teachers are unable to adopt changes with the assumption that the innovation is satisfactory, yet not suitable for implementation due to organisational constraints. Once again, it does not sufficiently explain why the teacher may choose to reject the innovation itself. The emphasis is on organisational variables rather than on the nature of the teacher who must adopt these changes. The role of the teacher, therefore, is reduced to a pawn in the system that lacks the authority to make decisions regarding the suitability of the innovation.

In his analysis of the failure of educational changes in developing countries, Hurst (1981:187) opposes the belief that teachers are ‘lazy conservative dunces’ who are responsible for the failures of innovations. Instead, he argues that innovations are often introduced into classrooms with little to no input from the teachers who must employ or implement them. Moreover, these new changes are often not suitable for teachers’ working conditions. Therefore, he proposes that teachers are ‘reasonably skeptical’ of innovations that claim to improve learning, but are often not sensitive to their willingness or ability to adopt reforms given their current realities (Hurst 1981:192).

Given the debates presented above of teachers’ responses to change, this research rejects the assumption that innovations are rational and suitable, and therefore, resistance or hesitation on the part of the teacher is irrational or erroneous. This assumption fails to consider that teachers do operate well-functioning classrooms and are constantly making changes to meet the needs of their students (Olson, 1985; Richardson, 1990). Similarly, it rejects the notion that teachers are unable to make decisions regarding the suitability of innovations and are merely pawns in implementation systems. Indeed, Hurst (1981:188) argues that even in highly centralised systems,
where teacher autonomy is less than those in decentralised systems, teachers appraise new innovations in relation to their realities; their acceptance is fundamental for the success of new initiatives. Therefore, this research concurs that teachers are ‘reasonably skeptical’, as suggested by Hurst (1981). Their decisions must be regarded as logical as they are more cognisant of the realities in which they work and the challenges they face.

Particularly in the context of developing countries, the situational features found in schools have a significant bearing on teachers’ choices. Teachers often struggle with inadequate resources, poorly maintained schools, low pay, absence of incentives, lack of reliable transport to schools located at a distance, overcrowded classrooms and insufficient lavatories (Johnson 2008:140). Variables in the wider socio-political level are also relevant in this regard. For example, the HIV/AIDS pandemic results in teacher shortages and reduced teacher contact time due to related illnesses. In the case of post-conflict contexts, not only do teachers often face the aforementioned issues, but they also work in situations marred by uncertainty, disorder, lack of resources, and ineffectual state institutions crippled by violence.

Therefore, this research accepts that organisational structures do play a role in shaping teachers’ perspectives of change, but not as independent factors external to the teacher. The contextual variables in the school are relevant because they shape teachers’ perceptions of new innovations. As Hurst (1981:188) suggests, ‘…the situational features which facilitate or inhibit [teachers] have to be integrated into an understanding of the teacher’s logic or rationale for behaving as he does, and not treated as causally dominant’. For these reasons, this research proposes that teachers’ views of changes in their role and the manner in which they deal with the effects of conflict can be understood through an examination of their willingness and ability to execute these roles within their current realities.
In the field of educational reform and planned change, conceptualisations of teacher behaviour in the context of change often result in models and frameworks which list variables that affect the process of implementation or must be duly considered while implementing reforms. MacDonald and Rudduck (1971), for example, propose a ‘barriers to change’ perspective that considers factors at the school level, system level, and wider socio-political level. Hurst (1981) identifies the following variables when planning change: teacher morale; administrative inflexibility; and the role of aid agencies. This research however is not concerned with planned, systemic reforms. The challenges that teachers deal with during post-conflict reconstruction and the changes in their role are unexpected and unsystematic. Rather than adopt a preconceived framework, whether this may be in relation to developed or developing countries, this research argues for an examination of the rationale that shape teachers’ choices while managing the effects of ethnic conflict. To achieve this, it is necessary to engage in discussions with teachers through which such knowledge may be gained.

To construct a preliminary framework for analysing teachers’ responses, this research employs the structure of the ‘classroots realities’ framework proposed by O’Sullivan (2002). Hawes and Stephens (1990, cited O’Sullivan 2002:220) coined the term ‘classroots’ by merging the terms ‘classroom’ and ‘grassroots’ to denote the realities found in teachers’ classrooms. O’Sullivan (2002) then utilised this term with the aim of designing a suitable framework through which to examine the complexities of implementing English Language Teaching reforms in Namibia. He categorises classroots realities into two groupings. ‘Objective realities’ refer to the physical and personal context within which teachers work. ‘Subjective realities’ relate to teachers’ emotional and social context, namely their attitudes, beliefs, views, culture and so on. These groupings aid in capturing the complexities of teachers’ classroots realities, which shape their willingness and ability to assume new roles to manage the effects of ethnic conflict.
To further situate this framework within the context of this research, data gathered during the pilot study was analysed to identify relevant variables that emerged during semi-structured interviews with forty teachers and head teachers. This method ensured that a sufficient emphasis was placed on appreciating the realities that shaped teachers’ decisions rather than analysing their responses through a preconceived framework. While an attempt has been made to further define teachers’ objective and subjective realities, this research takes the view that teachers’ realities consist of the teaching and learning context of schools and include a broad and wide range of variables that cannot be sufficiently captured within this framework. These variables therefore offer a glimpse of teachers’ classrooms realities in relation to this research rather than a complete picture. The following discussion presents a discussion of each of these variables.

Factors in teachers’ objective realities

Access to resources:

Literature regarding education systems in developing countries abounds with references to the lack of resources available for schools to maintain normal functioning. In research conducted on the implementation of a new thematic curriculum, Altinyelken (2010) concludes that often new curricula call for the use of wall charts, flash cards, and other such visual aids, however budgets provided to purchase these items are minimal. Thus, schools that are already labouring under a constrained finances are unable to implement the curricula appropriately. In the event of conflict, these resources are further stretched creating additional obstacles for teachers who must deal with the effects of conflict as well as assume diverse roles.

External support:

As mentioned in the literature review, teachers require new skills and knowledge to deal with the challenges they face during post-conflict reconstruction, such as helping students who are
suffering from post-traumatic stress disorder or teaching about peace and conflict resolution. Often, administrative systems that are affected by conflict remain weak, which carries

Table 2.1: Factors in teachers’ classrooms realities in the context of post-conflict reconstruction

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teachers’ Classrooms Realities</th>
<th>Objective realities</th>
<th>Subjective realities</th>
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<td>Access to Resources</td>
<td>Attitudes</td>
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<td>External Support</td>
<td>Beliefs</td>
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<td>Political Influence</td>
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<td>Professional Capacity</td>
<td>Negative emotions (fear, anger, grief, anxiety)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Purpose</td>
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<td>School Culture</td>
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<td></td>
<td>▪ Collaborative collegial relationships</td>
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<td>▪ Participative decision-making</td>
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<td>▪ Innovativeness</td>
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<td></td>
<td>▪ Shared sense of purpose and vision</td>
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implications for the development and professionalisation of teachers in relation to the altered demands of students (Johnson 2008:141). In the absence of sufficient state support, NGOs aid in rebuilding education systems and provide teachers with necessary training and support. Therefore, such external agencies play an imperative role in shaping teachers’ willingness and ability to manage the effects of the violence.

Political influence:

In the aftermath of conflict, individuals may harbour distrust, suspicion or anger towards the state depending on their role in inciting conflict (Samuels 2006). This is even more pronounced if politicians have indulged in ‘aggravated exploitation of ethnic and cultural differences’ (Baechler 2004:4). Analysis of the pilot study indicates that political influence in the surrounding community serves as a deterrent in dealing with specific effects of the conflict as well as the willingness of teachers to take on a prominent role in this regard.
**Professional capacity:**

In their examination of twenty-six World Bank-supported projects for improving the quality of primary education in sub-Saharan Africa, Heneveld and Craig (1996) noted that a greater emphasis is placed on policy decisions and large-scale programming rather than school needs. Therefore, while funding is earmarked for publishing, printing and distributing books, no time or resources are set aside ‘in reference to the supervision of the books’ pedagogical use in schools’ (Heneveld and Craig 1996:xv). Similarly, in the context of post-conflict schooling where ‘peace’, ‘reconciliation’ and ‘conflict resolution’ are introduced into the ‘climate of learning’, it is imperative that an emphasis is placed on teachers’ professional capacity to teach these concepts and utilise the necessary resources available to them appropriately. Indeed, Beeby (1966:57) notes that despite teachers’ positive attitude towards a project, it is ‘the actual ability of teachers to bring about the changes, which is critical’. This also includes a consideration of the teaching methodologies they employ in their classroom, which as discussed in the previous section, require a transformation from rote learning and authoritarian teaching to student-centred classrooms with open inquiry and critical discussions. Even though teachers may maintain a positive attitude towards classroom discussions or group work, the notion of loosing control over the classroom and experiencing disciplinary issues may cause the teacher to revert back to teacher-centred methods (Kennedy and Kennedy 1996:357).

**Factors in teachers’ subjective realities**

**Teachers’ attitudes and beliefs:**

Several researchers have concluded that educational changes which require a transformation in the definition of a teacher’s role in the classroom often require teachers to inculcate skills, attitudes and beliefs that are in line with these changes. Yet, such changing definitions that concern professional purpose are likely to produce a skeptical or negative attitude. Fullan (1991) ascertains that implementing any change may be a difficult and complex process as it involves...
challenging teachers’ previously learned skills, beliefs, their sense of proficiency and philosophies. Therefore, it cannot be assumed that with a bit of encouragement, teachers will shed their lifelong beliefs and take on these roles spontaneously as part of their daily teaching (Sinclair 2004).

*Teachers’ motivation:*

Given the energy and work teachers must provide to accepting educational changes that require a change in their skills, values, and beliefs with few personal incentives, their motivation may be an obstacle in this process. Indeed, teachers in developing countries are often labouring under constrained resources, provided with very little salary, and are already facing financial pressures in their personal lives (Hurst, 1981; Guthrie, 1990). This expectedly affects their motivation to implement new changes or take on new roles and may even affect their confidence in themselves as well as enthusiasm for their profession. These constraints therefore make them reluctant to invest additional time and energy in an innovation they are uncertain about.

*Teachers’ negative emotions arising from the conflict:*

In the event of conflict, teachers are victims along with students and equally traumatised by their personal experiences. Research ascertains that their negative emotions arising from the event of conflict make them skeptical and hesitant to teach about reconciliation and peace (Bar-Tal, 2004; Murphy and Gallagher, 2009). Analysis of the pilot study confirms these findings and suggests that their fears and anxieties impinge on the willingness of teachers to manage the effects of the violence once schools reopen.

*Teachers’ purpose:*

Studies in the field of educational reform highlight this resistance exhibited by teachers through an analysis of teachers’ emotions to change. In interviews conducted of fifty teachers,
Hargreaves (2004) determined that regardless of whether the educational change was initiated externally or internally, it was more relevant if the changes were in line with the teacher’s purpose and capacities. Van Veen and Sleegers (2006) confirmed this finding in their interviews with six teachers regarding their professional orientation and the situational demands they faced. They noted that teachers are likely to feel negatively towards ‘changing definitions of their work’ if these are incongruent with their professional alignment towards their role and job (Van Veen and Sleegers 2006:106). Thus, there is a need for congruence between the central messages of peace building initiatives and the values and practices of teachers in order to ensure that teachers feel positive about such changes and that these ideas are internalised in the school context.

**School culture:**

A growing body of literature emphasises the role of school culture in implementing reforms successfully. Corbett, *et al.* (1987) argue that even if innovations are carefully implemented, it does not necessarily translate into success since many reforms entail inherent changes in teacher attitudes and conduct. Indeed, in post-conflict contexts programmes such as peace education, conflict resolution, and multicultural education require teachers to exhibit these values and ideals to reinforce learning. Given the importance on reforming teachers’ attitudes and perspectives, Corbett, *et al.* (1987) propose that a greater focus must be placed on school culture when analysing planned change. ‘If norms are not internalised, then behavioural changes will disappear once special support systems are removed’ (Corbett, *et al.* 1987:40). Citing case studies from several countries, Stephens (2007) augments this argument noting that in order for the main stakeholders (teachers, students and community members) to successfully own innovations and reforms, they must be in harmony with the cultural context.

Various definitions exist in relation to school culture. Erickson (1987) refers to school culture as the way people consider, perceive, and feel about things of a school. Scholars such as Hargreaves
(1995) and Maslowski (2001) note that the school culture influences its members and the way individuals function within the school. Hoy, et al. (1991) view it as a manifestation of the school’s customs, rituals, artefacts, and inter-relationships. For the purpose of this study, school culture is conceptualised as the manner in which teachers conduct themselves as well as the way they feel about the school. Moreover, it is perceived as composed of several characteristics and features that collectively define it. An analysis of studies by scholars such as Deal and Peterson (1999), Fullan (2001), and Engels et al. (2008) highlight the following five dimensions of a school culture: collaborative collegial relationships; school leadership; participative decision-making; innovativeness; and a shared sense of purpose and vision. These factors are defined below.

Fullan (2001) and Deal and Peterson (1999) identify collegiality between teachers, which is built on sharing and collaboration as a key characteristic of school culture. In his study of the emotions of teaching and educational change, Hargreaves (2004:295) concluded that teachers find it difficult to implement changes when their colleagues exhibit resistance, which subsequently affects their emotions towards the initiative in question. Similarly, in a context affected by ethnic conflict where communal relations are frail and tensions exist between ethnic groups, there is an urgent need to consider how relationships between colleagues shape teachers’ resistance and hesitation to effectively carry out their roles in managing the effects of violence.

Hoy and Tarter (1997) emphasise the nature of school leadership, which defines the degree to which teachers perceive the principal as a leader who provides clear expectations and structure. Aelterman et al. (2002, cited Engels et al. 2008:160) note that ‘principals have an indirect effect on teachers’ self-efficacy through their influence on collegial support’. In their research on teacher attitudes and implementation of change Kennedy and Kennedy (1996:355) note that if a head teacher is not in favour of an innovation, teachers too are less likely to implement it.
Devos, et al. (2007) highlight participative decision-making which is a particularly imperative characteristic in the context of change as it provides an opportunity to create a culture conducive to implementing new initiatives. They define this characteristic as the degree to which teachers contribute in decision-making at their school and thus, own the educational innovations being implemented in their schools. Rosenholtz, et al. (1986) further add that participative decision-making serves to clarify instructional objectives and provide direction to teachers.

Several scholars have also recognised the need for school culture to maintain an open attitude towards new innovations (Farrel, 2000; Maslowski, 2001; Lieberman, 2005). Education systems are constantly changing and evolving, introducing modern systems and new initiatives, all of which alter the practice of teachers and often require a change in their approach, beliefs and attitudes. This requires the school culture to maintain a degree of innovativeness. Farrel (2000) further adds that significant hard work, team building and leadership can aid in creating a culture conducive for implementing innovations.

Lastly, literature on school culture also highlights the significance of a common and shared vision that is developed by school members or through the historical course of the school (DuFour and Berkey, 1995; Kenny, 2003; Lieberman, 2005). A shared vision acts as a symbol of unity, offering a sense of clarity, purpose, and direction to teachers and principals. In the context of educational change, it is imperative for the school community to develop and clarify this vision as a means to ease the process of implementation and acceptance of new innovations. Moreover, by clarifying this shared vision in relation to new initiatives teachers participate in the process of defining the direction and purpose of innovations, which endows them with a sense of ownership. Collectively, these five dimensions aid in constructing a healthy school culture suitable for the context of educational changes.
Given the paucity of empirical research in regards to educational changes in the context of post-conflict reconstruction, the classrooms realities framework presented above offers a suitable starting point to examine teachers’ willingness and ability to assume diverse roles such as agent of change, peace educator, conflict resolution expert, and so on. It considers some of the variables within teachers’ objective and subjective realities as factors that shape their responses to the effects of ethnic conflict. This is by no means an exhaustive list of variables in teachers’ classrooms realities. It merely offers a glimpse into the contexts of post conflict schools in relation to this research.

**Research questions**

Given the conceptual framework presented above and examination of relevant concepts and variables, the following are the more refined research questions that direct this study in its examination of the fundamental question: Given their reflexive relationship with the community, how do teachers feel about transforming their role to deal with the effects of ethnic conflict?

1. What are the effects of the post-election violence on teachers’ classrooms realities?
2. How did teachers professionally respond to the effects of the post-election violence?
3. Why did they respond in this manner? Which factors in their classrooms realities influenced their decision?
4. What are their views regarding the support they continue to receive from the state (policy) and school (school culture) in dealing with the residual effects of the conflict?

The first research question aims to elucidate the realities of post-conflict schools, the challenges teachers face, the obstacles they must overcome, and the effects of the conflict on themselves. While there is a great deal of literature regarding the multifaceted effects of conflict on education systems, few attempt to understand these effects from the perspective of the very individuals who must manage these – the teacher. Moreover, each context is unique and the effects of
conflict on the education system are distinct as well. An exploration of teachers’ perspectives in this regard aids in illuminating the realities that teachers must face when schooling resumes while placing an equal emphasis on their own experiences.

The aim of the second research question is to determine how teachers deal with the realities found in post-conflict schools. In the field of post-conflict educational reconstruction there is a consensus that teachers are unprepared and ill equipped to manage the effects of conflict. There is also a growing body of literature that touches on the diverse, appropriate responses teachers must take when dealing with these effects as well as the roles they must play in doing so.

However, the literature notably lacks an in-depth view of what teachers actually do when faced with the varied effects of violence. This question aims to fill in this gap in the field of post-conflict reconstruction.

The purpose of the third research question is to fully comprehend the rationale behind the decisions teachers took when faced with particular challenges. A growing body of research in the field of peace education, teacher emotions and integrated education highlight teacher resistance in teaching concepts of integration and reconciliation. Moreover, while the literature depicts that teachers are not immune to prejudices and biases and maintain a reflexive relationship with the community, there is no clear understanding of how a context rife with ethnic tensions and hostility affects teachers’ responses to managing the effects of violence. Given these conclusions, the objective of this research question is to uncover factors in their classrooms realities that shape teachers’ willingness and ability to assume new roles in this regard.

Lastly, the final question serves to address the enduring and multifaceted issues and challenges that post-conflict societies continue to face years after violence ceases. In doing so, it recognises that policies from the government are pertinent in guiding nationwide responses and there is a
particular school culture conducive to implementing initiatives that cater to managing ethnic
tensions and hostility in a country affected by conflict. As discussed earlier, a healthy school
culture is beneficial for implementing and sustaining new initiatives thus it is imperative to
consider teachers’ perspectives of the support they continue to receive from the school in order
to take on the various roles necessary to deal with the effects of ethnic conflict. Indeed, there is a
tendency to turn to education systems when a societal change is needed in order to move
towards reconciliation or integration. Yet, education systems are not independent institutions
that exist in a vacuum, they too are value-laden and maintain a reflexive relationship with the
community. The final research question aims to shed light on this issue.

Summary

This chapter reviewed pertinent literature from the fields of ethnic conflict and post-conflict
reconstruction with the purpose of examining terms, themes, and past research studies that are
relevant to this research. Discussion began with an exploration of the primordialist and
instrumentalist interpretations of ‘ethnicity’ ultimately arguing for the latter given its emphasis on
the political aspect of identity formation and use of cultural symbols to raise group
consciousness. It also examined the role of grievances which when accompanied by strong in-
group identity may mobilise groups into conflict. This section concluded by highlighting the
devastating consequences of using ethnicity to mobilise groups noting that it causes a breakdown
in communal relations and heightens pre-existing prejudices. It further notes that teachers are
not immune to these tensions and indeed have taken part in identity-based conflicts as
perpetrators.

The second section of this chapter examines the field of post-conflict reconstruction to shed
light on the expectations placed on teachers when rebuilding communities affected by conflict. It
discusses the significance of education in relaying the need for peace and conflict resolution
during reconstruction and the varied roles teachers must adopt in doing so. It further recognises that teachers are required to learn new teaching methodologies and internalise values of peace, reconciliation and integration in order to successfully implement peace-building programmes. Lastly, this section cites emerging research from the fields of peace education, teacher emotions, and integrated education, which note that teachers are often resistant and hesitant to teach about integration and reconciliation.

Finally, the last section outlines a conceptual framework for analysing teachers’ preparedness to assume these diverse roles to deal with the effects of violence. It reviews literature in the field of educational reform and planned change to determine teachers’ responses to new innovations. In doing so, it concurs with the perspective offered by Hurst (1981) that teachers are reasonably skeptical of new initiatives and their decisions must be considered logical given their familiarity with the context in which they work. Therefore, to understand their willingness and ability to take on these diverse roles, it is necessary to engage teachers in discussions regarding the rationale that shaped their responses to the effects. Lastly, it adopts the structure of the classrooms realities framework by O’Sullivan (2002) and outlines various factors that impinge on the choices teachers make when managing the effects of the conflict. This preliminary framework is conceptualised using variables that emerged from analysis of the pilot study data.

While literature in the fields of ethnic conflict and post-conflict reconstruction are extensive, further research is needed which bridges the gap between these two spheres. Studies in teachers’ emotions and peace education have begun to shed light on the resistance and hesitation teachers feel in teaching sensitive topics as well as educating students in the context of heightened ethnic tensions. Research however is needed on how teachers feel about taking on these diverse roles in order to deal with the varied effects of conflict given their classrooms realities. In the context of post-conflict schools where traditional references to the ‘climate of learning’ are supplemented
by terms such as ‘peace’, ‘multiculturalism’ and ‘conflict resolution’, and teachers’ roles are transformed into counsellors, advocates of peace and conflict resolution, as well as symbols of support and normalcy, further examination is needed to determine if teachers exhibit the same hesitation and anxieties in dealing with the effects of conflict given their reflexive relationship with the community. This research aims to shed light on this issue.

The subsequent chapter illustrates the context of Kenya in order to situate the research accordingly. It examines the development of ‘ethniciy’ in Kenyan society and the causes of the 2007 post-election violence, which aids in elucidating the relations between ethnic groups, the importance of land, role of youth gangs, and the position of politics.
Chapter III

EXPLORING THE CONTEXT OF KENYA

In 1991 Kenya began its transition from a one-party system to multi-party democracy triggering widespread violence. To this date, violence has continued to erupt in several pockets of the region, notably during elections as was witnessed in the post-election violence of 2007. These events of violence, which are characterised by forced land seizures, displacement and purposive targeting of certain groups, often present themselves along the lines of ethnicity. Indeed, Kenya’s constant association with violence with strong ethnic undertones has led to an inevitable deterioration in ethnic relations and heightening of ethnic mistrust. For these reasons, the case of Kenya offers an interesting context in which to research teachers’ responses to the effects of the post-election violence given their reflexive relationship with the community.

The aim of this chapter is to illustrate the context of Kenya in order to situate the research. The first section provides a brief introduction to Kenya, which includes the role of churches and local NGOs as well as a concise discussion of the education system and its challenges. The second section contains a historical analysis of the development of ‘ethnicity’ in Kenya, followed by its politicisation by Kenyan elite through the use of historical grievances. In order to do so, it is necessary to trace the emergence of ethnicity during colonialism to the post-colonial period as it is within these periods that ethnic identities were crystallised around certain groupings with shared grievances. Finally, the last section analyses the causes of the 2007 post-election violence, which involves a discussion of the role of politics and youth. Given that Kenya is essentially an agrarian society, where control and ownership of land have a bearing on power relationships, the issue of land is pertinent to these discussions.
An introduction to Kenya and its education system

Kenya is a multi-ethnic country with over forty different indigenous groups, each with its own language. The five main tribes are Kikuyu (22%), Luhya (14%), Luo (13%), Kalenjin (12%) and Kamba (11%) (Roberts 2009:6). While English is the official language, Kiswahili is also a prominent language with other local languages frequently used as well. The country is divided into eight administrative provinces: Coast; Central; Eastern; Nairobi; Rift Valley; Western; and North Eastern. Several scholars argue that these administrative units carved out by colonialists aided in institutionalising tribalism or ethnocentrism (Oucho, 2002; Kanyinga, 2009). Post-independence, the Kenyan government carried forth this legacy and continued to sub-divide its regions. According to the Kenyan Census Bureau, these eight provinces have been sub-divided into sixty-nine districts. As Hazelwood (1979:5) notes, ‘although there have been shifts of population, even in quite recent years, the bulk of the population lives on what it – and others – regards as its own traditional land’.

The geography of the country has played a vital role in shaping its history and economy. Nairobi is the urban, cosmopolitan capital of the country, the Rift Valley is rich in agricultural land, the Coast is an important tourist destination, and the North Eastern province is mainly arid thus necessitating many development projects (Oucho 2002). After tourism, agriculture is the biggest contributor to economy, which explains the importance of land in Kenya. The next section will further elaborate on the historical issue of land in Kenya.

Due to the influence of missionaries, Kenya is predominantly a Christian society with 45% Protestant and 33% Catholic. Churches play a prominent role in society owing to the use of Christian missions by the British to spread western culture during colonialism (Maupeu 2008, cited Roberts 2009:8). The influence of religion in Kenyan society can also be explained by reflecting over traditional values of pre-colonial Kenya. In his seminal work on Kikuyus,
Kenyatta notes that the State and Church are one in Kikuyu society and hence, religion and politics cannot be easily separated (Kenyatta 1938:179-222, cited Young 2010:307). Thus, despite inheriting the colonial system of separation between the Church and State, the Church continues to play an imperative role in society as well as politics.

The relationship between church leaders and politicians has been both indispensable and confrontational. On the one hand they spearheaded the movement for constitutional reform following the 1992 elections and thus positioned themselves against Moi’s government (Osamba 2001). They also criticised the government for its role in the outbreak of violence in the early 1990s, which prompted politicians to warn church leaders against participating in politics (Osamba 2001:95). On the other hand, there have been historical reports of their political bias and involvement in inciting hate. A report by the Commission of Inquiry into the Post-election Violence (CIPEV) notes that preceding the 2007 post-election violence several religious leaders in areas such as Limuru and Nyeri used the pulpit to convey hate messages uttering phrases such as ‘“ciaigana ni ciaigana” (enough is enough), suggesting that the Kikuyu community should no longer simply stand by while attacks against them continued’ (Waki 2008:217). Kenyans are often fully aware of the tendency of religious leaders to be politically biased. Indeed, in Kericho a large number of residents marched to a local church because they suspected that they were holding stuffed ballot papers for the Party of National Unity (PNU) during the 2007 presidential elections (Waki 2008:137). While a police search declared this an unfounded claim, it depicts the perceptions Kenyans maintain regarding the Church’s involvement in politics.

Religious leaders have also played a pertinent role during and after the post-election violence. Not only did some Pastors spread early warnings regarding plans for violence, but they also opened the doors of their churches to shelter those escaping the violence (Waki 2008). Local churches are also part of the Disaster Management Committee at the District level and thus took
on a substantial role in responding to the effects of the 2007 post-election violence (Waki 2008:285). In particular, they were sought out for counselling individuals affected by the violence. Moreover, the Church has historically been a member of committees that conduct inquiries into the causes of post-election violence. Following the violence in 1991, the National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCK) carried out a thorough investigation of the causes of the violence and named several ruling party members as perpetrators (Ajulu 2002:265). Similarly, the council and several local churches supported the Commission of Inquiry into the Post-Election Violence (CIPEV) as they carried out their investigations on the causes and effects of the 2007-2008 violence.

Aside from local churches, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) also play a pertinent role in Kenyan society. Kenya is a regional UN hub for all relief operations with around 120 regional offices and is also home to numerous refugees (Klopp and Kamungi, 2008; NGOs Co-ordination Board, 2009). For these reasons, the culture of NGOs is prominent in this country and there are several local NGOs that play an active role in various facets of social life. In 2009 the NGO co-ordination board released a detailed national survey in Kenya, which notes that there are over 2,000 NGOs that are currently functional and the majority of these NGOs are dedicated to service provision with the prominent focus being on HIV/AIDS and education. The Rift Valley province has the highest number of NGOs whose focus is on issues of advocacy such as peace building and conflict resolution, which could be attributed to the high level of insecurity in the region (NGOs Co-ordination Board 2009).

In terms of education, like most other African countries, Kenya was introduced to formal education through Christian missionaries and colonialists. Launched in 1985, Kenya adopted the current 8-4-4 education system, that is 8 years of primary education, 4 years of secondary education, and 4 years of tertiary or university education. In 2003 the government introduced
free primary education in a bid to increase enrolment. However, most schools were not equipped to handle the influx of students, which resulted in strained resources, lack of appropriate infrastructure, increased teacher-student ratios and greater class sizes, all of which impacted the quality of education (Mukudi 2004). Thus, while the current gross enrolment rate for primary schools was 110% in 2009, the primary completion rate was 97.8%.

Secondary school begins around age fourteen however some students begin at a later age due to a lack of secondary schools. This shortage of secondary schools was an issue the government inherited from colonial rule. The number of primary schools far outweighed the number of secondary schools with forty times more primary schools than secondary schools (Ohba 2011:403). The increased demand for secondary education gave way to *Harambee* schools, or private schools that are run by local communities and are often more expensive than government-run public schools. Areas such as the Rift Valley province and the North Eastern province that have low economic development and are inexperienced in self-help community schooling continue to have lower enrolment rates for secondary school (Ohba 2011:404). Despite the introduction of *Harambee* schools, the number of primary schools is still four times greater than the number of secondary schools (MOES&T 2005:194). For these reasons, the transition rate from primary to secondary school is weak and was just over 50% in 2005 (MOES&T 2005:195).

Many secondary schools also offer boarding in order to accommodate students coming from remote areas or those that have achieved placements in schools that are at a significant distance from their home. Placements in secondary schools are based on examination results of the Kenya Certificate of Primary Examination (KCPE), which is taken at the end of the eighth year of primary school, in conjunction with the stipulations of the quota system. Introduced in the 1980s, this system instructs schools to admit 85% of the students in their localities and has been
much debated given that it discourages students from relocating to different regions and experiencing the ethnic diversity of Kenya (Amutabi, 2003:135; Ndumanya, 2011). Despite these debates, the policy continues to be a part of Kenya’s education system.

In a bid to increase enrolment free secondary education was recently initiated in 2008. Secondary school fees have been abolished and parents are now solely responsible for lunch, development funds and boarding costs. In a study conducted of 109 primary school leavers, Ohba (2011) determined the degree to which this new policy increased access for poorer students through survey data and interviews. In her research she noted that as a result of this policy, the average total costs for day secondary schools reduced from KSh 11,717/USD 187 to KSh 4897/USD 78 and that of boarding schools reduced from KSh 20,551/USD 328 to KSh 14,839/USD 237 (Ohba 2011:406). Apart from lunch, development funds and boarding costs, it must be noted that parents continue to bear the expenses for books, uniforms, bags, stationery and other such items. In order to relieve the burden placed on families who must send their students to boarding schools, the government revised a bursary scheme intended for all secondary school students to include only boarding students. By excluding day students from the bursaries, the scheme disregards low-income families who cannot afford secondary education despite the reduced costs (Ohba 2011:407). While her study was unable to account for the revised bursary scheme given the time of its introduction, Ohba (2011) concludes that secondary schooling continues to place a financial burden on parents that many cannot afford and the benefits of education do not necessarily offset the costs. Indeed, primary school leavers remarked that often secondary school leavers must join polytechnic schools to gain more relevant skills or enrol for higher education. Thus, secondary education is not necessarily beneficial or relevant in the current economic climate (Ohba 2011:407).
Technical schools and polytechnics serve as an alternative for primary school leavers and are looked upon as advantageous. Similar to secondary education, polytechnics and technical schools are expensive and offer limited places. Moreover, Nyerere (2009:13) notes that the quality of TVET graduates has deteriorated in recent years due to ‘poor instructional methods, outmoded/inadequate training equipment, and lack of meaningful work experience and supervision during attachment’. Therefore, the lack of relevancy of education in Kenya is a significant problem for Kenyan youth.

Tertiary education poses the same difficulties in terms of costs. Admission is merit-based and determined by the results of the Kenya Certificate of Secondary Education (KCSE), which is an examination taken at the end of the last year of secondary school. Access to universities is highly competitive given the dearth of universities. There are only 7 public universities and 17 private universities. Kenya also has several middle-level colleges that offer career courses, which lead to certificates and diplomas.

The relevance and suitability of education in Kenya is one of the major obstacles affecting the quality of education. Aside from this, schools are plagued by inequitable distribution of resource, the negative effect of HIV/AIDS, and ill-prepared teachers and head teachers (Car-Hill, et al. 1999; Guantai, et al., 2001; MOES&T, 2004). With regards to the latter, some of these challenges include inadequate and incompatible pre-service and in-service training as well inequitable distribution of teachers, which have been discussed below.

In order to become a secondary school teacher, individuals are required to receive pre-service training from either public universities or diploma colleges after completing their secondary education. Though, large class sizes means that lecturers forego the emphasis on methodology, which inevitably affects the quality of the teacher (MOES&T 2004:11). Indeed, many teachers in
Kenya still use a traditional authoritarian model with a frontal teaching approach. A majority of teachers believe that their role entails imparting factual knowledge to students rather than skills (Ongong’a, et al. 2010:622). With most teachers favouring ‘urban, peri-urban, and high potential areas where amenities are available’, the Teachers Service Commission (TSC) struggles to rectify the inequitable distribution of teachers (MOES&T 2004:64). Finally, very few in-service courses are provided to teachers and access to these trainings are disparate with the North Eastern and Rift Valley provinces having the lowest figures for in-service training (Nzomo, et al. 2001).

In reference to the role of principals, the main challenge is that head teachers lack the relevant skills to effectively manage their schools. Several scholars note that teachers’ promotion to head teacher is dependant more on personal factors than on qualifications or experience and they often do not receive necessary training in management skills before taking on this post, are not provided with in-service training, and receive little support from the Ministry of Education and its local offices (Kitavi and Van der Westhuizen, 1997; Herriot, et al., 2002; Bush and Oduro, 2006). In their study of educational leadership programmes in Kenya, Onguko, et al. (2008:721) conclude that of the few institutions providing training for teachers none categorically focus on ‘the role of principals as pedagogical and instructional leaders’. Moreover, the content of these programmes focus more on management over leadership skills and thus prepare teachers for maintenance and coordination of schools rather than initiating change or building a healthy school culture (Onguko, et al. 2008:722).

Recently, claims have been made in Kenyan local newspapers that education systems are moving towards segregation. Kigotho (2009) points out that education disparities in secondary schools, upon which chances for higher education are determined, highlight ethnic inequalities within the region. This concern was confirmed in the SACMEQ report, which noted that school resources and in-service courses for teachers are disparately distributed between provinces (Guantai, et al. 2004).
Given that many districts are homogenous ethnically, these disparities serve to highlight ethnic inequalities (Waki 2008:30). In addition, as recent as March 2009, fears have arisen that public universities are becoming increasing tribal by electing principals from the local tribe thus placing merit on the backburner (Siringi 2009). These claims along with the much debated quota system have instigated fears that an increasingly ethnocentric education system will cause a further decline in ethnic relations thus making the country ever more vulnerable to ethnic conflict. In order to further appreciate these fears and concerns regarding fragile ethnic relations, the subsequent section examines the concept of ‘ethnicity’ in Kenya and the role it plays in society. This discussion centres on the historical development of ‘ethnicity’ in Kenya and the role colonialists and Kenyan political elite have played in defining its purpose and authority.

‘Ethnicity’ and its function in the Kenyan context

Various scholars have extensively debated the emergence and expansion of ‘ethnicity’ in the Kenyan context. Researchers such as Sutton (1969), Skalnik (1988) and Atkinson (1994) conclude that tribalism was a common feature in pre-colonial Africa, yet the boundaries between groups were flexible and inter-ethnic interactions were characterised by trade and inter-marriages. Ranger (1983:248) confirms this dynamic quality of ethnicity noting that during pre-colonial periods many Africans moved in and out of multiple identities, claiming loyalty to one chief and subsequently switching allegiance to another. In Kenya these tribal groupings were crystallised around ecological spaces in which kinship dictated ownership of land, labour and livestock (Sheriff 1985). Thus, while Kalenjins and Masaai were mainly pastoralists, Kikuyus, Embu and Meru were agriculturalists, and Lous and Luhyas reared animals as well as cultivated crops (Rutten and Owuor 2009:307).

Additionally, Simuyu (1988:51, cited Harber 1994:256) notes that tribal groups were at odds over territories before the colonial period and traditional rulers oscillated between democratic
practices and militaristic tendencies. However, the intensity of tribal rivalry was weak and unsustainable given the decentralised and underpopulated conditions as well as dependence on regional trade (Lonsdale 2008). An example of this phenomenon is the rivalry between the Masai and Kikuyu in Kenya, which was documented by early European explorers who noted that the Kikuyu through inter-marriage and trickery usurped much of the land belonging to the Masai (Oucho 2002:20). Similarly, the Luhya also clashed with their neighbours over land and pastures. Compared to these rivalries, the degree to which ethnic groups were exploited and discriminated against by colonial rulers was more significant than what they experienced at the hands of their traditional rulers. The focus therefore of this debate is on the instrumentalisation or politicisation of ethnicity and the role of colonial attitudes in raising ethnic consciousness through political strategies for classification and separation.

The historical development of the current ethnic discourses in Kenya can be traced back to the arbitrary borders and groupings borne out of colonialism. As a means of establishing rule through indigenous authorities who could act as mediators, colonial rulers unified decentralised groups under larger chiefdoms (Azarya 2003:11). Additionally, they fragmented and redrew existing territories, which led to the exclusion of some groups from the state while previously external groups were incorporated into new boundaries (Lemarchand 1983). The boundaries of Kenya were drawn in such a way that it brought together over forty previously independent communities. Yet, these boundaries tore apart communities as well. For instance, the Masai were divided between Kenya and Tanzania, the Luo between Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania, and the Somali between Kenya, Somalia and Ethiopia (Oucho, 2002; Ndege, 2009). This new arbitrarily demarcated nation brought about an internal conflict in which individuals were torn between loyalties to their ethnic group and those towards their nation. Indeed, Ndege (2009:3) notes that ‘it took the Turkana, the Samburu and other marginalised communities the whole of the colonial period and even later into the post-colonial era to realise they were in Kenya’. Thus,
ethnicity in Kenya has come to be defined by its constant tension with national identities. Knight (1978:17) sums up the consequence of these arbitrary borders well:

Sensitivity and friction about frontiers are at the heart of many conflicts between countries and groups within them. Newly emerging countries are naturally anxious to avoid direct conflict with neighbours, but their government may oppress or terrorise a group of a tribe known to have affiliations beyond its borders.

Subsequent colonial strategies further enhanced ethnic consciousness through allocation of resources and political power as well as geographical establishment of ethnic groups to tribal homelands, thereby enhancing inequalities and competition between groups for ‘fruits of modernisation’ (Alexander, et al. 2000:309). As a means of establishing a colonial settler economy in Kenya, British colonialists disallowed Africans from owning land, bifurcated the land into ‘native reserves’ for the Africans and ‘scheduled land’ for European settlement, and subsequently displaced nomadic tribes from their homeland condemning them to subsistence farming (Oucho, 2002; Kanyinga, 2009). This phenomenon of native reserves entrenched ethnic divisions whereby newly carved provinces institutionalised tribalism. For example, the Kikuyu province was home to the Kikuyu, Embu and Meru, whereas the Masaai province was home to the Masaai. These socio-political boundaries instituted by colonialists also served as a deterrent to inter-ethnic political interactions and thus prevented nationalist groupings.

While the land expropriated by colonialists included part of the Ukambani region in the Eastern province, central Kenya and the Rift Valley, land in the Rift Valley, which is rich in farmland and pastures for livestock, played a pertinent role in enhancing ethnic competition. Before colonialists arrived, the Kalenjin and Masai primarily occupied these lands. Renamed the ‘White Highlands’, the British used the area to cultivate cash crops and encouraged agriculturalists like the Kikuyu, Luo, and Luhya to work on these farms. This option proved to be an attractive alternative for the Kikuyu who themselves were displaced from their homeland in the north of Nairobi and confined to a stipulated area by colonialists through the reserves policy (Sorrenson
1968:180). Moreover, the quality of land for farming on the reserves varied considerably and the enforcement of taxation provided a further impetus to seek wage labour (Brett 1973). Based on estimates, roughly half of the squatters or temporary labourers were Kikuyu while the other half consisted of the Masaai, Kalenjin and Luo. (Youé 1987:210; Rutten and Owuor 2009:309). These movements in population served as a major source of friction between ethnic groups, which would eventually be utilised by political elite to mobilise groups.

Another significant period that affected ethnic discourses in Kenya was the Mau Mau rebellion. The rise in congestion on the reserves and the decline in productivity caused unrest among groups in Kenya, particularly the Kikuyu. Kohler (1987:36) notes that the population density on Kikuyu reserves grew from 254 persons per square metre in 1902 to over 500 in 1944. These factors along with previous colonial strategies led to the violent and horrific Mau Mau rebellion, which took place for seven years ending in the mid-1950s and was characterised as representing ‘militant nationalists’ (Anderson 2005). Extensive historical accounts exist regarding the origins and growth of the movement, which also address debates about the legitimacy of the Mau Mau in relation to independence from colonialism (see Throup, 1987; Kanogo, 1987; Lonsdale, 1990). This discussion is more concerned with the consequences of the rebellion on ethnic discourses in Kenya.

Essentially a Kikuyu movement, the uprising and its actions implicated the entire Kikuyu society who came to be viewed as ‘a criminal gang that had forfeited all prospective liberties’ (Lonsdale 1990:241). Several scholars note that this event coupled with their migration to the Rift Valley for wage labour ascribed them terms such as ‘land-hungry’, ‘footloose’, ‘foreigner’, and ‘enemy’ in the colonial and post-colonial period (Osamba, 2001; Oucho, 2002; Rutten and Owuor, 2009). Despite being categorised as an anti-colonial war, a majority of non-Kikuyu were apprehensive and suspicious of their intentions.
The critical issue voiced by members of the Mau Mau uprising was concerning land rights. Since Kikuyu squatters continued to work on settlers’ lands as labourers for decades, many claimed that they had customary ownership rights over the farmland (Rutten and Owuor, 2009). This feeling was accentuated by the fact that Kikuyu squatters had broken links with their families to start cultivating land afresh for settlers and their children were to all intents and purposes detribalised; a fact noted by District Commissioner Laikipia in 1934 (Rutten and Owuor 2009:309). Conversely, the Kalenjin and Masai considered themselves the rightful owners of the land considering that it belonged to them before the colonialists arrived and were fearful that the Kikuyu would usurp their land. Thus in reference to ethnic discourses, the Mau Mau uprising shed light on the insecurities and fears ethnic groups felt regarding their rights to land in relation to other ethnic groups. The question of land rights and settlement schemes in the post-colonial period would continue to entrench animosity between the Kikuyu and Kalenjin, the two largest groups competing for rights to land in the former highlands. This point will be returned to later on.

Moreover, the Mau Mau rebellion exposed the inter-ethnic class struggles within Kikuyu society, which carried implications for the use of ethnicity to gain political support. Clashes existed between settlers versus squatters, literate versus illiterate, urban versus rural, as well as between loyalists to the governments, or ‘home guards’, versus ‘moderate nationalists’ versus ‘militant nationalists’ (Maloba, 1998; Anderson, 2005). These class struggles revealed during the rebellion discounted it as a significant basis upon which to form nationalist parties in the 1960s.

The intensity of the revolt forced colonialists to relax their authority allowing elections to the legislative council. However, the stipulations included educational qualifications, an income no less than KShs 2400 per annum and elections were permitted only at the District Level, which further enhanced tribalism (Ajulu 2002:256). In 1959, when colonialists ultimately allowed the
formation of national political organisations, the divide between urban and rural leaders was already prominent and regional-based political associations offered a suitable basis on which to garner support. Thus, several regional-based political parties cropped up over Kenya such as the Abagussi Association of South Nyanza District, the Masaa United Front Alliance, and the Kalenjin Peoples Alliance, to name a few (Ajulu 2002:257). In order to gain political support rapidly from the masses, the educated elite employed ethno-regional divisions to fortify power and unite smaller political groups.

In order to create bigger coalitions, groups were defined in the broadest possible terms and minority ethnic groups were integrated into larger groups. An example of this is the Kalenjin, which includes eight smaller ethnic groups: the Kipsigis; Nandi; Keiyo; Marakwet; Pokot; Tugen; Terik; and Sabaot. The term ‘Kalenjin’ was coined by locals and supported by colonialists who previously categorised these ethnic groups as Nandi-speaking given their shared language (Omosule 1989, cited Kanyinga 2009:342). Similarly, alliances were formed between certain groups as a means of increasing the political basis from which African politicians could garner support. For instance, political elite forged an alliance between the Kikuyu, Embu and Meru by projecting ‘a mythological kinship’ for socio-economic and political reasons (Nyukuri 1997:9). In the aftermath of the 1997 elections, Moi formed an alliance with the Luo in order to outdo the Kikuyu bloc (Kagwanja 2003:44). Thus colonialists were not the sole manipulators of ethnicity; politicisation of ethnicity was a prominent strategy employed by African nationalist politicians as well.

The elite also attained the support of the masses through deals struck with traditional authorities and leaders who supplied them with votes in exchange for safeguarding the group’s interests (Azarya 2003). This particular strategy used in many African countries during decolonisation laid the foundation for ‘prebendal politics’ after independence where officers treated resources as
their private property to distribute as rewards to whomever they choose (Joseph 1983). Indeed, resource allocation played a particularly imperative role in shaping current ethnic discourses in Kenya. After independence, many African leaders perpetuated ethnic-based allocation of resources as a means of maintaining political power. The rationale behind this was to undo past injustices as well as reward groups according to the political support they provided (Rothchild 1998). The following discussion examines how prebendal politics played out in reference to re-Africanisation of the former highlands enhancing ethnic consciousness as well as during subsequent national elections in 1992 and 1997; events which established ethnicity as a tool for gaining economic and political power.

In the 1960s when colonialists allowed the formation of nationalist political parties, the seeds of ethnic distrust were already sown. This led to the emergence of two ethnic-based parties, Kenya African National Union (KANU) and Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU). KANU comprised mainly of Kikuyu and Luo while KADU represented the Kalenjin, Luhya and other such smaller ethnic groups. Given the fears that the Masai and Kalenjin felt regarding their land being usurped by the Kikuyu, KADU favoured a federal system that would create semi-autonomous regions based on ethnicity. Conversely, KANU spearheaded by Jomo Kenyatta favoured a strong unitary government. While Yieke (2010:13) argues that this approach was meant to promote unity among the various ethnic groups in Kenya, the ethnocentric policies emerging from Kenyatta’s government were in stark contrast to his criticism of an emphasis on ethnicity.

During negotiations with colonialists, KADU presented a defiant front in relation to their demand for majimboism, or regionalism. To prevent talks from failing, KANU acceded to their demands and in 1963 Kenya achieved independence under a majimbo constitution with Kenyatta as prime minister. Each region therefore had its own president, civil service and regional
assembly. However within a year, the government began to initiate programmes calling for a one-party state under the slogan, ‘umoja ni nguvu’ or ‘unity is strength’ (Osamba 2001:91). In 1964 KADU members were coerced into dissolving their party and the government began to disassemble federal government structures. Thus by the end of 1964 the Kenyan government became a republic with Kenyatta as president and Oginga Odinga (Luo) as vice-president.

Under Kenyatta’s rule, the Kikuyu group flourished with most development projects related to building infrastructure concentrated in their districts. The Kikuyu were also prominent in the political, economic and social spheres in Kenya. Soon, however, the alliance between the Kikuyu and Luo collapsed owing to ideological differences between Kenyatta and his vice-president. Ultimately, Odinga resigned from the vice-presidency post with continued support from his own ethnic group, the Luo. This split translated into the marginalisation of Luo from the political and economic spheres of Kenyan society. ‘Kenyatta chose to exclude the Luo as a cultural “other” in the regime’s political dispensation’ (Atieno-Odhiamb 1998:32, cited Osamba 2001:92). In 1967 Kenyatta formed an alliance with the Kalenjin-Masaai groups and elected KADU member Daniel arap Moi as his new vice-president. This presented itself as a political manoeuvre on his part to make the Kalenjin-Masaai groups more cooperative to land acquisition by the Kikuyu in the Rift Valley (Osamaba 2001:92). Soured relations between Kenyatta and Odinga, the subsequent exclusion of Luo from economic and political resources, and the creation of an alliance with Moi all serve as a further testament of ethno-based politics in Kenya.

Settlement schemes created in order to reallocate the land once occupied by the British also exhibited ethnocentrism. In reference to re-Africanisation of land, while colonialists were concerned about their interests, focus of the first Kenyan government under Kenyatta was on maintaining economic stability and suppressing the uprising of former Mau Mau rebels who continued to pose a threat of violently seizing land from European settlers. Thus, settlement
schemes favoured individuals who were able to pay for the land and its operation as well as landless Kikuyu. These schemes were criticised for favouring the Kikuyu, Kenya’s first president Jomo Kenyatta’s own ethnic group, which resulted in the disparate distribution of farmland among Kenya’s many ethnic groups (Klopp 2002:273). Indeed, in an attempt to quell agitation among ex-Mau Mau rebels the government excised the Kinangop area of Nyandarua district from the Rift Valley and merged it with the Central province for landless Kikuyu, further alienating the Kalenjin and Masai groups (Kanyinga 2009:330).

Furthermore, Osamba (2001) notes that many pastoral groups were at a disadvantage in relation to the settlement schemes. A majority of these groups were not exposed to western education and the western concept of individual ownership of land, unlike the Kikuyu who were in close contact with colonialists and exposed to the western interpretation of economy. Most pastoral communities continued to believe in the ‘sanctity of communal ownership of land’ (Osamba 2001:91). This ideology meant that they were unable to obtain much land from the settlement schemes thus creating bitterness about the entire process.

Politicians from various ethnic groups also bought extensive plots for themselves and ‘over half of the settler lands were transferred almost intact by sale to wealthy Africans’ (Ogot 1996:64). Those in prominent positions under Kenyatta’s government began to exercise their influence in selling land to individuals or groups that catered to their vested interests (Harbeson 1973). Njonjo (1978) offers numerous examples of the role of politics in purchasing land through settlement schemes. Some of these instances include the case of Ngata farm in which 300 Kikuyu squatters raised money to buy the farm on which they lived only to learn that a private Kalenjin company with the backing of a member of parliament (MP) had already paid a deposit on the land. The case eventually reached the parliament and each side had the support of an MP from their ethnic group. Ultimately, a decision was taken in favour of the Kalenjin company.
(Njonjo 1978). Evidently, politicians played an imperative role in the acquisition of land. These events further established the intricate and complex relationship between economics, politics and ethnicity. Economic and socio-political groups quickly recognised that control of economic resources would provide the means to bolster support from ethnic groups as a means of attaining further political power.

Following in his predecessor’s footsteps, Moi continued to employ ethnicity as a tool for gaining power. He disposed of the Kikuyu political elite and implemented policies that fostered disparate privileges to the Kalenjin elite when he became President in 1978 (Ndegwa 1997). One such instance entails Mau Forest, a piece of government trust land which Moi granted executive permission for his ethnic community to inhabit. The introduction of multiparty politics in 1991 on the insistence of the international community, further enhanced the instrumentalisation of ethnicity. At the prospect of losing his monopoly on power, Moi returned to calls for 

majimboism in order to maintain political control and influence over land rights in the Rift Valley.

To achieve this, many politicians once again turned to their own ethnic group or other allied groups to gain control over certain districts; an inevitable strategy given the historical role of ethnicity in Kenya. Politicians provoked violence as a means to cleanse specific areas from opposition voters and fortify their stronghold over these regions. For instance, in early 1992 Assistant Minister Kipkalia Kones, a Kalenjin, declared Kericho District a KANU (Kenya African National Union) zone warning those who opposed this would “live to regret it” and declared war on the Luo community (Oucho 2002:92). At a rally in April 1993 Minister William Ole Ntimama, a member of KANU, alleged that the political opposition was participating in a plot to remove all indigenous residents (Kalenjins, Maasai, Turkana, Samburu) from the Rift Valley, and thus, the ‘true’ residents of the Valley must be on their guard to defend themselves. He further demanded that the Rift Valley Province would have only Kalenjin MPs (Human
Rights Watch 1993:15). Apart from hate speech, Oucho (2002:91) notes that in September 1991 leaflets were handed out warning the Luo and non-Kalenjin to leave the Nandi district, which is situated on the border of the Rift Valley, Nyanza and Western Provinces. Politicians then rewarded those who helped spread violence through illegal settlements on or purchase of non-Kalenjin owned land.

As is evident from the above examples, politicians employed ethnicity as a tool to mobilise groups against each other in order to maintain political control and rewarded those that displayed loyalty to their group. This was achieved by enhancing ethnic consciousness of the historical issue regarding Kikuyu squatters and settlement schemes under Kenyatta’s government. In essence, politicians not only played on the fears and insecurities of various ethnic groups regarding their access to political and economic resources, but also stirred up past histories in order to invoke a sense of ‘victimhood’ creating anger and resentment regarding the issue of land rights.

In conclusion, the above discussion sheds light on how colonial strategies along with the leadership style of African politicians politicised ethnicity resulting in the current ethnic discourses in Kenya. Colonial strategies led to the entrenchment of ethnic-based divisions between groups causing individuals to feel disconnected from their national identity at the time of independence. Thus, for ethnic groups ‘national flags, national languages and nation-building made little or no sense or had to be dispensed with whenever they were in conflict with ethnic sentiments or desires’ (Oucho 2002:25). Kenyan politicians continued to perpetuate these divisions as a means of gaining political power through the use of ‘prebendal politics’. They rewarded members from their group for stirring up violence and displacing individuals of other ethnic groups from land they considered to be rightfully theirs. Manyasa (2005:69) notes that such ethnic ambitions have superseded national loyalties in Kenya. Thus, not only do individuals
view their loyalties to their ethnic group in stark contrast to the loyalty to their country, but also view ethnicity as suitable and effective tool that can be employed to fight for rights to political and economic resources. Holmquist (1984:185) offers a suitable summation for the state of politics, which carries implications for the role of ethnicity in Kenya: ‘the style of the leader [in Kenya] … is the ethnic and lineage-based constituency representative whose role is primarily as ambassador from a constituency and only secondarily as representative of government to the people’.

Additionally, as mentioned in the preceding chapter, Kenya serves as a classic example for instrumentalisation of ethnicity where shared group characteristics and symbols are employed by political elite for the purpose of gaining power, economic benefits, social status and other such motives. Kantai (1994, cited Oucho 2002: 111) sums up the relationship between politics and ethnicity in Kenya well:

> Whoever controls land in Kenya can be said to control the nerve centre of political power. And if one group can wrest the control of land from the other groups and monopolise it, that group will dominate the other groups.

Kenyan politicians have repeatedly stirred up historical issues related to colonisation and land in the Rift Valley in order to enhance ethnic consciousness regarding chosen traumas and chosen glories. These recollections have then served to deepen ethnic cleavages between various groups in Kenya. For instance, the Kikuyu justify their actions to seek leadership positions given the part they played in fighting against the colonial rule for Kenya’s independence through the Mau Mau uprising (Osamba 2001:102). The Kalenjin justify their actions based on the loss of their fertile land first to the British and then to the Kikuyu through unfair settlement schemes. These chosen histories in particular have rendered ethnicity susceptible to mobilisation by political elite in Kenya. Indeed, as recently as December 2007 Kenya experienced post-election violence, which saw conflict breakout primarily between the Kikuyu, Kalenjin and Luo ethnic groups, but
also affected the Kisii and Luhya. As will be evident in the next section, ethnicity was once again used as an organising factor for violence where the goal was to gain political power.

**Causes of the 2007 post-election violence in Kenya and its intensity**

On the 27th of December 2007 the general elections commenced with the two leading political parties being the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) led by Raila Odinga and the Party of National Unity (PNU) headed by Mwai Kibaki. The electoral process was flawed with many reported anomalies such as lack of access to voting centres, names missing from registers and questionable voting hours (Klopp and Kamungi 2008:11). Despite this, three days later the chairman of the Electoral Commission of Kenya, Samuel Kivuitu announced Mwai Kibaki as the winner and within hours violence broke out over five distinct phases identified by Kanyinga (2009:340).

Initially the violence remained impulsive and unstructured in the form of protests demanding justice in areas that supported the opposition party. Kibaki characterised these protests as illegal, which led to the second form of violence. This phase involved government security forces who responded with violence to disperse protestors (Roberts 2009:12). During the third phase, the violence spread and intensified in a methodical manner. Politicians and business people planned and enlisted criminal gangs to execute violence, which saw the Kalenjins explicitly target the Kikuyu and Kisii in the Rift Valley for expulsion from the region. This was followed by the fourth stage of violence that consisted of revenge attacks organised by the Kikuyu in which the Kalenjins, Luhya and Luo were displaced from Nakuru and Naivasha in the eastern region of the Rift Valley as well as Nairobi. The final phase of the violence entailed criminal violence that was the result of bitterness regarding class struggles. Thus, while the violence presented itself as ethnic, it was essentially political and arose not only from ethnocentric political tensions but also from historical grievances regarding land (Anderson & Lochery, 2008; Roberts, 2009; Kanyinga,
2009). Moreover, job frustrations among youths contributed to the intensification of violence in the shape of organised youth gangs or militant groups. This section elaborates on these causes as well as the role of hate messages and youth in escalating the conflict, as a means of elucidating the context of this research.

Political tensions that served as a backdrop to the 2007 elections emerged after elections in 2002. The two main stakeholders in the 2002 elections were KANU headed by Uhuru Kenyatta and NARC, the National Alliance Rainbow Coalition led by Mwai Kibaki. Given that Moi appointed Uhuru Kenyatta, a Kikuyu as his successor for KANU, frictions between the Kalenjins and Kikuyu were alleviated since the move would simultaneously safeguard the interests of Moi’s ethnic group, the Kalenjins, as well as those of the Kikuyu. NARC however was a coalition of various political parties and ran on a platform that guaranteed comprehensive reforms, a turnaround in the economy, and a new constitution which would favour power sharing between ethnic groups to put an end to tribalism. To achieve this, the coalition proposed that Raila Odinga, a Luo, would be appointed as prime minister. Following the elections that were conducted comparatively peacefully, NARC emerged the winner and Mwai Kibaki assumed the position of president.

While his administration delivered on some of the promises such as a thriving tourism industry, economic growth and free primary school education, it was unable to make progress in relation to tackling corruption, issues related to land as well as delivering a reformed constitution (Dercon and Gutiérrez-Romero 2010:7). Kibaki also withdrew from the promises he made in relation to sharing positions with individuals from other ethnic groups following which the coalition rapidly collapsed. As Roberts (2009:4) notes the rationale behind his decision remains open to debates. It could be argued that his promises regarding power sharing were not authentic, and the move was thus premeditated. On the other hand, he may have succumbed to
pressure placed on him by political elite from his ethnic group to preserve power. Regardless of his motive, this move resulted in political tension and resentment, which set the scene for the 2007 elections.

Following the acrimonious fall-out between Kibaki and Odinga, both reverted to ethnic loyalties as a means of gaining political power. Odinga formed the Orange Democratic Movement and garnered the support of the Luo, Luhya and Kalenjins. On the other hand, Kibaki’s PNU continued to gather support from his own ethnic group, the Kikuyu along with the Meru and Embu. With these newly formed ethnic boundaries, politicians on both sides made inflammatory statements about the opposing group as a means of raising ethnic consciousness in relation to the ‘other’. Often these messages of hate not only painted a negative picture of the ‘other’ describing them as ‘dishonest’, ‘deceptive’ and ‘tribalist’ but also evoked images of the antithesis of Christ by noting that individuals from the opposing ethnic group are ‘practising witchcraft’ and labelling them as ‘devil worshippers’ (Waki 2008:216). In a country that is predominantly Christian, such powerful images served to demonise the ‘other’ and aided in creating distrust and fear. Klopp and Kamungi (2008:14) further add that Kikuyu politicians made disparaging comments about Luo beliefs and cultural practices with the intent of raising doubts about Odinga’s fitness to become a president. They also mention that ODM politicians characterised Kibaki and other Kikuyus as ‘greedy’ and ‘arrogant’.

A particular mention must be made of the use of media and technology in spreading hate messages. Along with hate leaflets, text messages and emails were predominantly used as an additional tool to achieve this. The use of such technology allowed hate messages to spread more swiftly and extensively. In reference to the use of SMS and emails to spread negative messages, the KNCHR (2007:8) noted in their report that ‘Kenyans continue to condone and cheer hate speech and have themselves become active agents of proliferation of hate campaign against
politicians and fellow Kenyans’. However the report stopped short of publishing examples of these in a bid to curtail the further spread of these messages. The report presented by CIPEV mentions a memo sent to Dr. Bitange Ndemo, the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Information and Communications, by the Media Monitoring Unit that an email was being circulated which contained hate messages. The email of 18 January 2008 argued that Kalenjins have been systematically marginalised in terms of education, access to social services and infrastructure, and that the ‘law which allows all Kenyans to live in any part of the country is “a legal error in our history”’. It also called for Kalenjins to “defend ourselves to the bitter end” “urging our people to ensure that every family is fully equipped with our normal tools; if we can afford, ferry two warriors from upcountry fully armed and house them until we have this thing sorted out” (Waki 2008:299).

The media in the form of vernacular radio stations also played an imperative role in spreading hate. A particular mention was made of KASS FM, a Kalenjin language radio station that broadcasted messages to incite violence, used offensive language against Kikuyus, and frequently called for their expulsion (Waki, 2008; Klopp and Kamungi, 2008). Oucho (2010:27) further mentions the role of Kikuyu FM stations such as Inooro, Coro, and Kameme in instigating an ethnic propaganda campaign against ODM and the Kalenjins. The absence of appropriate legislative frameworks and the liberalisation of the media in 2002 has led to careless and irresponsible journalism, which has sought to needlessly dramatize news (Waki 2008:296). Indeed, it is common knowledge that many radio stations are openly biased to preferred political parties.

Along with presenting the ‘other’ as a threat, the political elite in Kenya one again employed historical grievances regarding land rights through the reconstruction of history to invoke a renewed sense of loyalty and awareness of ‘us’ versus ‘them’. The renewed issue of majimboism
served to raise ethnic consciousness regarding land rights and was a strong divisive factor between the ODM and PNU with the former supporting a federalist system and the latter opposing it.

The pertinent issue in relation to majimboism was not regarding its constitutional connotations, but rather in the meaning political parties and ethnic groups attached to it. Various groups had diverse interpretations of how regional devolution of powers would impact land rights. Gutiérrez-Romero, et al. (2008:2) note that some of these interpretations were: each tribe would have its own government; each region would have control over its own resources; each province would be autonomous; and finally, ethnic groups will be forced to return to their tribal homeland. The last interpretation was particularly relevant as it represented a return to violent expulsions or ‘ethnic cleansing’ of the Rift Valley witnessed in the early 1990s when Moi and KANU recommenced calls for a majimbo constitution.

Despite running on a pro-majimbo platform, Odinga did not openly voice his support for or opposition to expulsions and remained consistently vague. As Anderson and Lochery (2008) point out given that his supporters such as William Ruto, Henry Kosgey, William Ole Ntimama, and Kipkalia Kones had historical connections with violent expulsions, this led credence to the assumption that ODM would indeed support such measures. A report by Human Rights Watch (2008) further confirms that local politicians were making plans for the forced expulsion of ‘aliens’ following the elections. However, violence broke out much before the elections, particularly in Mount Elgon, Kuresoi and Molo. Leaflets containing hate messages were spread across Molo as early as May 2007. These messages were addressed by the Rift Valley Land Owners and Protectors army and asserted, “this is our land from before! Time has come for you to leave our land and return to yours! Whoever disobeys will die!” (IRIN 2007). In Kuresoi conflict erupted between Kikuyu and Kalenjins over land ownership in relation to historical
settlement schemes (Kanyinga 2009:339). The clashes in Mount Elgon begun in early 2006 and were headed by a group known as the Sabaot Land Defence Army who were similarly contesting the historical settlement schemes (Anderson and Lochery 2008:331). Thus, the issue of majimboism as an avenue for violent expulsions had taken root in several regions of Kenya much before the 2007 elections.

A further rationale for the early eruption of violence in the Rift Valley is its political attractiveness. Apart from fertile land, the Rift Valley province also offers the largest share of total national votes and parliamentary constituencies (Kanyinga 2009:326). For these reasons, politicians have been known to employ dishonest methods to prevent individuals from voting for opposition parties in those regions. These methods include creation of fraudulent votes, denial of voter registration, odd voting hours, lack of access to voting centres as well as forced displacement of individuals from ethnic groups who have pledged support to the opposition party (Kanyinga, 2009; Roberts, 2009; Rutten and Owuor, 2009). Such practices were common in the 1992 and 1997 elections. Klopp and Kamungi (2008:14) note that Kikuyu and Luo voters were ‘cleansed from key KANU constituencies which helped [Moi] win the elections of 1992 and 1997’. Additionally, in the 1992 election an estimated one million youth were prohibited from registering to vote because they were denied national identity cards without which they were unable to register (Mutua 2008).

Similarly, a report by the KNCHR (2007) states that politicians took advantage of the tensions in Kuresoi and Mount Elgon in order to flush out the ‘outsiders’ as well as displace voters from the rival political party. This move was particularly relevant to Kuresoi, which is a multi-ethnic parliamentary constituency. The report further notes that even before the elections 20,000 voters were already displaced (KNHCR 2007:6). Such deceitful voting practices further enhanced
bitterness and anger among Kenyans regarding the presidential elections, which led to protests and spontaneous incidents of violence demanding that the Electoral Commission of Kenya
Figure 3.2: An approximate depiction of the areas of conflict in Kenya, 2007-2008
(Anderson and Lochery 2008)

announce the ‘true’ results. Given the attractiveness of the Rift Valley both in terms of political
and economic power, it comes as no surprise that this province was once again at the centre of
the 2007 conflict along with surrounding areas in the Western and Nyanza Provinces, similar to
the patterns of violence in the 1990s (see Figure 2.1 and 2.2).
Lastly, the youth played a pertinent role in escalating the 2007 post-election violence. In the final phase of the violence, which saw it take on a class dimension, the youth took advantage of the unstable situation and engaged in rampant looting and destruction of property. Rutten and Owuor (2009:319) further add that this form of violence was devoid of an ethnic dimension offering the example of Nairobi where Kikuyu youth raided shops owned by fellow Kikuyu and in Kisumu were Luo youth looted Luo-owned shops. Aside from this, the youth also participated in disrupting pre-election campaigns. For instance, a report by KNHCR (2007:14) mentions that in Kisii District, located in Nyanza province, a group of youth disrupted an ODM rally by pelting stones and thus injuring several people. The report also cites youth shouting down speakers and pelting stones at a PNU rally in Buret district in the Rift Valley. During the post-election violence, witnesses reported that Mungiki youth in Dandora, Nairobi were going door to door and killing non-Kikuyu (Waki 2008:197). Simultaneously, reports from Eldoret (Rift Valley province) mention the involvement of Kalenjin youth in setting fire to compounds, looting, maiming, gang raping, and hacking to death defenceless families, most of whom were Kikuyu (Waki 2008:43). Evidently, the youth as members of militant gangs played a significant role in the period leading up to and during the post-election violence.

It has been argued that the prominence of youth gangs in the post-election violence stemmed from economic frustrations as well as disappointment in Kibaki’s government for not fulfilling its promises to the youth regarding job creation (Waki, 2008; Roberts, 2009). Nyanga and Ayodo (2009:26, cited Young 2010:304) further confirm that the youth unemployment rate in Kenya is set to be above 60 per cent. Indeed, after the first wave of organised attacks on the Kikuyu, the Mungiki took advantage of the situation and recruited vulnerable youth from IDP camps to carry out revenge attacks on non-Kikuyu. They subsequently allowed the youth to stake claim to the homes of those killed or driven away (Rutten and Owuor 2009:319).
The phenomenon of youth gangs has continued to grow due to a lack of accountability, which can be traced back to the 1992 and 1997 elections. During this period, politicians hired and coerced youths into taking part in the violence and attacking opposition groups promising them land and jobs in return (Waki 2008:26). The Human Rights Watch report published in 1993, after the 1992 post-election violence, mentions several such instances involving youths. Despite inquiries and reports which named perpetrators, none of the politicians who instigated violence were held accountable and brought to justice. It could be argued that this created a culture of impunity in Kenya, which both politicians and now youth gangs enjoy (Waki 2008:26). Similarly, in their 2011 report of the post-election violence, Human Rights Watch noted that very few perpetrators have been brought to justice. One of the most horrific events reported during the recent post-election violence was the Kiambaa church burning in which 4,000 youths armed with various weapons attacked individuals hiding inside the church killing 30 people in total. Yet, none of the perpetrators have been convicted for the crime (HRW 2011:31). This culture of impunity and the sponsorship of politicians who hire youths to attack their opponents have offered credibility to such gangs.

In addition to this, Anderson (2002) notes that youth gangs also enjoy a certain degree of power in other aspects of Kenyan society. For instance, they act as bodyguards for a variety of politicians, wrest control over certain matatu (a public transport minibus) routes, and run a ‘protection racket’ which involves taking bribes from businesses in return for protection of their premises. The corruption and inabilities of the police to tackle these groups has also allowed the role of such gangs in Kenyan society to grow unrestrictedly creating an attractive alternative for disenfranchised youth. Indeed, a trawl through the literature and Kenyan newspapers identifies various gangs, which are affiliated with youth such as the Mungiki, Kalenjin Warriors, Taliban, Baghdad Boys, Chinkororo, and Kisungusungu, among many others. Thus, it could be deduced that the appeal of such gangs is the result of youth bulges, lack of job prospects, sponsorship of
politicians, additional advantages gained through bribery and protection rackets, the incompetence and corruption of the police along with the culture of impunity enjoyed in Kenya (Anderson, 2002; Urdal, 2005; Waki, 2008; HRW, 2011).

The fact that conflict erupted during elections in 2007 was not surprising given that violence has been a constant feature in Kenyan elections since the early 1990s. Politicians have historically employed ethnicity to mobilise groups into conflict by returning to historical grievances regarding the land issue and increasing ethnic consciousness. Indeed, renewed calls for *majimboism* were a feature in the 2007 elections as well. However, the intensity of the violence was unexpected. It could be inferred that this intensity was a result of several factors such as, the frustration of youth, the appeal of youth gangs, the use of emails and SMS to swiftly spread hate messages as well as the culture of impunity enjoyed by politicians. As a result of the violence, the Human Rights Watch report released in 2011 ascertained that at least 663,921 people were displaced and around 1,133 persons were killed between December 27, 2007 and the end of February 2008 (HRW 2011:13). This total however does not include the several hundred killed and displaced in the period leading up to the elections. In addition to this, 3,561 people were injured and 117, 216 instances of property destruction were reported (Waki 2008:346). In reference to school children, Onsongo (2008:3) notes that over a third of those displaced are children and an estimated 1.1 million secondary school students have been affected by the conflict, either due to displacement, lack of teachers or school closures.

On account of the scale of the violence and involvement of youth, directives proposed by the Ministry of Education, local NGOs and churches created a shift in discourses on learning in schools. NGOs and prominent members of society repeatedly emphasised the need to include ‘peace’ and ‘conflict resolution’ in the curriculum. During the Kenya Secondary School Head
conference in Mombasa in July 2009, the issue of including peace education in the curriculum was discussed (as reported by teacher interviewees). Subsequently, at an inter-regional conference in September 2009 education minister Sam Ongeri announced that peace education would be introduced as a compulsory subject in the school system noting that ‘the main aim of peace education is to empower citizens with knowledge, skills, values, and attitudes needed for harmonious existence’ (Mwajefa 2009). Additionally, in 2009 the Ministry of Education introduced Life Skills education for secondary schools, which is designed to be a daily subject for students from Form 1 to Form 4 and focuses on building relevant skills for navigating the challenges of adolescent life as well as preparing them for the independence they will encounter after school.

Lastly, it emerged during the pilot study that local churches and NGOs were conducting teacher workshops in counselling, peace, and conflict resolution in the hope that this knowledge would aid teachers in dealing with the effects of the violence. A number of head teachers also mentioned encouraging teachers to attend these workshops so that schools could design appropriate solutions to the violence. Evidently, external actors were urging a shift in teachers’ traditional roles. Not only were they expected to manage the effects of the violence, but they were also required to do so as counsellors, conflict resolution experts, Life Skills teachers and peace educators. Given these expectations as well as their personal experiences of the conflict owing to their reflexive relationship with the community, this research aims to shed light on the perceptions of teachers towards their roles in dealing with the effects of violence as well as identify the factors that shaped their responses.
Summary

This chapter examined the context of Kenya with a particular focus on understanding the concept of ‘ethnicity’ and the causes of the 2007 post-election violence. The first section provides a brief overview of the country, which includes a concise look at the role of churches and local NGOs in Kenyan society as well as the education system. The examination of the education system brings to the forefront issues of relevancy for youth prospects in Kenya, ill-prepared teachers and head teachers, inequitable distribution of resources as well as fears that the system may become increasingly ethnocentric.

The second section provides a historical overview of the emergence and expansion of ‘ethnicity’ as it is understood in the Kenyan context. This discussion elucidates how ethnicity has been politicised by colonialists as well as Kenyan elite and is used as a tool to usurp and maintain political control over economic resources. Land rights have played a particularly important role in shaping ethnic consciousness given that Kenya is essentially an agrarian society. Politicians often manipulate fears and insecurities regarding land in order to cleanse regions from opposition voters as well as maintain political control over resources.

The third section examines the causes of the 2007 post-election violence along with some of the factors that explain the intensity of the conflict, given that it was the most intense period of violence in Kenya’s post-colonial history. This examination sheds light on the role of politicians in drawing on historical grievances regarding land, which aided in enhancing ethnic consciousness of various groups. Furthermore, it offers a concise examination of the role of youth gangs which offer an attractive alternative to disenfranchised youth struggling with economic stagnation and lack of job prospects in Kenya.
Cumulatively this chapter aids in contextualising the research, bringing into focus issues that are relevant in Kenya such as political tensions, ethnic distrust and insecurities regarding land rights. The subsequent chapter presents the research methods used to collect and analyse the relevant data for examining teachers’ perceptions of their role in managing the effects of the post-election violence.
CHAPTER IV

RESEARCH DESIGN

In the field of educational research, there are exhaustive competing paradigms that are often not used in standard ways as they are socially situated by each researcher. This has rendered the process of locating myself within these paradigms and choosing a particular methodology quite arduous. As a researcher, I situate myself partially within the constructivist paradigm, which states that multiple realities exist that are socially, culturally and historically constructed (Guba and Lincoln 1985). Therefore, I have conducted my research with two assumptions. Firstly, social phenomena are context-specific and deeply embedded within a certain time and place. To conduct an investigation of a social phenomenon it is imperative that an emphasis is placed on the context of the research as this builds a more in-depth understanding of the respondents’ realities. Secondly, an examination of these multiple realities can be achieved through discussions with respondents, which carries implications for the role of the researcher. Rather than being objective and value-free, the researcher is a ‘passionate participant’ who facilitates the process of inquiry (Guba and Lincoln 1994).

However, I do not consider myself a ‘purist’ whose epistemological and ontological views must guide the entire research process (Onwuegbuzie and Leech 2005). In this sense, I concur with Howe (1988) who notes that epistemological views and methods are not synonymous and do not prescribe specific data collection and analytical methods. For these reasons, I also incline towards pragmatism and deduce that research questions should determine the method of data collection and analysis (Krathwohl 1998). As a result, while I do carry a certain philosophical understanding regarding reality and the theory of knowledge, which reflects in my methodological choices, I believe the primary emphasis must be on the problem rather than the
methods. Given the research questions identified in the preceding chapter as well as my philosophical assumptions, I employed a qualitative approach towards conducting this research. This chapter outlines in detail the approach I used for data collection and analysis.

**Pilot Study: Negotiating access and refining the research design**

The objective of this research necessitated a discussion with teachers about the conflict, its effects, and subsequent ethnic tensions arising from it. Due to this reason along with the politically sensitive climate in Kenya, delicate level of security, and baggage of being viewed as an outsider, it was necessary first to determine how I would access the field and what data collection methods would be appropriate and sensitive to the context. The objective of the pilot study therefore was to refine my research design.

When I first entered the field in June 2009, a year and a half after the post-election violence, I used the handful of contacts I had gained to speak to a few teachers in Nairobi. Based on discussions with these individuals, I deduced that I needed to distance my research and myself from the state. As discussed in the preceding chapter, in Kenya ethnicity and politics are closely interrelated and it is also acknowledged in society that corrupt politicians played a role in mobilising ethnic groups into conflict. Therefore, in order to discuss sensitive issues regarding ‘ethnicity’ and the post-election violence, it was necessary to gain access through an institution that enjoys the respect of community members, particularly schools.

Contacts made through these teachers led me to a local NGO whose particular focus is on educational development. In exchange for using the organisation’s contacts and research permit to carry out my study, I agreed to share some of the conclusions I made from interviewing teachers. These suggestions were requested to facilitate the development of workshops for
teachers in light of the challenges arising from the 2007 post-election violence and were provided to the NGO without compromising on the anonymity of the participants.

Partnership with this NGO proved beneficial in many ways. Not only was I able to access the field with ease, I was also able to gain entry through a reputable organisation that enjoys the respect of head teachers and teachers. Therefore, while I was viewed as an outsider, my relationship with the NGO aided in easing the hesitation teachers had towards me and head teachers were more welcoming of my research.

Using the contacts of the NGO, I gained access to schools in Nairobi and conducted informal interviews with teachers. Through discussions with these individuals, it became quickly evident that the challenges teachers faced due to the conflict were more pronounced in secondary schools than primary schools. Additionally, given that the objective of the research was also to understand the nature of support provided by the state, focus was placed on government run secondary schools. Interviews with teachers in Nairobi determined that private schools have access to a large pool of funds and additional resources as well as advice from external agencies whereas government-run schools rely primarily on state support. Therefore, I concluded that my research should focus on post-conflict government secondary schools in Kenya.

Upon refining my focus, I attempted to access secondary schools in the Rift Valley to begin speaking to teachers, as this was where the violence was most intense. However, during this time, the Secondary School Heads Association was convening in Mombasa for their annual meeting. Since access must be gained through the head teacher and as a means to be efficient, I determined that I would interview head teachers in Mombasa to gain preliminary insights into the field. While there, I interviewed thirty head teachers from various regions in the Rift Valley and Nyanza province: Nakuru; Kisii; Kericho; Bungoma; and Kipkelion. Subsequently, after the
end of the annual meeting, I returned to Nairobi and formally interviewed ten teachers from
government-run secondary schools.

As a result of my interviews with head teachers, I noted that it would be useful to include them
in the data sample as well for several reasons. Firstly, they are seen as the link between the
government and teachers, which enabled them to provide insights into the aid and advice
received from the government during and after the conflict. Secondly, teachers repeatedly made
references to their head teachers when discussing their responses to the conflict. This shed light
on the important role school culture plays in defining teachers’ responses to the effects of
conflict. Lastly, teachers’ references to directives from head teachers and their own responses
required corroboration and interviews with the head teacher aided in triangulating their
responses. As a result, head teachers were also included in the data sample in order to triangulate
the research as well as establish the dominant ideologies found within schools in the targeted
regions.

Interviews with head teachers also exhibited a repeated emphasis on the role of the school
counsellor. In Kenya, every school has a guidance counsellor who is customarily a teacher at the
school as well. Due to the nature of the challenges arising from the violence, they expectedly
played a prominent role in managing the effects. Therefore, I decided to interview the school
counsellor at every school I visited as well.

Additionally, it came to my attention that teachers were provided with documents from local
NGOs and churches containing advice on managing the effects of the violence. It was necessary
to examine these documents, as many teachers referenced these as a source of guidance in
carrying out their role in managing the effects of the violence. Scant references were also made
to Life Skills education, a new syllabus that was introduced in secondary schools in 2009. This is
a systemic programme implemented by the state to counter the effects of the conflict. Analysis of this also was essential in understanding the expectations placed on teachers in reference to their role in the post-conflict climate of Kenya. Therefore, document analysis was chosen as an additional data collection tool.

With regards to the target regions of my data sample, outbursts of conflict were mainly witnessed within the Rift Valley Province and surrounding areas, as was detailed in the previous chapter (Figure 3.1 & 3.2). For these reasons, it was imperative to interview teachers from regions within the Rift Valley. Moreover, it was necessary to gain access through the contacts of the local NGO in order to ensure comfort and cooperation in discussing issues related to the post-election violence. Therefore, Nakuru and Kericho were purposively selected for this research. While it would have been useful to interview teachers from areas that experienced intense conflict such as Molo, Kisumu and Kuresoi, the NGO did not have reliable contacts in these regions. Moreover, interviewing teachers from Kisumu was not encouraged. During the pilot study, many head teachers, who were particularly helpful in providing further contacts, warned against conducting interviews in that region. The following is the rationale of one head teacher:

Kisumu has been hit by conflict before too. It was just terrible there. My sister lived there…I lost her and her family…People in Kisumu don’t talk about the conflict. Even my friend tells me nothing. Those who have really seen the conflict, you will never see them discussing it.

A handful of other teachers as well as the head of the local NGO too concurred that interviewing in Kisumu may not yield the desired results. As a result, the region of Kisumu, which has often been marred by conflict, was not included within the data sample and I narrowed my sample to Kericho and Nakuru.
As a result of my experience in the field during the pilot study, I refined my methodology to include a case study with the case being government secondary schools in Kenya. Semi-structured interviews and document analysis were used as data collection methods and my sample consisted of secondary school teachers, head teachers, and counsellors/teachers from Nakuru and Kericho. The refined research design and data analysis methods are discussed below.

**Case study strategy**

As mentioned in the preceding chapter, an examination which entails how teachers feel about taking on diverse roles to manage the effects of ethnic conflict must sufficiently consider the realities within which teachers work. The focus therefore is on the contexts of schools and the conditions that shape teachers' willingness to manage the effects of violence. These conditions, rather than being secondary variables, play an imperative role in shaping teachers’ responses. A case study methodology is useful in this regard as it provides a strong emphasis on the context of research. As Yin (2003:13) notes, ‘…you would use the case study method because you deliberately wanted to cover contextual conditions – believing that they might be highly pertinent to your phenomenon of study’.

Scholars such as Creswell (1998) and Yin (2003) define a case study as an intensive description of a system or social unity bounded by a specific time or place. It is not a research method but a means of data collection in which multiple methods are employed to understand a case holistically (Punch, 2005; Stake, 1994; Goode and Hatt 1952). Thus, it is less a technique and more 'a way of organising social data so as to preserve the unitary character of the social object being studied' (Goode and Hatt 1952:331). Therefore, this research employed the case study as a 'strategy' (Punch 2005:144) with semi-structured interviews and document analysis as means for data collection. In examining the case of post-conflict secondary schooling in Kenya, it is
important to recognise and preserve the complexity of the context. The hope is that the use of multiple data collection methods will not only serve as a basis for triangulation but also offer an intense analysis into several specific details of the case. These methods will be defined in the subsequent section.

The particular type of case study being undertaken here has been termed by Stake (1994:445) as an ‘instrumental case study’ in which the main aim is to provide insight into an event or issue with the case playing a ‘supportive role’ to facilitate understanding. In this research, the main aim was to examine the manner in which teachers deal with the effects of ethnic conflict and the case of government secondary schools in Kenya played the supportive role.

_Semi-structured interviews: Method and analysis_

Interviews are regarded as one of the main sources of data collection in qualitative research. They offer the opportunity to not only access people’s perception of situations, but also provide the researcher an avenue to appreciate the contextual setting and emotionally engage with the respondents. Jones (1985:46) aptly identifies and describes the power of interviews:

_In order to understand other persons’ constructions of reality, we would do well to ask them…and to ask them in such a way that they can tell us in their terms (rather that those imposed rigidly and a priori by ourselves) and in a depth which addresses the rich context that is the substance of their meanings._

This data collection tool has also been successfully employed in post-conflict contexts with the aim of gaining knowledge regarding participants’ attitudes and beliefs (Arnold, 2005; Kirk and Winthrop, 2007; Yasin and Tilson, 2007). Moreover, individual interviews aid in building trust and comfort in post-conflict contexts where ‘trust is so tenuous’ King (2011:139). Therefore, semi-structured interviews were employed as a suitable method of data collection to gain teachers’ perceptions of the effects of the conflict, the tensions felt both within and outside schools, the responses taken in light of the violence, and more importantly, their views of
assuming new roles given their classrooms realities. This tool was particularly useful in appreciating the realities that teachers work in based on their perspectives.

While there was a specific set of questions that guided the interviews (Appendix A), these were not designed to be rigid. This was necessary as it allowed room for further probing or discussions based on the responses provided by teachers. The interview questions were tested successfully during the pilot study and refined to allow more in-depth dialogue. Each interview lasted between forty-five minutes to ninety minutes depending on the cooperation and comfort level of the respondents regarding a yet sensitive issue in certain regions of Kenya.

In addition to this, vignettes were used during interviews to obtain sensitive data in a non-confrontational manner regarding the methods teachers employed to manage the effects of the conflict, particularly in relation to ethnic tensions or aggressive behaviour among colleagues. Jenkins, et al. (2010: 181) note that ‘projecting situations onto hypothetical characters and asking interviewees to put themselves in the protagonist’s shoes’ can aid in achieving such personal insights. This method was also tested during the pilot study. Indeed, it was during this period when I realised that not all teachers had experienced the exact same events. To gain insights into their perceptions towards their role in managing the effects of the violence and the factors that shaped these, I began to use vignettes based on events narrated in previous interviews. This method was beneficial in shedding light on the relevance of variables in teachers’ realities and how these shaped their willingness to take on new roles. Therefore, the purpose of using this method was not to decipher teachers’ actions but to examine their thought processes and determine how their realities shaped their ultimate responses.

Particular attention was also paid to the plausibility of the scenarios presented to the participants. Hughes (1998) notes that using implausible situations may produce feelings of embarrassment,
confusion or anger. As a result, scenarios were generated based on events narrated by teachers and head teachers during the pilot study. An example of the vignettes employed is included in Appendix A.

Data collected during the interviews was analysed using thematic analysis as well as the framework proposed by Miles and Huberman (1994), which was useful in managing large quantities of data. I did not employ any computer-based methods for transcribing or analysing the interviews as I felt that it would be more advantageous to do these manually to gain a more in-depth familiarity with the data.

Thematic qualitative analysis requires an iterative approach of establishing themes and sub-themes to the data and is a common approach used in social science research (Hayes 1997, 2000). Hayes (2000:78) identifies the following steps involved in thematic analysis:

1. Prepare the data for analysis – transcribe interviews.
2. Read through each interview, noting items of interest.
3. Sort items of interest into proto-themes.
4. Examine proto-themes and attempt an initial definition.
5. Take each theme separately and re-examine each transcript carefully for relevant material for that theme.
6. Using all of the material relating to each theme, construct each theme's final form – name, definition and supporting data.
7. Select the relevant illustrative data for the reporting of that theme.

This technique was particularly useful in drawing out variables in teachers’ classrooms realities that shaped their responses to the effects of the violence. The manner in which I conducted my analysis using the two aforementioned techniques is presented below:

1. Data reduction: This technique was used throughout the analysis phase with the objective being to reduce the data, identify emergent themes, and develop concepts without the loss of information or context. Transcripts were colour-coded based on the effects of the conflict and the same colour was then used to code the responses of teachers to these
effects as well as their role in relation to these effects. Within each of these ‘chunks’ of data, I identified emergent themes in relation to teachers’ classrooms realities that enabled or prevented them from managing the effects of the violence. For instance, references to support from NGOs and churches were labelled as ‘external support’ and references to their skills labelled as ‘professional capacity’. These emerging themes also helped in defining the variables found in teachers’ classrooms realities. Finally, these were subsequently classified under ‘objective realities’ and ‘subjective realities’.

II. Data display: This method once again was employed throughout the process of analysis and served as a means of organising and summarising data for further analysis. I displayed the data using several charts and graphs, which were useful in gaining insights into the data. For instance, a chart was made to describe the school culture at each school, which was then subsequently attached to the responses of teachers from those schools to highlight any relevant observations.

III. Drawing and verifying conclusions: With the aid of the data organised through the previous methods, this final stage involved drawing conclusions in the form of propositions that needed to be verified and reviewed thoroughly to ensure their ‘confirmability’ or validity (Miles and Huberman 1994:11).

Document Analysis

One of the steps required in analysis of the data was to determine which frameworks are in place to support teachers in dealing with the effects of the violence. While in-depth interviews aided in probing underlying issues, analysis of these documents offered a more critical investigation of the data. In addition to this, it is also aided in triangulating teachers’ responses about the information received from churches and offered further detail to the study regarding the expectations placed on teachers. As a result, the documents chosen for analysis included the Life Skills syllabus and any handouts provided to teachers by churches since the outbreak of conflict.
In reference to the latter, a majority of documents were targeted towards students and thus distributed by the teachers. These handouts mainly contained a poem or song about peace and therefore were not relevant for this research. In connection with teachers, I was able to access four handouts. While, I was able to retain a copy of one handout, the remaining three I analysed at the school as they only had one copy that was being simultaneously used by other teachers.

With regards to the Life Skills syllabus, most schools did not receive teacher manuals for this new programme. While a few schools did have the teacher manuals, it was not possible for me to make a copy of it since there were no such facilities available in the vicinity. Using my contact with the local NGO, I requested the Kericho District Education Office for a copy, however they did not possess any extra copies either. Therefore, I chose to analyse students’ workbooks, as they were available in bookstores. At the time of this research, four of the bookstores I visited only had Form 3 and Form 4 student workbooks. This was not necessarily disadvantageous since the Form 3 and Form 4 books aided in providing an adequate view of the expectations placed on teachers and the content they are required to teach their students.

The focus of the analysis of documents provided by churches was on clarity of the concepts and the relevance of the information provided to teachers, which helped determine whether the concepts and guidance offered are in tune with teachers’ realities and responsibilities of their new roles. Therefore this required a relatively simpler approach for analysis. These documents were first coded based on the concept being emphasised, for instance ‘peace’ or ‘conflict resolution’. Subsequently, the document was coded based on the description of concepts, methodological advice enlisted along with guidance regarding the use of resources. This method helped to determine the precise nature of suggestions offered to teachers in relation to adopting new roles to teach peace and conflict resolution.
The Life Skills syllabus was analysed by highlighting each of the concepts being taught and the subsequent methodologies teachers are required to use for this syllabus as well as their role in teaching the particular lesson. This further aided in deducing the adequacy of the support provided to teachers in relation to their transformed roles as mandated by the new syllabus.

**Sample size**

Given that no research exists on teachers’ perceptions of their role in relation to managing the effects of ethnic conflict, I determined that a larger sample would ensure more rich and diverse perspectives. However, determining the precise sample size before entering the field for research was slightly challenging for three reasons. Firstly, it was necessary I gain access through the contacts provided by the NGO, which were not as extensive. The selection of schools was therefore accomplished through snowball sampling. I would visit a school and enquire about neighbouring schools, which would lead me to more contacts. As a result, it was not possible to decipher the exact number of schools I would be able to visit. Secondly, since I was not approaching the field through the state, it was not possible to achieve this by determining my sample using a set percentage of schools. Instead, I visited schools and interviewed teachers till saturation point or the point at which I felt that teachers were not offering any new information to the research. Thirdly, head teachers’ acceptance to be a part of the research often hinged on a physical meeting with them. In the case that they agreed, they often suggested I conduct the interviews the same day. This was a better alternative as reaching a few schools was slightly challenging due to the terrain and distance from the city.

Since there were no preconceived hypotheses, it was not plausible to limit my sample in any manner. During my pilot study, no immediate differences emerged during male and female teachers therefore no effort was made to include this difference. Moreover, it was not possible to do so as most of the schools in the sample consisted mainly of female teachers. Lastly, no
specifications were made to interview teachers from a specific grade. In Kenya, teachers are assigned to particular subjects rather than grade-level. Therefore, they offered opinions based on their experiences with students from various grade levels, which was beneficial in gaining a wider perspective of the effects of the conflict. As a result, the teachers chosen to take part in the research were selected randomly. My aim was to interview three teachers from each school, however in some cases this was not possible due to hesitations regarding their participation in my research. Ultimately, my sample consisted of twenty schools plus 20 interviews with head teachers and 70 interviews with teachers and counsellors.

**Ethical considerations**

Debates within the field of social science research regarding ethical dilemmas have led to the construction of specific codes and guidelines for researchers to adhere to. This research has received approval from CUREC (Appendix B) and thus followed the guidelines outlined by the committee. Specifically, arrangements were made for interview subjects to sign an interview consent form (Appendix C) highlighting anonymity provided to them as well as advising them of their right to review data or remove themselves from the research.

However, presenting this document to teachers often elicited anxious and nervous responses. Their fears that the government may be conducting these interviews often led them to refuse participation. Attempts were also made to present the document after the interviews were conducted, yet this too produced a similar reaction and there was a need to reassure teachers that I was not from the government. After much deliberation, it was decided that to put teachers at ease, I would verbally inform them about their rights, highlighting their anonymity, and right to review the data. Their consent was taped on the voice recorder as proof. This was a more suitable approach to receiving their consent for this research.
After the interviews, a participant information sheet, which detailed the particulars of the research, was provided to teachers (Appendix D). In many cases, they were not interested in reviewing it as I had informed them about the research in detail, so they would return it back to me. Yet, it was employed in some instances.

**Rigour of the study**

Morgan (1983) notes that the underlying paradigm guiding the research assists in determining appropriate criteria for judging an inquiry. This research employed the use of qualitative methods and is mainly guided by naturalistic inquiry, which calls for research to be situated holistically within its context, not to be generalised but consistent and careful in its findings and reflected in an open account. In judging the rigour of conventional studies, stress is placed on standards such as the truth value of the inquiry, its applicability, its consistency, and its neutrality. As a result, these conventional concepts prove to be an unsuitable instrument for evaluating qualitative research (Dreher 1994). In response to this incongruity, Guba and Lincoln (1985; 1986) have generated an alternative set of criteria for naturalistic inquiry based on which the rigour or “trustworthiness” of this research was assessed.

**Auditability**

Reliability, as defined by Stenbacka (2001), refers to the consistency of measurement methods and its ability to generate the same data repeatedly. Research conducted using a case study strategy is firmly situated within the time and context being studied and as a result cannot be replicated time and again. Instead, focus was placed on describing clearly the whole process of research including the context, methods, analysis and conclusions drawn.
**Credibility**

Conventional paradigms call for an accurate description of reality, which is a test of its internal validity. However, the aim of this research was to present the multiple realities of teachers as sufficiently as possible. Therefore, the credibility of this research was attained through engagement in the field via contacts maintained through local organisations, triangulation through multiple methods of data collection, and exposure of the thesis to criticism through peer review.

**Transferability**

The inability to generalise case studies is one of the main criticisms of this qualitative approach (Flyvbjerg 2006). However, the aim of this research is not to generalise its findings across time and contexts. Indeed, the case of Kenya and the context in which teachers find themselves at this particular time is unique and incomparable. As a result, an emphasis has been placed on describing the context and local conditions in which the research has been conducted, which may then be interpreted and transferrable by readers into different context as a means of drawing similarities between contexts.

**Confirmability**

Confirmability refers to the degree to which the researcher shows neutrality in relation to the interpretations of the data, which can be best attained through an audit by an external and disinterested reviewer (Guba and Lincoln 1986:19). To achieve this, I subjected the analysis of my data to peer-review to check for consistency, coherence and impartiality. I also discussed in length my conclusions with the head of a local NGO in order to ensure that my personal views or perceptions were not influencing the analysis in a detrimental manner.
Summary

This chapter outlined the details of the research undertaken to address the questions posed in Chapter II. It described the process of accessing the field, selecting the case study locations, the data collection process including the tools employed and finally, the methods employed for analysing the data. This research is designed to examine teachers’ willingness to take on diverse roles to manage the effects of ethnic conflict given their reflexive relationship with the community. A specific emphasis is therefore placed on the realities within which teachers work. For these reasons, a case study strategy was employed as it places significant importance on the context of the research. Data was collected through semi-structured interviews along with vignettes as well as document analysis of handouts provided during workshops and the Life Skills syllabus. The exact nature of the data sample was determined based on my experience during the pilot study. Ultimately, the data sample consisted of 20 head teachers and 70 teachers from Nakuru and Kericho.
Chapter V

EFFECTS OF THE 2007 POST-ELECTION VIOLENCE IN KENYA: TEACHERS’ CLASSROOM REALITIES

Countless researchers and international organisations have repeatedly outlined the devastating effects of conflict on education systems. These include physical destruction of schools, increased student-teacher ratios, indications of post-traumatic stress disorder, deficiency in basic resources and lack of relevant training, which all lead to an overall decline in the quality of schooling. Yet these general perceptions of the effects on education systems create a vague representation of the extent of violence. A deeper examination is necessary given that each conflict is unique to its context and the focus of violence on education differs greatly depending on the causes of conflict. Moreover, little is known about how teachers perceive the magnitude and intensity of these effects on themselves and their students. To undertake an examination of how and why teachers manage the effects of the conflict in a particular manner, it is fundamental to understand their interpretation of these effects on their classroom realities.

More importantly, there exists minimal research on how teachers contend with the effects of violence on schools with most literature focusing on the role teachers must play in the recovery and reconstruction of education systems by means of peace or conflict resolution programmes. This lack of relevant accounts calls for an in-depth examination on how teachers, despite their level of training and the degree of support provided to them, realistically contend with these effects.

This chapter aims to shed light on the above two themes within the context of the 2007 post-election violence in Kenya. Using ninety interviews of secondary school teachers and head
teachers from Kericho and Nakuru, it presents the perceptions of teachers regarding the effects of the violence on themselves, their students, and their schools along with the steps they took to handle these effects. This is followed by a careful analysis of the data in order to gain insights into teacher responses.

A specific emphasis has also been placed throughout this chapter on exploring the neutrality of teachers in interpreting the events of the conflict. Given the explicit use of ethnicity during the violence, it is necessary to shed light on whether teachers who have a reflexive relationship with the community are affected by their personal biases when carrying out their professional duties as teachers.

**Teachers’ experiences of the post-election violence: Effects and responses**

The 2007 post-election violence in Kenya had a damaging effect on the psychosocial well being of parents, teachers and students alike. Most, if not all, teachers interviewed had personally experienced the conflict to some degree, either as a victim, perpetrator, witness, or figure of support for victims. Several were deeply affected by the violence they witnessed during the conflict, which made the task of recollecting their experiences both challenging and emotional. When discussing the violence, teachers displayed a range of emotions from anger and fear to resilience and grief. For a few, the task of recalling their personal experiences brought about a deep degree of discomfort and anxiety leading them to deflect such questions and instead focus on the experiences of their students. Of the teachers interviewed, only an estimated two-thirds were able to recount their experiences with clarity, precision as well as a certain degree of candidness.

At the forefront of their experiences were tales of displacement and destruction of homes and livelihoods. While some teachers fled their homes in anticipation of violence, others experienced
the conflict directly. Many witnessed their houses being burned while fleeing from large groups of men armed with pangas. The following narration by a teacher who resettled in Nakuru aptly describes the situation during the conflict:

It happened during the night. Suddenly I could hear crying and screaming, it was coming from far. I ran outside and I saw these men coming with torches and pangas. They were killing people, burning houses, burning our land. I woke up my husband and children, and we just ran. The whole night we were on our feet, we didn’t stop till we reached in to town. I’ve not gone back since. Someone told me that everything was burned and now someone else is living there. I’m just happy I’m alive and my family is ok. I don’t even want to go back there.

These tales of displacement were also coupled with horrific stories of brutal violence. Several teachers witnessed their neighbours, friends, and families being attacked by pangas and knives. A teacher in Nakuru narrated a particularly disturbing encounter with armed youth during a trip to the grocery store to stock up on supplies, a recollection, which she admitted still causes her to shiver:

I was at the supermarket and I bought several bags of groceries to stock up at home. When I was leaving, these people came up to me, they started threatening me and snatched away my bags, they took everything. I was so shocked. I have been living here most of my life and still they treated me this way. I ran for my car and locked the doors. Then this other man from my [ethnic] group came, and they went after him. They all started beating him up and then they stabbed his eyes with their knives..it was so horrible, I will never forget that day.

Whereas some teachers were attacked because of their ethnicity, others experienced their loyalties being called into question during the violence. For example, a male teacher narrated his experience with the Mungiki who forced him to take part in the post-election violence. Holed up at home with his frightened wife and two children, he witnessed the violence descend on the city from his window. Armed with knives, pangas and swords, the Mungiki forcefully broke into shops, killing anyone inside who was hiding from the violence, and left the stores open for looting. As they moved further into the city, their numbers swelled with other male youths joining in with broken bottles and small knives. They then began breaking into houses as well as attacking the Kalenjins and Lou. It was at that point they broke into the teacher’s house.
As soon as they knew I was Kikuyu too, they grabbed me by my shirt. Their hands were covered in blood and there were blood stains all over my shirt...they said, “you should be out there with us”. I tried to say no but they threatened me, “do you want to see your children again?” I was so scared and frightened for my family, so I went with them. They gave me a panga in my hand and told me to follow them. I moved to the back of the group and watched them attack people. Suddenly the police came and the Mungiki started to run away from the city to the other side of the water [sewer] line. At first I ran with them, but then I saw this red car parked on the side and went and hid behind it. When all of them had passed, I threw the panga, removed my shirt, there was blood on it and I didn’t want my children to see me this way, and then I ran home. It was God’s mercy I didn’t have to kill anyone and got away…I don’t know what I would have done if they forced me to kill someone.

Within these stories of destruction and despair were tales of resilience and resistance to the violence. In wake of the conflict, a few communities rallied together to protect their homes from armed gangs. A teacher living on the outskirts of Kericho recollected the manner in which his community came together to guard their area during the nights when they feared a threat of violence. As news of the conflict began to spread, select men from his neighbourhood took it upon themselves to provide security for their community. Armed with torches, pangas, knives, and makeshift roadblocks, they organised into groups that rotated during the nights, and positioned themselves half a mile from their neighbourhood, an area that offered the perfect vantage point of the hills that form the pathway of entry into their district. They also equipped themselves with steel plates that they could sound as a warning system for other community members.

We were lucky, nothing happened. At one point, we could see a group of men passing by but they went into the fields and set off on another direction. It wasn’t during my shift…I don’t know what would had happened if they came. You do what you have to do to protect yourselves. I had nothing against their group. These are just gangs who want to create trouble and loot.

In several instances, community members provided each other shelter during the post-election violence. A head teacher narrated her experience during the violence as follows:

It was night time and I saw from my window that eight to ten people were standing outside my gates. First I was scared, but then I saw children as well, a lot of them were girls. They all wanted me to hide them because they were scared, they kept crying and saying, “Madam, please save us”. You see everyone
here knows me. I’ve been working for this school for so long. Even though I am Kikuyu, they don’t fear me, they know me well. They stayed at my house for three nights. One night I had fifteen people at my house.

Due to the pronounced role of ethnicity during the post-election violence, ethnic tensions, fear of other ethnic groups, deep-seated resentment, and bitterness towards other groups were also extensively referred to during discussions about the effects of the violence on teachers. While deliberating over the causes of the conflict, many teachers were unable to hide their personal feelings and displayed an apparent bias towards certain rationales of the violence, as is evident in the quote below:

You see that group, they are the ones that caused this conflict. They just want the land. They don’t do anything but they want that land because so many years back it was theirs. They should earn it if they want it.

Offering a different perspective to the tensions between ethnic groups, many teachers discussed feeling victimised by the bitterness, hostility, and fear that their colleagues and community members harboured towards them, regardless of whether they had personally taken part in the conflict. Many were unable to contain themselves and engaged in extensive explanations regarding the role of their ethnic group, as is illustrated below:

See they blame us, but that doesn’t make sense. Kibaki and Odinga were not from our group so why would we start a fight. We were just defending our land. But this all needs to stop. We need to live in harmony. We are all Kenyans, we need to forget about who is Kikuyu, who is Kalenjin, who is Lou...Kenyans first.

Despite the occasional biased discussions of the conflict, teachers were generally opposed to violence. Yet, there were a handful of extreme cases where the personal biases teachers carried towards other ethnicities translated into violence during the conflict. Teachers had a particularly difficult time discussing this issue and were more likely to rush past the question. While some acknowledged that they did indeed hear about teachers participating in the violence from their colleagues and students, others admitted to witnessing it but steered clear of divulging any further details. Only a handful of teachers were forthright about what they had witnessed. One teacher described how she learned about her colleague’s participation in the conflict:
I didn’t see him because I don’t live in that area. This other teacher told me, but she was so fearful all the time so I thought no, it can’t be true. Then I had a student who came up to me after class. He told me that he saw this teacher burning houses. He asked me, “Madam, how can he be my teacher when I know what he did?” I don’t know if someone told the head teacher, I doubt it, he just suddenly left in February [2008], transferred to a different school.

Two or three teachers also boldly exclaimed that in the case of future conflict or if their group were threatened they would not hesitate in defending themselves through violent means. Indeed, one particular male teacher was rather passionate in his statements regarding the wellbeing of his ethnic group, as depicted below:

I think its time that we stop supporting politicians from other groups and start supporting one of ours. This country needs a revolution. That’s the only thing that will fix it and let me tell you madam, I will take part in that revolution. It’s the only thing that will fix this country.

It became quickly evident that a few teachers nurtured a great deal of anger towards the government. Indeed, many needed to be reassured that the government was not conducting these interviews. Many teachers displayed a lack of trust in the political system and harboured a biased view of any initiative begun by the government as simply a farce to cover up their ‘true colours’. In particular, a male teacher was adamant that the government had cheated his ethnic group out of their rights and privileges. The following were his comments on the political system:

None of these politicians out there care for our group. We stand up for what is right, but when they want to create chaos, they play on our feelings, and then throw us away. We get nothing in return.

The degree to which tensions seeped into schools differed greatly in each instance. Some staff rooms clamoured with rampant and often, heated discussions littered with prejudiced statements over the conflict. In others, teachers as well as head teachers found leaflets warning them to leave the region. When discussing the threats she received, a head teacher narrated the following incident:

You see, I’m the only Luo in this school. When these ethnic tensions started, I tried to you know, stay low. I had meetings with the teachers to discuss staying
safe and I could tell that they didn’t really like me at that time… I have this suggestion box outside my room which I have for teachers and students… One day I opened it and I found this leaflet warning me to leave or be killed. But, this is my home, why should I leave?

However, very few teachers felt comfortable confronting their colleagues in such situations. Many admitted to overlooking or ignoring these incidents choosing instead to avoid further hostilities. As is illustrated in the following quote, some teachers were simply too shocked to respond to such biased statements:

I froze with horror. I couldn’t believe she said it when members of the other group from our school were standing right there. I couldn’t even open my mouth.

Several teachers reported feeling frustrated and exasperated at the bitterness that had taken hold of colleagues. One teacher noted that several of his colleagues refused to pay heed to his view that most of the youths who took part in the violence were merely opportunists rather than representatives of other ethnic groups who are out to take their land and homes. These frustrations over such contradictory opinions are illustrated in the following comment:

Some people, they don’t really think about what they’re saying. Like this one man, he is also a teacher, he was very angry about what was happening. He was arguing that this particular group, they always want our land, they’re stupid, they just want free land and don’t want to work. It’s sad that people think like that.

In order to avoid such daily confrontations with their colleagues and a hostile working environment, a number of teachers chose to transfer to neighbouring schools or move back to the region of Kenya that is synonymous with their ethnic group. Conversely, there were a small minority of teachers who proudly recounted confronting their colleagues when they spoke ill towards them or about other ethnic groups, as is depicted in the following scenarios:

My colleagues saw me as a monster. I had to tell them, “why do you look at me in this way? I am not a person who kills people. Can we please carry on?” Things did move on but there is still some amount of tension. I can feel it.

This is where my house is, I don’t want to transfer. So I told them, “Listen, I am the same person you used to eat lunch with. I have not changed. I am sorry for
what has happened to you. It has happened to me too. Why don’t we get through this together?”

Whenever we heard teachers talking bad about other groups, we told them, “no hate speech, we’ll report you”.

I told her, “Madam, how can you say that? You can’t hate the whole group because of one person”.

Teachers also sought out the assistance of their head teacher to tackle the hostility and tensions between colleagues. Most head teachers responded by setting up staff meetings where teachers could openly discuss their issues as well as explain to each other why such behaviour was futile.

The following comments describe the efforts taken in two schools to manage ethnic tensions:

There was a lot of tension in my previous school. Finally, we had meetings to discuss the problem. The head teacher tried to handle the situation. Those who still felt uncomfortable left.

I told the teachers at the staff meeting about the pamphlet I received. Then I told them, “We should live together in harmony. I am a Kenyan and I have a right to live in any part of this country. If you have a problem with me, then please come forward and speak to me personally”. None of them came forward.

In addition to this, a handful of head teachers, often in response to the request of their teachers, brought in external counsellors specifically to deal with tensions between colleagues. These counsellors not only provided support but also debriefed and trained teachers on how to deal with such hostility in the future.

I am also a counsellor, but would they listen to me? So I told my head teacher, you bring in someone else. Maybe it will help. We can’t go on like this. It will harm the students.

Unfortunately, such instances were extremely rare and most teachers preferred to ignore such situations rather than confront their colleagues. For these reasons, tensions between teachers continue to resurface during periods of political action. For example, during the constitutional referendum a teacher in Nakuru recounted how discussions in the staff room started to become increasingly political. In this case, she and another colleague bravely put an end to such
discussions by warning their colleagues that such biased discussions must not happen on schools grounds. At a staff meeting, her head teacher then reinforced this ban on political discussions.

These feelings of prejudice and bias also seeped into the classrooms with teachers making negative statements about certain ethnic groups. However, many lamented that such statements were in fact commonplace in both schools and communities. A teacher from Kericho further elaborated on this phenomenon:

You hear it all the time, in the staff room and in classes. Teachers will turn around say, “you people are just stupid”. Every group is viewed in a certain way and then they say these biased statements in front of children. They don’t even realise what they’re doing. It’s common now, it’s everywhere.

There were also instances where these prejudiced behaviours were more severe than one or two casual statements. Fellow teachers witnessed their colleagues directing their bitterness towards their students. While this was generally seen in the manner they treated their students from certain ethnic groups, one teacher witnessed her colleague teaching in her tribal language, a language that students from other ethnic groups would not be able to comprehend. When questioned about how they handled such situations, they often displayed a sorrowful and uncomfortable demeanour and attempted to deflect the question. A few confessed to overlooking such behaviour, as is depicted in the following statements:

My head teacher will tell you too; too many teachers here have flaring tempers and often yell at their students. These students, so many of them have experienced so much because of the conflict, they have lost hope…It’s not right but I don’t want to get into that.

I saw her teaching in her tribal language. I wanted to tell her, “don’t do that, what about the other children?” but I didn’t. I just couldn’t..not at that time.

While most teachers chose to avoid confronting their colleagues over their behaviour, a small number of teachers felt comfortable speaking to them regarding the incidents they witnessed, as is evident in the narrations below:
I met her when school was over and told her that even though there were tensions in the community, these students were innocent. “They are here to learn and they want your help. Please don’t take out your anger on them”.

I told her to her face, “If you don’t want to teach, then leave”. It is against our code to behave in this manner and I would have reported her if she did not stop the way she was with the students.

Conversely, students also displayed hostile behaviour towards their teachers. Teachers reported that some of their students had become confrontational and aggressive with many displaying a lack of respect. In most instances this behaviour was witnessed in boys from Form 3 and Form 4 who were recruited by youth gangs such as the Mungiki. The most common form of action taken by teachers in these situations was to refer students to the head teacher for disciplinary action. Yet, some teachers also attempted to discuss the problem with their students first. The following narration displays the efforts taken by one teacher to handle the situation:

Those first few days [after the schools reopened] were difficult. The students were not the same, they wouldn’t listen to me, they kept talking back...I had to explain to them, “Listen, this will not help. Fighting will not help. I am not here to hurt you. I saw your people kill my people as well, but am I shouting at you? We are all at school. You educate yourselves, go out there and get a job. That is the only thing that will help”.

In addition to this, a few teachers sought out seminars provided by churches in order to educate themselves on how to manage students who had taken part in the violence or were part of such youth gangs. One teacher described what she learned from one of the seminars:

I learned how to teach these kids who have picked up pangas and are still part of the Mungiki. You see, you can’t yell at these boys, you can’t be forceful with them, you can’t say sit down because I told you to. You have to teach them in a calm manner and get through to them in other ways. You have to use reason and treat them like adults.

Upon further investigation of these incidents involving students, the role of ethnicity once again came to light. A handful of teachers noted that the hostile behaviour targeted towards them was due to their ethnicity, as is illustrated below:

It was difficult. The students were not showing me respect…it was difficult trying to make them listen when they saw me as a villain. You see I was the only Kalenjin there.
Through their recollections of the violence, it became apparent that several teachers experienced a pronounced degree of grief, resentment, and anger due to the post-election violence. Many teachers continually spoke of their shock and sadness over the extent and nature of the violence, despite being accustomed to relative degrees of violence during elections. More importantly, a number of teachers continue to be gripped by fear during periods of political action, which was apparent during the constitutional referendum elections when these interviews were conducted.

In the run up to the elections a handful of head teachers noted that some of their teachers were beginning to show signs of fear and discomfort. Their colleagues also mentioned a marked change in their disposition when they entered the staff room. A week before the referendum elections, a few teachers took leave and returned to their home region. Given that the referendum elections were devoid of strong ethnic tones, the possibility of violence was slim. A majority of the interviewees were certain that violence would not feature in these elections. Yet, head teachers did little to stop their teachers from leaving.

Given these continued feelings of anger, resentment, and fear felt among teachers due to the post-election violence, the question arose of how teachers dealt with the psychosocial trauma they experienced. When quizzed about their personal well-being, most teachers seemed to disregard the question of attending counselling sessions themselves or seeking external help. This conflicted with the beliefs of some head teachers who noted that the psychosocial trauma their teachers experienced was impairing their ability to fully participate in the school as teachers. The following narrations depict the views of a teacher and head teacher from the same school regarding the notion of counselling for teachers within the context of the upcoming constitutional referendum elections:

I was very traumatised, but now I am fine. I don’t think we teachers need any help. We have all moved on and are here to perform our duty as teachers. Things are fine…Yes, those referendum elections are coming. I fear, I fear very much how things will be and who will pick up a panga this time. Thankfully, the
schools will be closed that day. I am ready though. I will leave if anything happens.

I have a few teachers who experienced terrible things…They were so fearful when they came back. I told them, please speak to the counsellor and discuss it with them, but they wouldn’t. One eventually left and transferred to another school. The two that are left, I keep an eye on them to make sure they are ok. Now with the constitutional referendum elections coming, I see it already, they are fearful. They rarely come in the staff room and they’ve become quiet. It’s like they’re not completely here.

There were a handful teachers who sought out professional assistance from counsellors and in some instances, their colleagues encouraged them to do so, as is illustrated below:

I need to take care of myself too, which I do. I speak to a counsellor from another school. I spoke to her just last week actually.

She and I are neighbours. We both fled and have lost everything because our houses were burned. Once the violence stopped we both made the decision to return back but she wasn’t the same anymore. I know she didn’t take it well. So I encouraged her, “let us both go see the counsellor. We will get through this together”.

Some teachers found themselves in the role of a provider for students who had fled from their homes. While most students eventually returned home or were adopted by extended family members, a handful of female teachers continue to house their students. A few others have adopted children from their family members who lost their lives during the conflict. This expansion of their families has expectedly created a financial burden on teachers, which compelled a few to ask for donations and assistance from neighbours for bedding and utensils. Additionally, some teachers met with resistance when attempting to help their orphaned students. In particular, a teacher recollected the tense and hostile atmosphere she faced when housing students of other ethnic groups:

I had left the students at home and went out to get more groceries. Suddenly three of my neighbours came up to me and started questioning me, “who are those students? Where are they from? Why are you keeping them?” They were so angry when I told them and they wanted me to get rid of them. They kept saying that the students will loot my house and loot theirs as well. They were so fearful. I had to remind them that these were innocent children who had lost everything and they should not be so bitter.
Based on the narratives of their personal experiences during the conflict, it is clear that countless teachers personally experienced the conflict to some degree. For many, the conflict placed both financial and emotional burdens on them that continue to weigh them down even two-three years after the conflict. Many exhibited bitterness and resentment towards other groups or towards the government regarding the violent episode and in a few cases they directed their negative feelings on to their students. There were also several reports of teachers engaging in biased discussions about the conflict in staff rooms and indeed, a handful had physically taken part in the violence.

Yet, teachers were not as active in managing these effects of the conflict. Many did not consider that they too might need support or counselling to overcome the trauma they experienced during the conflict. Moreover, very few were able to confront their colleagues over prejudiced statements and many chose to overlook such incidents.

Based on the numerous references to ethnicity in interviews with teachers, it could also be deduced that schools in Kenya are not immune to the ethnic tensions prevalent in communities, neither are they apolitical. Analysis of the data suggested that some teachers are primarily loyal towards their ethnic group, which caused tensions and hostilities in the school environment. Many teachers also find their loyalties being constantly torn apart. On one end, they naturally favour their own ethnic group or at the very minimum sympathise with them. On the other end, they desire a focus on being Kenyan first. Those teachers who had not experienced the conflict closely had a very limited understanding of the magnitude of the conflict and the manner in which it may have affected their colleagues. Yet, several of these teachers displayed a sense of loyalty towards their ethnic group when discussing the post-election violence.
Given the above two conclusions, the following section employs the perspectives of teachers to shed light on the effects of the conflict on students. This examination also looks at the steps teachers took to manage these difficulties.

**Effects of conflict on students: Teachers’ perceptions and responses**

Similar to the experiences of teachers, many students were forcefully displaced from their homes. In some districts, the number of IDPs (internally displaced persons) enrolled in each school after the cessation of violence reached in the nineties. This was a prevalent trend in the city of Nakuru where an IDP camp had been set up with services being offered by local NGOs as well as international NGOs such as Red Cross.

Teachers actively sought out support from community members and NGOs as a means of aiding orphaned and displaced students, more specifically in the case of female students who lacked sanitary napkins and clothes. The following narrations describe the efforts taken by teachers in various schools:

Here we have a lot more girls than boys, so when I spoke to NGOs I was always asking for sanitary napkins. The Red Cross provided me with so many boxes of just sanitary pads.

So many of them had no clothes. They lost everything. I used to go around the whole neighbourhood asking for clothes. Finally, I managed to fill up a whole room with clothes and distributed them to the students.

We’ve had so many IDPs and still have students whose families have no money. So many of them lost their homes and land. We’ve been feeding them here regularly. Now, all of us teachers are trying to contact NGOs and relatives to give us money to build a dining hall so that the students have somewhere to sit and eat.

Numerous teachers were particularly focused on arranging shelter for their displaced or orphaned students. A handful of head teachers housed female students who were orphaned till they were able to contact their relatives and arrange for their transfer. For students in the final year of school, their displacement created specific challenges in reference to completing and
graduating from secondary school. All Form 4 students are required to take their KCSE (Kenya Certificate of Secondary Education) exams in October. Transferring schools, and in most cases, without the necessary documentation was a challenge for teachers and district education officers who needed to ensure that these students’ records were updated. Five to six months after the conflict many families began moving back to their homes and this, once again, brought up the issue of maintaining school records. One teacher narrated her efforts in managing this hurdle:

I was very concerned about these Form 4 students. They had to take their KCSE in a few months, but their families started moving back to the regions they came from. I spoke to the parents to see if they would let their children stay back until the end of the KCSE exams and told them that I would find housing for the students. Most of the parents agreed, but there were some students who felt fearful being left behind without their families. Those who stayed, I put them up at my friends’ homes and those who left, I gave them my phone number so that they knew I was always here to talk to them and also because I wanted to make sure they got through their exams and were fine.

In addition to this, she also arranged for local NGOs to supply lamps to the Form 4 students who were unable to study because of the lack of electricity at the camps.

When schools reopened, numerous students came to schools hungry, traumatized and penniless. Teachers noted that their students were so debilitated by fear that they were unable to mingle with their classmates or feel secure around their teachers. This expectedly affected their concentration and thus their performance at school. A teacher described the situation in his school as follows:

When the students came back, it was impossible to even teach. They were so lost, so fearful, they couldn’t concentrate on anything. For the first one week, we didn’t have one class. There was just no point.

The primary response in these situations was to offer counselling and the responsibility of this generally fell on the shoulders of teachers who were the appointed school counsellors. Each school has only one, or in rare instances, two such teachers who are also guidance counsellors. Often these counsellors are not professionally trained since the government does not provide
any comprehensive guidance and counselling training (MOES&T 2005:180). In a handful of schools the counsellor has an advanced professional degree in psychology, yet these are external administrators that visit the school at set hours during the school day. Finally, in a few schools the sole counsellor was also the head teacher. Given the sheer number of students in need of support, schools struggled to provide necessary services and adequate support, which is evident in the several narrations offered by teachers below:

When schools reopened, we had two counselling sessions; one for the boys and one for the girls. We basically spoke to them and debriefed them about peace and conflict resolution. We tried to make them feel safe…One-on-one sessions were not possible.

I still do have one-on-one sessions sometimes because there were so many affected. Even the Form 1 students who are coming in now, I check up on them too because so many of them continue to be traumatised by what they experienced during the conflict.

There are some students who are now displaying behaviours that are basically calling for attention. I then investigate what is going on with them by going to their homes and talking to their parents or guardians. It is then that I realise, this was also one of the students who was affected by the violence, but it didn’t come up when we were initially dealing with it.

The process of resuming normal schooling and setting up counselling sessions at a time when ethnic tensions had gripped communities became a task in itself, which is described by a counsellor below:

It took me ten sessions to even get the students to greet each other or sit in the same room - ten sessions. The first time, they were fearful and kept accusing each other. They just would not look at each other or even sit together. It was a very long process. I used to be at the school from seven thirty in the morning till seven in the evening counselling students.

Given the increased need for support, non-trained teachers also found themselves taking on the role of counsellor. However, the degree to which teachers welcomed this role varied depending on person to person. On the one end, teachers were enthusiastic and motivated to equip themselves with better training, and on the other end, there were teachers who were apathetic to their new role. Counsellors lamented that the lack of support from teachers meant students who
had experienced psychosocial trauma continued to slip out of their fingers. The following two perspectives from colleagues at the same school bears evidence to their claims:

Yes, we do have a few students who were affected. We have a counsellor who handles that. I think they have sessions but I don’t know how often they meet…I don’t think I have any such students.

I’m the only trained counsellor in this school. How many students can I reach out to? So many students in this school were affected, but we haven’t yet spoken to them. I really do need help, but sometimes the teachers themselves don’t know they have a student who needs help so I don’t get to know either.

Two schools took a unique approach to counter the lack of trained counsellors in the form of ‘peer-counselling’. This initiative consisted of training one or two well-rounded, healthy students from each class in counselling. The aim being for these peer counsellors to serve as an ‘extra pair of eyes’ for teachers so that students who needed counselling could be brought to their attention. In addition to this, counsellors noted that some students felt more comfortable opening up to their peers, which eventually made them confident enough to speak to their counsellor.

Aside from counselling, the second most cited response to managing these particular effects of the conflict on students was to impart ideals and skills for peace-building and conflict resolution. Some teachers displayed a keen interest in training themselves on these subjects since, for many, handling these issues was a foreign concept. Many volunteered to attend one-day training sessions provided by local NGOs and churches to educate themselves on these issues. Others turned towards their school counsellor to prepare themselves for the challenges of teaching students affected by the violence. The following are the perspectives of two teachers regarding training:

I was never trained in these issues, so I am always looking for these trainings and seminars provided by the Church and NGOs. I learned how to teach and discipline such students…Sometimes they will give you handouts for the school, so I give those to the students.
You see we don’t know how to deal with these issues so, the three of us told our counsellor to please help us. She then sat us down after school and trained us in issues like conflict resolution. It made me feel like yes I can do this. Now, I am able to discuss these issues with students, and I feel we also understand each better.

A majority of teachers who attended these workshops mentioned that they discussed these concepts with their students or applied them in their counselling sessions. Heeding the advice of NGOs, a handful of schools used these materials to create a ‘peace club’. The following is a teacher’s description of this club:

We used whatever we learned at the training [from the Catholic Church] to create the Peace Club. We meet every Wednesday evening and discuss several issues like peace and conflict resolution. We also do other things like plant trees and draw. It has helped the students learn about working together.

Two schools also used the Life Skills syllabus in conjunction with material they received from churches and local NGOs to create their ‘peace club’ that meets once a week. The Life Skills syllabus was introduced by the state in 2009 for secondary schools. The objective of this daily subject is to provide students with the necessary skills for navigating the challenges of adolescent life. It also touches on tolerance, diversity, prejudices, positive relationships and conflict resolution. Of the schools interviewed two years after the conflict, only three had Life Skills implemented appropriately as a daily class. It must also be noted that these schools were located in the town and were seemingly well equipped compared to the other schools in the data sample. Neither of these schools however had Life Skills education available for all grades. One school had implemented it in Form 3 and Form 4 whereas the other two had implemented it in Form 4 only.

Implementation of Life Skills was particularly arduous for two reasons: lack of training; and lack of resources. Some schools were provided with resources but no training, whereas others were provided with training but no resources. These resources entail teacher’s manuals to guide them through the lessons and activities. Students are required to purchase their individual workbooks.
Therefore, while a few head teachers alluded to this new innovation when discussing their responses, most had not yet employed it and viewed it as a potential solution rather than an existing one.

Teachers also mentioned several specific issues that were of great concern for schools. One of these challenges was aggressive behaviour among students, which was primarily in reference to male students. While most students reportedly became withdrawn and quiet because of their experiences during the conflict, several teachers reported numerous incidents of aggressive and violent behaviour in male students. This included bullying, physical fights with peers, intimidation as well as confrontational behaviour with teachers. It was the occurrences of intimidation and confrontational behaviour that posed a serious cause of concern for schools. In most, if not all cases such incidents were linked to continued membership with armed youth gangs.

It was a well known, albeit seldom spoken about fact that male students had indeed joined armed youth gangs and taken part in the violence. Despite the lack of verbal acknowledgement, teachers knew which students took part in the violence based on visual accounts of the violence as well as which students had ended their association with youth gangs. Similarly, teachers were well aware that certain students continued to participate in the activities of armed gangs, which was the core of their concern. In one school teachers reported that they continue to tiptoe around such students choosing to maintain distance or in extreme cases attempt to negotiate with them calmly. Many teachers narrated distressing stories entailing the loss of such students to these gangs. The following is a teacher’s recollection of her experience in this matter:

We had two brothers in our school. The elder one was in Form 4 and the younger in Form 2. They were really close but when schools reopened in January [after the post-election violence], the younger one was very disturbed. The boys weren’t together anymore. I told my counsellor about him because I knew something was wrong. I’ve seen these boys, something was wrong. Well, the
older one had joined the Mungiki and the younger one had seen him… he was so disturbed about it, he felt so guilty that maybe he could have done something to stop him. He was crying and telling the counsellor, “I just want my brother back”. The elder one then dropped out of school and went with the gang. The counsellor had to explain to the little one that it wasn’t his fault and that his brother made his own decision. It’s been really difficult for him, but he’s doing better now, I keep an eye on him. He’s the only son left so he’s trying his best.

The primary response to these incidents of aggressive behaviour was in compliance with school rules and regulations. A few schools also added in the component of counselling in order to address the needs of the student. The following narrations describe the approach taken by teachers in order to handle this challenge:

For all disorderly behaviour we have rules so, we went through that. We called his parents in and he was presented in front of our disciplinary committee. He was punished… the committee also ordered him to go through counselling. I met him twice or thrice and spoke about why he was so angry and what he thought he would achieve with this anger.

When they act this way, I hear their story and then I ask them whether they are guilty. If they say no, I report it to the head teacher who suspends them for one week. Then, they are allowed back only if they admit their guilt. Once they admit their guilt, they have to write an apology note promising not to behave in this manner again as well as accept the punishment.

There were a few teachers who believed that the police must arrest students, who had become members of the Mungiki and continued to associate with them, if they misbehaved. Indeed, there were a few incidents where seeking the aid of the police was the only viable option left for the school.

In one such incident, a student who joined a youth gang and subsequently took part in the violence returned to school only to continue behaving aggressively with other students. At first, the teacher attempted to handle the situation by explaining to him how his behaviour was destructive towards himself and others. However, her efforts proved futile. Below, she further explained how the school ultimately had to handle the situation:

I tried to speak to him and it didn’t work. So, I brought it up in the staff room and his other teachers said they too were not able to discipline him. We immediately notified the principal and the counsellor. The counsellor had two
sessions with him, but there was no improvement so the principal suspended him for two weeks. Then, he came back and he was acting the same way. These boys in these gangs, they act like they own everyone. They have that attitude. The other students became fearful. So we notified the principal who got him arrested and suspended him for the rest of the term.

The cautious approach teachers were required to take in some cases meant that they often were unable to handle the situation effectively, which was particularly in relation to female teachers. A head teacher in Nakuru described the issues as follows:

We try to discipline them, but we do it very calmly and only in bad situations. Otherwise, we tell the male teachers to calm them. I had this one incident when one of those boys got into a fight with another boy. One of my teachers went to break up the fight. This boy turned around and he told this teacher, “It’s better for you to stay out of this. You should know better. You know you shouldn’t be wearing trousers, so you keep out”. You see they have this thing that women shouldn’t wear trousers and by saying that, he was threatening her. Eventually one of the male teachers had to step in. This other teacher, she was so traumatized by what happened. It really made her fear them.

In relation to female students, one of the effects of the conflict was rape and sexual abuse. Teachers did not give this exact phenomenon enough significance when understanding and dealing with it. Most, if not all, male teachers were entirely unaware of whether any of their students were victims of rape. This could possibly be justified given the sensitive issue at hand, however the lack of awareness among female teachers was relatively high as well. Teachers often displayed an uneasy attitude when discussing the necessary steps to take when dealing with this particular challenge. Some also responded with surprise to the question indicating they had never considered whether rape and sexual abuse was indeed one of the effects of the violence. The following two narrations represent the general response to the question of rape and sexual abuse:

Yes, I’m sure. In fact, I’m quite certain there are one or two. But, you see, what can I do. If they don’t come forward and tell us, what can you do. They don’t talk you know. When they are ready, they’ll tell us.

No no…well maybe, but no one has said anything. I’m not sure. Actually, I wouldn’t know.

A handful of teachers who were attuned to the nature of abuse inflicted on girls discussed at length the slow and protracted process of getting female students to speak about their
experiences. Compounding this was a lack of awareness among their colleagues, which made identification of such students problematic. They also highlighted the realities these students face, which consists of not just trauma from the incident but also infections and unwanted pregnancies. The incidence of rape coupled with the lack of attentiveness regarding the issue proved to be near fatal for one student, as described in the following incident:

I knew what had happened. I could tell, but she wasn’t able to talk about it. I met with her several times. Some days I would take her home after school so that she would start feeling comfortable with me. Finally, she told me and I was able to counsel her. But then I felt I needed to get her checked by a doctor because you know, she wasn’t ok. There I got to know she had an infection and it was so bad that she needed to have her uterus removed. Now she didn’t have any money and I don’t have enough money; we teachers get too little money. I had to contact many NGOs and finally I was able to get enough money to get her operated… I found out about the infection too late. See, I had so many students who needed counselling and no teacher told me, “Madam, have a look at her, something is wrong”. I finally noticed something was wrong with her and tried to get it out of her… She didn’t tell me she was raped until six months after it happened. By then it was too late. She’ll never be a mother now, it makes me so sad.

These teachers also referred to prolonged abuse in reference to orphaned and displaced girls who are housed with distant relatives and experience abuse at the hands of the elder male figure. In some cases they were also required to carry out all the chores of the house as a repayment for providing shelter and education. Managing these situations was particularly difficult for teachers as they were at unease discussing the issue. The following describes the manner in which a counsellor attempted to deal with the situation:

I suspected it and after a few sessions, she told me. I had a meeting with her aunt and told her what was happening, but nothing ever happened. I waited to see if it stopped and asked the girl a few days later, but nothing had changed. See, sometimes the wives know what is happening and they can’t stop it. I had to teach the girl how she has to always be around the other children, never be alone, always sleep with the other children. What else can I do?

Overall, incidents of rape and sexual abuse, both past and present, go undetected due to a lack of awareness regarding the full scope of the situation.
Other less common effects of the conflict reported by teachers include stigmatisation of IDPs, which teachers noted was merely used as a taunt to tease or bully classmates. Several counsellors noted that such incidents continued to reinforce their experiences during the conflict and the awareness that they lacked permanent shelter. Most teachers were strictly opposed to this behaviour stating that if they were to come across these incidents, they would explain to those teasing that ‘it’s simply not nice’ and ‘it’s hurtful’.

Based on the perceptions of teachers, it could be deduced that most teachers had gaps in their knowledge regarding the true extent of the effects of the conflict on their students. While they were attuned to the challenges students faced in IDP camps or in relation to their examinations, they retained cursory knowledge regarding the psychosocial effects. For these reasons, their responses to certain effects were extremely limited and strained. A number of teachers were not as involved in providing support or counselling to their students, and in most cases, the responsibility of this fell on the shoulders of the school counsellors. This meant that several students in need of support were not being identified. Conversely, they were more committed to managing the strain placed on students due to a lack of resources. Lastly, their responses to certain effects were customarily in harmony with their school’s procedures and policies, particularly in regards to disciplining students who displayed aggressive behaviour.

**Effects of conflict on schools and teacher responses**

Compared to the scale of the effects on teachers and students witnessed in the aftermath of the 2007 post-election violence in Kenya, the physical effects on schools were relatively fewer. The Ministry of Education reported that around 20 schools were either vandalized or burned (Onsongo 2008:5); however these schools were not a part of the data sample. Predominantly, schools were not attacked during the post-election violence.
As mentioned in Chapter III, inadequate resources are a constant cause of concern for schools in Kenya. Therefore, the foremost effect of the violence on schools was a strain on resources. The mass displacement of families translated into overcrowded classrooms and a subsequent lack of teachers and resources. Two head teachers in Nakuru illustrated the degree to which their schools were stretched:

The IDP camp, it’s not far from here, it’s just around the corner. So you see, I had so many students coming in…90 IDPs and most of them girls. Now we still have 30 IDPs left, the rest slowly left and went back home.

We had students who came from Eldoret, up in the North. Roughly around 80 students. On top of that, three of our teachers left. It was very difficult.

Conversely, the displacement of families also led to a drastic decrease in school attendance in terms of both students and teachers. For some schools, this decrease was so extreme it led to debates over keeping schools open, as is depicted in the following comments:

Our student population dropped from 182 to 100; that was not so bad. But, we only had two teachers when we reopened. We were seriously understaffed…we weren’t sure how we were going to handle lessons.

Let me tell you the numbers, I had 207 students in November. When we reopened in January, I had four. I wasn’t sure what to do with these four students.

Head teachers and teachers at both schools ultimately made the decision to remain in operation as they soon realised that only through maintaining their regular schedule were they able to signal to their community that violence has ceased and life will begin returning to normal. Eventually the population at both schools steadily rose over the next ten days.

Schools that experienced an increase in student population lacked enough books, pencils, sanitary napkins as well as benches and desks. The following narrations aid in illustrating the general conditions when schools resumed:

They come here hungry, without books, without sanitary napkins, nothing. I had three students sharing one book when I was teaching.
Our head teacher, she struggles. We have all these IDPs coming in, and not enough grains to feed them all. Some of them have come with nothing but the dirty clothes on their back...forget cloth for these IDPs and their uniforms, we didn’t even have cloth for burials.

When schools reopened in January, many teachers quickly noted that their students were so hungry it impaired their concentration in classes. In response to this, a boarding school in Nakuru that enrolled numerous IDPs was forced to open its kitchen to all their students for both breakfast and lunch in order to ensure none of its students were going hungry. To manage the strain on its kitchen, some teachers brought in grains from their own homes while the head teacher organised for an NGO to send bags of food. In another instance, a teacher from a non-boarding school identified which of her students were without homes and would gather beans and grains from her neighbours, packaged them in brown bags and handed them out at the end of the day to those students.

Local NGOs also played an imperative role in aiding schools that were suffering from an acute shortage of resources. One head teacher described how a couple of local NGOs assisted her school:

Resources were really stretched because we took in 155 IDPs on top of all the students we already had. Initially, the students used to be standing in the back of classrooms or sitting on the floors because there was no place to sit. Then, all of us teachers gathered whatever resources and money we could manage with the help of local NGOs and our board of directors and built 60 benches. Each bench sat 8-10 students. It wasn’t comfortable because they had to squeeze but it was better than standing or sitting on the floor.

Adding to these complexities, many families found themselves without a stable source of income and thus unable to pay school fees. For schools that were struggling with the burden of additional students, the shortage of money to sustain their everyday expenses debilitated them further:

This boy’s father, all his sheep and cows were taken away from him during the violence. You tell me, how was he going to pay the school fees?
We ran to save our lives. But our land, they took it from us…I know that these parents can’t pay the fees, they don’t even have their land anymore.

To counter the lack of fees, some schools adopted a unique approach when negotiating payment of fees with their students’ families, as described as follows:

They couldn’t give us the money because they lost so much. So, I told them to give me bricks. We wanted to build a kitchen at our school so we were getting the bricks and the child was able to come to school. Some other parents would give me maize. You see, they weren’t able to sell the maize, so why let it sit and spoil…we can use it at the school to feed our children.

However, not all schools employed this approach. Some schools resorted to closing their doors on students who could not pay the fees. One teacher lamented the situation:

What could I do? He wasn’t able to pay the fees. We need the money too. I told the head teacher who sent him home. After two weeks he was back with a little money, so we let him stay for sometime. Then again, we had to let him go.

When informed about the barter system as an alternative for paying school fees, many head teachers deemed it unsuitable. On being prodded for their reasoning, most were unable to provide a specific rationale, as is illustrated in the following comment:

Paying with maize and beans?? No this won’t work, it just won’t work. We also need the money.

For a small minority of schools, the safety and protection of their grounds was another source of concern. Given the causes of the post-election violence, schools were not specifically targeted during the violence. Yet, there were one or two instances where armed crowds approached schools looking for teachers and head teachers who they knew were not from their ethnic group. This held particularly true in the case of boarding schools where teachers and students camped out during the violence. In these circumstances, the male teachers and watchmen patrolled the school gates to ensure that crowds were staying away from the schools. A head teacher in Nakuru narrated her experience during the violence:

The school is cosmopolitan so we needed security. Also, we’re not too far from the main road so crowds of young men and boys used to pass by with pangas and knifes. Some of them, who knew that I and some of my other teachers were
here, would came up to the gates yelling for us to come out. The askaari [watchman] was able to stop them that night saying we were not inside but I realised that we were too close to the main road and they would come again. We then bribed some police officers with whatever money we could manage to protect our school. You see they need to be paid as well. When the money ran out, our male teachers would go stand by the gates.

Compared to their perceptions of the effects of the conflict on teachers and students, teachers were not only acutely aware of the effects of the conflict on schools, but also significantly active in managing these difficulties. Many mentioned staff meetings that were specifically held to discuss the lack of resources. Most, if not all, teachers were cognisant of the fact that their students as well were enduring financial difficulties in their homes due to which they were coming to schools without the relevant resources or fees. Given their thorough understanding of the situation at hand, many teachers and head teachers were extremely active in fulfilling the necessities of the school in order to maintain its operation.

**Discussion: Various insights in teachers’ responses**

Based on the examination of teacher responses presented above, several observations were made regarding the findings. To begin with teachers displayed an eager and determined attitude when discussing how they dealt with the lack of resources and issues relating to student enrolments. They responded with greater clarity and understanding regarding the situation. Most teachers were keen on bringing their students back to schools in order to avoid any disturbances to their education, often constructing positive solutions such as the barter system to replace fees or seeking out housing for students who were displaced due to the violence. Several teachers also took an active role in gathering the necessary resources for students who were in IDP camps or orphaned due to the conflict.

There were rare instances where teachers did not participate in coping with these issues. In interviews, they were able to list the issues schools faced due to the violence but were not
attuned to the steps being taken to manage these obstacles, often redirecting such questions to their head teacher.

In relation to the psychosocial effects of the conflict, while most teachers acknowledged the existence of these effects, comparatively fewer were able to thoroughly discuss these as well as other issues like rape and sexual abuse of female students, the plight of IDPs and aggressive behaviour. They were also more likely to refer these questions to the counsellor. However, as mentioned earlier, school counsellors are often not professionally trained for their role; therefore their responses were often improvised and inconsistent, and not a reliable measure of an effective response to the effects of the conflict. As a result, it could be deduced that both teachers and students have not received the necessary support to cope with these issues.

There were some teachers who were cognisant of the effects of the conflict yet displayed an almost powerless and vulnerable approach to dealing with them. They however continued to display optimism regarding the recovery and healing process, as is illustrated in the following comment:

So many effects…we just stay busy doing our own things and hope that it all goes away.

The degree of support offered to students far outweighed the focus teachers placed on dealing with their personal trauma and fear. Very few teachers sought assistance to deal with their own experiences and well-being. Several tended towards disregarding and overlooking their own experiences during the conflict, yet many head teachers believed that this has hampered their ability to actively participate in schools, specifically during periods of political action. It was evident that the trauma they experienced during the post-election violence in 2007-2008 began to resurface during the period leading up to the constitutional referendum elections in 2010. Indeed, a few teachers had already shifted to different regions in anticipation of violence.
Another observation witnessed in the data is in relation to the regions chosen for the interviews. As detailed in Chapter IV, Kericho and Nakuru were both affected by the 2007 post-election violence witnessed in Kenya, however both are politically, socially, and geographically disparate regions. Therefore differences in teacher responses between the regions were anticipated; yet not to the degree witnessed in data analysis. While teacher responses to the lack of resources were relatively similar, vast disparities emerged in teacher responses to effects such as ethnic tensions, fear and hostilities.

From the onset, teachers in Nakuru were a lot more receptive to discussing issues related to the 2007-2008 post-election violence. Several engaged in lengthy discussions regarding their opinions about the current situation in Kenya as well as their personal experiences of the conflict, albeit some requested that interviews be handwritten not recorded. They often provided detailed and emotive accounts of the effects of the post-election violence and were eager to discuss the short and long-term changes needed to prevent young children taking part in the conflict.

On the other hand, Kericho teachers were rather reserved and reluctant. A number of teachers and head teachers hesitated being interviewed and a handful denied taking part in the interviews altogether. While a few teachers were keen on discussing the effects of the post-election violence, most were inhibited in their interviews and steered clear of providing detailed personal accounts of the conflict.

In one specific instance, a head teacher in Kericho allowed access to a personally chosen teacher and required the interview be conducted in his presence. The interview was rushed with both reiterating that they had moved past the conflict and schooling was back to normal. The teacher displayed an apprehensive and passive attitude, often exchanging glances with his head teacher.
for affirmation regarding his responses. Furthermore, the head teacher refused access to other teachers explaining, ‘there’s nothing to say, everything is fine’.

Honing in on the data teachers in Nakuru were more likely to deal with the prevalence of ethnic tensions in schools than teachers in Kericho. In Nakuru teachers displayed a sense of courage and pride in dispelling tensions in schools, often referring to themselves as ‘Kenyans first’. They frequently spoke of their efforts to confront teachers who indulged in ‘hate speech’.

On the other hand, Kericho teachers displayed an almost passive and nervous attitude to questions regarding tensions in schools. They often shrugged their shoulders saying ‘what can you do?’ as if resigning themselves to the presence of hostilities between ethnic groups. Several teachers also admitted to leaving Kericho for several months before finally returning once they were sure the situation had calmed down. Moreover, a handful of teachers interviewed in Nakuru had transferred from Kericho a few months after the violence had subsided due to continued presence of ethnic tensions in their former schools.

In further evidence of the apprehension witnessed among teachers in Kericho regarding the topic of the post-election violence, a handful of teachers requested to conduct the interview away from school grounds. One such teachers, who was interviewed at a coffee shop, recounted her account of the post-election conflict and the participation of colleagues in the violence, as illustrated below:

I saw [teachers] with my own eyes. They were taking part in the violence. The teachers had torches in their hands and were burning houses. I was shocked, I couldn’t believe it.

The differences between Nakuru and Kericho were an interesting observation that emerged during data analysis and could be the source of further research using an appropriate methodology.
Lastly, very few schools sought the support of community members in dealing with the psychosocial effects on schools. In one case, a teacher from a school in Nakuru not only responded to the trauma witnessed in students by speaking to students about the conflict and attending training sessions but also put into motion the creation of a peace club with the aim of bringing together neighbouring schools to tackle the issue of peace and conflict resolution. At its beginning stages, he envisions the ‘Life Focus Group’ to provide a basis for the students of neighbouring schools as well as their families to interact and discuss issues of peace through song, dance and drama. His innovative endeavour to deal with the effects of the conflict has already garnered support from community members and head teachers of nearby schools.

Likewise, another teacher sought out the assistance of Youth Aid, a non-profit organisation, to create opportunities for select students from Form 2 to 4 to relay their messages of peace and reconciliation to the community. The NGO trained the students in peace, conflict resolution, and other similar themes and then organised an opportunity for them to go out into the communities and convey their message through discussions, drama and songs.

A few schools also attempted to reach out to community members in order to explain to them the importance of inter-group harmony. During discussions at PTA meetings, teachers and head teachers advised parents on how to deal with deteriorating ethnic relations and what they could personally do to help their children. Responses, which included the community, however were extremely rare.

**Summary**

Once conflict ceases teachers often find themselves at the forefront of reconstruction and recovery efforts. Despite their personal experiences and professional background, they are expected to teach and counsel students who have experienced, witnessed or taken part in the
conflict. While several international organisations and researchers have concluded that teachers are unprepared to handle these effects, not much is known regarding their responses in these contexts. The data presented in this chapter sheds light on this issue through an examination of secondary school teachers’ and head teachers’ responses in Nakuru and Kericho.

Primarily, it concludes that the effects of the conflict varied from those that were more technical such as a lack of resources, books, and benches given the surge of displaced students to psychosocial effects like fear, trauma and aggressive behaviour. Teachers too personally experienced the conflict and many continue to exhibit feelings of discomfort, grief, and fear regarding these events. Several young male students were absorbed into youth gangs during the violence and a few continue to maintain associations with them, which is particularly troublesome for teachers. Lastly, ethnic tensions and hostilities were prevalent in the school environment and witnessed not just between colleagues, but also between teachers and students. Several teachers also continue to categorise individuals as ‘perpetrator’ versus ‘victim’ or ‘us’ versus ‘them’.

In terms of responding to these effects, teachers were more adept at managing the strain on school resources. They also place greater importance on dealing with the needs of their students over their own, which can be detrimental in cases where political and ethnic tensions continue to resurface. While some teachers displayed a degree of hesitancy in fully accepting and understanding the issues that schools face due to the conflict, others were eager to equip themselves with relevant knowledge to counter the effects of the violence. Consequently, there was a marked degree of discrepancy in teacher responses when examined individually.

While it could be deduced that several teachers attempted to handle the effects of the post-election violence on their classrooms realities, several questions remain regarding observations
witnessed in teacher responses. Why were teachers not willing to deal with the psychosocial effects of the conflict? What caused them to ignore the effects of the conflict on themselves and their colleagues? Why were the effects of sexual abuse on girls or the hostile behaviour inflicted on students from their own colleagues not dealt with as fervently? Finally what obstacles prevented them from seeking out support of the community more often? The following chapter attempts to address these questions by analysing factors in their classrooms realities that shaped the decisions and responses of teachers in the context of post-conflict schooling.
Chapter VI

APPRECIATING TEACHERS’ PROFESSIONAL RESPONSES TO THE EFFECTS OF POST-ELECTION VIOLENCE: AN ANALYSIS OF THEIR CLASSROOMS REALITIES

The previous chapter presented an examination of teachers’ responses to the effects of the 2007 post-election violence on their classrooms realities and made several observations about the data. With this knowledge, this chapter seeks to understand the rationale behind these responses and trends. An analysis of teachers’ classrooms realities draws attention to prominent variables that shaped teacher responses. In their objective realities, that is their personal and physical context, these variables are: professional capacity; external support; access to resources; and political influence. In their subjective realities, that is their emotional and social context, these variables are: attitudes; beliefs; motivation; negative emotions; purpose and school culture. The following are the definitions of these variables.

Professional capacity relates to the qualifications of teachers obtained during their pre-service education as well as the knowledge they gained through in-service workshops. External support refers to the aid provided by external institutions such as NGOs. Access to resources examines the influence of the availability of resources, or lack thereof, on teachers’ responses. Political influence relates to the degree of political presence in the school and surrounding community. Finally, subjective factors consist of teachers’ attitudes, purpose as teachers, their motivation, and the negative emotions that they carry regarding their experiences during the conflict. It also includes the school culture, which as defined in Chapter II, comprises of the commonly held values, beliefs, and traditions of the school that provide it with an unique identity and influence the way individuals function within the school (Erickson, 1987; Hargreaves, 1995; Maslowski, 2001).
This chapter examines each variable individually and the role it played in shaping teachers’ responses. This is followed by a discussion that highlights how the interplay of these variables created conditions, which enabled or prevented teachers from adequately responding to the effects of the conflict.

**Objective realities**

*Professional capacity*

Analysis of the data emphasised a clear link between teachers’ responses and their professional capacity, particularly in regards to managing psychosocial effects like trauma, fear, aggressive behaviour and so on. Most teachers admitted that they were professionally unprepared to effectively manage these. Many went so far as to display humour at the counselling course offered during their pre-service training remarking, ‘…it was some small course called counselling and something, I don’t even remember the name’.

On being questioned how they handled the psychosocial effects of the violence, some teachers exhibited a certain degree of helplessness, as is illustrated below:

> It has been terrible. It’s really sad. But, what can you do? We just need to move on.

> We all pray together to God to get us through these difficult times.

Due to the importance of religion in Kenyan society as well as the proximity of churches and schools, turning to prayer as a method to deal with the effects of the conflict did not signal a lack of preparedness in itself. Indeed, several teachers mentioned they frequently recited prayers with their students to provide them ‘support’, ‘strength’ and ‘faith’. However, the absence of supplementary strategies or more practical measures signalled a lack of relevant training as well as a sense of powerlessness in order to manage the situation.
Teachers who were also counsellors and possessed an advanced professional degree in psychology were exceptionally driven when managing the effects of the conflict. Once schools reopened in January these teachers were at the forefront organising counselling sessions and offering relevant advice to head teachers. A number of head teachers consistently referred to the efforts of their school counsellor during discussions of how they managed the effects of the post-election violence. Subsequently, as time lapsed and the focus turned towards peace education, these teachers were more willing to embrace these new transformations and were active in designing long-term solutions. To achieve this, these teachers sought out relevant training by local NGOs and acquired books regarding ‘peace’ and ‘conflict resolution’ based on which they created responses that were more holistic in nature. For example, a handful of counsellors showed an appreciation of the fact that such concepts cannot be taught in isolated systems, and for these reasons, they also encouraged community participation in their efforts, as is evident in the following quotes:

What is the point of us talking about peace only in the school? Students learn bad behaviours at home and then bring them into schools…We need to also educate the parents and the community about what is peace and what we need to do to achieve that. I’ve organised for some of the students to create dramas and songs to teach the community about peace.

Not just peace, we need to build on the harmony in our community. We need the students to learn about being Kenyans, about being one. We need to help each other. We now have this peace club and a part of it is for the students to go out and clean their streets. See, firstly the students are learning about being good citizens and secondly, the community will see all these students cleaning their streets. Do you think if violence happens they will attack those same students then? No.

Furthermore, they tended towards more innovative approaches that employed the use of art, songs and dance, which they reasoned engaged the students and served as an informal avenue through which to relay messages of peace and unity.

In addition to this, there were several specific issues that these teachers were able to handle more proficiently. One such issue is in relation to reaffirming discipline among students who displayed
aggressive behaviour towards their peers and teachers. A counsellor from Nakuru with a Masters in psychology and years of counselling experience established a new system through which to reinstate discipline among students while being receptive to students’ needs. The following describes her approach:

At that time, it was difficult getting through the students and making them behave. What I did was I told the students to come up with their own set of rules for the school, which they did. All of us teachers looked through them and worded them better then put it up in each classroom. These were rules that the students created for themselves and because of that, they understood them and followed them. Then, I started a competition between classes. Whichever class behaved the best were allowed extra playtime and it works. You see children telling their classmates to behave properly when they feel that they are doing something wrong.

Aside from focusing on the needs of their students, these teachers also exhibited an equal concern for the well being of their colleagues and encouraged them to seek out assistance. As reported in the previous chapter, most teachers were prone to overlooking or ignoring the trauma they and their colleagues experienced during the conflict. Very few teachers sought out assistance to deal with their personal issues stemming from the conflict. However, these teachers consistently encouraged their colleagues to receive counselling for the trauma they experienced, this is illustrated below:

No one thinks about the teachers, but we need help too. Some of the teachers here have seen horrific things, some have lost everything. I tell these teachers that they must talk to someone. Me too, I need help too. I go to a counsellor and I speak to her. How can we take care of the students if we can’t take care of ourselves?

While teachers with an advanced professional degree in psychology were receptive to changes in the discourses on learning in their school and designed innovative approaches for managing the effects of the violence, the same trend was not witnessed among teachers with advanced professional degrees in other subjects like mathematics or history. There were very few teachers in the data sample who had advanced professional degrees and their responses were diverse. Although some were keen on the changes taking place, others remained disconnected from these
issues and focused primarily on the subject they teach. Evidently, there were other variables in their classrooms realities that prevented them from being receptive to their transformed roles.

Teachers who sought out workshops and training sessions held by churches and local NGOs in counselling, peace, and conflict resolution also exhibited a greater understanding of their students’ needs. Though not entirely comparable, they too managed the effects of the conflict suitably. Yet, they were unable to fully immerse themselves in these varied roles given their subtle grasp over these new concepts. Indeed, many teachers who attended such workshops were quick to admit that while they did learn a lot about peace and counselling and often praised the increased level of understanding they acquired, one seminar or one workshop was simply not enough to fully comprehend all the necessary concepts, as is evident in the following comments:

We have two head counsellors in this school and I am one of them. When the violence happened, I was not prepared at all. You see, we received very little training back when we were training to become teachers. So I went to this training held by the church here. It was very good, they gave us leaflets to give to the kids, we learned songs about peace, we also learned how to teach the children in a different manner. I've been two more times. Every time I go, I learn something new. One is not enough you see, we have so much to learn.

Overall, it became quickly evident that teacher training plays a vital role in providing teachers with confidence to deal with the effects of conflict. Teachers who relied solely on the training they received in counselling during their pre-service education displayed an attitude of helplessness and were ill equipped to manage the varied effects of conflict. Such teachers often referred questions to the school counsellor or turned to prayer as a sole response. Teachers who attended training sessions after the post-election violence in counselling, peace, and conflict resolution took adequate steps to manage the effects of the violence, however their responses were rather narrow and linear. Given that their understanding of the concepts and their role in assisting students was slight, their responses were limited to the knowledge and suggestions they received from their training session. On the other hand, teachers who had an advanced professional degree in psychology managed the effects with more confidence and innovation.
These teachers often responded in a holistic manner; their responses were targeted towards schoolteachers, community members as well as students. Moreover, they endeavoured to equip their students with the necessary skills and tools to challenge the concepts of ‘conflict’ and ‘ethnic tension’ in order to promote harmony.

External Support

In terms of external support, the two oft-cited institutions that provided adequate assistance to teachers were churches and local NGOs. No specific mention was made of the District Education Office or other state institutions while discussing external support. Indeed, it was the lack of their support that prevented head teachers from reporting teachers who displayed hostile behaviour towards their peers and students. The following is a head teacher’s explanation:

Madam, even if I tell them [Teachers Service Commission] about this teacher, they will just remove her from this school and send her somewhere else and they won’t even send another teacher to me. We already have such few teachers, how will we cope?

As mentioned in Chapter III, ‘Exploring the context of Kenya’, churches and local NGOs play an extensive role in Kenyan society. In the aftermath of the post-election violence, these institutions were at the forefront providing assistance to displaced families and aiding communities in rebuilding their lives. Similarly, both were quick to provide teachers with training sessions that would be beneficial for them during this challenging period. Primarily, these workshops educated teachers about peace and conflict resolution with an additional focus on counselling. Most schools interviewed sent two or three of their teachers for training at these institutions, and by doing so were also able to relieve the pressure placed on the sole counsellor at their school. Around a half of the teachers interviewed had attended at least one such training session and around a third of these attended two or more sessions.
Analysis of the documents offered by churches depicts a stress on the use of stories, songs and poems to relay messages of empathy, co-operation and peace. Most documents rely heavily on theoretical knowledge over practical knowledge, citing external sources such as INEE and World Vision. Despite references to participative activities such as group work, role-play and discussions, they fail to provide adequate instruction on employing alternative methodologies to conduct such student-centred lessons.

Some documents were replete with definitions about ‘peace’ and ‘conflict resolution’ as well as their aims and purpose in education with an additional focus on the skills needed to realise this.
For instance, one handout refers to skills for managing stress and lists the following as solutions: ‘time management; positive thinking; and relaxation techniques’. However, there are no guidelines on precisely what relaxation techniques to use or how to incorporate them into daily life and neither does the document allude to specific activities and actions that students can employ to realistically manage time. Similarly, another resource offers steps for discussing conflict resolution with students, however these are limited to defining conflict, its elements, and what the subsequent actions should entail. There are limited strategies on conducting negotiations and the practical skills needed to resolve conflict. For example, the teacher is instructed to prompt students to evaluate the future consequence of their actions and determine alternative solutions to problems, however there are no specific recommendations for facilitating such discussions.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, the documents encourage teachers to analyse their own biases and prejudices in order to prevent exclusion and accept diversity. However, there is little in the way of strategies or recommendations that would assist teachers in achieving this in a country that has been afflicted with ethnic tensions. Indeed, in one handout the teacher circled these suggestions and placed a question next to it (see Figure 6.1). When questioned about this, she provided the following justification:

Oh, I did that because they were talking about how we need to look at the way we feel about others, but I wasn’t sure how I should do that or how I should teach my students to do that. That’s why the question mark…I asked them during the session; they said through discussions…I don’t really remember…I need more training for this.

Furthermore, two documents list activities from the INEE technical kit that teachers can employ in their class and are based on various topics such as ‘better communication’, ‘handling emotions’, ‘co-operation’, ‘problem solving’ and so on. These involve the use of stories, discussions, drama and games, however these activities were not provided to the teachers. Instead, the handout instructs teachers to access this material from the INEE website.
Expectedly, the teachers who had received this handout were unable to retrieve these materials because they did not have access to the Internet in their community.

In a country that has historically subscribed to teacher-centred classrooms where teachers employ an authoritative style and the cultural demand of respect for elders has led to an aversion of students questioning their teachers (Sifuna 2000), one training session that advocates student-centred methodologies or participative activities is insufficient to break these tendencies. Many teachers who discussed the training sessions mentioned that they were briefly advised how to conduct these activities, however they were not offered handouts or resources that they could reference to refresh or re-evaluate their knowledge. As mentioned earlier, many teachers were quick to note that they certainly required further training to reinforce the knowledge they gained in the first session. Indeed, research on peace studies conclude that it is essential to thoroughly educate teachers about student-centred methodologies to avoid teaching peace through an authoritative teaching style with a focus on rote memorisation, which would be counterproductive to teachings of peace (Bar-Tal, 2002; Njoroge, 2007). Therefore, the focus of these documents on theoretical knowledge rather than on alternative teaching methodologies as well as the duration of these sessions raises doubts over its efficacy in schools.

Despite these shortcomings, merely one training session endowed teachers with the confidence, inspiration, and self-assurance they needed to begin dealing with the effects of the conflict, as is depicted in the following comments:

You know, before I didn’t know anything about this. Then the church said they are offering training so I told my head teacher that I want to go. It’s local so it doesn’t even cost anything. I feel much better now. Now I can talk about peace and conflict resolution. When my students fight now, I don’t send them to the counsellor. I sit and talk to them. That training really helped me.

Yes, it’s helped. I talk to the students about peace, before I did not even know how to start this conversation. Even my students now know they can ask me
Head teachers as well greatly benefitted from the support of churches and local NGOs. Leaders at these institutions acted as partners with whom the head teacher could discuss approaches to dealing with the effects of violence as well as gain pertinent information. A small number of head teachers even credited these institutions for some of their innovative strategies, such as the creation of 'peace clubs'.

The support of NGOs was also relevant in relation to dealing with incidents of rape and sexual abuse. As mentioned in the previous chapter, teachers largely overlooked this particular effect and those that did take steps to manage it were mostly supported by NGOs. Using the institutions’ contacts and resources, teachers were able to provide assistance to young girls who were afflicted with infections due to the abuse. Thus, their aid was more in relation to health-related issues than psychosocial concerns.

Evidently, the role of local churches and NGOs was critical in directing the nature of school responses to the varied effects of the violence. Both institutions were quick to offer training to teachers and served as an avenue for knowledge and innovative strategies, particularly in the case where schools lacked professionally trained counsellors. Additionally, their assistance provided teachers with the confidence they needed to discuss issues such as ‘peace’ and ‘conflict resolution’.

Access to resources

As mentioned in Chapter III, ‘Exploring the context of Kenya’, Kenya’s education system is plagued by inadequate resources and the post-election violence served to further strain schools’ resources. This variable however did not play an extremely imperative role in shaping teachers’
responses, which is possibly due to the fact that teachers are accustomed to working around this inconvenience. After schools opened, teachers were primarily focused on gathering resources to manage the influx of displaced students, which diverted their attention from other equally important issues. However their focus was primarily a result of the school culture; this will be discussed later in this chapter. The scarcity of resources played an imperative role in shaping teachers’ access to training as well as the steps they took to implement recommendations and ideas presented at these workshops.

While local NGOs and churches provided training, transport costs for sending teachers to the workshops was the responsibility of each school. Workshops organised by local NGOs often required teachers to travel to Nairobi. For these reasons, head teachers often sent only one or two of their teachers to keep their costs down. Expectedly, this inability to send more teachers was disadvantageous given that there were teachers who were not able to gain relevant skills and knowledge. One head teacher made the following comments about the issue:

I wanted to send my teachers for training at the workshop in Nairobi, but our school doesn’t have the money. Every year it is the same thing. I always try to see what I can do or what expenses can I cut so that we have money for these things. I managed to gather enough for two teachers to go. You came here, how much is an akamiba [coach] ticket? It is a lot of money. Now, you see, again I’m saving for the next workshop.

As mentioned earlier, often these workshops suggested activities that teachers could use to educate their students about peace and conflict resolution, however teachers were unable to retrieve these resources given that they do not have access to the Internet. In some cases, teachers were provided one copy of a relevant story or poem. Unable to make copies and hand it out to all students, teachers deposited this sole copy in their school library so that students could take turns reading it. Thus the lack of resources prevented teachers from implementing participative activities in their classes, and a few admitted that they resorted to discussing these concepts with students through a traditional approach.
Political influence

In terms of managing the effects of the conflict, the role of political influence was more of a deterrent than an enabling factor. This is expected in Kenya given the role politicians have played in repeatedly employing ethnicity to mobilise groups into conflict. In particular, a small handful of teachers in Kericho mentioned the presence of politicians in the region due to the large tea estates. They concluded that the political atmosphere served as a restraint to managing certain effects. For instance, a head teacher who witnessed her colleagues taking part in the violence justified why she did not take any steps to report what she witnessed:

   The teachers had torches in their hands and were burning houses…You won’t believe where they are now. They are both head teachers now at different schools, they were promoted. Now you tell me, do you think I can report these people?

Evidently, she attributed this to the role of politicians in encouraging violence and rewarding those who took part in it. This in turn depicted the close ties politicians maintain with head teachers and the effect this may have on the culture of the school.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, certain head teachers and teachers were increasingly reluctant to take part in this research. Upon being requested for an interview, one teacher remarked, ‘si taki ku kufa’ or ‘I don’t want to die’. During the interviews, some teachers began to feel at ease and thus spoke freely about the violence and its effects. Others however remained restless and insisted that nothing untoward happened in their surroundings, thus offering conflicting accounts to those of their colleagues. Employing vignettes during the interviews in order to determine their response was effective in the case of most teachers, however a small number of teachers’ responses continued to be limited and strained. This held particularly true for vignettes that touched on the topic of ‘ethnicity’.
On the other hand, some counsellors rationalised that this lack of communication regarding the magnitude of the effects of the conflict was because their schools lacked a sense of unity and collaboration. While this may be merely the consequence of an absence of collegiality and leadership from the head teacher, teachers’ awareness of the link between politics and schools as a constraint in developing a healthy school culture cannot be ignored.

Upon discussing these findings with other head teachers who were keen on being interviewed as well as the head of a local NGO, the role of politics was highlighted as a key variable. Both parties attributed this to the political climate and the fear this causes in speaking about the conflict. Evidently the combination of politics and schools places teachers at a disadvantage when dealing with the effects of violence, more so in relation to holding teachers accountable for their actions during the violence.

**Subjective realities**

In managing the consequences of the post-election violence, teachers’ subjective realities, namely their motivation, attitudes, and purpose along with the school culture, played a significant role in shaping their responses to the diverse effects. More importantly, it is an acknowledged fact that teachers maintain a reflexive relationship with their community. In contexts where ethnic identities are a variable for mobilisation in conflicts, it is anticipated that tensions, fears, and diverse judgments arising from this must affect teachers to a certain degree. The following examination of the data gathered for this research confirms this tendency.

As discussed in chapter III, ‘Exploring the context of Kenya’, the historical development of ‘ethnicity’ in Kenya has led to tensions between ethnic and national loyalties. Similarly, teachers displayed a sense of strained allegiance between their ethnic group and their nationality. For some, their
foremost loyalty was towards their ethnic group and then towards the country, as is evident in the comment below:

I am proud of who I am, I am a Kikuyu first. We need to look out for what is good for us. There is nothing wrong in that.

We, Kalenjins, have been ignored by the government. They give us nothing. Yet, we fought for justice during the post-election violence and what have we got in return? Nothing.

On the other hand, there were teachers who displayed an exasperated attitude towards the concept of ‘ethnicity’ taking precedence over national unity and demanded a greater focus on citizenship. Yet, the fact that ethnicity was employed to mobilise groups socially coerced them into a stance against other groups. That is to say, some teachers despite being averse to conflict felt the need to justify their group’s actions when discussing the causes of the violence, while a few were forced to display their loyalty to their group, and finally, some teachers were viewed as the enemy group and thus distanced from other ethnic groups in the school. The following statements depict this trend:

Let me tell you madam, I don’t believe in this violence. We are all brothers and sisters; we are all Kenyans. But at that time, standing in the staffroom with these teachers arguing with me, telling me what my group did to them, I felt like the enemy. You see, in this school I am in the minority. The teachers didn’t eat with me or sit with me. This went on for sometime till the head teacher stepped in.

All this is wrong, this should not have happened. How can we fight each other? Aren’t we all one? I know my group was wrong, but I also know they were defending themselves. But, violence should not have happened. Look at us now.

For teachers such conflicting loyalties were not limited to their social life, but also manifested itself in the boundaries between their professional role and personal beliefs. As discussed in the previous chapter, primary analysis of the effects of the conflict highlighted the negative role teachers played in perpetuating violence and the presence of biased behaviours both within and beyond their schools’ boundaries. This is predominantly true in a context where one of their sources of identity is employed to mobilise groups into conflict. Analysis of the data also
presents a link between teachers’ perspectives of their ethnicity and nationality and their behaviour and responses in the context of the school. Teachers who maintained a sole focus on their nationality as Kenyans and a necessity for harmony displayed an eager disposition towards their role in managing the consequences of the violence and mending strained relations. This is not to say that they were not victims of the violence or were subjected to prejudiced behaviour. Indeed many admitted to being viewed as the enemy despite their lack of participation in perpetuating violence. Neither were they predisposed to discounting their ethnicity or the ethnic diversity of Kenya. Instead they deemed that while they may be a Kikuyu, Luo or Kalenjin, the fact that they were Kenyan was more significant. The following is the perspective of one such teacher:

In this country, there’s not enough focus on being Kenyan. Politicians are always dividing us…What we need is citizenship education. Our students need to focus on being a Kenyan citizen instead of being a Kikuyu or a Luo…This is our country, we are all one.

Therefore, these teachers were more receptive to taking on the role of peace educator and conflict resolution expert as they viewed these necessary for achieving unity and harmony in Kenyan society.

Conversely, teachers who continued to focus on ethnic boundaries and classification of groups as ‘perpetrator’ or ‘victim’ were unable to transcend this mentality in order to internalise their role in managing the effects of the conflict. They continued to experience life as a negative categorisation of ‘us’ versus ‘them’ labelling other groups as the ‘enemy’. Unable to overcome these boundaries, their responses were limited and the focus remained on carrying out their traditional duties as a teacher. They were likely to pass on responsibilities of certain effects to the counsellor or head teacher and were averse to talking about concepts such as ‘peace’ and ‘conflict resolution’.
Complementing this variable was the role of emotions, specifically teachers’ fear, anger, and grief regarding the events of the post-election violence. These emotions were expectedly prevalent among teachers as well as head teachers and often acted as a deterrent to managing the consequences of the violence. This was predominantly true in reference to ethnic tensions and hostile behaviour. For instance, teachers mentioned witnessing their colleagues taking part in the violence and displaying hostile behaviour towards their colleagues and students on school grounds, however most were unable to adequately manage this behaviour. The dominant reason for their inability to deal with this was fear of their personal security, as is evident below:

During those days there used to be so much tension and flaring tempers. I saw the violence happen with my eyes, people being killed and houses being burned. I couldn’t stop these teachers. What if they decide to kill me? I have a husband and three kids to take care of, I needed to look after myself.

Similarly, with regards to managing aggressive behaviour among students, fear among female teachers was the primary variable that prevented them from managing unruly students. These teachers chose to pass on the responsibility of dealing with this behaviour to the counsellor or head teacher, not simply to maintain school procedures, but also to maintain their own security. Moreover, in schools where young boys from the Mungiki studied the head teacher disallowed her female teachers from managing their aggressive behaviour personally as those that did attempt to interfere were confronted with personal threats.

Anger was another predominant emotion witnessed among teachers, particularly those that felt victimised. Often this anger was directed towards the government or other ethnic groups. Unable to overcome their negative feelings, such teachers were dismissive of responses that entailed peace and conflict resolution. One such teacher opined that individuals from his ethnic group need to become firmer in order to stand up for their rights. His view was that the government had consistently undermined his group, and thus, it was important to be more vocal for his group rights. Alternatively, another teacher believed that any aggressive behaviour was a
matter for the police not for the school counsellor. Further probing regarding his views produced the following justification:

You ask anyone here, who is to blame here and they will tell you it is one particular group. They are the ones that attacked us and they have always attacked us. If there is a student who acts the same way, why should the school deal with it? This is a police matter; they should throw him in jail and keep our school safe.

Apart from fear and anger, feelings of grief and angst regarding the events of the violence also prevented teachers from fully participating in the period of recovery. As discussed in the previous chapter, teachers too experienced the conflict closely and some of their experiences were traumatic. For these reasons, the emphasis was on moving beyond the conflict and burying events of the past. Responses that entailed focusing on the future and forgetting the past appeared to be a coping mechanism. However, in their need to focus on the future, such teachers were unable to recognise the effects of the conflict on their students. This meant that children affected by the violence were not necessarily provided with the support they needed to deal with their psychosocial trauma. Indeed, counsellors at some schools noted that their colleagues were so focused on creating a sense of normalcy that they were not cognisant of behavioural changes in their students, which made it difficult to identify which were in need of assistance.

It could be deduced that teachers’ fears, grief, anxiety, and anger regarding the post-election violence prevented them from adequately managing the effects of the conflict. Therefore, teachers’ emotions were relevant in shaping their perspectives towards their role in dealing with the effects of the violence. Given the emphasis on peace after the post-election violence, teachers were expected to adopt the role of peace advocate along with counsellor and conflict resolution expert. However, some teachers exhibited anxiety towards these roles and were weary of discussing concepts related to ethnic tensions. Expectedly, educating students about peace requires teachers to internalise these behaviours and philosophies as well as accept the need to
discuss this in Kenya given the incidence of conflict. For some, this subject was a social taboo and a source of extreme discomfort. The following is the rationale of one teacher regarding her role in peace building:

I don’t know, it’s just it was bad. Now if I go to class and I start talking about peace or conflict resolution, all these things will come out. I don’t want them to target me and see me as the bad person. If we focus on our work, it will be better.

It must also be noted that it was not always the case that such emotions acted as obstacles to managing the effects. For example, a few teachers who experienced the violence or were victims of prejudiced behaviour confronted their colleagues regarding their biased views and prejudiced behaviour. While some employed reason, others threatened the offending teachers that they would report their behaviour to the Teachers Service Commission (TSC). Upon being questioned where they gathered their strength from to deal with these issues, several teachers mentioned that they were shocked at the intensity of the conflict and maintained a resolute stand against ethnic tensions ‘tearing apart Kenya’.

Also imperative in this regard was the alignment of these new roles with their purpose as teachers. Many teachers viewed their role in school as confined to teaching a particular subject. Therefore, managing ethnic tensions, fears, aggressive behaviour or counselling students was not a part of their job definition, as is evident below:

See, I came here to teach Maths. If I start doing these other things then who will do my job? Let me do my job and the let the counsellor do theirs.

Additionally, a handful boldly admitted that they were unable to find jobs and thus decided that they would take up teaching as a profession. Therefore, teachers who viewed their professional mainly as a source of income had a very narrow definition of their job and their commitment to teachers was slight.
Alternatively, a few teachers did not view their roles as confined to a particular subject, but as pertinent to creating well-rounded individuals. This belief acted a source of encouragement for them in managing the effects of the conflict. The following is one argument presented by a teacher in Nakuru:

The politicians can use our youth for violence because our youth don’t have the necessary skills. They don’t know how to deal with conflict…if someone has a different opinion, they don’t know how to discuss it. Their answer is always violence…Our head teacher is always telling us this, that our students don’t know how to make correct decisions, how to get along with others, how to be a part of the community. What is the point of this education we are giving them? We are supposed to be creating good citizens of Kenya, but we are just giving society these children that don’t know right from wrong.

Teachers’ motivation to take on these new responsibilities was also imperative in shaping their responses. Many teachers were averse to becoming a counsellor or heading the peace club, which would expectedly expand their role in schools and increase their workload without any monetary incentive. Therefore, they simply lacked the desire to take on additional responsibilities, as is evident below:

Where do we have the time for this? I already have so many students. You know, we get paid nothing over here for this job and I work so hard. Now I have to counsel students as well? No, this is too much.

Alternatively, some teachers considered their job a ‘calling from God’. This acted as a source of motivation for them in the face of adversity and challenges, and they displayed an eager disposition towards attending workshops and assuming these new roles.

Lastly, the school culture also played a significant role in shaping teachers’ responses. Based on a review of literature in Chapter II, the school culture consists of five dimensions: collaborative collegial relationships; school leadership; participative decision-making; innovativeness; and a shared sense of purpose and vision. Using this description of school culture, analysis of the data suggests that teachers often responded in a manner that they believed would be appropriate within the culture of their school.
For instance, a school that valued a culture of discipline tended towards responses that were considerate of this prerequisite. That is, there was an emphasis on maintaining the school’s procedures of discipline when responding to the effects of the conflict. This is not to say that they disregarded other solutions, but that they favoured disciplinary action as the primary response. For example, the following is the approach taken by a school to manage a male student who displayed aggressive behaviour after the conflict ceased:

I had one boy in my class who had experienced terrible things during the conflict. I know this because he told me his parents were killed during the violence. But, he kept becoming angry in class towards other students. He’d start fighting with other kids. The first time I told him off. The second time, I sent him to the head teacher’s office. That’s our school rules, we send them to the office. She suspended him for two days…Counselling? No, I don’t think so.

Alternatively, some schools adapted their approach to include the component of counselling, which they determined was imperative in addressing the link between the events of the post-election violence and increased incidences of aggressive behaviour among male students. A head teacher described his school’s response to a similar situation:

Yes yes, we have students like that. Just last week, I had a boy in my office, his second time. The first time they go to the counsellor and the second time, they come to me. See I know with counselling these things take time, but we don’t want our students thinking that our head teacher will do nothing if we kick and scream. You see, it’s important to help the child but we also need to maintain discipline. The second time he came, we all sat down [the head teacher, counsellor, and the student] and we discussed what happened. I let her do the talking. Then, I told him to write an apology to the other student. Now, if he comes again, I’ll have to suspend him. I hope not, the counsellor said he’s doing better but you can’t always tell.

While favouring discipline was not negative in and of itself, a solitary focus on maintaining these procedures often diverted attention away from offering students counselling services, which could possibly provide them with the space to discuss and acknowledge their experiences.

A lack of collaboration and communication in the school culture also served as a source of discouragement for teachers trying to manage the effects of the conflict. In some schools,
teachers claimed to be unaware of any effects of the violence on their schools whereas their colleagues reported otherwise. In interviews conducted at one particular school, a teacher denied that the students had been affected by the conflict. Accompanied with smiles and laughter, he maintained that his schools was ‘ok’ and ‘safe’:

In this school, nothing happened. It was all ok…ya ya, everything was fine. There wasn’t much conflict this side.

In stark contrast, the appointed school counsellor detailed the challenges she faced after the cessation of the post-election violence and how the lack of support from teachers often discouraged her from creating school-wide solutions:

Yes yes, many effects. The students were fearful, they were always lost in their own thoughts. In fact, their grades fell too…I’m sure the head teachers will tell you this. It was quite difficult. I spoke to many students during school, just trying to explain to them that what happened and how it is all over and they’re now safe…My friend in another school said they are thinking of implementing a peace club, but how do I do this here? I have been working alone and no teacher helps me. I have so many students to deal with and there is no help.

Another example, which demonstrates the importance of school culture in shaping teachers’ responses, is their open attitude to attending teacher workshops and embracing the shift in discourses on learning. Although this was not witnessed as frequently, there were teachers who were comfortable with and receptive to the increased focus on counselling, peace, conflict resolution and Life Skills as well as the transformations in their traditional roles. It emerged that this was often a result of a culture that fosters progress and learning, as is evident below:

Our head teacher, he is always attending seminars and finding workshops for us. He always tells us, “you must keep educating yourselves to help the children”…I think, he’s right. These students are not the way we were when we were young. They have so many problems, drugs, violence, HIV/AIDS and so many things. Teaching them is different, you need to be more prepared.

The above comment sheds light on the imperative role head teachers play in cultivating and maintaining a certain school culture. Indeed, analysis of the data highlighted a degree of semblance between teachers’ responses and their head teacher’s philosophies and perspectives of
the school’s role in dealing with the consequences of violence. Consider the following narrations from a head teacher and fellow teacher at the same school:

I’ve just come from a meeting with an NGO, we’re talking about how to implement a peace club in our school…I believe it is very important for our school to look into these issues of peace and conflict resolution. I sent my teachers for training as well.

Our head teacher, he always talks about the importance of peace during our staff meetings. Even when there were tensions, he called a meeting and told us how we need to work together and that we’re all brothers and sisters. He does a lot for us. He organises our training and makes sure we have the transport to get there.

In another school, a head teacher and one of his teachers made the following comments regarding the effects of the conflict and their responses:

Yes, there were some effects. We had students who came here so of course we didn’t have enough resources, some of them you know experienced trauma. The counsellor is handling that. Otherwise everything is fine. We’re just working as normal…I told the teachers that we have to figure out a way to gather resources, so we managed.

There weren’t many effects…Yes, we didn’t have enough resources. The head teacher told us about that. I asked my neighbours for some grains because we didn’t have enough food for everyone…I don’t have any students who experienced trauma or anything of that sort…maybe there are some students, I don’t know, I haven’t asked the counsellor.

Evidently, the significance of school leadership in shaping teachers’ responses cannot be denied. Directives offered by head teachers often served as a blueprint for teachers managing the effects of the violence. This also explains why teachers predominantly focused on resource acquisition or issues related to students’ exam records. As mentioned earlier, in Kenya the general focus of all head teachers is on acquiring the necessary resources to maintain regular functioning of schools as well as support teachers in examination preparations (Lydiah and Nasongo 2009:84). The education system continues to be plagued by a lack of basic supplies for schools due to the role the community must play in providing these resources (Guantai, et al., 2001; MOES&T, 2004). For these reasons, interviews with teachers portrayed head teachers as generally focused
on the acquisition of resources. In several instances, they noted that their head teachers passed on the responsibility of addressing the psychosocial effects of the conflict on to the school counsellor. By divorcing themselves from managing these effects, particularly in front of their teachers, head teachers inadvertently relinquished the responsibility teachers have towards their role in managing these effects as well, as is apparent in the following comments of teachers:

You should ask our counsellor, she knows how she’s dealing with this…the head teacher said this is her job. I should focus on my work. That is why I am here.

At the staff meeting, our head teacher told us what all our school is facing because of the violence. He said the counsellor will handle the students and he’ll try to find resources for the displaced students we have now…well, he said that was her job and we must prepare our students for the upcoming exams.

Furthermore, the role of school leadership was also pertinent in ensuring teachers were receiving appropriate external support to manage the effects of the post-election violence. As mentioned earlier, local churches and NGOs played a significant role in aiding schools and teachers through workshops and conceptions of innovative strategies. Their level of involvement in the school was determined by the head teacher’s capacity to build and sustain these links. Head teachers that exhibited a strong connection with local NGOs received a greater degree of support, both in terms of training as well as knowledge acquisition, which aided in shaping teachers’ responses. Moreover, these head teachers were more cognisant of the role schools and teachers can play in highlighting this focus among communities. Given that they were constantly in touch with local NGOs, they also had access to information regarding the latest exercises and initiatives that may prove to be advantageous in bringing about a focus on peace and conflict resolution. In doing so, they were able to offer similar advice to their teachers regarding their responses to the effects of the conflict. This is evident in the following the responses of teachers from these schools:

Our head teacher, he has a friend at one of the NGOs, he always goes there to find out what is new in the field and then he brings it to me. We discuss it and look over it and see if there is anything we can use from it. Sometimes we do and sometimes we don’t. If we do, then we call a staff meeting and propose it to the teachers to see what their thoughts are and we take it from there.
Our head teacher is a very nice man. He really cares about us and the students. When this conflict happened, he made sure that we went to the NGO and got our training. Last month, three of us went for it. This month he’s trying to send another three. He asks his friends and organises transport and accommodation for us.

On the other hand, head teachers who were detached from the network of NGOs and local churches did not display the same level of awareness regarding the varied strategies that they could employ to create more holistic and persistent solutions. This also narrowed their teachers’ access to support and knowledge that could possibly assist them in productively managing the effects of conflict.

This discussion clarifies the imperative role teachers’ subjective realities played in shaping their responses. For some teachers, their loyalty towards their ethnic group over their nationality was an obstacle that prevented them from discussing concepts such as ‘peace’ and ‘conflict resolution’. Their fears, grief, and anger in relation to the post-conflict context also acted as a deterrent in managing the psychosocial effects of the conflict, with many choosing instead to move on from the past. Analysis of the data further highlighted the need for their new roles to align with their purpose as teachers and motivation to expand their role in the school.

Also imperative in this regard was the school culture. Often, the measures teachers employed to manage the effects of the violence were in harmony with their school culture. The role of school leadership was exceptionally prominent in this regard. Analysis of the data indicated a certain degree of semblance between teachers’ and head teachers’ responses. This was both a positive and negative attribute given that in some cases the perspectives of school leaders encouraged their teachers to take an active role in managing the effects of the violence, whereas in others it hindered teachers from doing so effectively.
Discussion: The interplay of variables in teachers’ classrooms realities

The above examination presented factors in teachers’ classrooms realities that shaped their responses to the effects of the conflict as well as clarified some of the observations identified in the previous chapter. Yet, teachers’ responses were not shaped by any one individual variable. Often, they were shaped by the interplay of several variables that cumulatively enabled or deterred teachers from effectively managing the effects of the conflict.

For example, teachers’ lack of emphasis on including the community in their responses was a result of their fears and attitudes towards the community as well as their head teachers’ view of the community’s role in relation to the school. For the most part, teachers and head teachers reached out to the community for resource acquisition, which was evidently the traditional role of the community. Interviews with head teachers revealed that they perceived the school and community as separate entities, and therefore, they made no practical efforts to incorporate the community in decision-making processes. While all schools hold parent teacher conferences, ultimately the role of the community is marginal.

In addition to this, a fair number of teachers appeared uneasy about the prospect of allowing community members to be an integral part of school efforts to combat ethnic tensions and prejudices. Their negative perceptions of the community were a driving force behind their desire to maintain this distance. The following are two teachers’ views of the community:

I’ve been working in this school for over ten years. When the violence happened, there were some young boys who I’ve seen grow up taking part in the violence. Ladies that I meet on the street were suddenly angry with me for what my community did. But, I didn’t do anything. It was some people from my group who did it, not me. How can I tell these people come to my school let’s talk about peace?

You hear sometimes the way these students talk. Especially after the violence, the things they were saying. Of course they get these things from their home. We don’t want these parents coming to our school and saying these things. We have teachers from different ethnic groups here.
Therefore, in several schools, teachers’ responses predominantly excluded the community. Alternatively, teachers who did make an effort to incorporate the community were often encouraged to do so with the support of their head teachers and local NGOs.

Similarly, the issue of rape and sexual abuse received very sparse attention with both teachers and head teachers unaware of what steps they should take to manage this sensitive issue. This could be a result of a lack of frameworks in Kenya to tackle this issue. Sexual abuse of young girls in schools is a significant problem in the education system. A report commissioned by Kenya’s Teachers Service Commission along with the Centre for Rights Education and Awareness, criticises the inaction of the state against teachers who molest girls and are simply transferred to different schools (Siringi 2009). Possibly due to the inert response of the state to this matter generally, teachers do not consider their role in managing this effect of the violence.

Yet, there were a couple of teachers who considered this an imperative concern. These teachers cited the support of their head teacher and local NGO in guiding them towards an appropriate response. During these interviews, one head teacher was also in the process of collaborating with a local NGO to determine how to disseminate information in the community regarding the aid victims of rape and sexual abuse can receive so that they may be persuaded to come forward for assistance. Therefore, while Kenya does lack frameworks in managing this issue state-wide, there is still scope for teachers to play a bigger role in aiding these students with the backing of their head teacher and local NGOs.

The matter of teachers’ well-being after the post-election violence received minimal attention due to several factors. The primary emphasis of local NGOs and churches was on students, and therefore, none of the workshops they organised catered to the welfare of teachers. School counsellors and head teachers did not place any significance on this issue either. Conversely,
those teachers that did seek help were able to do so because their school counsellors, who possessed an advanced degree in psychology and appreciated the importance of their health in maintaining their role as teachers in contexts of uncertainty and hostility. Moreover, their head teachers further encouraged them as well.

As is evident in these various examples, the interplay of numerous factors in teachers’ objective and subjective realities cumulatively encouraged or prevented them from dealing with the effects of the conflict. Yet, the most crucial factor that was repeatedly emphasised during data analysis was the school culture. Teachers’ perceptions and insights aided in creating a rough depiction of the culture at their school. An in-depth analysis of this variable determined that a healthy school culture motivated teachers to be receptive towards their changing role.

In the context of Kenya and the post-election violence, countless schools were struggling with inadequate resources as well as ill-equipped teachers and head teachers. However, where the culture of the school was built on attitudes and beliefs of collaboration, teamwork, and receptiveness to the needs of students, the school was able to strive against various obstacles to create solutions for the effects of the conflict. Their responses were not necessarily exemplary seeing as their professional training in this matter was minimal, but teachers displayed a determined attitude towards their role in managing the effects of the violence and creating positive strategies. Particularly pertinent in this regard was the role of the head teacher in articulating a shared vision, which unified and encouraged teachers to work towards a common goal.

A handful of teachers noted that their head teachers played a significant part in combatting ethnic tensions and restoring a sense of unity and collegiality in their schools. This lends credence to the notion that the school culture, and particularly the head teacher, could play a
bigger role in resisting the penetration of ethnic tensions by fostering a stronger sense of community.

Alternatively, if the culture of schools was devoid of collaboration and innovativeness with a singular focus on academics, teachers’ responses were often extremely limited and strained. They also continued to maintain traditional views of their role as teachers. Therefore, while diverse variables in teachers’ realities cumulatively shaped their responses, the school culture played a more prominent role in constructing teachers’ perceptions of their changing role in dealing with the effects of the violence. The subsequent chapter will further elaborate on the significance of school culture.

Based on the examination of variables and discussion above, it could be deduced that teachers were willing to manage the technical effects of the conflict such as a lack of resources, as these did not require a significant shift in their traditional role or any specific knowledge and expertise. On the other hand, teachers were not willing to taking on new roles to manage the psychosocial effects of the conflict due to their subjective realities.

For some teachers, their resistance to these roles was because they were averse to managing issues that caused them discomfort and preferred to brush these aside to move on from the events of the conflict. Others, however, were unable to transcend the mentality of categorising individuals as ‘perpetrator’ or ‘enemy’ versus ‘victim to assume their role in teaching about peace, unity and conflict resolution.

In the event that the school culture was built on values of innovativeness, collegiality and communication, and teachers received training from workshops, they were receptive to their new roles. Yet, without sufficient knowledge, training in relevant methodologies and resources, that is...
the appropriate objective realities, they were unable to adopt these effectively. For these reasons, some teachers accepted the introduction of concepts such as ‘peace’ and ‘conflict resolution’ in their schools, but were only able to make selective changes to their role.

Counsellors, who possessed an advanced degree in psychology, were expectedly more confident about accepting these roles. They interpreted and compiled the information provided to them through workshops to design creative solutions for managing the effects of the violence while imparting values of peace. For example, organising a local NGO to teach students about peace and then allowing them to present their work to the community or designing a ‘peace club’. They also mediated their roles within the current context of their school. For instance, most head teachers emphasise the importance of discipline in their schools, therefore one counsellor implemented school rules composed by the students to reinforce discipline. She also conceived it as a class-based competition, which aided in uniting students together towards a common goal. These responses however were extremely rare since most teachers were ill-equipped to manage the altered context of schooling and their transformed roles.

**Summary**

Few accounts exist in the field of post-conflict reconstruction that portray how teachers realistically manage the effects of ethnic conflict on their classrooms realities in a climate of strained communal relations, uncertainty and inadequate resources. While the preceding chapter depicted the realities teachers face and their responses to these, this chapter discovered the reasoning behind these decisions. In doing so, it highlighted teachers’ perceptions towards their changing roles.
This chapter examined several variables in teachers’ objective and subjective realities that shaped their response. A subsequent interpretation of teachers’ responses to the effects of the post-election violence emphasised that these are shaped by the interplay of various factors.

It further concludes that while variables in their school context cumulatively shaped their responses, the school culture played a predominant role in developing teachers’ views regarding the changes in their role. A healthy school culture that was built on collaboration, innovativeness, and a shared vision, which united school members towards a common goal, motivated teachers to adapt their roles to the needs of their students.

Given the analysis presented here, questions arise regarding the way forward for teachers. After the 2007 post-election violence, the Ministry of Education, local NGOs, and churches emphasised a need for the inclusion of ‘peace’ and ‘conflict resolution’ in the curriculum, which created a shift in discourses on learning in schools. This shift, which was accompanied by workshops on peace, counselling, and conflict resolution as well as introduction of Life Skills education, has expectedly altered the traditional role of teachers. With the continued presence of ethnic tensions and fears, which resurface during periods of political activity, there is a need to examine teachers’ perceptions of the policies that are in place that aid them in preserving these roles as well as their views of the support their schools provide in this regard. The subsequent chapter addresses this matter.
Chapter VII

LOOKING TO THE FUTURE: BACK TO NORMAL OR CHANGING ROLES?

In Kenya many underlying and unresolved issues such as ethnic tensions, fears, and hostilities remain in the school context, which continue to resurface during periods of political activity such as the constitutional referendum elections in 2010. Moreover, two years after the conflict a number of counsellors noticed that new students entering Form 1 in secondary school displayed behavioural tendencies that suggested they are still suffering from the psychosocial effects of the violence.

Furthermore, pockets of violence have begun to erupt in the run up to the 2013 presidential elections. The main participants in these elections are Raila Odinga, Uhuru Kenyatta, Musalia Mudavadi, William Ruto and Kalonzo Musyoka. The International Criminal Court has indicted both Kenyatta and Ruto for their participation in the 2007 post-election violence. Given their past association with violence, widespread fears exist that ethnic conflict will once again be a feature in the upcoming elections (Throup, 2012; Sheekh and Mosley 2012). Therefore, there is an urgent need for teachers to assume and retain their role as counsellors, Life Skills educator, and conflict resolution expert to continue dealing with the residual effects of the 2007 post-election violence.

In order to achieve this, there is a need for applicable long-term policies to address the challenges schools face as well as support teachers in their endeavour. Supplementing this is the need for a suitable school culture that will be open to new innovations and provide teachers with the structure and direction they need to execute their roles. This chapter analyses teachers’
perspectives of the support they continue to receive from the state (policy) and school (school culture) to deal with the residual effects of the post-election violence.

**Support from state (policy)**

Interviews with teachers yielded very little material regarding support from the state. As discussed in the previous chapter, most teachers and head teachers cited churches and local NGOs when discussing the external support they received to manage the effects of the post-election violence. The slight assistance that teachers mentioned was in the form of verbal guidance from the District Education Offices (DEOs).

Initial advice from these offices entailed a mandate that required schools to absorb displaced students as well as provide shelter to those escaping the violence, regardless of whether they could pay school fees or not. As one head teacher noted, the aim was ‘to get students off the road and away from the violence’. Most, if not all, teachers were supportive of this mandate reasoning that it is necessary to have procedures in place, which protect students from the violence. More specifically, they believed this would prevent young male students from being recruited by youth gangs during such periods of instability. However, they argued for these mandates to be divulged beforehand so that students know they can seek shelter at any accessible school. The following is one teacher’s comments about the necessity of this:

> This time we weren’t prepared that it would be bad. The students had no where to go and now see, I know three students in this school that took part in the violence…I don’t know if they are still with those gangs…Next time, we should let our students know that if there is trouble, they should stay away from gangs and come to the school. Here, we are a boarding school so they will be allowed in.

Another teacher put forth the argument that these procedures aid teachers as well since they do not have to spend additional time and resources on rehabilitating students who took part in the violence. The following is his opinion:
Look madam, if these students come to our schools then they are safe. Out there, they are not. They get caught up in the violence and then our counsellor is spending months helping them. Even I went for training because how many students will she see. If the schools are used then only a few students will be recruited. We can then focus on those students who were not able to make it. So you see, this is good for us as well.

Several months after the violence subsided head teachers were forced to turn away students who could not pay the school fees. For schools that habitually struggle with strained resources, the burden of additional students in the absence of supplementary funds was a major challenge.

While the state released a mandate on absorbing students that was a necessity at the time, teachers contended that they must put into place strategies to assist schools in dealing with additional students. A few added that this would help them focus on other effects of the violence, such as trauma and fear, rather than ‘running around looking for resources’. The following is a teacher’s opinion of the role the state could play in assisting students:

> We needed such basic things, you know, like books, pencils, food, clothes; the government couldn’t send us anything? Not even grains? What is our DEO for? He couldn’t arrange anything for us? I think we should take in students but they must give us something to help.

The second form of state support teachers referenced was in relation to teacher transfers. In order to ensure their safety, displaced teachers as well as those who felt threatened or unsafe in a particular region were provided with swift transfers to safer areas. This response however was much debated among teachers. While some teachers felt that this was the correct step to take given the context of violence and ethnic tensions, others were strictly opposed to it arguing that it was creating a practice that would further segregate their country, as is evident below:

> They should not allow such teacher transfers. It will only further divide our country; the Kikuyu in one regions and Kalenjins in one region. No, this is not the right path for our country. This will only lead to further trouble.

If teachers are going to teach in areas where there are students from only their ethnic group, how will our children learn about the diversity in our country? When these students move to get jobs, how will they know what to expect and how to talk to other people?
While the state offered its support to teachers who fled from the violence or sought permanent relocations, it did not assist teachers who were temporary displaced and chose to return to their homes. Teachers, who decided to move back after the violence subsided, exercised caution in this regard. One teacher who returned to her school described the process below:

You can’t just go back once you’ve fled. I had a job there and that’s the job that the government gave me. They posted me in that school. When the violence happened, my group was targeted and I fled to the neighbouring region. When things calmed down and schools opened, I had to seek permission to return. You can’t just go back. You first ask the head and if they say yes, then only I can go back.

While not all teachers had to go through this process, many admitted that they had to first seek permission from their school or community elders before returning to their teaching position.

Given that a governmental body secured their posting, such procedures served to alienate teachers from the state as an institution of authority and support and thus enhanced their resentment of government structures. A teacher’s dismay at the process is apparent below:

…We shouldn’t have to do it at all. That was my job. I’ve been working there for five years…I felt like I had to ask someone to go back home in my own country…So again next time, I’ll have to ask someone? Why give us this post? Let us choose then.

As a response to the effects of the post-election violence, the Ministry of Education publically acknowledged the need for peace education and pledged to take up this issue urgently (Mwajefa 2009). It must be noted that concepts such as ‘tolerance, ‘conflict resolution’, and ‘integration’ are a part of the secondary curriculum under various subjects. For instance, religious education subjects such as Christian Religious Education, Islamic Religious Education and Hindu Religious Education all offer lessons on moral values such as unity, tolerance and respect. ‘Conflict resolution’ and ‘national unity’ are addressed under the subject of History. Therefore, when public calls for peace education were made, some teachers and head teachers turned to these books as a source of guidance.
Taught in Form 1, the lesson on national integration relies heavily on theoretical knowledge. Students are taught the definition of the concept and its importance as well as factors that promote national unity. The chapter contains a short paragraph on tribalism, which points out the dangers of favouring tribal loyalty over national loyalty. Similarly, the section on conflict resolution relies heavily on definitions and is presented in the context of national and regional conflicts rather than personal conflicts. Thus, the steps taken to resolve conflict are not relatable or practical at the individual level. Similarly, other subjects that discuss moral values emphasise theoretical knowledge over practical skills.

When responding to the violence, as the focus shifted to conflict resolution and peace, it became evident why teachers were ill prepared to deal with these subjects. Many rued that despite the growing emphasis on peace and conflict resolution, they simply had no concrete support to provide such practical knowledge and skills to their students. As a result, several teachers were keen to see peace education implemented in the curriculum as a separate subject. However, at the time of these interviews in mid-2010, no practical steps were taken in this regard. While a few teachers and head teachers continued to display optimism and hope that the government will seriously consider the inclusion of peace in the curriculum, several others remained sceptical of the authenticity of the government’s directives:

I think we should have peace education, but the government will not follow up on this. They are so slow with these things and don’t really care. They talk like this for sometime and then they forget about it till the next conflict.

These calls for peace education eventually faded away and instead, the state responded by implementing Life Skills education in 2009. The daily subject is designed for secondary students from Form 1 to Form 4 and covers a variety of subjects, such as building self-confidence, managing emotions, solving problems, coping with stress, non-violent conflict resolution and effective study skills. The objective of this curriculum is to build relevant skills that will aid students in
navigating the challenges of adolescent life as well as preparing them for the independence they will encounter after school.

Each student is required to have an Essential Life Skills workbook, which covers roughly nine to ten lessons and each lesson contains at least three to four activities requiring minimal resources such as newspapers or magazines to find relevant articles. These activities consist of group discussions, self-reflection, and debates with stories used as focal points for discussion. Few employ the use of role-play as well. Lessons often begin with activities that require students to engage in self-reflection. This may be in relation to their traits and skills, situations in which they faced a difficulty or incidents that have caused them to feel negatively about themselves or others. This is followed by discussions that encourage students to recognise how they respond to certain situations and define who they are as a person. Finally, through the use of more activities, students reflect over skills and values that are beneficial for them as well as how they could use these in their daily lives. The end of each lesson is accompanied by an exercise to review the concepts and skills learned. The syllabus also urges students to journal their thoughts and fears to share with their teachers as well as seek out assistance from the counsellor to discuss issues they are struggling with or decisions over their future career.

One of the advantages of this programme is that aside from student workbooks and teacher guides, it requires minimal resources for implementation. There is no requirement for technology or special resources such as audio/visuals, note cards or flash cards. The student workbooks cost around 260Kshs, which may be problematic for students from low-income areas. At the time of these interviews, most schools from the data sample had not begun implementation. Thus, the implication of the expense of these books on the initiative could not be assessed.
In terms of teacher training, the content of the syllabus is value-laden with a focus on principles such as teamwork, community service, cooperation, positive relationships, and so on. In particular, the emphasis on conflict resolution and tolerance expectedly necessitates a shift in teachers’ beliefs and perceptions. Therefore, there is a need to train teachers and provide them with the space to challenge their own beliefs and internalise these new ideals.

While a few exercises are still quite traditional in their approach, most lessons are built on learner-centred activities, which require students to be active rather than passive in the learning process as well as participate in decision-making. The role of the teacher then is to guide and manoeuvre discussions as well sufficiently draw on and relate the lessons to students’ experiences. Evidently, this necessitates a deviation from traditional authoritative teaching styles that teachers have customarily employed in their classrooms and training in new methodologies. Without this, teacher may continue to employ authoritative methodologies with an emphasis on rote memorisation of the definitions of concepts and skills. This may in turn render the lessons ineffective and prevent students from internalising these new skills. Moreover, the final exercises, which often require students to list answers, mainly focus on recall skills and thus serve to reinforce traditional approaches. The following are some examples of questions asked in the final exercises from the Form 4 workbook (Wachira, et al. 2009):

- Explain four characteristics of a healthy friendship.
- Explain three living values that enhance your ability to cope with emotions.
- Identify and explain three living values that enhance assertiveness.

In particular, the Form 4 curriculum also contains a lesson on non-violent conflict resolution, which entails examples of prejudices, stereotypes, and ethnic tensions as well as a brief mention of the issue of land division. It encourages students to think about how they would react if they were treated unfairly because of their ethnicity or were confronted with biased generalisations about their ethnic group. These lessons compel teachers to create a safe, tolerant, and open climate in which students can discuss their experiences.
Teachers had varied perspectives of the Life Skills syllabus as a suitable tool that could aid them in dealing with the effects of the conflict. Many recalled that their primary response was uncertainty and puzzlement. Seeing as the Ministry of Education, local NGOs, and churches made frequent references to ‘peace education’ after the violence ended, introduction of Life Skills education elicited confusion among teachers who were anticipating a programme on peace. Many teachers recalled being entirely unaware of the objectives and purpose of Life Skills as well as how this related to the effects of the conflict. At the time of these interviews, a small number of teachers had still not heard of this initiative. After the post-election violence local NGOs and churches provided training that focused more towards counselling, peace and conflict resolution. Thus, introduction of Life Skills caught many teachers unaware, as is evident below:

When our head teacher said he’s received these books and we’ll be implementing this, we were all confused. We even asked him, “what about peace?”

A significant number of teachers continue to be sceptical of the efficacy of this initiative. As discussed in Chapter V, implementation of Life Skills was particularly arduous given the lack of resources (teachers’ guidebooks) and relevant training. In some schools, the Life Skills guidebooks were gathering dust in the head teacher’s office, as their teachers were not provided with the relevant training. As a result, teachers from these schools were particularly weary of the success of this initiative, as is evident in the following quotes:

Well, we heard about it four months back and I think we got the books just a few weeks ago. So, it’s too early to say anything. I don’t think this will really be what we need. We don’t know anything about it and we don’t know how to teach it.

What are we supposed to be doing with these Life Skills books? Do you know?…Our counsellor has been holding on to these books, nothing yet from the DEO office, so what should I think? This is just a waste of time. Instead they should be focusing on what to do about the fact that our children were out with pangas killing people.

Absence of support from the state in implementing Life Skills served as an impetus in shaping negative perceptions of the programme. Yet, these were often in relation to logistical reasons
regarding the availability of resources and training as well as the result of not receiving any clear directives from the state. In terms of its content, those teachers who were able to glance at the syllabus viewed it favourably and regarded it as an overdue reform given the escalating ethnic tensions in Kenya, which is evident in the comment below:

We have needed this for a long time. People are paying attention now because of the post-election violence, but the tensions and the anger has been going on for so long. We all knew the violence would happen. Why do we have to wait for something like this to happen to put peace education in our schools? Not just peace, we also need civics education. Teach people what their rights are as citizens.

Schools that were able to implement it as a daily class or use the content to form their school’s peace club also heaped praise on the programme, as is illustrated below:

Two of us went for the training and it was our job to train the other teachers in this school and implement Life Skills as a subject. It starts from Form 1, but we haven’t implemented it in that form yet. So far, we have it in Form 3 and 4…It’s really very good. We thanked the Ministry of Education for giving us what we needed.

Our counsellor went for the training, then came back, and taught us how to teach Life Skills. It is one lesson per week and we talk about self-awareness, empathy, conflict resolution, peace and other such things. It is the best programme…The children look at morals differently. Even if I am two minutes late for class, the students get restless. They tell me, “Madam hurry, we want Life Skills”.

Therefore, while teachers were predominantly in favour of the Life Skills syllabus in relation to its suitability to the current context, they were critical of the time the state was employing to implement this in schools as well as the lack of training and resources. Since many teachers attached a great deal of importance and value to the necessity of these initiatives owing to the magnitude of the 2007 post-election violence and escalating ethnic tensions, sluggish responses from the state made teachers feel that their perspectives were being largely overlooked. This served to heighten their disapproval of the state. The following are one head teacher’s complaints about the state:

Let me tell you madam, I heard about the Life Skills some six months ago. Then about two months back, I receive these [like skills] books. Now nothing. I
haven’t heard anything from them. My counsellor told me that at the [church-provided] training she went to, a counsellor from another school just 30 minutes away from us had received training but no books. I don’t understand what is going on.

On being questioned about policies, most teachers considered the question irrelevant. The consensus among most teachers was that the state’s role was characteristically insignificant. The following comment by a teacher highlights the predominant view of state support:

What support? Let me tell you madam, they did nothing when the conflict happened…Yes, they said to take in students and they transferred teachers, but that’s it. We don’t get any training or support from them. Maybe my head teacher will tell you something I don’t know…this is just the way it is over here.

Heightening their bitterness and anger was the matter of inequitable distribution of resources, an issue that plagues Kenya’s education system. This holds particularly true in schools where a majority of teachers and students are from one ethnic group. They inadvertently perceived the neglect of their region as a disregard of their ethnic group and any new innovation begun by the government as simply a farce to cover up their ‘true colours’. These feelings are evident in the comment below:

Look at what is happening, we have this quota system and now with these tensions teachers are being transferred. There are no proper policies in place. Look at this school, we barely have good classrooms. You saw the roads the outside…Did you see the schools in town? What is the government doing for us? The government has never cared for us.

Another contentious issue depicted in the quote above is the quota policy. A number of teachers were fiercely critical about this policy, which they ascertained is in direct conflict to their role in teaching about unity, diversity and integration. As mentioned in Chapter III, ‘Exploring the context of Kenya’, the quota policy ensures that schools accept 85% of local candidates. It has come under much criticism owing to increased ethnocentric conflicts. While proponents maintain that this policy guarantees that local families benefit from their local schools, those who consider the policy obsolete argue that it aids in breeding tribalism in a country where ethnicity has become a divisive concept. That is, students who are born, bred, and educated in local schools are unlikely
to understand the multi-ethnic diversity that Kenya has to offer whereas greater freedom in movement would aid in combatting stereotypes about other communities (Ndumanya 2011).

The following are teachers’ views of this policy:

This quota policy is tearing us apart. We have so much to offer in Kenya, but our children know nothing about the people of Kenya. How will they be good citizens if they haven’t even seen Kenya? They won’t even be Kenyans.

Madam, I am actually born in Malindi, I went to secondary school in Nyeri and look, I’m now in Kericho. This all happened before the quota policy. I’ve seen and met people from all ethnic groups, I understand them, and I know their lifestyle. Will our kids get to see this? I feel so fortunate that I don’t believe in stereotypes, but my students, they don’t know the truth about other groups.

In continuing to deal with the effects of the violence, most teachers conceded that there are no practical policies in place that support teachers apart from the Life Skills syllabus. While teachers favour the content of this new subject, lack of direction from the state has given rise to negative perceptions of its success. Current policies in place, such as the quota policy and educational policies regarding the distribution of resources, have been severely criticised by teachers. For the most part, there is widespread discontent of government institutions in terms of the guidance and support they provide teachers. Moreover, trust in state-run institutions and policies is markedly low among teachers due to the role of politicians in provoking ethnic conflict.

Support from school (school culture)

The previous chapter concluded that the school culture is imperative in shaping teachers’ positive opinions of their role in dealing with the effects of the violence. This section considers teachers’ perspectives of the support they continue to receive from the school in assuming and retaining these roles.

In reference to prevailing ethnic tensions, fears and hostilities in Kenya, teachers were weary of their role in continuing to deal with these issues. This was primarily due to the fact that
underlying tensions and fears continue to exist in the school environment. A number of teachers agreed that despite the time that has lapsed after the violence, these tensions, fears and hostilities continue to resurface during periods of political activity. Indeed, in the run up to the constitutional referendum elections anxiety and tensions began to reappear in schools. Scheduled two and a half years after the 2007 post-election violence, these elections were devoid of ethnic undertones, yet they reignited fears and anxieties in some communities. A handful of teachers even moved back to safer regions during the elections and head teachers admitted to sanctioning their leave. The following is the rationale of one such head teacher:

We knew the [2007 post-election] violence was going to happen, but it was worse than we thought. With these elections, I knew it would be fine…but there is always that doubt that maybe, you never know with these politicians what they will do. How could I stop them? I told them they have nothing to fear in this school, but if they did not feel safe, then I cannot stop them.

Thus, teachers reported feeling hesitant to take on these roles, particularly so because they work in a climate where the teachers themselves are fearful of each other. These thoughts are evident in the following comments made by a teacher:

With these effects, even we teachers don’t know what to do. How can we adults tell our students about getting along, harmony, and unity if we ourselves are walking around trying to avoid certain teachers? Even now with these [constitutional referendum] elections, you should hear some of the teachers in the staff room. We’re so full of anger and hate. We need to first fix ourselves.

With regards to these continuing effects, several teachers maintained that there is no concrete support from the school. Some were critical of the lack of guidance provided by the head teacher in managing these issues, particularly in reference to tensions and hostilities between teachers. As mentioned in Chapter V, head teachers often addressed these effects at one or two staff meetings and only a handful brought in an external counsellor in order to remediate the situation. Given the nature of the support provided by the school after the violence ended, teachers were not optimistic about receiving any additional or different kind of assistance. Many agreed that these issues are often brushed aside and left in the hands of time to solve.
Yet, teachers from three schools cited the role of their head teacher in restoring fragmented relations between teachers. In these schools, the teachers noted that their head teachers were vocal, supportive and determined in combatting the permeation of ethnic tensions, fears, and hostilities in their school environment owing to the 2007 post-election violence. They further added that despite the rising tensions and fears in the community, their school served to restore calm for them personally. For example, after the post-election violence a few teachers mentioned returning to their schools angry, fearful and tense, however their feelings steadily faded and they credited this towards the head teacher, as depicted below:

Listen, after seeing those things out there, I was fearful. I was fearful of my own neighbours. When I returned to school and I was around my colleagues [from the opposing ethnic groups], I was scared. But, after some time it became ok. My head teacher made us all feel safe.

Another teacher described how her head teacher rallied the teachers together to deal with these effects and the role he continues to play in motivating them to combat the negative consequences of the violence:

Our head teacher is really great with this. He spends his own money going to NGOs and getting information for us. As soon as the schools opened, we had a staff meeting and he said, “we have to fight this”. He told us what we had to do and he was so…energetic…it made us suddenly forget who here is Luo, who is Kalenjin, who is Kikuyu. We were all focused on helping our students together.

It became quickly evident that these teachers perceived their role in dealing these residual effects positively and were satisfied with the support they received from their school, head teachers and colleagues.

With regards to the issue of rape and sexual abuse originating from the 2007 post-election violence, teachers were not entirely cognisant of their role in dealing with this. As mentioned in the preceding chapter, very few teachers considered this consequence when managing the effects of the violence, which may be a result of the prevalence of sexual abuse in Kenya’s education system and the absence of appropriate frameworks for addressing the issue. Similarly, in
continuing to deal with this particular problem, teachers do not attach much thought to their role in this matter. In particular, male teachers were entirely disconnected from this issue. Female teachers on the other hand did show some concern but were predominantly unaware of what steps they should take and how they must go about identifying these issues. Those that were shocked at the statistics suggested that if their head teacher would provide them with some directives in this regard, they might possibly consider their role in dealing with this effect.

In reference to Life Skills education and their role in implementing this, teachers were not entirely positive about its success despite their favourable views of the syllabus. Much of their concern was in relation to the time it was taking the state to provide them with the necessary resources and training as well as the lack of direction, as discussed in the preceding section. Also significant in shaping their views was the importance, or lack thereof, head teachers would ascribe to this initiative. Teachers noted that very few head teachers displayed an enthusiastic disposition towards successfully implementing the syllabus, which was often due to the perspectives their head teacher had about the vision for their school.

Primarily head teachers ascertained that the purpose of their school is to provide a good education for their students. When questioned how this could be achieved, the common response was a definite focus on improving examination results. As a result, teachers remarked that their head teachers frequently encouraged them to focus on preparations for exams and improving test scores. Secondary to this focus was the desire to create well-rounded individuals or ‘good citizens’. Views of how this could be achieved varied slightly. While some head teachers believed this could be achieved through a greater focus on discipline, others were inclined to turn towards Like Skills education or a focus on peace and conflict resolution. Below are the varied opinions of head teachers on how schools can create good citizens:
Our children are turning to drugs and violence because we can’t discipline them. You westerners come here and say don’t hit the child, talk to them, explain to them, be gentle…all of this but look at our children now. We need to go back to doing what is right for our children.

Our education system is constantly focused on this exam and that exam, but a school is more than that. Our students are going out into the world with just these mark sheets, they don’t know how to deal with conflict. Not just the violence but everyday conflict with your neighbours or with some other person. They don’t have the skills to make the right decisions…This is where I think Life Skills will be good. We need to teach our students Life Skills. Our politicians are using the youth for violence because our youth don’t have these skills.

Thus, head teachers’ focus on implementing Life Skills was a result of how well the programme suited their vision for the school. Their views, in turn, shaped their teachers’ perspectives of the new innovation.

The nature of leadership and direction offered by head teachers also served to evoke feelings of uncertainty regarding implementation of Life Skills. A few teachers complained that their head teacher was not very clear about how they intended to implement the programme, what the timeline was in achieving this, and how it would fit in the current daily schedule. These lack of directives served to demotivate teachers, as is evident below:

We haven’t really been told anything. We already have so much to do, when will we have it? Who is going to teach it? How will it affect us? We know nothing. It doesn’t feel like we’ll have Life Skills in our schools.

There were also a number of instances in which the head teachers entrusted their school counsellor with the responsibility of implementing the Life Skills syllabus. Counsellors from these schools however noted that this was an exceptionally challenging task given that teachers were quite resistant to the changes.

Based on the analysis presented above, it could be deduced that teachers were not satisfied with the direction and assistance they received from their school. In reference to combatting ethnic tensions, fears and hostilities, a number of teachers argued that support from schools are lacking,
and the focus is often on brushing these issues aside in order to move on. They are also extremely hesitant to address problems that have affected them personally, yet they agreed that these must be tackled in the wider community. It was evident that teachers rely on their head teachers for support, encouragement, and validation for their role in continuing to deal with the effects of the violence. Therefore, the lack of direction and commitment from head teachers in reference to their school’s role in dealing with these difficulties shaped their teachers’ views and perspectives of their role in doing so. Indeed, teachers noted that even in the case that they view these roles favourable, realistically achieving this without the support of their head teacher was implausible.

**Discussion: Which role to assume and how?**

The effects of the post-election violence on Kenya’s education system are both multifaceted and long-term. Persistent issues such as fears, hostilities, and ethnic tensions continue to fester in the school environment. Two years after the conflict, several students still need counselling and female students who were raped or experience sexual abuse at the hands of their adopters have not been identified or provided with any support. Introduction of concepts such as ‘peace’ and ‘conflict resolution’ in the ‘climate of learning’ have further challenged the capacities of teachers.

Subsequently, in 2009 introduction of Life Skills education created a further shift in the discourses on learning. These unexpected changes in the school context transformed the traditional roles of teachers. Teachers were encouraged to attend workshops in counselling, peace, and conflict resolution with the aim being to advise and impart ideals and skills to students. In some schools, the matter of introducing Life Skills was being widely discussed in relation to the teacher’s role. Expectedly, teachers have been awarded various roles to deal with the effects of the conflict. However, they have received very little support and guidance from the state and schools in the way of achieving this.
Analysis of the data highlighted a certain degree of confusion among teachers regarding the precise nature of their role in continuing to deal with the effects of the conflict. In their attempt to compensate for the lack of support from the state, local NGOs and churches organised various workshops that centred on counselling, peace and conflict resolution. Yet, these were not in harmony with each other. In some instances, teachers attended workshops from two different institutions and noted that it did not significantly increase the breadth of their knowledge, whereas in other situations the workshops bestowed diverse responsibilities on them. Some were more inclined towards the concept of peace, while others focused primarily on conflict resolution. Introduction of the Life Skills syllabus served to create further confusion over the exact nature of the teacher’s role in managing the effects of the conflict.

In the absence of structured directives and support from the state regarding the specific area of priority, head teachers have been free to interpret the urgency and definition of these new roles in a manner that suits the vision for their school. For example, a few continue to remain focused on peace education, others are more concerned about training their teachers in counselling, a handful have shifted their focus to Life Skills education, some are attempting to manage all the programmes together, and finally, several head teachers remain disconnected from the issue altogether. While in a handful of schools this freedom has allowed head teachers to implement initiatives consistent with their school environment, most head teachers were not able to present a structured vision of their school’s role in managing the psychosocial effects. Evidently, there is a lack of consensus in secondary schools regarding the exact nature of the teacher’s new role in managing the effects of the violence.

Additionally, interviews with teachers and head teachers highlighted a lack of communication and collaboration regarding the strategy of the school in managing the effects of the violence. After schools reopened in January teachers were encouraged to attend workshops on various
topics, which assisted them in managing the challenges in schools. However, in continuing to
deal with the residual effects, they were uncertain of whether they will be encouraged to build on
this knowledge and embrace their new role. Many believed that their head teacher would revert
to placing a sole focus on preparations for exams, and thus they would receive little support
from the school in continuing to assume these roles. The challenge however was that teachers
were not always aware of what their head teachers’ views were regarding their new role or
whether their head teachers were currently altering their vision for the school given the
magnitude of the post-election violence. Neither were they confident about being included in the
decisions that would be made in relation to their role.

A suitable example of this lack of communication is evident in relation to the Life Skills syllabus.
Many teachers were under the assumption that their head teacher was not keen on this new
innovation, whereas a few head teachers confirmed that they were in the process of planning
how to implement it or were waiting to receive news regarding training. In most cases, the
school counsellors substantiated these claims. Therefore, in schools where the head teacher did
view inclusion of Life Skills as imperative, it was not unusual to come across instances in which
the teacher was not cognisant of their head teacher’s perspectives. This is evident in the
following comments provided by a head teacher and teacher from the same school:

    See these books, they teach all these skills like dealing with conflict, how to be a
good neighbour, how to say no to drugs…This is what we have needed in our
schools. I really like this. We’re still waiting for the training, but my counsellor
and I have been discussing how to implement it.

    We heard about Life Skills, but I don’t know how we’ll implement it and how
good this will be, whether it will work in our school. It depends on what the
head teacher will do…well, I think it may be helpful for these issues our children
are facing, basically its about skills isn’t it?…let’s see if he implements this.

Indeed, in a handful of schools where the head teachers were ardent proponents of Life Skills
education or peace education and were determined to implement these, they indicated that their
first step in this direction was to communicate this objective to their teachers in order to bring them ‘all on board’. This is not to say that these head teachers did not encounter teacher resistance, but that the act of including the teachers and discussing the issue with them aided in creating positive attitudes towards this new innovation. The following is a teacher’s opinion from such a school:

Our head teacher received the books but none of us have received training. At our staff meeting, she and our school counsellor discussed with us how they felt that this was necessary and what we thought about having a peace club instead. There were some teachers who were not so sure, but she tried to convince them and we all finally said, “yes, let’s do it”…I was very happy that we all could make this decision together.

This also explains why school counsellors entrusted with the responsibility of implementing Life Skills faced opposition from their teachers. A school counsellor noted that she was able to overcome this obstacle by requesting her head teacher to step in and assist her in the process. Therefore, it could be deduced that without a clear articulation of the nature of their role, guidance from their head teachers, and their inclusion in the decision-making process, teachers are unable to strategise how their new role conforms to the vision of their school. Thus, teachers remain resistant to retaining these new roles in the future.

Also imperative in this regard is the logistical support provided to teachers. Analysis of teachers’ perceptions of the Life Skills syllabus highlighted a growing consensus among teachers that the state was ‘too slow’ and disorganised in their approach to implementing this initiative. While they favoured the content of the Life Skills syllabus, they were critical of the time it has taken the government to provide them with the necessary resources and training. In the absence of this direction and support, teachers have formulated negative perceptions of the success of this initiative, which has deterred them from attributing much thought to their role. Indeed, not many teachers voluntarily brought up the topic of Life Skills when discussing state support.
In relation to their role in combatting ethnic tensions, fears and hostilities in the school environment, their resistance was a consequence of not only the school environment, but also the wider socio-political climate. In Kenya ethnicity continues to play a central role in politics. Politicians repeatedly raise ethnic consciousness of historical issues in order to mobilise groups for political and economic power. Even in the case that teachers were against the use of ethnicity as a divisive concept, few were comfortable assuming the role to combat issues that resonate so fervently with the wider socio-political climate. Moreover, there is no commitment from their schools in managing these issues, with most head teachers and teachers preferring to brush these issues aside. Only a handful of head teachers displayed a candid and resolute approach to eradicating these tensions from their school environment. Therefore, in contexts where underlying ethnic tensions exist and any political activity serves to heighten ethnic consciousness, teachers are apprehensive in conceptualising their role in combatting an issue that is persistent in Kenyan society. This raises questions over the efficacy of discussing concepts such as ‘tolerance’ and ‘conflict resolution’ within the Life Skills syllabus as well as outside of it in a school environment where undercurrents of tensions and hostilities continue to linger.

Analysis of the data also highlighted a growing consensus among teachers that they cannot successfully combat ethnic tensions and fears given their current capacities as teachers. They reason that these effects originate from the community and are a result of politicians using ethnicity ‘to create trouble’. Therefore, their role in dealing with these issues would not be effectual. Alternatively, they believe that local NGOs and churches must take on a larger role in this regard. They further added that there is a greater need for civic education in the community rather than in the school, which they concluded would yield more productive results. However, many teachers felt that taking on this role would be unsafe for them given the climate of ethnic tensions and distrust. Instead, they argued that these responsibilities must be filled by local NGOs. One head teacher offered her justification for this view:
See madam, this is all about politics. We need to teach our children that they can vote for whoever is going to do what is right for Kenya not for the person who is from their ethnic group. I think, we should have more civic education...No, I don’t think we can teach that. It is best to keep us away from politics. We’ll say you should vote for this sort of person or you should not do this, and then the community will attack us instead. Let the NGOs do this.

An additional theme that emerged during data analysis was repeated references to support from local NGOs and churches. Discussions of state support often veered towards the role these two institutions have played in assisting teachers. Many were keen to see churches and local NGOs take on a bigger role in supporting them in this regard, which was because they had a greater degree of confidence in their efficiency. While the state publicly declared a need for peace education, local NGOs and churches were the ones who stepped in to educate teachers about these concepts. These workshops provided teachers with the confidence and assurance they required to assume their role in managing the effects of the violence. Therefore, teachers consider churches and local NGOs more efficient than the government in responding swiftly to the demands of teachers.

Also relevant was teachers’ desire to move past the events of the conflict. While discussing the nature of support they would require to continue in these roles, many teachers exhibited hesitations regarding this matter and displayed an eagerness to move past the events of the conflict and put these challenges behind them. These views are evident in the following quotes:

Well…maybe…but I don’t think we need those now. It’s all over. I think we should focus now on just moving on.

Madam, that has all gone, in the past. We should now look to the future. Forget all that bad stuff.

Based on this discussion, it is evident that the subjective and objective realities within which teachers work are not conducive for maintaining transformed roles to manage the residual effects of the violence. Teachers do not have clear guidelines regarding the precise nature of their new role in managing the residual effects of the violence. Lack of direction from the state
means that head teachers often interpret the role of their teachers in varied ways. While this may be positive in some circumstances, most head teachers do not have the ability to clearly define their teachers’ role in dealing with the effects as well as provide concrete and structured support to them to achieve this. In the absence of these guidelines, teachers are unsure of how to conceive their new role in the future context of Kenya, whether they will be encouraged to focus more on imparting ideals of peace, teaching their students skills for conflict resolution, or whether the emphasis will be on their role as Life Skills educator. This has prevented them from placing significance on their function in this regard. Lastly, many teachers expressed a desire to forget the events of the conflict and move past it, which meant that they did not consider their role in continuing to manage the residual effects of the violence.

_Summary_

This final data chapter discusses teachers’ perceptions of the support they continue to receive from the state and school in managing the residual effects of the violence. Several teachers concluded that the state’s role is typically obscure and marginal. The role of politicians in mobilising groups into conflict has served to foster anger, bitterness and distrust of state institutions. The credibility of the elections and voting procedures as well as reports of promoting teachers who took part in the violence have further cemented their aversion to the state. Moreover, state policies such as the quota system and the practice of allowing teacher transfers has elicited extreme reactions and debates over the ethnicisation of education systems.

Conversely, teachers are eager to see churches and local NGOs take on a greater role in aiding them in this regard. They appeared to be more positive about assuming these new roles if they were guaranteed the support of these institutions. Despite being unsure of whether they would continue to retain these new roles, they were appreciative of the knowledge they received regarding ‘peace’ and ‘conflict resolution’ from these institutions.
In reference to support from the school, teachers felt that they are not provided with any practical assistance and guidance. In most cases, there was a lack of communication and collaboration in the school culture regarding these changes, which prevented teachers from conceptualising their role in relation to managing the residual effects of the violence.

Therefore, teachers’ were skeptical about maintaining these roles for the future given their objective and subjective realities. While several teachers were eager to move past the conflict, others were theoretically receptive to transforming their role. However, a lack of structure and support from the state and school deterred them from realistically conceiving their role in this regard. In reference to their role in managing ethnic tensions, teachers agreed that these issues must be addressed in the wider society, but were not keen on assuming these roles out of fear for their safety and lack of support from their head teacher. Instead, they believed that local NGOs and churches could play a bigger role in this regard.

This chapter along with the preceding two chapters offered an examination of how teachers managed the effects of the post-election violence on their classrooms realities, why they responded in this manner, and how they feel about assuming and retaining these roles given the support they receive from the state and the school. The following chapter locates these findings in the wider-socio political climate and presents the implications of these on the field of post-conflict reconstruction.
Chapter VIII

THE CHANGING ROLE OF TEACHERS: IMPLICATIONS OF FINDINGS ON THE FIELD OF POST-CONFLICT RECONSTRUCTION

Literature in the field of post-conflict reconstruction makes several references to the role of teachers in rebuilding education systems. To counter the negative effects of conflict as well as pass on positive ideologies to the future of the country, societies often turn to education as a suitable avenue for achieving this. This subsequently leads to the introduction of various interpretations of peace education in the school curricula, such as multicultural education, conflict resolution, life skills and human rights education, to name a few. Expectedly, teachers find themselves in the centre of these innovations. Their traditional roles are expanded and redefined in order to absorb these changes often without their input. Moreover, these transformations take place in a post-conflict climate of uncertainty under constrained resources where ill-equipped teachers must also manage the immediate effects of the conflict.

Employing the case of Kenya, data examined in the previous chapters has begun to shed light on the perceptions of teachers towards their changing role. This research primarily concludes that teachers are rather hesitant and resistant to take on these new roles owing to the conditions in their classrooms realities. This chapter draws on the findings of this research to ascertain their implications for the field of post-conflict reconstruction and presents a discussion of the support teachers require in assuming a transformed role to manage the effects of ethnic conflict. These suggestions may be useful for policymakers as well as NGOs who provide support to teachers during post-conflict reconstruction.
Preparing ‘value-laden’ teachers for their changing role in schools

Studies in the field of ethnic conflict ascertain that the use of ethnicity to mobilise groups into conflict leads to heightening of pre-existing prejudices and deterioration in ethnic relations (Gurr, 1993; Assefa, 1996). Furthermore, in the field of post-conflict reconstruction, several scholars and accounts by international NGOs repeatedly emphasise that teachers, rather than being impartial and objective, perpetuate negative ideologies, threaten students and take part in violence (Cairns, 1996; Williams, 2004). This research confirms that teachers, who maintain a reflexive relationship with their community, are not immune to ethnic tensions. Many exhibit fear and hostility towards other ethnic groups and, in extreme cases, may also take part in the violence. Analysis of the data further determined that some teachers continue to focus on their ethnic boundaries and categorise individuals as ‘us’ versus ‘them’ or ‘perpetrator’ versus ‘victim’.

In Kenya, where politicians have repeatedly instrumentalised ethnicity to gain political power and economic benefits, stereotypes and prejudices have become deeply embedded in society, which are then reflected in the school environment. A few teachers agreed that it is commonplace in schools to identify certain groups as ‘violent’, ‘stupid’, or ‘land-hungry’.

Findings from this study reveal that these tensions, fears, and hostilities arising due to conflict often prevent teachers from assuming their role to manage the psychosocial effects of the violence. The mentality of ‘us’ versus ‘them’ also inhibits them from internalising their role in restoring frail relations in their school environment. Also relevant are concerns for their safety and their need to dismiss such discomforting and contentious matters to move past the events of the conflict. To provide a sense of normalcy to the school environment, these issues are rarely combatted and thus re-emerge during periods of political action. In Kenya the constitutional referendum elections in August 2010, organised over two years after the conflict, serves as a suitable example of this. During this period several teachers reported feeling fearful of colleagues from rival groups, and a handful returned back to regions safer for their ethnic group. Yet,
despite these fears, tensions and hesitations, teachers are not provided with any practical support to overcome these feelings in order to effectively carry out their role in managing the effects of the violence.

The perceptions of a few teachers, whose primary focus was on their Kenyan nationality and were appreciative of their role in teaching about peace and unity, prove to be valuable for understanding the nature of support teachers may require during this period. These teachers were strictly opposed to the concept of ‘ethnicity’ as a divisive factor in Kenya noting instead that the diversity in their country should be viewed as a source of pride. They also argued that all ethnic groups are both perpetrator and victim in these conflicts, and thus, individuals from other ethnic groups have suffered alongside their own ethnic group. They also exhibited an awareness of the role of politicians in employing ethnicity to mobilise groups into conflict, which they noted prevented them from viewing any ethnic group as the ‘enemy’. These perceptions shed light on the support teachers require to consider their experiences in relation to those from other ethnic groups, which may be beneficial in transcending the boundaries of ‘perpetrator’ versus ‘victim’ or ‘us’ versus ‘them’. Weldon (2010) offers a similar view in his research of Facing History workshops. He concluded that teachers value the open space provided to them to discuss their experiences as well as listen to those of their colleagues. By confronting their own prejudices and biased attitudes, teachers feel more prepared to tackle these sensitive issues with their students.

As a result, it may be valuable for NGOs and other institutions of support to organise workshops where teachers are able to confront their own biases and prejudices at an earlier stage during post-conflict reconstruction. In the context of post-conflict reconstruction where teachers’ traditional roles are transformed to agents of peace, tolerance and conflict resolution, these workshops are essential in supporting teachers to internalise values and skills conducive to
peace building. Some teachers agreed that they were told to examine their own biases at workshops organised by churches, but they were not provided with the necessary direction to do so. In the absence of such guidance and frameworks, ethnic tensions continue to fester in the school environment and prevent teachers from adequately managing the effects of the violence.

An emphasis on methodologies over content

The focus during post-conflict reconstruction remains on students and the necessity to introduce innovations that will counter the negative effects of the violence. Demands by politicians, head teachers, and NGOs for peace translate into the introduction of concepts such as ‘conflict resolution’, ‘peace’, and ‘life skills’ into the ‘climate of learning’, which creates a shift in teachers’ traditional role in classrooms. Subsequently, teacher workshops organised by the state, NGOs or, in the case of Kenya, churches provide them with content-related knowledge to relay these concepts to their students. This sense of urgency to introduce remedial strategies shifts focus away from adequately preparing teachers for the changes in their role.

Analysis of the data depicted that while teachers were provided with theoretical information about peace and conflict resolution, not enough emphasis was placed on equipping them with new methodologies that are more conducive for teaching these skills. When explaining how they taught these concepts, teachers made little mention of interactive discussions or other participatory strategies. Only a handful of counsellors, who possess an advanced degree in psychology, guided their students through structured activities such as drawing, painting, drama, and dance to discuss peace and unity. They noted that these strategies were extremely effective in motivating students to learn about skills necessary for peace building and conflict resolution.

Therefore, along with an emphasis on content, institutions supporting schools during reconstruction must organise workshops that aim to transform the methodological skills teachers
employ in their classrooms. In the absence of this knowledge, teachers continue to rely on traditional methods such as rote memorisation and an authoritarian teaching style, which are not conducive for teaching about peace and conflict resolution. Moreover, research concludes that these teaching styles prevent students from feeling safe and secure in their classrooms as well as serve to reinforce the sense of powerlessness students already feel in conflict-affected countries (Sommers, 2002; Davies, 2004).

Lastly, to adopt new methodologies, teachers require periodic training and guidance. These new teaching styles significantly alter the hierarchical structure of the teacher-student relationship they are commonly attuned to in their culture and such transformations cannot be expected swiftly. Similarly, in relation to content training as well, analysis of the data determined that teachers who attended workshops organised by churches and local NGOs felt more confident about their role, yet their grasp over these concepts was extremely weak. This led to their responses being quite linear. Therefore, rather than provide one-off training, as was customarily provided to teachers in Kenya, there is a need for multiple workshops in both content and methodologies. A focus on the latter ensures a more stable foundation upon which to introduce the concept of ‘peace’ into the climate of learning.

**A school-wide approach**

Concepts such as peace and life skills cannot be taught in isolation. Instead, it is necessary that the culture of the school be built on similar ideals in order to reinforce these principles. Moreover, in a context affected by ethnic conflict, this research concluded that teachers displayed biased and prejudiced behaviours towards their colleagues and students, which is an obstacle in supporting positive behaviours. Therefore, it is necessary to adopt a school-wide approach in which the shift in the ‘climate of learning’ is accepted and supported by all members.
In a post-conflict context where school resources are strained, it is understandable that all teachers at a school cannot attend workshops. This obstacle may be overcome by communicating concepts learned at workshops to the rest of the school members during staff meetings. Two schools interviewed for this research utilised this approach. Teachers who attended workshops organised by local NGOs and churches were instructed by their head teacher to return to the school and train their colleagues as well. This was particularly beneficial as it harmonised teachers’ understanding of these concepts as well as their methods in relaying these concepts to their students. By exhibiting and adopting values and behaviours that are conducive to peace, these concepts may be effectively internalised by students.

**A flexible and innovative school leader**

The school culture was the most pertinent variable that emerged from the data in relation to teachers’ responses to conflict. Particularly relevant was the degree of innovativeness, collaboration, and collegiality in the school culture as well as a clear articulation of the shared vision for the school. The role of the head teacher in shaping this culture cannot be denied. Various scholars ascertain that the principal plays an imperative part in defining and maintaining this culture (Hoy and Tarter, 1997; Engles et al., 2008). Research from this study concludes that head teachers are not equipped to handle the complexities of schooling in a post-conflict context. They lack the necessary flexibility and innovativeness to address the demands placed on their schools, which emerge from a shift in the discourses on learning, as well as support their students and teachers who are struggling with varied difficulties.

By and large, head teachers remain confined to their administrative and managerial role in schools. As discussed previously, the role of the head teacher in Kenya has principally been defined by their need to acquire resources for examination preparation and the general management of schools. For these reasons head teachers concentrated on resource acquisition
after the post-election violence. The downside of the singular focus on these particular effects of the violence was that it diverted their attention from adapting to the needs of their teachers and students.

The matter of school fees serves as suitable example to discuss the necessity for flexibility. Due to the conflict and subsequent displacement of families, students were unable to pay school fees. Only a handful of head teachers were able to adapt to the situation and create a unique alternative that would accommodate the constraints of families as well as the needs of the school. In these schools a barter system was introduced where parents paid fees through materials such as grains and bricks. Other head teachers however rejected this system without offering any rationale justification for their reaction. The common response among these head teachers was to serve a verbal warning and subsequently send students home. Yet, in a context of uncertainty and instability where youth gangs are functioning openly, there is an urgent need to keep students in schools and away from the risk of recruitment by youth or rebel gangs.

Similarly, an in-depth look at schools’ disciplinary procedures too depicts flaws that require modifications by head teachers to suit the current climate. In the aftermath of the violence, several male students displayed aggressive behaviour towards their peers and teachers. In keeping with the school’s rules, head teachers warned these students, and on their third offence they were suspended from schools. Few head teachers incorporated counselling sessions into the system; yet, the concept of suspension remained. Once again, such procedures isolated students from the safety of their school. There were two extreme cases in which the head teacher had to call in the police and expel the offending students, and in such situations these procedures are reasonable. Aside from these circumstances, however, there is scope for head teachers to adopt innovative forms of punishment that allow students to remain within the safe boundaries of their school. The challenges of post-conflict contexts evidently require head teachers to enhance their
flexibility in a manner that is conducive to the management of schools as well as considerate of the needs of their students.

After conflict ends, the ‘climate of learning’ in schools is often supplemented with initiatives and programmes that serve to address issues such as peace and conflict resolution. In Kenya local NGOs and churches offered workshops in these issues with the aim that teachers could relay these concepts to their students. Subsequently, in 2009 the government introduced Life Skills education with the objective being to equip students with the necessary skills to navigate adolescent life. The syllabus also touches on tolerance, conflict resolution, diversity and positive relationships. At the time of these interviews, most schools were not provided with the resources and training to implement the initiative. Recognising that the programme could not be applied as per the requirements of the state, two head teachers adapted the syllabus, with the documents they received from teacher workshops, to develop a ‘peace club’. These innovative approaches allow students to receive the support they require while schools wait to obtain further guidance from the state.

Aside from possessing the relevant skills for implementing new innovations, school leaders must collaborate with their teachers and school counsellors in order to create a culture of collegiality as well as encourage teachers to gain a sense of ownership of such initiatives. This is beneficial for two reasons. Firstly, by involving all teachers in the decision-making process, innovations may be introduced with the support and commitment of teachers. Head teachers, who implemented the aforementioned ‘peace club’, admitted that they did so through cooperation with their counsellor as well as with the approval of teachers. Secondly, and more importantly, in a country where ethnic relations are frail collaboration and teamwork aids in unifying teachers towards a common goal and thus combatting tensions and hostility in the school environment.
Analysis of the data also emphasises the necessity for school leaders to take a prominent role in leading their school to manage the effects of conflict. Several teachers were unable to conceptualise their role in this regard because they received no practical guidance or advice from their head teacher. Moreover, if head teachers are not visibly and vocally supportive of their school’s role in dealing with the challenges of a post-conflict context, teachers too remain disassociated from their role in dealing these effects. In schools where head teachers transferred the responsibility of implementing new innovations to the school counsellor, teachers often responded with resistance. Alternatively, when the head teacher was visibly and vocally supportive of the counsellor, the teachers displayed a more receptive attitude to the changes.

In developing countries affected by conflict, it cannot be assumed that the school counsellor is equipped to manage the psychosocial effects of the conflict. In Kenya, many head teachers passed on the responsibility of managing these effects to the counsellor; however, most had not received professional training for their position. This led to responses that were improvised and inconsistent and not a reliable measure of an adequate response. It is necessary, therefore, that head teachers continue to exercise their leadership in managing all the effects of the conflict and supervise their counsellors appropriately.

The altered context of schooling in post-conflict countries demands that school leaders collaborate and communicate effectively with their teachers. As mentioned in the preceding chapter, lack of communication between teachers and head teachers about the latters’ views of the Life Skills syllabus created hesitations among teachers regarding the feasibility of the innovation. There were also a few instances where the head teacher attended relevant workshops organised by local NGOs, however they failed to relay these messages on to their teachers. On the contrary, teachers were receptive towards head teachers who frequently communicated with
them about the steps they were taking to manage the effects of the conflict as well as the role they envisioned their school would play in this regard. Therefore, it is essential that head teachers develop a shared vision for their school with the contribution of their teachers and clearly communicate this vision regularly. This aids in providing teachers with a sense of clarity, direction, and purpose in a climate of uncertainty.

The role of school leadership in the context of post-conflict schooling is essential in providing structure to teachers and students in a climate of uncertainty. In countries affected by conflict, it is imperative that head teachers are flexible in their approach and able to adapt to the needs of community. Furthermore, by enhancing collegiality, communication and collaboration in the school’s culture, head teachers can unify their teachers towards a common goal or purpose, which could aid in combatting ethnic tensions and fear within the school environment. Despite the significance of their role in post-conflict countries, head teachers are often not provided with training workshops that will aid them in facing these challenges and acclimatising to the altered context of schooling. Therefore, a greater focus must be placed on the role of school leadership during post-conflict reconstruction.

**Creation of support networks**

Depending on the nature of post-conflict conflicts, schools may also benefit from creating support networks with their neighbouring schools, local NGOs and churches. In Kenya given the important role NGOs and churches play in society, this is a possible solution. Indeed, most teachers who received training in issues such as peace and conflict resolution attended workshops provided by these institutions. Moreover, analysis of the data emphasised the advantages of creating such support networks. Head teachers who maintained a relationship with these institutions displayed a greater degree of knowledge and commitment to peace and conflict
resolution. They were also more empowered in combatting ethnic tensions and striving for national unity.

Strengthening ties with their neighbouring schools also facilitates an exchange of knowledge and assistance that may aid head teachers and teachers in overcoming obstacles in the field. Productive collaboration between schools is predominantly absent in Kenya, which was evident in the implementation process of Life Skills education. Two schools that were a twenty-minute walk apart had disparate experiences with the innovation. In one school the syllabus was implemented as a daily class in the schedule, and in the other the head teacher was waiting to receive information about teacher training. In post-conflict contexts where the state is not always in a position to provide extensive training seminars to all teachers, such collaborations are useful in countering the lack of support from the state.

Most teachers and head teachers interviewed did not sufficiently include the wider community in their efforts to deal with the challenges stemming from the post-election violence. In the event of conflict, where interpersonal relationships are fragile, the support provided by community members may aid in combatting the fear and prejudice that seeps into schools. Parents and family members may strengthen values and skills taught in schools, and schools can convey knowledge regarding peace and conflict resolution to community members. There were some head teachers who believed that to effectively deal with ethnic tensions, hostility, fear and prejudiced behaviour, it was necessary to include the community. They also noted that by establishing this channel of communication between parents and teachers, it may be possible to increase a sense of unity as well as safeguard their schools during the conflict. However, responses designed to include the community were exceptionally rare. It became quickly evident that several head teachers view the school and community as separate entities, which carried implications for teachers’ perspective towards involving them in their responses. Their views
prevented their teachers from considering the role of parents and family members in managing the effects of the violence.

In addition to this, many teachers exhibited resistance to adopting new roles that require them to tackle sensitive issues regarding ethnic tensions and conflict resolution among community members as they viewed it as a threat to their security. Several also considered their role ineffectual in this regard and proposed that NGOs and churches must convey these concepts instead. Creation of support networks with neighbouring schools, churches, and NGOs would ensure that such messages are relayed to not only community members but also school children through the assistance of institutions that are generally viewed as valuable in society. An example of such collective effort is the ‘Life Focus Group’, which was designed by a teacher in Nakuru. The aim of this endeavour is to transmit messages of peace and unity to the wider community as a collective force thus rendering a greater impact. These collaborative activities ensure that teachers are participating in addressing concepts of ‘peace’ and ‘conflict resolution’ without it being a source of discomfort. This may also encourage them to be more receptive to their role in discussing these topics within the school.

The creation of these support networks may also be beneficial for the state, particularly in relation to implementing state-wide innovations to counter the negative effects of the violence. During post-conflict reconstruction government institutions often lack the capacity to implement innovations swiftly. In Kenya the protracted process of introducing new initiatives is not a consequence of the violence. Several teachers and head teachers complained that the management of schools is customarily disorganised and slow. The state has come under criticism for its disordered approach to implementing Life Skills, which has left some schools with teacher manuals but no training and others with training but no resources. The lack of directives and support from the state has led to the creation of negative perceptions towards the success of the
initiative. In the case that the state is unable to coordinate an efficient response, it may be productive to seek the assistance of NGOs or, in the case of Kenya, churches to disseminate training to teachers. Seeking the support of external institutions aids in a more swift exchange of knowledge, which is imperative in contexts where the needs of the community are more critical.

**Summary**

This chapter employs the findings of this research to discuss their implications for the field of post-conflict reconstruction. It concludes that in countries affected by ethnic conflict communal tensions, fears, and hostilities prevent teachers from assuming their role in managing the effects of the conflict. Moreover, the introduction of ‘peace’ and ‘conflict’ in the ‘climate of learning’ creates a shift in the traditional role of teachers and requires them to internalise ideals and values for peace building. Therefore, there is an urgent need to provide teachers with a safe space where they can transform their pre-existing prejudices and biases towards other ethnic groups as well as transcend the mentality of categorising individuals as ‘perpetrator’ versus ‘victim’. This will ensure that teachers are able to create safe and secure classrooms for their students that are devoid of tensions and hostilities.

The above discussion also notes that the singular focus of the state, NGOs, and schools on offering remedial innovations to support students leads to an incidental emphasis on providing content training for teachers. Yet, this research ascertains that rather than hastily provide teachers with theoretical knowledge of peace and conflict resolution, there is merit in taking a more gradual and deliberate approach to introducing these concepts in the school. Instead, a greater significance must be placed on equipping teachers with new methodologies that are more effective in teaching students about peace. A move away from corporal punishment and an authoritarian teaching style will prevent students from feeling powerless and fearful in the school.
Also significant in this regard is a school-wide approach that ensures all school members internalise and exhibit the values and principles of peace and life skills to reinforce this learning among students. This can be achieved by ensuring that teachers, who do attend workshops, pass on their knowledge to their colleagues and head teachers.

The role of school leadership is extremely important in the context of post-conflict reconstruction. In a climate of uncertainty, teachers value the directives, guidance, and structure offered by their head teachers, which helps them in conceiving their role in managing the effects of the violence. The altered demands of the community as well as the obstacles and challenges that schools face necessitate a more flexible and innovative approach from head teachers. Also imperative is the role head teachers can play in building positive relationships between teachers and strengthening collegiality in the school. This requires them to transform their administrative and instructional role to one that inculcates leadership skills. To achieve this, it would be beneficial for institutions supporting schools during this period to design workshops aimed at head teachers to aid them in adapting to the needs of the community.

Finally, this chapter concludes that in a post-conflict context where resources are strained and teachers are ill-equipped it may be beneficial to create support networks that include the neighbouring schools, community members, NGOs, and in the case of Kenya, churches. This will result in an exchange of knowledge and skills that can fill the vacuum created by a lack of support from the state. In particular, the involvement of the community aids in a creating a sense of unity essential in a climate of strained ethnic relations.

The following and final chapter of this thesis provides an overview of this research and its results as well as presents the contributions of this research to the field of post-conflict reconstruction. Finally, it discusses recommendations for further areas of research on this subject.
Chapter IX

CONCLUSION: A WAY FORWARD

During post-conflict reconstruction, governments and NGOs bestow various roles on teachers such as agent of change, peace educator, and conflict resolution expert, to name a few. However, there are no empirical studies that determine how teachers feel about taking on these roles as well as how they manage the effects of conflict within their realities. Moreover, there is a tendency for these initiatives to view teachers as impartial and value-free, whereas it is known that teachers are also political and social beings that come from the community they serve and are equally affected by conflict. Surely the tension between their personal beliefs and professional practice has some impact on how teachers execute their role in managing the effects of violence. Yet, there is little empirical evidence on this matter. This study attempted to address these gaps in the literature through an examination of how teachers, who maintain a reflexive relationship with the community, feel about taking on new roles to deal with the effects of ethnic conflict.

Brief overview of research process

This research employed the case of Kenya to conduct this research for two reasons. Firstly, it has maintained a unique association with violence since 1991 that has consistently erupted along the lines of ethnicity. This has led to a corrosion in ethnic relations, which are mirrored in the school environment. Secondly, post-election violence erupted in December 2007 and thus the challenges schools faced were still recent and on-going when this research was conducted. This made the process of examining the period of post-conflict reconstruction easier.

Employing the more specific case of government secondary schools from Nakuru and Kericho, data for this research was collected using ninety semi-structured interviews of teachers, school
counsellors and head teachers. These interviews were analysed using thematic analysis (Hayes 1997, 2000) in conjunction with the framework proposed by Miles and Huberman (1994), which was beneficial in managing the large quantity of interviews. Additionally, documents provided to teachers during workshops organised by churches and NGOs as well as the Life Skills syllabus were also included in the analysis to determine the nature of the support provided to teachers, its adequacy in relation to teachers’ realities, and the expectations placed on teachers with reference to their new roles.

**Summary of findings**

Findings from the data conclude that the effects of the post-election violence on teachers’ realities are varied and range from a lack of resources and other such administrative issues to ethnic tensions, fears, hostilities, rape and aggressive behaviour. In relation to ethnic tensions and hostilities, these effects continue to fester in the school environment and re-emerge during periods of political activity.

Several observations were made regarding teachers’ responses to the effects of the violence. For instance, teachers did not sufficiently deal with the presence of ethnic tensions, fears, and hostilities in the school environment. Neither was sufficient emphasis placed on managing the effects of the conflict on their personal well-being or involving community members in their responses. On the other hand, teachers were active and determined in managing the strain on school resources as well as others issues related to student enrolment and examinations.

This research ascertained that variables within teachers’ objective and subjective realities cumulatively shaped the willingness and ability of teachers to take on these new roles to deal with the effects of the post-election violence. Therefore, their responses to the violence were influenced by the interplay of several variables in their classrooms realities. For instance, in
relation to involving community members in their responses to the violence, teachers were hesitant to do so because of their fears and attitudes towards the community as well as their head teachers’ view of the community as a separate entity from the school.

Teachers’ subjective realities played an imperative role in preventing them from adequately managing the effects of violence. Their fears, anger, and grief regarding the event of violence deterred them from taking on these new roles, and instead, they preferred to brush these issues aside to focus on the future. Similarly, in relation to their ethnicity, several teachers continue to categorise individuals as ‘perpetrator’ versus ‘victim’, which serves as a key obstacle in conceptualising teachers’ role in creating a culture conducive for unity, peace and conflict resolution.

In post-conflict societies, the effects of the conflict on education systems are long-term and multifaceted. This necessitates a permanent transformation in teachers’ roles to counter these effects on students and schools. Moreover, in the case of Kenya, the 2013 national elections have given rise to fears of future post-election violence, which serves as an impetus for teachers to maintain these new roles. However, this research concludes that teachers are not willing to continue with these roles due to both their personal preference to move past the events of the conflict as well as the lack of support and guidance provided to them from the state and school. The focus in Kenyan schools is primarily on examinations and curriculum delivery, which diverts attention away from addressing the altered needs of the community.

**A review of the implications of this study**

There is tendency to turn to education during post-conflict reconstruction as a suitable avenue through which to counter the effects of conflict. This leads to an introduction of various interpretations of peace into the ‘climate of learning’. However, such isolated initiatives are often
not useful for managing the strain on communal relations. Indeed, several teachers noted that they were not comfortable dealing with these issues given the sensitivity of the topic in the wider community. Therefore, there is a need to redefine the strategies employed by NGOs and governments during post-conflict reconstruction to be more sensitive to the realities within which teachers work.

This study argues that a greater focus must be placed on providing teachers with the space to challenge their pre-existing prejudices and biases towards other groups, which will enable them to transcend the mentality of ‘perpetrator’ versus ‘victim’. It also determines that a greater emphasis is required on transforming the methodologies teachers employ in their classroom to create a safe and secure climate rather than one built on the use of fear and corporal punishment.

Given that concepts such as ‘peace’ and ‘conflict resolution’ cannot be taught in isolation and require teachers to inculcate and exhibit behaviours that are conducive for peace, a school-wide approach is necessary to create a climate that reinforces the learning of these skills. Therefore, it would be beneficial to ensure that all teachers obtain relevant knowledge and skills by increasing the collaboration between colleagues.

During post-conflict reconstruction, it would also be valuable to offer training to head teachers, which would enable them to transform their administrative and instructional role to include leadership skills. Indeed, the altered needs of the community necessitate a more flexible and innovative approach from head teachers.

Finally, the creation of support networks, which consist of neighbouring schools and other external institutions of support, would ensure that teachers continue to receive relevant knowledge and support to fill the vacuum created by a lack of support from the state. More
importantly, such networks would be useful in creating a joint effort to tackle issues related to peace and conflict resolution, rather than place the sole responsibility on teachers.

**Contributions to knowledge**

In its examination of how teachers feel about taking on new roles to deal with the effects of ethnic conflict, this study offers various contributions of knowledge to the field. Firstly, this study provides a different perspective on educational development in post-conflict societies by employing the voice of teachers. Research in developing countries is still principally conducted through large-scale quantitative studies focusing on students (Osler 1997:361) with scant attention to more detailed and policy relevant qualitative work. In addition, there is a scarcity of published material related to the experiences and perceptions of teachers in post-conflict settings regarding training and various reconstruction initiatives (Miller and Affolter 2002). This research generated understanding inductively by examining teachers’ perspectives of their role in managing the altered realities of schools, which aids in shedding light on the realities teachers face during post-conflict reconstruction.

Secondly, given that focus of post-conflict reconstruction is often on what teachers ought to do while rebuilding education systems, not enough is known about what teachers actually do when faced with the challenges of post-conflict schooling. This research gained knowledge from teachers concerning their realities in classrooms after the cessation of conflict and how they realistically managed the various effects of the violence. These findings encourage policymakers and NGOs, who assist teachers during this period, to step back and analyse their own assumptions regarding the nature of support required during post-conflict reconstruction and the suitability of educational initiatives for such environments. This research therefore views education systems in the aftermath of conflict from those individuals who experience it intimately on a daily basis and presents conclusions that would better inform policy and practice.
Lastly, while research exists that references the role teachers can play in societies affected by ethnic conflict (see Bush and Saltarelli 2000), this research establishes how teachers, who are a part of the community, negotiate their personal ideologies and predispositions to contend with the effects of conflict seen in their classrooms. It concludes that teachers are often not willing to discuss issues in relation to ethnic tensions and hostilities because of their own beliefs and fears. Neither are they able to transcend the mentality of viewing certain ethnic groups as the ‘enemy’. This research therefore draws attention to the realities found in schools affected by ethnic conflict and the hesitations teachers have towards dealing with issues related to ‘ethnicity’.

**Further research**

This research has begun to address gaps in the literature regarding the challenges teachers face in their schools during post-conflict reconstruction and the various factors in their classrooms realities that shape their responses to the effects of the violence. This study therefore is simply the foundation on which further research can be conducted.

As mentioned previously, analysis of the data suggests that there are differences in teachers’ responses to the effects of the violence based on the region in which they work. These disparities emerged from the data unintentionally as the aim of this research was not to compare and contrast region. As result, it would be useful to conduct an extensive survey of teachers’ responses, which would sufficiently consider the disparities in their classrooms realities based on a comparison of regions. This would aid in elucidating the significance of their experiences of the conflict in shaping the manner in which they deal with concepts such as peace, ethnic tensions and conflict resolution.

In addition to this, this research did not investigate how teachers introduce concepts such as tolerance and conflict resolution into their classrooms as it was beyond the scope of this study. It
would be valuable to employ the use of observations to examine how teachers approach these concepts and manage any related questions students may have in relation to ethnic tensions or the events of the post-election violence. Given that the Life Skills syllabus has been introduced in secondary schools in Kenya, an examination of how teachers manage this particular subject would be useful with the aim being to study how teachers actually teach these concepts.

While this research concluded that teachers’ loyalties to their ethnic group shaped their resistance to address concepts such as ‘conflict resolution’ and ‘unity’, it would be useful to conduct an ethnographic study that sufficiently examines how teachers negotiate their loyalties to their ethnic group and their role as teachers within the school environment. This research would add rich narrative data regarding how teachers execute their role in a climate of strained communal tensions.

Finally, this research discovered that the school culture plays a significant role in shaping teachers’ perceptions of their role in dealing with ethnic tensions and hostilities. Given that these effects continue to fester in schools in Kenya, it would be beneficial to conduct action research that would involve a transformation of the role of school leadership in order to manage the residual effects of the violence. This would entail creating a positive school culture, which is built on communication, participative decision-making and collegiality, and determining whether this encourages teachers to take on new roles to deal with ethnic tensions and hostilities.

**Final thoughts**

This research attempted to bridge the gap between the fields of ethnic conflict and post-conflict reconstruction through an examination of the role of teachers at the individual school level during reconstruction in countries affected by ethnic conflict. The study produced rich data regarding teachers’ realities in post-conflict schools and how they manage the effects of conflict.
as well as how they feel about taking on new roles to do so. Insights achieved from this research justify a need to conduct further examinations of teachers at the individual school level rather than at the system level. These examinations must sufficiently consider the contexts within which teacher work and generate understanding inductively by examining their perspectives. Moreover, the focus of future examinations must be on what teachers do rather than what they ought to do. Such research would aid in generating theories, which could be employed to improve the realities within which teachers work.
REFERENCES


APPENDIX A – SAMPLE OF INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. How long have you been working at this school? Within this region?
2. Were you present in the region at the time of the post-election violence?
3. Was it the first time that you have experienced conflict within this region?
4. Could you tell me a little about your personal experiences during the time of conflict?
5. Could you tell me about how the conflict impacted your students? (Touch on behaviour, academic performance, discipline)
6. In response to a student discipline comment: If a teacher were to tell you that a student in their class was behaving in this way, what advice would you give them? Why?
7. How did you deal with the effects of the conflict? (Design question specifically to each effect listed by the teacher and expand on it to determine why the teacher took that step, use vignettes if necessary)
8. How did your head teacher help you?
9. What did the District Education Officer do? What advice are they offering now?
10. What are your views about support from the government?
11. How do you feel about taking on these responsibilities? (Mention specific roles, such as counsellor)
12. Would you want to continue in this role? What support would you want?

Example of vignettes:

• After the post-election violence, Margaret notes that students of different ethnic groups in her class have begun fearing each other. Before, she noted that this could be seen only during playtime, but now her students from different ethnic groups do not sit together in class either and do not want to talk to each other. How do you think Margaret should respond to this situation? And why?

• Alice was walking to the staff room and suddenly heard another teacher teaching in her tribal language. She noticed the other students couldn’t understand what she was teaching. How do you think Alice should respond to this situation? And why?
## APPENDIX B – CUREC FORMS

**University of Oxford**

**CENTRAL UNIVERSITY RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (CUREC)**

**IDREC Checklist**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>*Principal investigator/supervisor/student researcher:</th>
<th>Aqeela A. Datoo</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>FOR STUDENT RESEARCH PROJECTS ONLY</strong></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Name of Supervisor:</strong></td>
<td>Dr. David Johnson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Department or institute:</strong></td>
<td>Department of Education, University of Oxford</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Address for correspondence:</strong></td>
<td>St. Catherine’s College, Manor Road, OX1 3UJ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>E-mail and telephone contact:</strong></td>
<td>[Contact details have been redacted from the online version of this thesis]</td>
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**Before completing this checklist,** please ensure you have consulted the following CUREC guidance documents available on the CUREC website at http://www.admin.ox.ac.uk/curec/resrchapp/index.shtml:

- Guidance on approval process
- Glossary
- FAQs

This checklist is the first stage of the University of Oxford’s scrutiny procedure for *research involving *human participants. (Definitions of terms marked with an asterisk are to be found in CUREC’s glossary and guidance).

The University aims to ensure that all research is subject to *appropriate* ethical scrutiny.

This form is designed to identify those projects which fall outside CUREC’s remit; those which fall within CUREC’s remit but which pose low risks to participants and so need scrutiny only through this checklist; and those which fall within CUREC’s remit and which pose greater risk to participants and so need more scrutiny. If you need further advice or if you have comments about this form, please consult the relevant IDREC officer (please see: http://www.admin.ox.ac.uk/curec/oxonly/contact.shtml).

The checklist should be completed by the *principal investigator/supervisor/student researcher* (under the guidance of his/her supervisor) undertaking or supervising research which comes under CUREC’s responsibility. Please carry out a risk assessment of the project, in consultation with all researchers involved, using the checklist and CUREC’s other documentation.

This form does not cover research governance, satisfactory methodology, or the health and safety of employees and students. As principal investigator, it is your responsibility to ensure that requirements in these areas are met.

**Office use only:**

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<thead>
<tr>
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**Section A**

*Title and brief lay description of *research (about 150 words), plus description (about 200 words) of the nature of participants (including the criteria for inclusion/exclusion, method of recruitment, attaching samples of participant information and consent forms), purpose of*
**Working title:** Teachers’ perceptions of the effects of conflict prevention on education systems – A case study of Kenya

**Brief overview and purpose of research:** The aim of this research is to gain an in-depth understanding of teacher’s perceptions of their preparation in dealing with ethnic and political tension in schools. Preparation here refers to skills, resources and ideologies that they gain academically, financially and personally. In order to achieve this aim, the research will attempt to uncover teachers’ views on the conflict that Kenya has experienced and how it has affected their role in education systems. In addition, it will offer an insight into teachers’ perceptions of what further support and resources they require to address ethnic and political tension in their classrooms. Within the context of this research, political bias refers not to the predispositions of individuals but rather to the hostile prejudice that interferes with the democratic processes of a country.

**Methodology:** Research for this case study will be conducted via a multi-method approach using questionnaires, semi-structured interviews of teachers in secondary schools and universities, and a workshop for a select number of higher education teachers. Questionnaires will be administered to last-year teachers from a sample of teacher training colleges in order to understand the degree to which they feel prepared to deal with ethnic or political bias. A cohort of secondary school teachers from one of these teacher-training colleges along with teachers from a selected university will be chosen for semi-structured interviews in order to gain a more in-depth analysis of the research focus. Lastly, a workshop will be conducted with a group of teachers with the aim of understanding how they would design a curriculum in order to tackle ethnic or political bias within their classrooms as well as what factors, resources, and support they would offer. Each participant will be provided with information regarding the research and a consent form.

One of the main purposes of the pilot study is to gain access to information regarding the specialties of teacher training colleges, which are not available online. Based on this information, stratified random sampling will be used to determine an appropriate sample for the research.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>*<em>List all <em>sites where project will be conducted:</em></em></th>
<th>Kenya (A sample of teacher training colleges, secondary schools and one university)</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Anticipated start date:</strong></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Name and status (e.g. 3rd year undergraduate; post-doctoral research assistant) of others taking part in the project:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Section B** (Please put a tick in the yes/no column as appropriate to indicate your response).

1. *Does your study primarily aim to monitor and/or improve the performance of a particular service provider?*  
   | YES | NO | ✔ |

2. *Will your conclusions be applicable wholly or primarily to that service provider?*  
   | YES | NO | ✔ |

3. *Are you conducting your study on behalf of or at the request of a service provider?*  
   | YES | NO | ✔ |

If you have answered ‘yes’ to any question in section B it is likely that your study is *audit, not *research. Please check CUREC glossary and if your study is audit you need not submit your proposal for ethical scrutiny. If you have answered ‘no’ to all questions please proceed to section C.

**Section C**  
(Please put a tick in the yes/no column as appropriate to indicate your response).

1. *Will the research involve *human participants recruited by means of their status as present or past NHS *patients or their relatives or carers or present or past NHS staff?*  
   | YES | NO | ✔ |

2. *Will the research involve *personal data of any of the people listed in question C1 above ?*  
   | YES | NO | ✔ |

3. *Will the research in whole or part be carried out on NHS premises or using NHS facilities?*  
   | YES | NO | ✔ |

4. *Does the research involve administering any drug, placebo, or other substances to participants in the European Union (EU)?*  
   | YES | NO | ✔ |

5. *Does the research involve ionising radiation in the EU?*  
   | YES | NO | ✔ |

6. *Does the research involve human genetic research in the EU?*  
   | YES | NO | ✔ |

7. *Does the research involve magnetic resonance imaging in the EU?*  
   | YES | NO | ✔ |

8. *Does the research involve use of organs or other bodily material of past and present NHS patients?*  
   | YES | NO | ✔ |
9) *Does the research involve any other invasive procedure (Class A) not described above?*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YES</th>
<th>NO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>✔</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10) *Does the research involve human participants aged 16 and over who do not have capacity to consent for themselves?*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YES</th>
<th>NO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>✔</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Please note that the definition of capacity has been altered by the Mental Capacity Act 2005; see the Glossary on the CUREC website for further information.*

If you have answered ‘yes’ to any question in section C please stop work on this checklist as you will need to submit your proposal to the appropriate NHS ethics committee. Further details may be obtained from the website [http://www.nres.npsa.nhs.uk](http://www.nres.npsa.nhs.uk). Please submit the NHS Ethics Committee approval to the relevant IDREC officer for information when received.

**Section D**

(Please put a tick in the yes/no column as appropriate to indicate your response).

1) *Is the study to be funded by the US National Institutes of Health or another US federal funding agency?*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YES</th>
<th>NO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>✔</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If you have answered ‘yes’ to the question in section D please stop work on this checklist as you will need to submit your proposal to OXTREC which uses separate documentation ([http://www.tropicalmedicine.ox.ac.uk/oxtrecframeset.htm](http://www.tropicalmedicine.ox.ac.uk/oxtrecframeset.htm)). If you have answered ‘no’ to all questions so far, please proceed to section E.

**Section E**

(Please put a tick in the yes/no column as appropriate to indicate your response).

1) *Are all the data about people to be used in your study previously collected anonymised data which neither you nor anyone else involved in your study can trace back to the individuals who provided them (e.g. census data, administrative data, secondary analysis)? Please refer to the definition of personal data in the glossary and FAQ no. 6 for further guidance.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YES</th>
<th>NO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>✔</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If you have answered ‘yes’ to the question in section E please stop work on this checklist as you do not need to secure ethical approval for your study. There is no need to submit any details to IDREC as such research does not constitute research involving human participants for review purposes. If you have answered ‘no’ to all questions so far, please proceed to section F.
**Section F**

Methods to be used in the study (tick as many as apply: this information will help the committee understand the nature of your research and may be used for audit).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>METHOD USED</th>
<th>PLEASE TICK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unstructured interview</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-structured interview</td>
<td>✔</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structured interview</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Questionnaire</td>
<td>✔</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Analysis of existing records</td>
<td>✔</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participant performs verbal/paper and pencil/computer based task</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measurement/recording of motor behaviour</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Audio recording of participant</td>
<td>✔</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Video recording or phototography of participant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physiological recording from participant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participant observation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Systematic observation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observation of specific organisational practices</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (please specify)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workshop conducted with a small sample of teachers requiring them to write a one-page report on what methods, practices, and resources they would include in a curriculum to prepare teachers to face and deal with</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Section G**

(Please put a tick in the yes/no column as appropriate to indicate your response).

1. Have you made arrangements to obtain written *informed consent from participants?  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YES</th>
<th>NO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>✔</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Have you made arrangements to ensure that *personal data collected from participants will be held in compliance with the requirements of the Data Protection Act?  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YES</th>
<th>NO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>✔</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. If your research involves any use of *personal data obtained from a *third party, have you checked to ensure that the *third party has arrangements in place to permit disclosure?  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YES</th>
<th>NO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4) Does the research involve as participants *people whose ability to give free and informed consent is in question?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5) Does the research involve any alteration of participants’ normal patterns of sleeping, eating, or drinking?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6) Is there a significant risk that the research will expose participants to visual, auditory, or other environmental stimuli of a level or type that could have short- or long-term harmful physical effects?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7) Is there a significant risk that the research will induce anxiety, stress or other harmful psychological states in participants that might persist beyond the duration of the test/interview?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8) Does the research involve exposing participants to any physical or psychological hazard, beyond those of their usual everyday life, not covered by questions 9 and 10?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9) Does the research involve any *invasive procedure (Class B)?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10) Will the research elicit information from participants that might render them liable to criminal proceedings (e.g. information on drug abuse or child abuse)?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11) Does the research involve the *deception of participants?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12) Will the research require a participant to spend more than 2 hours in any single session on activities designed by the researcher (NB this time restriction does not refer to situations where participants are observed going about activities not devised by the researchers e.g. observation of lessons in schools)?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13) Will the research involve a significant risk of any harm of any kind to any participant not covered above?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14) Do you intend to follow any professional/CUREC guidelines (please provide details) The reliability and validity of the research will be augmented through use of standardized questions where possible, probing in only non-directive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
manners and providing the same degree of clarification to each interviewee.

In addition, participants will be provided with information regarding the particulars of the research (Appendix A) and the interviews will be conducted with each interviewee's informed consent (Appendix B). The name of participants, schools, teacher-training colleges, and universities will be kept confidential and deleted from the transcription of the interviews. The interviewees will be informed of this beforehand. Additionally, participants will be provided with the right to review the data collected in order to safeguard the consistency of this research.

If any of your answers in section G are in a shaded box, please complete section H. If all your answers in section G are in the unshaded boxes, please complete section I.

Section H
One or more aspect(s) of your research project suggest(s) that it may pose risks to participants (see shaded box(es) ticked in section G).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Are all the aspects of your project which caused you to tick a shaded box in section F fully covered by research protocol(s) which has/ve received IDREC/CUREC approval?</th>
<th>YES</th>
<th>NO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Please give IDREC protocol number (s).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Please proceed to section I.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Please complete this form AND form CUREC/2 and submit both to the relevant Inter Divisional Research Ethics Committee.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If you answered NO to question 1) in Section G concerning informed consent but a section of the Code of Practice governing your research activity is relevant, are you going to apply the standard set out in the Code of Practice?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Code of Practice and section number:</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Please proceed to section I.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Please complete this form AND form CUREC/2 and submit both to the relevant Inter Divisional Research Ethics Committee.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Section I
Complete this section only if you do not need to submit form CUREC/2.
I understand my responsibilities as principal researcher/supervisor/student researcher as outlined on p.1 of this form and in the CUREC glossary and guidance.
I declare that the answers above accurately describe my research as presently designed and that I will submit a new checklist should the design of my research change in a way which would alter any of the above responses so as to require completion of CUREC 2/full scrutiny by an IDREC. I will inform the relevant IDREC if I cease to be the principal researcher on this project and supply the name and contact details of my successor if appropriate.

Signed by principal researcher/supervisor/student researcher: Aqeela A. Datoo
Date: 13/05/2009

Print name (block capitals): AQEELA A. DATOO
I understand the questions and answers that have been entered above describing the research, and I will ensure that my practice in this research complies with these answers.

Signed by associate/other researcher:

Date

I have read the research project application named above. On the basis of the information available to me, I:

(i) consider the principal researcher/supervisor/student researcher to be aware of her/his ethical responsibilities in regard to this research;

(ii) consider that any ethical issues raised have been satisfactorily resolved or are covered by CUREC approved protocols, and that it is appropriate for the research to proceed without further formal ethical scrutiny at this stage (noting the principal researcher’s obligation to report should the design of the research change in a way which would alter any of the above responses);

(iii) am satisfied that the proposed project has been/will be subject to appropriate peer review and is likely to contribute something useful to existing knowledge and/or to the education and training of the researcher(s) and that it is in the public interest.

(iv) [FOR DEPARTMENTS/FACULTIES WITH A DEPARTMENTAL RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (DREC) OR EQUIVALENT BODY - PLEASE DELETE IF NOT APPLICABLE] confirm that this checklist (and associated research outline) has been reviewed by the Department’s Research Ethics Committee (DREC)/equivalent body, and attach the associated report from that body.

Signed: ..............................................(Head of department or nominee e.g Chair of DREC, Director of Graduate Studies for student projects)

Print name (block capitals).................................................................

Date: .................

Please send an electronic copy and a signed paper copy of this completed checklist to whichever of the IDRECs is more suitable (Social Sciences or Medical Sciences) keeping a copy for yourself.

IDRECs and/or CUREC will review a sample of completed checklists and may ask for further details of any project.

Revised July 2008
APPENDIX C: INTERVIEW CONSENT FORM

This research study seeks to explore how teachers feel about taking on new roles to deal with the various effects of conflict. This is a study undertaken by Aqeela A. Datoo, Doctorate student at the Department of Education, University of Oxford.

1. I have read and understood the information about this study and have had the opportunity to ask questions. I have considered all the risks involved with this research.

2. I understand that I can withdraw from the study without consequence at anytime simply by informing the researcher of my decision.

3. I understand who will have access to identifying information provided and what will happen to the data at the end of the project.

4. I am aware of whom to contact should I have questions following my participation in this study.

5. I understand that this project has been reviewed by and received ethical clearance through the University of Oxford Central University Research Ethics Committee.

I agree to participate in this study.

Name: __________________________________________
Date: __________________________________________
Signature: ______________________________________

Researcher (Aqeela A. Datoo): ____________________
Date: __________________________________________
Signature: ______________________________________
APPENDIX D: PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Invitation
You are being invited to take part in a research study. Before you decide to participate, it is important to understand why the research is being conducted and what your participation entails. Please take time to read the following information carefully. Please ask if there are any aspects of the project that are unclear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you would like to take part in this research.

What is the purpose of the study?
This study is being conducted in order to better understand how teachers deal with the various effects of conflict. It attempts to uncover the specific responses teachers take in view of a particular effect and what factors shape those responses.

Why have I been chosen?
For this study, we are seeking the perceptions of those who are secondary school teachers and have experienced or witnessed the post-election violence in December 2007. You have been identified as someone with insight into these complex issues. The hope is that by interviewing a wide range of secondary school teachers in the Kenyan education system, the fullest possible picture of the efforts can be explored.

Do I have to take part? What are the risks and benefits of taking part?
It is your decision to take part in this study. You can decide to stop participating at any time. You do not need to answer questions that you do not wish to. Access to data generated from interviews and other documentation regarding the research will be available upon request. Every effort will be made to preserve confidentiality and anonymity.

The benefits include offering valuable insights into perceptions of teachers and thus enabling international organisations and government policy to address the specific needs of teachers. Your participation, as part of this study, will benefit those trying to understand and plan policies that are specific towards countries affected by conflict and education systems that address the issue of ethnic tension.

What will happen to the results of this research?
The results of this research will form the basis of an Oxford Doctorate dissertation. Some results may be published in academic journals concerned with exploring reconstruction in conflict-affected countries or education policy. If you wish to obtain a copy of the published results, please inform the researcher. The study will take place two years after which time the published results will be publicly available.

Who is funding and organizing the research?
The research is funded and organized as an independent Doctorate research project in conjunction with the Department of Educational Studies, Oxford University.

Contact for Further Information or Follow-up
Should you have any further questions about this research, please feel free to contact: Aqeela A. Datoo, Department of Educational Studies, 15 Norham Gardens, Oxford, UK OX2 6PY; or by email at aqeela.datoo@education.ox.ac.uk. If you have any further information, insight into these issues, or questions your inquiries are most welcome.

THANK YOU FOR TAKING THE TIME TO READ THIS INFORMATION SHEET