

**SUBSIDIZED SECONDARY EDUCATION AND SECONDARY SCHOOL
ENROLMENT AND ATTENDANCE IN CONFLICT-PRONE AREAS: A CASE OF
KERIO VALLEY IN ELGEYO-MARAKWET COUNTY**

BY

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DECLARATION

I, Cheptile Margaret, do hereby declare that this project paper is my original work and has not been submitted to any other institution for academic qualifications.

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Date

This project paper has been developed with our supervision and submitted for examination with our approval as university supervisors.

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DEDICATION

To the loving memory of my late father, *Mwalimu Joseph Ronald
Cheptile*, who did not have the chance.

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I am duly thankful to the University of Nairobi for sponsoring my Masters' studies through a full university scholarship. I thank all those friends and colleagues who have enriched and sharpened my thoughts through sharing of insights, ideas and experience. I hope this project paper will reciprocate their immense contribution. I would like to particularly thank Linda Were, Grace Mugo, Victor Kibet and Susan Gichuna for continued moral support and keen interest they have shown in my work. I am extremely privileged to have your friendship.

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ABSTRACT

Like in many African countries, access to secondary education in Kenya has been a challenge primarily due to cost of schooling. In response, the Kenyan Government introduced subsidized secondary education in 2008 to ensure that all qualified children access secondary education regardless of their socio-economic backgrounds. While national statistics estimate that secondary school Gross and Net Enrolment Rates have increased since secondary education was subsidized, they cannot be relied upon since they generalize and tend to obscure school participation inequalities across the regional divide. Specifically, conflict-prone areas generally experience low access to secondary schooling owing to disrupted livelihoods and financial obstacles accompanying conflicts. However, since the provision of secondary school subsidy in 2008 no empirical study, to the best of my knowledge, has been conducted to investigate whether access to secondary school in conflict-prone areas has been enhanced.

The overall research objective of this study is to determine the effect of subsidized secondary education on secondary school enrolment and attendance in the conflict-prone area of Kerio Valley in Elgeyo-Marakwet County. In order to achieve this objective, a survey of sixty households with children of secondary school age (14-21 years) was conducted through the use of snowball sampling technique. Also, secondary school Head Teachers and Marakwet District Education Officers were purposively selected as key informants. Data was collected through face to face interviews from all the respondents using questionnaires and interview guides. Key informants' data were thematically analyzed using Microsoft Word Tables while data from households were coded and entered into SPSS for analysis.

The study found that household characteristics such as household size, income, parents' education, and number of children of secondary school age influenced secondary school enrolment. It also found that secondary school enrolment in the households was fairly low and most of those enrolled failed to attend school regularly mainly due to lack of school fees. It was further observed that the Pokot-Marakwet conflict contributed partly to households' inability to meet school fees. Despite provision of subsidized secondary education, school fees for both Day and Boarding secondary schools were still high and not far apart; about two times the amount of subsidy provided by the Government. Overall, however, the study established that secondary school enrolment and attendance levels in most of the sampled households have gotten better since secondary education was subsidized in 2008.

The study concludes that household characteristics determine whether or not a child goes to school in the sampled households. Secondary school participation in the households is low with the main reason being lack of school fees. The study also concludes that the inability to meet secondary school fees is partly linked to the effects of Pokot-Marakwet conflict such as disrupted livelihoods and aggravated poverty. The study views that the subsidy provided is inadequate in comparison to the high cost of other school items met by the households. Nevertheless, the subsidy is seen to have a potential to improve access to secondary education in the sampled households. To improve the effectiveness of subsidized secondary education in Kerio Valley, the study recommends the Government and other key stakeholders to look for ways of increasing the annual capitation grant, ensure timely disbursement of funds, and combat Pokot-Marakwet conflict.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ANOVA.....	Analysis of Variance
CDF.....	Constituency Development Fund
CPJC.....	Catholic Peace and Justice Commission
DEO.....	District Education Officer
FPE.....	Free Primary Education
GDP.....	Gross Domestic Product
GER.....	Gross Enrolment Rate
GoK.....	Government of Kenya
KCPE.....	Kenya Certificate of Primary Education
KIPPRA.....	Kenya Institute for Public Policy Research and Analysis
MDG.....	Millennium Development Goals
MoE.....	Ministry of Education
MoEST.....	Ministry of Education, Science and Technology
MoF.....	Ministry of Finance
NCCCK.....	National Council of Churches of Kenya
NER.....	Net Enrolment Rate
NGO.....	Non-Governmental Organization
NSSFG.....	National Secondary School Fees Guideline
SPSS.....	Statistical Package for Social Sciences
SSA.....	Sub-Saharan Africa
UNESCO.....	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

It is evident that human capital is the real wealth of a nation and a workforce that can adapt to the fast changing global dynamics is critical for poverty reduction and sustainable development (Kenya Institute for Public Policy Research and Analysis-KIPPRA, 2007). World Bank (2005) indicates that secondary education is important in human capital development as it ensures acquisition of knowledge and enabling skills necessary for civic participation and economic success. Globally, investing in secondary education is thought to have a direct impact on the effort to realize Millennium Development Goal (MDG) 2 - Universal Primary Education. According to United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization-UNESCO (2005) increasing the provision of and access to secondary education serves as an incentive for primary school completion because there is an increased motivation for graduation from primary school when a student has a realistic opportunity to continue with studies in secondary school. Indeed, Clemens (2004) observes that no country has achieved over 90 percent primary school net enrolment without having at least 35 percent secondary school net enrolment. Consequently, governments worldwide have invested heavily in secondary education.

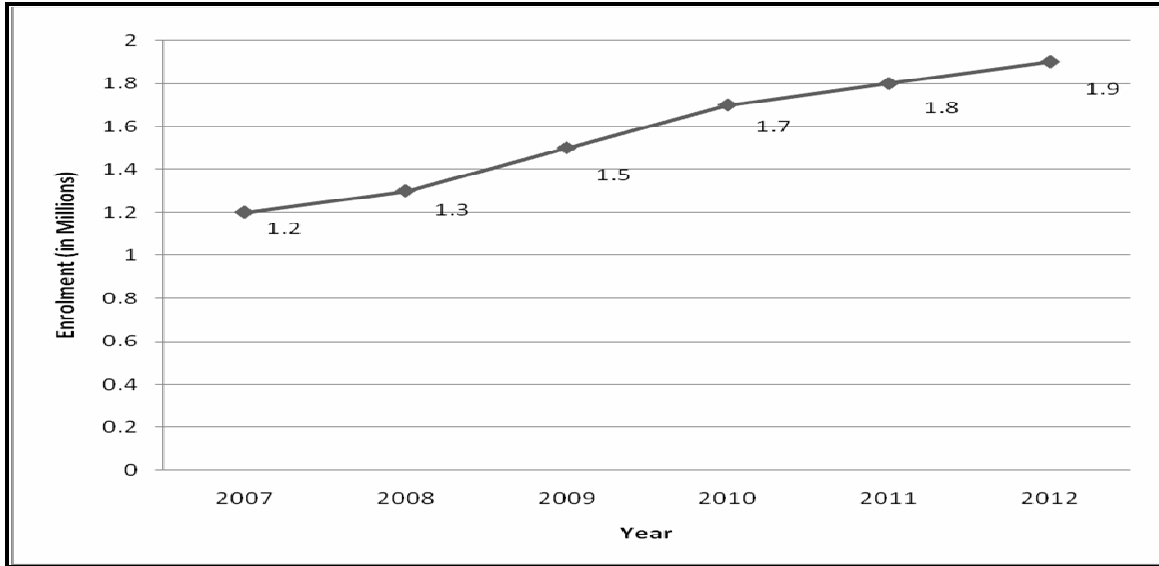
Demand for secondary education is increasing rapidly in Africa. Verspoor (2008) attributes this expansion in demand to the recognition that breaking away from low growth equilibrium will require African economies to invest heavily in secondary education. Despite this recognition, access to secondary education in Africa is still a challenge to some households due to high cost of schooling coupled with other factors that limit children from enrolling and attending secondary school (Lewin 2008; Glennerster *et al.* 2011). For instance, UNESCO (2011) estimated secondary school Gross Enrolment Rate (GER) in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) at 39.6 percent, against 70 percent global secondary school GER, with many of those enrolled attending school irregularly and/or failing to complete.¹ Conversely, North America and Western Europe

¹ Secondary school Gross Enrolment Rate is defined as the total number of pupils in secondary school regardless of age, expressed as the percentage of the official secondary school-age population. Kenya's official secondary school-going age is 14-17 years.

have achieved universal secondary education with GER above 100 percent. It is indisputable that the low secondary school attendance in Africa has negative consequence on the region's competitiveness and economic growth.

Since independence the Government of Kenya (GoK) has committed itself to improve access, equity and quality in education through various policies and programmes. The re-introduction of Free Primary Education (FPE) in 2003 increased primary school enrolment rate to over 95 percent but, in comparison, less than 50 percent of qualified children continued to secondary school (Ministry of Education, Science and Technology-MoEST, 2005). It is documented that the low transition rate from primary to secondary school was due to high cost of secondary education borne by households (Onsomu *et al.* 2006; MoEST 2005; Oketch and Rollerston 2007). In response, the Government introduced subsidized secondary education programme in 2008 to ensure that all children who are academically qualified for secondary education gain access regardless of their socio-economic backgrounds (Ohba, 2009). Under the programme, the Government meets tuition fees of Kshs. 10,265 per student per year for all children enrolled in public secondary schools while households cover costs of lunch, transport, uniform, and development projects. In addition, households with children in boarding schools are also required to meet boarding expenses (Ministry of Education-MoE, 2008). The national secondary school fees guideline indicate that school fees in day secondary schools have been reduced by 77 percent and in boarding secondary schools (District and Provincial) by 9.7 percent (Ohba 2009; MoE 2008). As a result, statistics from the MoE show that more students have been able to enrol in secondary school. For instance, the transition rate from primary to secondary school increased markedly from 59.6 percent in 2007 to 64.1 percent in 2008, further increasing to 66.9 percent in 2009, 72 percent in 2010 and 74 percent in 2012. Accordingly, secondary school enrolment increased from 1.2 million students in 2007 to 1.3 in 2008 and further to 1.5, 1.7, 1.8 and 1.9 in 2009, 2010, 2011 and 2012, respectively (GoK 2012; Ndanyi 2012). Figure 1.1 shows secondary school enrolment nationally from the year 2007 to 2012.

Figure 1.1: National Secondary School Enrolment (2007-2012)



Source: GoK (2012), Ndanyi (2012)

While it is appreciated that subsidization of secondary education in Kenya has improved secondary school enrolment nationally, estimates based on national level data may fail to capture enrolment and attendance variations that exist within the country. For instance, some regions more than others are affected by calamities such as poverty, floods and conflicts which in effect influence access to secondary education in these areas. Therefore, it is important to understand how subsidization of secondary education benefits households in such challenging contexts. The interest of this study is on whether or not subsidized secondary education enhances secondary school enrolment and attendance in conflict-prone areas.

Conflict is a complex and dynamic concept, but it may be defined as a clash between individuals or groups arising out of difference in interests, needs, understanding, beliefs or values (Dal Bo and Powel, 2007). Although conflict is not always characterized by violence, it may escalate and result to it if not controlled in time.² Literature indicates that conflict affects attainment of secondary education more than primary schooling because secondary education requires more specialized resources which may not be accessible during conflicts (Shemyakina 2006; Swee 2009). Specifically, Holmes (2010) explains three ways in which conflict affects attainment of

² In this study, the term conflict is used to refer to violent conflict including livestock rustling, civil conflict, armed rebellion, and interstate conflict.

secondary education. Firstly, it disrupts livelihoods and creates or exacerbates poverty making it difficult for households with competing priorities to fund children's secondary education. Secondly, the delivery of secondary education services in conflict-prone areas is often disrupted and as a result households have to disproportionately finance schools out of their own pockets in order to keep them functioning. Thirdly, few children attend secondary school in conflict-prone areas owing to fear of attacks, displacement and students' recruitment into armed conflicts. Therefore, in this context of disrupted livelihoods, high rates of poverty and economic difficulties households may be unable to meet secondary education costs. UNESCO (2010) suggests that such households may benefit from secondary education subsidies which offer important potential to offset school costs and act as incentive for secondary school enrolment and attendance.

Being a notoriously conflict-prone area, Kerio Valley in Marakwet District, Elgeyo-Marakwet County is the focus of this study.³ The conflict in Kerio Valley is between two neighbouring communities; the East Pokot of Baringo District who are purely pastoralists and the Marakwet who are agro-pastoralists (Cheserek *et al.*, 2012). The major and immediate causes of the conflict are livestock rustling and intense competition for limited water and pasture during periods of drought which culminate in violent confrontation as the two communities struggle to control these scarce resources for their own use. Other factors that cause and maintain the conflict include proliferation of illicit firearms, increased levels of drought-induced poverty, inadequate policing and state security arrangements, and diminishing role of traditional governance (Kipkebut, 2007). Hitherto, the conflict remains erratic but escalates during drought periods despite many attempts to address it.

The Pokot-Marakwet conflict has led to loss of lives and property, devastated families, aggravated poverty and jeopardized livelihoods of thousands of people living in Marakwet District (Kipkorir and Welbourn, 2008). It is estimated that over the period 1999-2009, thirty two thousand people were displaced, one thousand two hundred human lives were lost and more than three hundred thousand livestock were stolen from Marakwet District (Cheserek *et al.*, 2012).

³ Although we have a County system in Kenya today, most statistics still exist within the context of Provinces, Districts, Divisions, and Locations as most County governments are still in transition. As a result, most of the data/statistics used in this study are from the District level.

Under these unsecure circumstances, most of the available household resources are channelled towards security-related matters such as purchase of guns at the expense of food, health and education (Weiss, 2004). As a result, access to secondary education has particularly been affected in Marakwet District whereby, according to Marakwet District Education Officer, only 46 percent of all children of secondary school age in 2012 were enrolled in secondary school.⁴ What remains unexplored however is whether subsidized secondary education introduced in 2008 has influenced secondary school participation in Kerio Valley amid conflict and its related impacts. It is against this background that the current study was proposed to investigate the effect of subsidized secondary education on secondary school enrolment and attendance in the conflict-prone area of Kerio Valley. This is based on the premise that provision of secondary school subsidies is an incentive for secondary school enrolment and attendance in conflict-prone areas. In this study, secondary school attendance is determined by the actual number of days a child attended or missed school in the previous school term while enrolment is determined by the actual number of children admitted and fully recorded in secondary school register and the number of those who dropped out or never enrolled. The two are differentiated because a child might enrol in school but attends irregularly.

The County of Elgeyo-Marakwet is located in Rift Valley region of Kenya and comprises what were previously Marakwet and Keiyo administrative Districts. Currently, the County's total population is estimated at 369,998 people while the population with primary and secondary education is estimated at 71.3 percent and 10.6 percent, respectively (GoK, 2011). Marakwet District itself has a total population of 187,123 people with more than half (67 percent) of the population living in absolute poverty, and dependants (below 15 and above 65 years) forming 50 percent of the total population. Marakwet District also has a youthful population with 71 percent of the total population estimated to be under the age of 25 (GoK, 2011). It is imperative therefore to develop and mould this youthful population for the betterment of the District and Kenya in general through provision of quality education.

⁴ Although the official secondary school age in Kenya is 14-17 years, this study found out during pre-test that the Pokot-Marakwet conflict and its related impacts delay school entrance in Kerio Valley and thus most children complete secondary education when they are 21 years old. In effect, the secondary school age for the current study is 14-21 years.

Table 1.1 shows primary and secondary school enrolment levels in Marakwet District from 2002 to 2013. Primary school enrolment increased from 43,936 pupils in 2002 to 53,888 in 2008 and further to 58,474 in 2013. This increase in enrolment could be attributed to FPE programme re-introduced in Kenya in 2003. Equally, secondary school enrolment increased from 4,323 pupils in 2002 to 7,722 in 2008 and to 9,772 in 2013. The secondary school enrolment between 2002 to 2008 shows that the number of children in secondary school in Marakwet District has been increasing even before secondary education was subsidized in 2008. This could be attributed to the provision of secondary school bursaries by the Government, individuals or private organizations to children from poor households (Njeru and Orodho, 2003). The annual increase of 18 percent in secondary school enrolment between 2003 and 2004 in particular could be a ripple effect of the FPE programme re-introduced in 2003 which ensured that many children completed their primary education in 2003 and transited to secondary school in 2004. With regard to secondary education, the 14 percent annual increase in enrolment between 2007 and 2008 could be attributed to the fact that households were motivated to send children to secondary school because they expected to benefit from the introduction of subsidized secondary education in 2008. However, table 1.1 also shows that there was an annual decrease of 2 percent in secondary school enrolment between 2008 and 2009. This could be attributed to the existence of other factors including conflict, student pregnancy, indiscipline cases, and high cost of books, uniforms and other secondary school items not covered by the subsidy which hindered qualified children from going to secondary school.

Table 1.1 also indicates that, compared to primary school enrolment, secondary school enrolment in Marakwet District remained lower with a slight annual increase of 1-2 percent. Limited number of secondary schools in the District and high cost of secondary schooling could explain this disparity. For example, there are only 32 secondary schools in Marakwet District compared to 177 primary schools. Also, while primary education has been free since 2003, the high cost of secondary education amidst high poverty levels in the District may have hindered secondary school enrolment.

Table 1.1: Marakwet District Primary and Secondary School Enrolments (2002-2013)

Year	Primary School Enrolment		Secondary School Enrolment		Proportion of Secondary to Primary School Enrolment per year (Percent)
	Total	Percentage Change per Year	Total	Percentage Change per Year	
2002	43,936	-	4,323	-	10
2003	47,567	8	4,618	7	10
2004	49,244	4	5,457	18	11
2005	50,459	3	5,937	9	12
2006	52,896	5	6,192	4	12
2007	53,451	1	6,802	10	13
2008	53,888	1	7,722	14	14
2009	55,866	4	7,568	-2	14
2010	56,282	1	8,989	19	16
2011	57,431	2	9,621	7	17
2012	58,088	1	9,337	3	16
2013	58,474	1	9,772	6	17

Source: Marakwet District Development Plan (2008-2012), DEO-Marakwet District (2013)

Topographically, Marakwet District is divided into three zones namely the Highland Plateau, Marakwet Escarpment, and Kerio Valley. While the Marakwets are generally regarded as agro-pastoralists, little crop-farming (of mainly drought-resistant crops) takes place in Kerio Valley since it is a semi-arid area. Therefore, those living in Kerio Valley are largely pastoralists who keep livestock (cattle, goats and sheep) while those in the Highland Plateau and Escarpment practice small scale crop-farming and keep dairy livestock.

1.2 Problem Statement

Secondary education is significant for development in Kenya. First of all, it has both private and social benefits hence a critical tool for generating opportunities of social and economic transformation (World Bank, 2005). Additionally, it provides a vital link between primary education and world of work on one hand, and further training on the other thus making it key in the preparation of human capital development and provision of life opportunities (Onsomu *et al.*, 2006). However, the education sub-sector has sadly been facing a challenge of access due to high cost of secondary education (Kiveu and Mayo 2009; Njeru and Orodho 2005). Coupled with high poverty levels, some households either have not been enrolling their children in secondary school or fail to sustain continuous attendance of those enrolled. The Kenyan Government responded to this by subsidizing secondary education in all public schools from 2008.

The principle underlying provision of subsidized secondary education is that it lowers secondary school costs and by extension increasing chances of enrolment and attendance. For instance, national statistics estimate that the Gross and Net Enrolment Rates (GERs and NERs) for secondary school in Kenya have been increasing consistently since the introduction of subsidized secondary education in 2008 (GoK, 2012).⁵ The GER rose from 42.5 percent in 2008, to 45.3 percent and 47.3 percent in 2009 and 2010 respectively while NER increased from 28.9 percent in 2008 to 35.8 percent in 2010 (GoK, 2012). These estimates, though important, cannot be relied upon to clearly understand the effectiveness of subsidized secondary education on secondary school enrolment and attendance in all areas across the country. This is because national level estimates overly generalize and tend to conceal secondary school enrolment and attendance inequalities across the regional divide owing to existing social, economic and political conditions.

To be specific, literature shows that conflict-prone areas typically experience low secondary school enrolment and attendance when compared with conflict-free areas due to significant financial obstacles resulting from conflict situations (Wharton and Oyelerere 2011; UNESCO 2010). Conflict, for instance, disrupts livelihood sources such as farming and trading activities, reduces productivity and income, and leads to loss of property. As a result, it intensifies poverty and thereby constraining households from meeting the direct and indirect costs of secondary schooling. For this reason, provision of secondary education subsidies is thought to encourage access to secondary education in conflict-prone areas by offsetting cost of schooling. However, since the introduction of subsidized secondary education in Kenya no empirical study, to the best of my knowledge, has been conducted to specifically investigate whether secondary school enrolment and attendance in conflict-prone areas have been enhanced. Therefore, it is not clear how effective subsidization of secondary education is when it comes to improving secondary school enrolment and attendance in conflict-prone areas. In order to unearth this, it is necessary to conduct a study in a conflict-prone area and investigate the effect of subsidized secondary education on secondary school enrolment and attendance.

⁵ Secondary school Net Enrolment Rate is defined as the total number of pupils in the official secondary school-age expressed as a percentage of the total population in this age group.

This study is an attempt to contribute to fill this gap in knowledge by investigating the effect of subsidized secondary education on secondary school enrolment and attendance in Kerio Valley, Elgeyo-Marakwet County. As explained above, conflicts in Kerio Valley due to livestock rustling and competition for scarce resources frustrate access to secondary education in the area. Most studies done in Kerio Valley including Kipkebut (2007), Katam (2012) and Pkalya *et al.* (2003) focussed on the impacts of conflict on education but no study, known to me, has investigated the effect of subsidized secondary education on secondary school enrolment and attendance in the area since the programme was introduced in 2008.

1.3 Research Questions

The overall research question that this study sought to answer was the effect of subsidized secondary education on secondary school enrolment and attendance in the conflict-prone area of Kerio Valley. To answer this broad question, the following specific questions were developed:

- (i) What are the characteristics of the households in Kerio Valley?
- (ii) What are the secondary school enrolment and attendance levels in the households?
- (iii) In what ways does the conflict affect secondary school enrolment and attendance in Kerio Valley?
- (iv) How do the households benefit from the secondary education subsidy?
- (v) To what extent does subsidized secondary education influence secondary school enrolment and attendance in Kerio Valley amidst conflict and its related impacts?

1.4 Research Objectives

The main objective of this study was to determine the effect of subsidized secondary education on secondary school enrolment and attendance in the conflict-prone area of Kerio Valley. This study was guided by the following specific objectives:

- (i) To determine the characteristics of the households in Kerio Valley.
- (ii) To establish secondary school enrolment and attendance levels in the households.
- (iii) To identify the ways in which the conflict affects secondary school enrolment and attendance in Kerio Valley.
- (iv) To determine how the households benefit from the secondary education subsidy.

- (v) To investigate the extent to which subsidized secondary education influences secondary school enrolment and attendance in Kerio Valley amidst conflict and its related impacts.

1.5 Justification for the Study

Conflict frustrates access to secondary education. Literature associates this with disrupted livelihoods, insecurity, high levels of poverty and deflection of available resources to security matters during conflicts (Holmes 2010; Wharton and Oyelere 2011). At the same time, Bird *et al.* (2011) argue that people with at least secondary education are more likely to have socio-economic resilience during conflicts through finding alternative livelihoods, adjusting to social disorder and displacement. It is therefore necessary for every country to ensure that its citizens, especially those in conflict-prone areas, attain secondary education.

Given the financial difficulties accompanying conflicts, provision of subsidized secondary education is considered crucial in promoting access to secondary education in conflict-prone areas. It is held that subsidized secondary education is likely to make secondary schooling affordable and in turn promoting enrolment and attendance. However, since the introduction of subsidized secondary education in Kenya in 2008, no known study has been done to determine whether secondary school enrolment and attendance in conflict-prone areas has been enhanced as a result of the subsidy. It is hoped that the research findings, conclusions and recommendations of this study will provide useful insights and groundwork for future research on the relationship between subsidized secondary education and secondary school enrolment and attendance in conflict-prone areas.

The Government of Kenya introduced subsidized secondary education programme mainly to ensure that all qualified children gain access to secondary education regardless of their socio-economic backgrounds. It is important therefore to find out whether the programme promotes access to secondary schooling in all areas regardless of their socio-economic differences. The current study focuses on a conflict-prone area and its findings will provide a policy feedback on whether subsidized secondary education enhances access to secondary schooling in areas affected by conflicts. This information will be useful to the Kenyan Government in formulating appropriate and effective policies for financing secondary education countrywide.

The study is also significant because it focuses on households as unit of analysis. Literature argues that it is important to focus on households in matters related to schooling because the decision of whether or not to send a child to school is largely determined by the household (Becker 1964; Onsomu *et al.* 2006). Most of the studies done in Kenya on subsidized secondary education, including Akaranga (2011) and Mayo and Kiveu (2009), have focused on secondary schools as unit of analysis as well as the main source of data collection. These studies fail to provide sufficient information on the effect of subsidized secondary education on secondary school enrolment and attendance at the household level.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a critical analysis of the existing relevant theoretical and empirical literature to the study proposed. The goal is to identify existing gaps of knowledge that the current study seeks to fill. To do this, the chapter is divided into parts. The first part reviews theoretical literature on secondary education sub-sector, conflict and subsidized secondary education. The second part examines theories that are applicable to the current study while the third part presents the existing empirical literature. From the reviewed literature, a conceptual framework that guides the present study is presented.

2.2 Theoretical Literature Review

2.2.1 Secondary Education Sub-Sector

Kamens *et al.* (2006) explains that historical forces account for worldwide variations in secondary education systems, curricula and institutional structures. Depending on the system adopted in a country, schools offering secondary education may be called secondary schools, high schools, middle schools, gymnasia, vocational schools or lyceums (Cuadra and Moreno, 2005). Some countries also distinguish between upper and lower secondary school levels. While the onset of upper secondary education typically marks the end of basic schooling, lower secondary school seeks to maintain and strengthen the educational aims of primary schooling and hence increasingly recognized as part of basic education.⁶ In Kenya, secondary education lasts for four years and has recently been proposed to be part of basic education (GoK, 2012).

Until recently developing countries paid less attention to secondary education. World Bank (2005) argues that this was because the power of wealthy elites ensured that higher education received a substantial funding while the international community persuaded governments to invest heavily in primary schooling hence rendering secondary education an afterthought. In contrast, secondary education in developed countries has often been recognized as subsidiary to

⁶ Literature reports that in 2011 lower secondary education was basic and compulsory in about 80 percent of the countries worldwide (UNESCO, 2011).

higher education and this has influenced how it is managed. Currently, however, secondary education is emerging as the cornerstone of transformational process of education worldwide (Glennerster *et al.*, 2011). Literature indicates that governments have realized that secondary education can significantly contribute to national economic performance and has human capital threshold effects that help attract foreign investment (Verspoor, 2008). Secondary education is also essential in transmitting values, attitudes and skills necessary for civic participation, contributing to better health and nutrition, reducing crime rate, creating opportunities for social mobility and reducing dependency on social support programmes (LeVine *et al.*, 2004).

World Bank (2005) explains that less-developed countries have intensively attempted to improve secondary school access, with most of them offering secondary education at a greater level than more-developed countries did when they had higher or comparable Gross Domestic Product (GDP). For instance, Goldin (2002), cited in World Bank (2005), shows that in 1990s a lot of less-developed countries had better secondary school GERs than most countries in Europe in 1950s when the latter had higher GDP per capita. Even so, less-developed countries continue to experience low secondary school participation since they have failed to promptly widen secondary education opportunities as compared to more-developed countries (World Bank, 2005). UNESCO (2011) argues that Africa, in particular, continues to be the lowest in the world in terms of secondary school participation.

2.2.2 Factors Influencing Access to Secondary Education

Literature outlines a diversity of factors that influence access to secondary education. According to Onsomu *et al.* (2006) these factors can be grouped into household, individual, school and community characteristics. At the household level, for instance, the level of education of the household head is one of the factors that determine the probability of enrolling a child to secondary school. According to Bedi *et al.* (2004) educated household heads may have more economic power than uneducated household heads and hence more ability to allocate more household resources to their children's education. Additionally, educated parents are argued to be better informed on the benefits of secondary education thus more likely to send their children to secondary school.

Another household characteristic that determines a child's access to secondary education is the number of children of secondary school age in the household. Gebreselassie (1998) explains that while it may be expected that many children of secondary school age in a household would compete for resources and thereby decreasing their likelihood of participating in schooling, the chances of accessing secondary education may also increase with an increase in the number of secondary school age children in the household. Gabreselassie (1998) argues that the existence of another child in the household implies release of the other child to attend school as the other stays back to offer labour and generate income to sustain the one in school. The impact of the number of secondary school-age children in the household has been interrogated further in this study so as to provide clarity. Household income level is also outlined as another household characteristic that influences a child's access to secondary schooling (Onsomu *et al.*, 2006). Households with high income levels can invest more in their children's education but, considering the opportunity costs for any long term investment in education, low income households are likely to compel their children to either engage in paid employment or help at home.

At the individual level, characteristics such as gender of the child influence access to secondary education. According to Holmes (1999) boys have higher chances of participating in secondary education than girls in patriarchal systems because the expected returns for girls are lower than for boys. Other factors including retrogressive socio-economic and cultural traditions, religious values and practices such as Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) and early marriages undermine girls' participation in secondary education. Furthermore, scarcity of important amenities such as water, firewood and other daily household requirements, especially in Arid and Semi-Arid Lands (ASALs), raise the opportunity costs of girls going to secondary school. The situation of the girl-child is further worsened by poverty, insecurity, sexual abuse, pregnancy, distance to school and child-headed households (Keriga and Burja, 2009).

At the school level, quality of the secondary school and cost of schooling are some of the key characteristics that influence access to secondary education. School quality is often determined by the state and availability of educational facilities as well as student-teacher ratio. According to Manda *et al.* (2003) low quality secondary schools discourage parents from enrolling their

children. Moreover, secondary education costs which take the form of tuition fees, boarding expenses, uniforms, books, transport and contributions for development projects deter access to secondary education (Holla and Kremer, 2008). However, Pavanello and Othieno (2008) argue that secondary school participation rely more on reduced cost of education than on improved quality of education services. Noteworthy, access to secondary school is also determined by student's performance in primary school examination (Onsomu *et al.*, 2006).

Community characteristics such as location of household residence and availability of secondary schools have also been outlined as factors that influence access to secondary education. Brock and Cammish (1997) state that residing in farming areas reduces the likelihood of participating in secondary school because the opportunity costs of school attendance are higher due to farm employment opportunities or child labour needs at home. On the other hand, Ngware *et al.* (2007) argues that most of the urban population is concentrated in informal settlements where inadequacy or non-existence of secondary school infrastructures may compel children to paid employment in order to supplement household income. According to Maglad (1994) absence or limited number of secondary schools in the neighbourhood negatively affects enrolment and attendance due to the costs incurred to attend distant secondary schools. Long distance to secondary schools is particularly a greater barrier in insecure areas since it erodes parents' confidence in sending their children to school (Keriga and Burja, 2009).

2.2.3 The Effect of Conflict on Access to Secondary Education

In addition to household, individual, school and community characteristics, literature acknowledges that situational factors such as conflict worsen access to secondary education and are responsible for regional inequalities in secondary education attainment (Dabalén and Paul 2012; Fredriksen 2009). Although conflicts vary in their nature, they intensify secondary school drop-outs and repetition, lead to drastic decrease in attendance rates, and results in wastage. In theory, scholars have discussed various channels through which conflicts affect access to secondary education. First, conflict may reduce expected returns to secondary schooling since education is unlikely to be viewed as a value-enhancing commodity in a conflict-prone area. Shemyakina (2006) attributes this to conflict-induced economic slump which could shrink job opportunities that require skilled labour or secondary school level of education. Low returns to

schooling, Shemyakina (2006) maintains, could discourage households from sending children to secondary school and instead they would channel their resources to ventures with more proceeds.

Conflict disrupts household livelihoods, deters investment, reduces productivity and leads to loss of property. This in effect intensifies the likelihood of poverty by unexpectedly reducing financial resources available to many households hence forcing them to withdraw their children from secondary school due to inability to pay school fees (Dryden-Peterson, 2009). Additionally, in an attempt to maintain their existing level of consumption, children of secondary school age in conflict-prone areas may be forced to work rather than attend school. Holmes (2010) notes that in a context of economic difficulty, households are less concerned with secondary education, especially if they have to pay for it, as basic needs such as food, security and health are of outmost importance.

Conflict may also lead to destruction of schools and educational infrastructure, displacement, death of students and teachers, closure of schools for an indefinite period and problems in harmonization of school calendars (Dabalen and Paul, 2012). Sometimes, displacement of people may result in the use of school facilities as shelter and haven of safety (UNESCO, 2010). Consequently, teaching may not resume in these institutions and children would have to travel to schools elsewhere or drop-out of school completely. Keriga and Burja (2009) add that insecurity affects teacher-student ratio as teachers are likely to transfer to schools in safer regions.

Lastly, conflict threatens children's security as they travel to or from school and while attending classes. This may induce households to keep their children away from school or send them away to relatives in more secure places. Shemyakina (2006) adds that conflict may have specific gender impacts. For instance, girls may be forced to drop-out of school to avoid sexual assaults and harassment on their way to or from school. At times, female students may be withdrawn from school much earlier and married off to lift the burden from their families.

2.2.4 Rationale for Subsidized Secondary Education

Subsidized secondary education is a government strategy of reducing secondary school costs borne by households so as to improve equity of access to secondary education by all children regardless of their social and economic backgrounds (Oketch and Somerset, 2010). Various

mechanisms exist of delivering education subsidies worldwide. For instance, school vouchers are used in Chile, Sweden, Netherlands, Pakistan and Bangladesh while a combination of loan and vouchers are used in Brazil. Learning tax credit and education savings account is used in United Kingdom and Canada respectively (World Bank, 2003).

According to UNESCO (2008) little was known about education subsidies in developing countries until recently when subsidized secondary education programmes were adopted in Latin America and Asia. These programs include Mexico's Progresá (education, health and nutrition program); Brazil's Bolsa Escola (scholarship fund); Chile's SUF (unitary family subsidy); Honduras's PRAF (family allowance program) and China's Compulsory Education Law (World Bank, 2005). Recently, some African countries have implemented Free Secondary Education (FSE) policies with the aim of improving secondary school enrolment rates. For example, Ohba (2009) states that Rwanda introduced a nine-year basic education programme in 2006 by extending free education from primary to lower secondary school, Uganda implemented universal secondary education in 2007, and Zambia introduced upper basic education.

Kenyan Government in particular introduced subsidized secondary education in 2008 in which all public secondary schools, on behalf of their students, receive an annual amount of Kshs. 10,265 per student for tuition expenses. At the beginning of every academic year the Ministry of Finance (MoF) releases funds to the MoE's bank account for all students enrolled in public secondary schools in the country that year. Within forty eight hours of receipt, the MoE is required to disburse the funds to the bank accounts of the various public secondary schools countrywide as per the number of students enrolled in those schools (Otieno and Colclough, 2009). Once they receive the funds, secondary school head teachers are required to issue an official receipt of Kshs. 10,265 to each student for the payment of tuition fees. Each student is also required to endorse the tuition fund received by signing a receipt which will then be submitted to the MoE by the head teachers. Secondary school audits are carried out annually by the MoE to ensure that the money received is used appropriately (MoE, 2010). In some instances, however, the MoF releases the funds in instalments and thus the MoE is forced to disburse the funds to schools in instalments as well.

Literature gives three main reasons for subsidizing secondary education. Firstly, Armitage and Sabot (1987) argue that access to secondary education should not be determined by the ability to pay school fees because market imperfections prevent poor households from borrowing to finance education expenditure. Instead, government intervention is crucial to safeguard against inequalities in access while at the same time relieving parents the cost burden of secondary education. This will also allow households to consume other needs such as health, food and post-secondary education and training. In addition, World Bank (2008) points out that despite the increase in primary school enrolment and completion rates as a result of FPE, many children are unable to access secondary education due to financial difficulties. In an attempt to minimize the financial barrier of accessing secondary education, many governments have subsidized secondary education. Bray (2002) also observes that secondary education should be subsidized because it has both private and social returns.

2.3 Theoretical Framework

2.3.1 Classical Liberal Theory of Equal Opportunity

The theoretical underpinning of this study borrows heavily from the work of Rousseau (1762). His Classical Liberal Theory of Equal Opportunity proposes that social mobility will be promoted by equal opportunity to education. The theory asserts that human beings are born equal in the sense that they have equal moral and political rights, and individual's socio-economic background should not jeopardize social equality so long as society rewards people according to their merits. It follows from this belief that social institutions, including educational institutions, should treat people equally. They should provide every person with a chance to advance according to individual talents and efforts regardless of his or her socio-economic background. The theory states that institutions of education should remove barriers of any nature that could prevent qualified students from developing their inborn talents.

This theory is relevant to the current study because high cost of secondary education coupled with destabilized household livelihoods and income prevent children in conflict-prone areas from enrolling and attending secondary school. As a result, intelligent students from conflict-prone areas may not take advantage of their inborn talents hence denying them the opportunity for socio-economic upliftment. However, removal of financial barriers through subsidization of

secondary education is viewed as an effective strategy of promoting equality of access to secondary education in the society. Subsidization of secondary education is thought to enable all qualified children to access the kind and amount of secondary education that suits their inherited capacities regardless of whether they live in conflict or non-conflict contexts. This theory however fails to recognize that universal provision of education subsidies in a country is likely to benefit wealthy households more than the poor and in effect increasing inequalities in educational access between the poor and the wealthy (Castro-Leal *et al.*, 1999). Poor or disadvantaged households may require tailored programmes that could enable them to catch-up with their wealthy counterparts.

2.3.2 Household Production Function Approach

Another theoretical framework that this study adopts is Household Production Function Approach developed by Gary Becker (1964) but whose origin is traced to the works of Margaret Reid (1934). The initial ideas of this approach state that a household consumes only commodities that it produces, and the production of each commodity requires an input of market goods/services and an input of time. The commodities produced, rather than the market goods/services and time, are the source of utility. Becker (1964) extended these ideas of Household Production Function Approach to the study of production process of education in the household. Beckerian approach observes that within the household production framework, child's education is an investment and hence a commodity desired by the household. For instance, households send their children to school with the belief that they will bring benefits in the form of higher earnings once they complete their education. Even so, the approach indicates that household decision to send a child to school is determined by the present value of expected future returns and cost to the household of educating the child.

This approach observes that although there could be an optimal investment in educating a child, household financial constraints could mean that this optimum is unobtainable for some households. To explain this further, Becker (1964) states that since the direct costs of education (such as school fees) are incurred before the benefits (such as higher earnings) are recouped, some households may not have the resources to pay for schooling and in effect unable to send their children to school. Moreover, households may have other basic and immediate needs

including food, health, security, clothing, and water competing for the household income. Such households, as Gurm and Etana (2011) assert, may not afford to send children to school if the purpose of guaranteeing optimum future benefits negatively impacts the present welfare of the household. Under such circumstances, the approach argues that education subsidies would be attractive to the households.

This approach is relevant to the current study because although households in Kerio Valley may be motivated by expected future returns to educate their children, financial constraints may prevent them from enrolling their children in secondary school. These financial constraints are mainly attributed to the frequent Pokot-Marakwet conflicts which have deepened poverty levels in Kerio Valley. The conflicts have also forced households to reorient their available income from education to security-related expenditures such as purchase of guns. Due to these financial constraints, households are unable to meet costs of secondary education which in effect limits them from sending their children to secondary school. However, the provision of subsidized secondary education is expected to lower the cost of education and encourage households to send their children to secondary school.

2.4 Empirical Literature Review

2.4.1 Effects of Conflict on Secondary School Enrolment and Attendance

Conflicts vary widely in their nature, intensity, duration, range of contributory factors, and the ways in which they can affect education. Several studies show that conflict has a negative effect on school enrolment and attendance, but this effect is particularly larger in secondary school level. A study by Swee (2009) found that although the conflict in Bosnia did not have significant effect on primary school enrolment and attendance, a large number of children in secondary school dropped out. He explained that since secondary education requires more specialized resources and expertise than primary schooling, it is likely to be more affected by economic hardships associated with conflicts.

In 2011, Save the Child conducted an in-depth survey among 300 youth in Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo on factors that hinder access to formal and non-formal education. The respondents stated that the prevailing conflict in the area disrupted household livelihood strategies such as farming which in effect contributed to low household income. For example, the

study reported that households in the area could not safely access their farms and thus unable to generate income from selling farm produce which would have otherwise been used to pay secondary school fees. Furthermore, displacement of people and looting of personal property led to collapse into total poverty. As a result of lack of secondary school fees many secondary school children dropped out of school or attended irregularly.

Bird and Higgins (2009) conducted a qualitative study in Northern Uganda. They found out that, compared to the rest of the country, the Northern region lagged behind in secondary school enrolment. This was as a result of the conflict between the Ugandan Government and Lord's Resistance Army coupled with a series of Karamajong cattle rustling which impeded economic activities and undermined people's livelihoods in the Northern region. In this region of Uganda, cattle-keeping is an important component of people's livelihoods and cattle are often sold to pay for health care, food and education. Due to the widespread poverty caused by the conflicts households in the region were unable to enrol their children in secondary school. A study by Wairagu (2007) in Turkana District established that frequent raids of Turkana's cattle by the Pokot led to overnight poverty in the District. As a result, households were unable to meet secondary school costs therefore contributing to low secondary school enrolment and attendance in the District.

In Eastern Colombia, Rodriguez and Sanchez (2009) used Municipal Level data and regression analysis to investigate the impact of armed conflict on school drop-out rates. While controlling for gender, migration, socio-economic status and other variables, they found that secondary school children from municipalities exposed to conflict were more likely to drop-out of school. They established that pressure to join militant groups and insecurity contributed to low secondary school attendance and high drop-out rates. However, secondary school enrolment and attendance levels of children from wealthy households were relatively uninterrupted by the conflict because the households could afford safer schools and their children were unlikely to be recruited by militant groups.

Using Municipal level data to investigate the impact of 1992-1998 Tajikistan civil conflict on school enrolment and attainment, Shemyakina (2006) established that conflict has gendered effects on secondary school access. The study showed that exposure to Tajik conflict had little or

no effect on boys' secondary school enrolment but had a large negative effect on girls'. The study concluded that households facing uncertainty such as conflict are more inclined to investing on secondary education for boys rather than girls. However, different findings were reported by Akresh and De Walque (2008) study in Rwanda. While studying the effects of the 1994 Rwandan genocide on schooling, the researchers established that secondary school enrolment and attendance for boys was more affected than girls' because boys were more likely to be drawn into the conflict.

One of the objectives of the present study was to determine the ways in which the conflict between Marakwet and Pokot communities affected secondary school enrolment and attendance in Kerio Valley. It is hoped that the information collected will provide a basis of determining whether provision of secondary school subsidy is beneficial to households in meeting the costs of secondary schooling and in effect promote enrolment and attendance. Though the studies reviewed above provide insights into understanding how conflict affects secondary school enrolment and attendance, it is important to understand that the effects of conflict vary significantly with the context, intensity, and length of the conflict. The present study specifically sought to establish how conflicts related to livestock-rustling and competition for scarce resources affected secondary school enrolment and attendance in Kerio Valley.

2.4.2 Benefits of Secondary Education Subsidy to Households

One of the core objectives of subsidizing secondary education is that school costs met by households will be lowered and hence secondary education will be affordable and accessible to all eligible children. Several empirical studies have been undertaken to determine whether this objective has been realized. For example, Mohamed (2011) conducted a survey to assess the socio-economic implications of subsidized secondary education programme in Mandera West District in Kenya. He found out that 63 percent of all parents interviewed agreed that removal of tuition fees assisted needy students, who would have otherwise been locked out, to enrol in secondary school. In the same year, Akaranga (2011) reported that removal of tuition fees enabled households in Butere District in Kenya to use the money meant for tuition to pay for other secondary school items not covered by the subsidy. As a result, the study indicated that households were able to send more than one child to secondary school at a time.

While tuition fees have been abolished in public secondary schools, the household burden of educational expenses other than the tuition should not be overlooked. In order to determine the extent to which the removal of secondary school tuition fees benefited poor households in Makueni District in Kenya, Ohba (2009) established the costs of other secondary school-related items borne by the households. Through a field survey in Makueni rural markets, the researcher established the average costs of school uniforms, school bags, school stationeries and games kits. The study reported that the average direct contribution per household for a child's first year of public day secondary school was Kshs. 11,681 and Kshs. 23,095 for public boarding school. For continuing secondary school students, the survey estimated the costs of compulsory items for a public day school student at Kshs. 6,743 and Kshs. 8,443 for a boarder. The study concluded that household contribution required to send a child to public day secondary school has been reduced as a result of the removal of tuition fees, but household's contribution for a public boarding school is still high for majority of households.

A study by Kiveu and Mayo (2009) in Ndivisi Division in Bungoma District in Kenya, established that regardless of the introduction of subsidized secondary education in the country many households in Ndivisi Division were unable to send their children to secondary school. The study reported that some public secondary schools charged higher fees on the items they were allowed to levy than what the MoE recommended. Some secondary schools also introduced other costs including remedial teaching fees, motivation fees, and welfare fees which were non-existent prior to subsidized secondary education. Majority of the Head Teachers interviewed in the study attributed the introduction of extra costs to irregular payments and severe delays in the release of funds from the MoF. Due to these extra costs, the study concluded that most household did not benefit from provision of secondary school subsidy.

The above studies shed light on the extent to which provision of secondary school subsidies benefits households, which was one of the objectives of this study. Although Ohba (2009) examined the costs of other secondary school-related items borne by households, these costs were based on market analysis done in Makueni District in 2009. It is pertinent to note that prices of goods and services change with time and space, and hence the current study sought to establish the amount paid for these items by households in Kerio Valley in 2013. Also, the

studies reviewed including Akaranga (2011), Ohba (2009), and Kiveu and Mayo (2009) were conducted in conflict-free areas whereas this study was interested in conflict-prone areas. It is crucial to know whether the situation in conflict-prone areas is the same as established in conflict-free areas.

2.4.3 Subsidized Secondary Education and Secondary School Enrolment and Attendance in Conflict-Prone Areas

Given the intermittent disruption of household livelihoods and income, households in conflict-prone areas are likely to face significant financial obstacles which limit them from sending their children to secondary school. To this end, empirical evidence shows that provision of secondary education subsidies can be an appropriate strategy in promoting secondary school enrolment and attendance during conflict and in post-conflict era. A survey by Bailey (2009) in conflict-affected region of North Kivu Province in Democratic Republic of Congo, showed that prior to the introduction of secondary education subsidies over half of secondary school children had dropped out of school due to financial difficulties. However, secondary school enrolment and attendance rates soared immediately Concern Worldwide, a Non-governmental Organization, subsidized tuition and examinations fees for each student.

Another study was done by Holmes and Jackson (2007) in Sierra Leone on the effect of secondary school subsidy on girls' enrolment and attendance. The conflict in Sierra Leone, which ended in the year 2000, hindered girls' secondary school enrolment and attendance and in response, the government contributed approximately US\$ 77 per student per year. This amount covered tuition and school materials costs. Holmes and Jackson (2007) found that the secondary school subsidy led to reduced absenteeism and drop-out rates of girls in secondary school. Similarly in Cambodia, Pavanello and Othieno (2008) established that the increased use of cash transfers conditional on sending girls to secondary school following the Cambodian conflict resulted in increased secondary school participation for girls by 30-40 percent. However, a study by Vaux and Visman (2005) in conflict-prone areas of East Timor revealed that removal of tuition fees did not significantly improve secondary school enrolment and attendance. They found that indirect costs such as meals, transport, and school uniforms continued to prevent children from enrolling or staying in school.

One of the objectives of this study was to investigate the extent to which subsidized secondary education influenced secondary school enrolment and attendance in Kerio Valley amidst conflict and its related impacts. The reviewed studies provide a basis for understanding the link between secondary education subsidies and secondary school enrolment and attendance in conflict-prone contexts. However, the kind of secondary education subsidies provided vary from one country to another in terms of amount, what they cover and how the funding programme is implemented. These variations could determine the extent to which the subsidies can influence school enrolment and attendance. The focus of this study was solely on subsidized secondary education in Kenya. This study also acknowledged the influence of other funds such as bursaries on access to secondary education in Kerio Valley.

2.5 Conceptual Framework

Dependent Variable: The dependent variable in this study is secondary school enrolment and attendance. Enrolment is determined by the actual number of children of secondary school-age in the household admitted and fully recorded in secondary school register, and the actual number of those who dropped out or never enrolled in secondary school although they belong to secondary school-age group. Attendance is operationalized as the actual number of days a child attended or missed school in the previous school term. This study focuses on both enrolment and attendance because a child might enrol in secondary school but exhibit low attendance.

Independent Variables: While the independent variables in this study are many as shown in Figure 2.1, the variable of interest is subsidized secondary education. Subsidized secondary education is operationalized as the full cost of secondary education less tuition fees that a household with a child in public secondary school is required to pay.

The conceptual framework that guides this study is captured in the schematic Figure 2.1. The arrows show the flow through the framework and the relationship between variables is understood by following the arrow to the next box. Based on the theoretical and empirical literature, areas affected by conflicts experience low secondary school enrolment and attendance. As shown by the first box in the middle left corner, conflicts including those related to livestock rustling and competition for limited water and pasture are likely to disrupt household livelihoods and income, lead to loss of property, increase poverty levels, and cause insecurity and death as

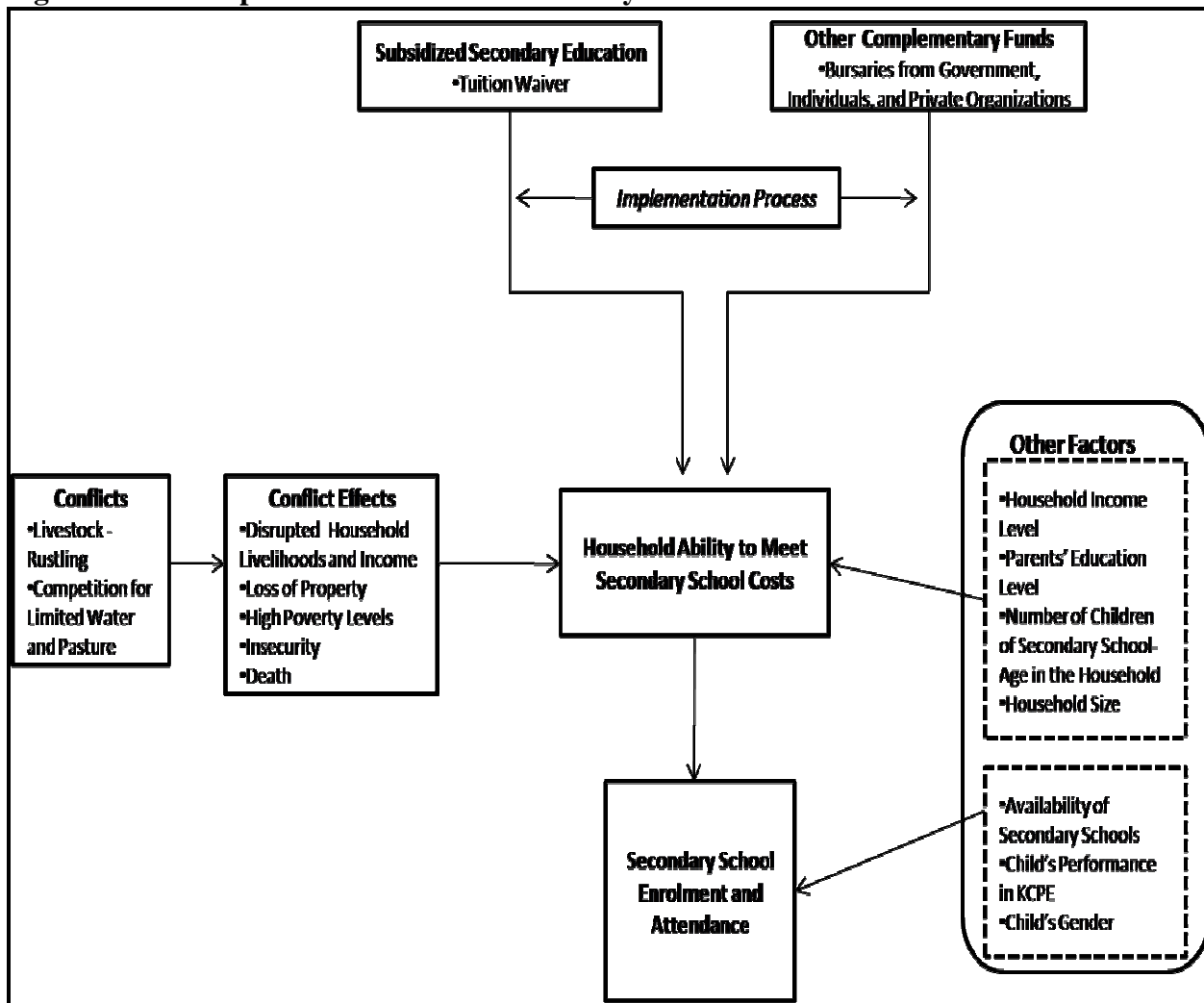
indicated in the second box in the middle left corner. These effects of conflict could in turn lower the ability of the household to meet secondary school costs as shown by the box in the centre. Inability to meet secondary school costs is likely to prevent the household from sending children to secondary school and hence contributing to low secondary school enrolment and attendance among households in conflict-prone areas.

Provision of subsidized secondary education, for instance in form of tuition waiver, as shown in the top left box, is expected to enhance secondary school enrolment and attendance even in conflict-prone areas. Subsidization of secondary education is expected to lower the cost of secondary education and in effect enable households to meet secondary school expenses as shown by the box in the centre. Subsidized cost of secondary education is likely to motivate households to send their children to secondary school hence increasing secondary school enrolment and attendance. It is also held that availability of other funds to the households such as bursaries from government, individuals or private organizations as shown in the top right box, could enhance secondary enrolment and attendance in conflict-prone areas. Like secondary education subsidies, these funds could lower the cost of secondary education, enhance household ability to meet secondary school costs and as a result promote secondary school enrolment and attendance. However, the effectiveness of secondary school subsidies and these other complementary funds depend on their implementation process as shown by the box connecting the dropping arrows from the two top boxes. For example, delayed release of subsidized secondary education funds from the MoF or MoE may force secondary schools to impose extra levies on households for the purchase of urgently needed learning materials. In this case, the subsidy is unlikely to benefit the households in meeting secondary school costs.

Literature reviewed acknowledges the existence of other independent variables that could also influence secondary school enrolment and attendance as shown by the box in the bottom right corner. The variables are categorized into two groups. The first inner (dotted) box contains variables which determine secondary school enrolment and attendance by influencing the ability of the household to meet secondary school costs. These variables include household income level, household size, parents' education level, and the number of children of secondary school-age in the household. The second inner (dotted) box presents variables which determine

secondary school enrolment and attendance directly without necessarily influencing the ability of the household to meet secondary school costs. These variables include availability of secondary schools, child's performance in Kenya Certificate of Primary Education (KCPE), and child's gender.

Figure 2.1: Conceptual Framework of the Study



Source: Author's Conceptualization

To summarize this chapter, the findings from the studies reviewed elucidate the questions raised by this study. It is evident that conflict contributes to low secondary school enrolment and attendance. It is also clear that households in conflict-prone areas could benefit from subsidized secondary education as it reduces school costs and thereby acts as an incentive for secondary school participation. Critics, however, argue that despite provision of secondary school subsidies

indirect costs such as meals, transport and school uniforms which households are required to meet continue to deter access to secondary education. Therefore, though not devoid of limitations, the findings from the studies reviewed create a foundation for the current study which focuses on the effect of subsidized secondary education on secondary school enrolment and attendance in the conflict-prone area of Kerio Valley.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the research methodology that the current study employed. A research methodology is significant in any study because it links theory with practice. Mugenda and Mugenda (1999) observe that a research methodology describes clearly and accurately the procedures followed in conducting a study. These procedures not only guide the researcher throughout the study but also help other researchers in understanding one's study, particularly where replication is desired. In this chapter, the methodology of the current study is discussed under the following sections: research design, study site, population and sampling procedure, data sources and data collection methods, and data analysis procedure.

3.2 Research Design

According to Kombo and Tromp (2006), a research design is the structure of the study that shows how all the components of a research project relate in addressing the research questions. This study employed both quantitative and qualitative research strategies in order to obtain rich data and a better understanding of the research problem. Quantitative strategy was mainly used to collect hard data (involving numbers), while qualitative strategy involved gathering of in-depth information which was used to complement data obtained through quantitative approach. Bryman (2008) suggests that the choice of a research strategy is determined by the nature of the research questions posed. The research questions in this study point to both qualitative and quantitative strategies. For example, the second research question which sought to establish secondary school enrolment and attendance levels of the households did not require detailed explanations and hence a quantitative approach was used. On the contrary, the third research question which sought to identify the ways in which conflict affected secondary school enrolment and attendance required detailed responses which the researcher could only get through the use of qualitative approaches.

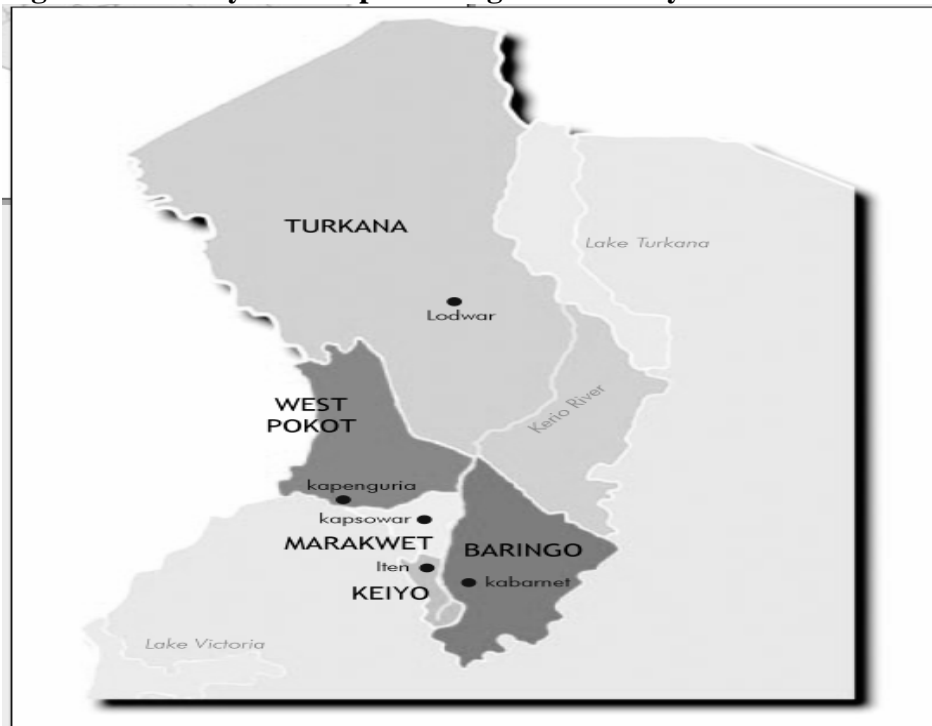
This study used a descriptive survey design. A descriptive survey design is defined by Kombo and Tromp (2006) as an attempt to collect data from a sample of a population in order to answer questions concerning the current status of the population with respect to one or more variables.

This research design was appropriate to the present study which sought to determine and document the effects of subsidized secondary education on secondary school enrolment and attendance in conflict-prone area of Kerio Valley. The aim was to establish whether or not secondary school enrolment and attendance in Kerio Valley has improved as a result of the introduction of subsidized secondary education in 2008.

3.3 Study Site

Kerio Valley which is a semi-arid area in the Rift Valley region of Kenya is a branch of the Great Rift Valley system formed about ten million years ago. Figure 3.1 shows the administrative Districts through which the Kerio Valley sub-system traverses.⁷ They include parts of West Pokot District, East Pokot portion of Baringo District, the lower parts of Keiyo and Marakwet Districts, and the southern part of Turkana District with Kerio River serving as a convenient and official boundary between the Districts. Kerio Valley is therefore inhabited by the Pokot, Marakwet, Keiyo and Turkana people.

Figure 3.1: A Physical Map Showing Kerio Valley Districts



Source: National Council of Churches of Kenya-NCCCK (2001)

⁷ While Kenya has recently been sub-divided in terms of Counties, literature still describes Kerio Valley sub-system in terms of the administrative Districts, rather than Counties, that it transverses.

The width of the Valley is approximately twenty kilometres in the South and forty kilometres in the North while the area is about six thousand square kilometres with a population of two hundred thousand people. It is bordered on the Western side by the Elgeyo-escarpment, to the East by the Tugen hills and further North by the Tiati hills. Kerio Valley is considered one of the low agricultural potential areas in Kenya with an average rainfall of less than 250 millimetres per annum and high temperatures of over 30 degree Celsius. Livestock (cattle, goats, sheep, camel and donkeys) rearing seems to be the major economic activity for the people of Kerio Valley. In addition to livestock, some people plant drought resistant crops such as millet and sorghum in small scale. Mangoes, pawpaw and green grams have recently been introduced in some parts of the Valley though their success depends entirely on the amount of rainfall in the given season. The vegetation cover of the area is mainly acacia.

The Pokot-Marakwet conflict mainly takes place in the Marakwet side of Kerio Valley and this made Marakwet District an appropriate research site for this study. This study was therefore conducted in Kerio Valley in Marakwet District, Elgeyo-Marakwet County. The conflict is between the East Pokot of Baringo District and the Marakwet in Kerio Valley. One of the major causes of the conflict is competition for scarce natural resources such as pasture and water. While most of Marakwet land is endowed with some water sources (owing to a few Kerio River tributaries) and pasture, the East Pokot territory in Baringo District is usually bare and dry characterised by limited pasture and water (NCKK, 2001). Therefore, given that livestock is their main livelihood source, the East Pokots are compelled by the harsh climatic conditions to venture into Marakwet land across the Kerio River in search for pasture and water for their livestock. The Marakwets who perceive such action as an invasion of their territory respond violently fending off their “intruders” thus effectively precipitating a conflict which culminates in a full scale ethnic conflict (Cheserek *et al.*, 2012). This cycle of conflict is repeated over time and more so during drought periods. Livestock rustling is another main cause of the Pokot-Marakwet conflict as the communities attempt to restock their herds after droughts.

The Pokot-Marakwet conflict has led to human deaths, displacement, loss of property and livelihoods, and increased poverty and impoverishment among the Marakwets (Kipkorir and Welbourne, 2008). GoK (2008) states that the conflict has forced Marakwets living in Kerio

Valley to migrate to other parts of the District perceived safer. As a result, Kerio Valley is reported to have the lowest population density in the entire Marakwet District of less than 100 persons per kilometre square, as compared to an average of 118 for the whole District and over 200 in other parts of the District considered safer. NCCK (2001) and GoK (2008) report that plunder and destruction of property induced by the Pokot-Marakwet conflict have had other ripple effects such as increased secondary school drop-out rates due to the inability of most households to meet school fees. Against this setting, we sought to determine whether provision of secondary school subsidy has enhanced secondary school enrolment and attendance in Kerio Valley in Marakwet District, Elgeyo-Marakwet County.

3.4 Population and Sampling Procedure

The unit of analysis for this study was the household in which case the household head was the target respondent. It is held that the household is the main decision making body even in matters related to education hence interviews with household heads were preferred. Taking into account the nature of the households (the society being patrilineal) the male heads of households were given priority whenever they were available. However, in the absence of the male head, the spouse was interviewed. There were however households headed by female following either the death of male household head, divorce or separation. Where both the male head and the spouse were absent, the eldest member of the household was interviewed. The target population for the study comprised households with children of secondary school age (14-21 years). The identification of households that fall into the target population was done with the help of village heads who knew all the households in the area.

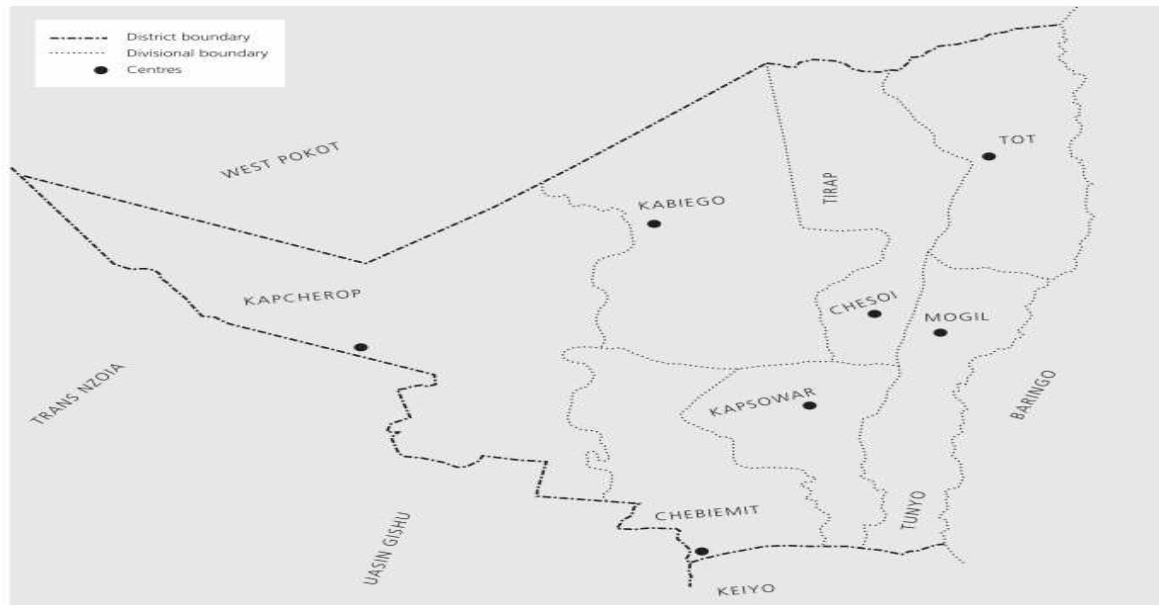
The study used both probability (random) and non-probability (non-random) sampling techniques. This was done in three stages described below.

Stage one: Sampling of Locations

Marakwet District has seven administrative Divisions, two of which (namely Tot and Tunyo) are within Kerio Valley. Tot Division was purposively selected since unlike Tunyo Division it is the epicentre of the Pokot-Marakwet conflict. Literature provides that Tot Division which is near the borders of West Pokot, Baringo and Marakwet Districts as shown by Figure 3.2, provides a common market place for exchange of goods and services between the two communities and

represents a common place of interaction and a likely spot for conflict emergence (Kipkebut, 2007). It is estimated that over 90 percent of the conflicts between Pokot and Marakwet communities occur in Tot Division (Kipkorir and Welbourn, 2008).

Figure 3.2: A Physical Map Showing the Administrative Divisions of Marakwet District



Source: Marakwet District Development Plan (2008-2012)

Tot Division has five administrative Locations namely Kaben, Mokoro, Endo, Koibirir, and Murkutwa. However, it was realized that the resources (time and money) available for data collection were limited and could not allow the researcher to obtain data from all the five Locations. Therefore, only two of the five Locations were selected for this study. To eliminate selection bias, a simple random sampling procedure was used to pick two out of the five Locations. With simple random sampling, each of the five Locations had an equal and known non-zero probability of being selected (Mugenda and Mugenda, 1999). To get the two Locations, a number was assigned to each of the five Locations, the numbers were written in small pieces of paper, folded and put in a container shuffled. The researcher then picked two numbers from the container at random, one at a time, and the Locations corresponding to the numbers picked were the ones from which the study sample was drawn. The numbers picked corresponded to Murkutwa and Mokoro Locations.

The sample size for this study was sixty households. Mugenda (2008) states that when the target population is known, statistical theory provides a recommendation on how to compute the most

appropriate sample size. However, where the target population is unknown, like the case was in this study, the researcher is required to conceptualize the phenomenon under study and set the most reasonable sample size to ensure that all sources of variations are captured. Literature also suggests that the minimum acceptable sample size depends on the type of the research, and ordinarily a researcher would require a minimum of thirty respondents in a survey research; a sample size less than this would provide too little data to be practical (Kombo and Tromp, 2006). Although this study employed a survey design, a recommended sample of thirty respondents was found to be too small to be broken-down and the data analyzed in sub-groups, and hence a sample of sixty households was considered the most appropriate. For example, secondary school enrolment was analyzed under various household sub-groups including households of different income levels, household sizes, and parents' education levels among others. Therefore, a sample of sixty households was considered optimum because it was neither too small to allow analysis of the sub-groups nor too large for the data to be collected within the limited budget and time. As shown in Table 3.1, thirty households were drawn from each of the two sampled Locations to ensure that each Location was adequately represented in equal proportion.

Table 3.1: Number of Sampled Households per Location

Name of the Sampled Administrative Location	Number of the Households Interviewed
Murkutwa	30
Mokoro	30
Total Sample	60

Source: Survey Data (2013)

Stage Two: Sampling of Households

A snowballing sampling technique was used to identify thirty households from each of the sampled Locations. Snowball sampling technique was considered appropriate because there was no sampling frame and it was realized that it would be time consuming exercise to identify the target population and draw a sampling frame for the two Locations. Under snowball sampling technique, the first household interviewed in each Location was identified with the help of a village head, and after the interview the household was requested to refer the researcher to another household which belonged to the target population. The process was repeated until thirty households were interviewed in each of the sampled Locations. However, the main shortcoming of this sampling procedure was that a household was likely to refer the researcher to another

household with similar characteristics as the previous one. As a result the sampled households were unlikely to be representative of the targeted population and the study findings may not be generalized to all the households with children of secondary school age in the study area (Bryman, 2008).

Stage Three: Sampling of Key Informants

The key informants in this study comprised the Head Teachers of all the five secondary schools in Tot Division, District Education Officer (DEO) of Marakwet District, and Education Officer in charge of secondary school section in the District. These key informants were purposively selected on the basis of their expertise on issues the study sought to address, such as subsidized secondary education programme. Head Teachers were also the managers of school funds and custodians of school records and hence were able to provide information on the effect of subsidized secondary education on secondary school enrolment and attendance in Kerio Valley. However, in the absence of a secondary Head Teacher, the Deputy Head Teacher was interviewed.

3.5 Data Sources and Data Collection Methods

The study used both primary and secondary sources of data. Primary data on the effect of subsidized secondary education on secondary school enrolment and attendance in conflict-prone area of Kerio Valley was collected through a survey of households with children of secondary school age and key informant interviews. Primary data from the households and key informants were gathered through questionnaires and interview guides, respectively. These data collection instruments had questions designed to determine whether subsidized secondary education influences secondary school enrolment and attendance in conflict-prone area of Kerio Valley (see appendix 1 and 2). Secondary data was obtained from books, government publications, academic journals, reports and theses. This entailed critical review of the existing relevant literature on subsidized secondary education and secondary school enrolment and attendance in conflict-prone areas.

The study applied the following criteria to collect primary data.

Pre-Test of Data Collection Instruments

The study began the process of data collection with a pre-test of the survey questionnaire and Head Teacher's interview guide. The pre-test was done on 4th of June 2013 in Tunyo Division (Kiptumbur Location) in Kerio Valley before moving to the actual study site which was Tot Division. Tunyo Division was a preferred site for the pre-test because it is one of the administrative Divisions of Marakwet District within Kerio Valley and share nearly similar experiences with Tot Division. Six households and one secondary school Head Teacher were selected for the pre-test. According to Mugenda and Mugenda (1999) pre-testing of data collection instruments is important because vague questions are revealed hence providing the researcher with an opportunity to rephrase the questions until they convey the intended meaning to all the respondents. It also helps to improve the instruments by exposing inconsistencies and errors which can then be restructured to address the study objectives. In the process of pre-testing, it became evident that secondary school age in Kerio Valley was 14-21 years in comparison to the national (official) secondary school age of 14-17 years. This is because the effects of the conflict between Pokot and Marakwet such as displacement, insecurity, and poverty delayed school starting period for most children. As a result, it became necessary to adjust the secondary school age from 14-17 to 14-21 years (see appendix 1). The questionnaire's pre-test also showed that some respondents did not have enough information on subsidized secondary education programme and also on the national secondary school fees guideline. Questions related to these aspects were added to the key informants' interview guide with the aim of obtaining more information from the Head Teachers and DEO as it was considered their responsibility to inform households on matters of education.

Household Survey

The first household survey started on 5th of June 2013 and ended on the 14th of June 2013. A survey questionnaire was used to gather quantitative and qualitative data on the specific research questions. The researcher obtained data from the respondents through face to face interviews guided by the survey questionnaire. The interviews were basically carried out in Markweta language which is spoken by Marakwets in Kerio Valley. Therefore, the questionnaire was translated into the local language (that is, Markweta) as it was administered to the respondents. Since she did not engage research assistants, the researcher herself did the actual interviewing

and filling of the questionnaires. The questionnaires contained both open and closed-ended questions. While the closed-ended questions had pre-coded responses, open-ended questions enabled the respondents to give as much information as possible. The questionnaire also comprised questions which required the use of simple observation techniques. Of particular interest to the researcher was to observe and record the main materials used to make the walls, floor, roof and windows of the main residential house. This information was important in determining the household characteristics. Other observations that could not be captured by the questionnaire were also noted.

Throughout the household survey, the researcher was accompanied by the village head who introduced her to the respondents. Interviews evolved progressively until sixty households were interviewed from the two sampled administrative Locations. The respondents were generally receptive and cooperative. At most, interviewing one household took up to forty minutes and sometimes less especially where the respondent had some level of education and found it quite easy to answer the questions. Questions on household expenditure required the respondents to estimate the amount spent or refer to receipts (if they were available) and this was found to be time consuming. The maximum number of respondents the researcher interviewed in a day was ten and the minimum was five.

Key Informant Interviews

Qualitative data from the key informants was collected through guided face to face interviews. The key informants for this study included the Head Teachers of all the five secondary schools in Tot Division, DEO of Marakwet District, and Education Officer in charge of secondary school section in the District. These identified individuals had expert knowledge on the issues of subsidized secondary education and secondary school enrolment and attendance in conflict-prone area of Kerio Valley and were interviewed to supplement data obtained from the households. Key informant interviews started on 17th of June 2013 and ended on 21st of June 2013. One interview guide with separate sections was used to obtain information from the key informants. The first section applied to all the key informants, the second section applied to the District Education Officers, and the last section applied to the secondary school Head Teachers (see appendix 2). The researcher did the actual interviewing and at the same time took down the notes

as the interview progressed. The researcher also provided explanations to clarify questions which did not seem clear to the informants. This enabled the researcher to collect relevant information and the study to proceed as scheduled. Each interview took an average of thirty minutes to complete. Overall, all the key informants were cooperative and some gave additional information on the subject area of this study.

3.6 Data Analysis Procedure

Given the diversity of data collected, the study used both quantitative and qualitative methods of data analysis. During the field work, all completed questionnaires were checked daily and data cleaned to ensure completeness, consistency and accuracy. The key informants' notes were also reviewed to verify that relevant information was recorded. Since the closed-ended questions in the questionnaire were pre-coded, we only had to code the open-ended questions in preparation for data entry. This was done using Microsoft Word tables where responses were sorted based on emerging themes and subsequently coded (La Pelle, 2004). Once coding was complete, the data was entered into Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) for analysis. Frequencies were ran and reviewed after every stage of data entry to identify and correct any possible coding and data entry errors. Key informants' data was also sorted into themes and coded using Microsoft Word Tables. This information was interpreted in view of the study objectives and was used to supplement data collected from the households. Qualitative data from the households and key informants was used to expound on some of the quantitative components in the study where necessary.

The first stage of analysing data from the households involved generating descriptive statistics including percentages and frequencies based on the requirements of the study objectives. Measures of central tendency such as the arithmetic mean were used on quantitative variables including age, number of secondary school-age children, and household income. The second stage involved carrying out various statistical tests to assess the relationship and differences between variables of interest. In particular, Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) was done to assess the differences in mean ages between female and male respondents. Cross-tabulations and Chi-square tests were used to establish relationships between independent variables (such as parents' education level and household income level among others) and dependent variable (secondary

school enrolment). The Chi-square tests involved comparison of frequencies rather than percentages and the significant level was set at 0.05. Therefore, if the computed Chi-square value was greater than 0.05 then there was no relationship between the variables tested. However, if the calculated Chi-square value was less or equal to 0.05 then there was a relationship between the variables tested. It is important to note that the Chi-square value often depends on the number of rows and columns in the contingency table under consideration and hence degree of freedom (df) had to be calculated. Frequency tables, cross-tabulations, and charts developed through SPSS and Microsoft Excel were used in presentation of data.

Problems Encountered During Data Collection

Though the study was completed as per the expected schedule, several problems were encountered during data collection. One of the main problems encountered was poor means of transport in the area. Due to poor infrastructure (particularly roads) and terrain, there was only one matatu (Public Service Vehicle) in the entire Tot Division. This matatu served the main road between Tot shopping centre and Eldoret town. It used to leave Tot shopping centre at midnight and arrived at the same destination at six in the evening. It was therefore not available for short distance. There were few motorcycles (commonly known as boda boda) which operated on limited routes within Tot Division depending on accessibility of market centres and condition of the terrain. These motorcycles were expensive and hence the researcher was at times forced to walk for long distance in order to reach the respondents. At worst was when the researcher had to pay expensively for the motorcycle to take the researcher from one secondary school to another.

Another problem was the fact that the Locations were sparsely populated and the households were scattered far apart. This was because the conflict between Pokot and Marakwet communities had forced some households to relocate to the Marakwet escarpment and highlands. Therefore, it was a time consuming effort to get to the targeted households. Some households were also hidden by acacia grasslands which characterized the area and a lot of time was lost in tracing these households.

Due to the sensitivity of the topic some respondents almost broke-down to tears during the interview especially due to the traumatizing experiences they faced as a result of the Pokot-Marakwet conflict. Most of the respondents had lost their livestock, farms, properties, family

members and had turned to abject poverty. Some women narrated how their husbands left them because they could no longer bear the devastating effects of the conflict. Sometimes the researcher was forced to temporarily halt the interview and counsel the respondent. Another problem was on how to collect data on household's secondary school expenditure. Some households did not have receipts and had to estimate the amount paid for various secondary school items. These expenditures were thus taken as estimates and not definite figures.

On the positive end, there was great cooperation showed by the local administration and the community at large. Most of the respondents were open to the study and this may be partly because the researcher carried out the study around the same time cattle rustlers were reported to have stolen livestock from the area. There were however some respondents who were sceptical about the aims of the study. The researcher had to explain clearly that the study was purely for academic purposes and that it could as well bring long term benefits in the area since it was focusing on a contemporary issue in the community.

CHAPTER FOUR

STUDY FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of the field research according to the objectives of the study as outlined in chapter one. Among the issues presented include basic characteristics of the respondents, household characteristics, and secondary school enrolment and attendance levels of the households. Effects of conflict on secondary school enrolment and attendance and benefits of secondary education subsidy to the households are also presented. This chapter also presents the influence of subsidized secondary education on secondary school enrolment and attendance in the conflict-prone area of Kerio Valley. Where appropriate, figures and tables have been used to illustrate the study findings and assist in analysis.

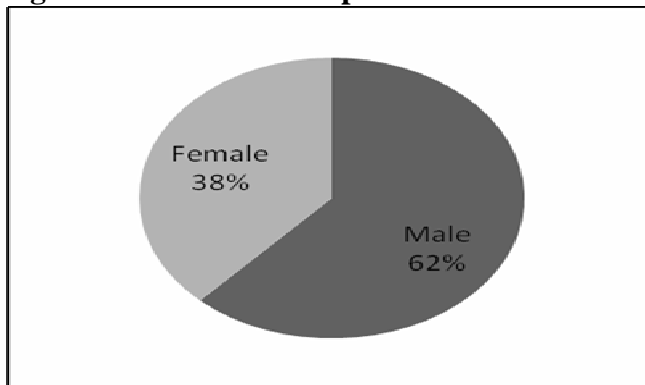
4.2 Basic Characteristics of the Respondents

This section presents the basic characteristics of the respondents. As discussed in chapter three, the household heads were the target respondents which, given the patrilineal nature of the Marakwets, were the male heads of the households. However, where the male head was absent the spouse was interviewed and where both the male head and the spouse were absent, the eldest member of the household was interviewed. The characteristics of the respondents that were investigated include their sex, age, position in the household and marital status. It is vital to study these attributes of the household head (respondent) because they have significant influence on the decision to enrol or send a child to secondary school.

4.2.1 Sex

As shown in Figure 4.1, out of the sixty respondents interviewed, 62 percent were male while 38 percent were female. This shows that male respondents were more than women respondents because, as explained earlier, the target respondents were male heads and their spouses were only interviewed when the male heads were absent. There were however households headed by female following the death of male household heads, divorce or separation.

Figure 4.1: Sex of the respondents



Source: Survey Data (2013)

4.2.2 Age

There was a variation in terms of age of the respondents. The youngest respondent was 27 years while the oldest was 65 years. As shown in Table 4.1, the age bracket with the highest percentage (36.7 percent) was found to be 41-50 years. This was followed by the age bracket 51-60 years (26.7 percent). The study further established that 21.7 percent of the respondents fell within the age bracket of 31-40 years while those who were above 61 years accounted for 10 percent. There were few respondents (5 percent) who fell between age 21 and 30 years. The mean age of the respondents was 48 years. This indicates that parents with children of secondary school age in the sampled households were of middle age. Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) tests further revealed that there was no statistically significant difference between the age of male and female respondents [$F(1,58)=0.031$, $P=0.861$].

Table 4.1: Age of the Respondents

Age (Years)	Frequency	Percent
21-30	3	5.0
31-40	13	21.7
41-50	22	36.7
51-60	16	26.7
61 and above	6	10.0
Total	60	100.0

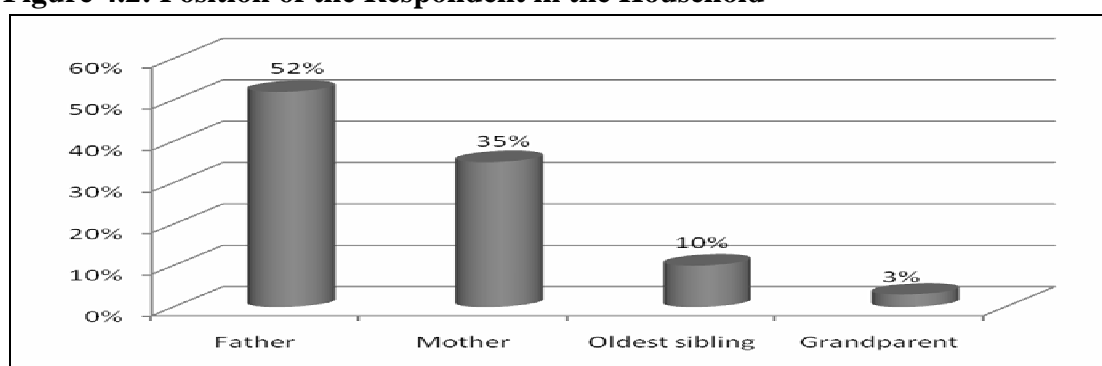
Source: Survey Data (2013)

4.2.3 Position of the Respondent in the Household

The study sought to find out the position of the respondent in the household. It was established that over half of the respondents (52 percent) were fathers of the secondary school age children,

mothers were 35 percent, and oldest siblings accounted for 10 percent while grandparents were 3 percent. This shows that most children of secondary school age in the households interviewed lived with their parents. The study established that some children stayed with their relatives (grandparents or older siblings) because their parents were either dead, separated/divorced, or unable to pay secondary school fees. Further probing, we found that many children in Kerio Valley had lost their parents due to the conflict between Marakwet and Pokot communities. One of the key informants affirmed that the Murkutwa Massacre of the year 2003, which is linked to Pokot-Marakwet conflict, left many children in Kerio Valley orphaned. The study observed that a high proportion of the secondary school age children who stayed with their relatives faced school fees problems. Most of the relatives of these children revealed that it was difficult to raise secondary school fees because they also had to meet expenses of their own children. This implies that most children of secondary school age who stayed with relatives were likely to miss school or drop out due to lack of school fees. Figure 4.2 shows the distribution of the respondents in terms of their position in the household.

Figure 4.2: Position of the Respondent in the Household



Source: Survey Data (2013)

4.2.4 Marital Status

Marital status of the household head has a significant influence on the children's secondary school enrolment and attendance. As shown in Table 4.2, a vast majority (76.7 percent) of the respondents were married while 1.7 percent were single. A further 10 percent revealed that they were divorced or separated while 11.7 percent indicated that they were widowed. Overall, unlike those who come from married families, children of single parents are likely to drop out of secondary school or attend less due to lack of school fees. One of the key informants stated that

drop-out cases in Kerio Valley were higher in single-parent households owing to inability to meet secondary school costs, especially when the parent lacked stable source of income. This was because many single parents generally had higher responsibility of providing the family with basic needs. Conversely, children of secondary school age from married families are expected to enrol and attend school regularly because it is a bit easier for two parents to raise secondary school fees, especially if both parents have stable sources of income. Probing more, we established that all the single-parent households were headed by females owing either to death of male household head, divorce or separation. Al-Samarrai and Peasgood (1998) argue that the socio-economic status of female-headed households in many African societies is lower than that of male-headed households due to the unequal access women have to factors of production such as land and financial capital. This implies that unlike children from male-headed households, those from female-headed households are unlikely to enrol or regularly attend secondary school owing to financial problems. Table 4.2 summarizes the findings of the marital status of the respondents.

Table 4.2: Marital Status of the Respondents

Marital Status	Frequency	Percent
Single	1	1.7
Married	46	76.7
Divorced/Separated	6	10.0
Widowed	7	11.7
Total	60	100.0

Source: Survey Data (2013)

4.3 Household Characteristics

One of the objectives of this study was to determine the characteristics of the households in Kerio Valley. Household characteristics are the basic attributes that make up a family unit in terms of behaviour and role performance, and also identify one household from the other. Ngware *et al.* (2008) argue that household characteristics are related to secondary school enrolment. The household production function approach by Becker (1964) is often used in economics of education to show that household characteristics are vital determinants of whether or not a child goes to school. The study sought to determine whether household size, number of secondary school age children, parents' level of education, household income, distance to the

nearest secondary school, and household assets significantly influenced a child’s access to secondary education in Kerio Valley.

4.3.1 Household Size

The number of people living in a household varied from one household to the other. The biggest household had 12 members while the smallest had 3 members. The mean household size was found to be 7 members. As shown in Table 4.3, it was established that 78.3 percent of the households interviewed had 5-9 members, 13.3 percent had 4 members or less while those who had 10 or more members comprised 8.3 percent of the households. These findings show that the sampled households had fairly few members which could be attributed to the Pokot-Marakwet conflict that led to displacement and deaths of thousands of people in Kerio Valley (Cheserek *et al.*, 2012).

Table 4.3: Household Size

Number of members	Frequency	Percent
4 and below	8	13.3
5-9	47	78.3
10 and above	5	8.3
Total	60	100.0

Source: Survey Data (2013)

A Chi-square (χ^2) test of significance was conducted to find out the association between secondary school enrolment and household size. The null hypothesis was that household size does not affect secondary school enrolment. At significance level (p) of 0.05, the Chi-square value was found to be 6.773 with a significance level of 0.034 and a degree of freedom (df) of 2 (see Table 4.4). Mugenda (1999) informs that for a relationship between variables to be significant, the calculated significance value must be equal to or smaller than the alpha value; meaning that there are only 5 chances (or less) out of 100 that the relationship between the variables is out of chance or error. The calculated significance value is less than the selected alpha value of 0.05 hence the null hypothesis was rejected. The study concluded that there was a significant relation between secondary school enrolment and household size. For example, 7 out of 8 households with 4 or less household members had all their children enrolled in secondary school compared to 1 out of 5 households with 10 or more household members (see Table 4.4).

Therefore, households with fewer members were likely to enrol their children than those with more members, a result which has also been found by Chaudhury *et al.* (2006) in Ethiopia.

Table 4.4: Secondary School Enrolment by Household Size

School Enrolment	Household Size (Number of people)			Total
	4 and below	5-9	10 and above	
Yes	7	21	1	29
No	1	26	4	31
Total	8	47	5	60

$X^2 = 6.77$, $p = 0.034$, $df = 2$

Source: Survey Data (2013)

One possible explanation for this finding is that large household size overstretches scarce household resources hence decreasing income available to meet education inputs not covered by secondary school subsidy such as, school uniforms, transport, and boarding expenses. Indeed, a respondent from one of the households with more than 10 members argued that paying secondary school fees was tough because they also had to meet the basic needs, such as food and clothing, of all the household members.

4.3.2 Number of Children of Secondary School Age (14-21 years)

The study sought to establish the number of secondary school age children in the households. Most of the households (61.7 percent) had 2-3 secondary school age children while 25 percent indicated that they had one child of secondary school age. A few households (13.3 percent) had 4 or more children of secondary school age (see Table 4.5). The mean number of secondary school-age children in the households was 2, while the minimum was 1 and maximum was 5.

Table 4.5: Number of children of secondary school age (14-21 years)

Number of Children	Frequency	Percent
1 child	15	25.0
2-3 children	37	61.7
4 and above children	8	13.3
Total	60	100.0

Source: Survey Data (2013)

At the probability level of 0.05, a Chi-square test revealed that the number of secondary school age children in a household significantly influenced secondary school enrolment ($X^2=22.729$, $p=0.000$, $df =2$). For instance, all the 15 households with 1 child of secondary school age had

their children enrolled in secondary school while only 1 household out of 8 that had 4 or more secondary school age children had its children enrolled in secondary school (see Table 4.6). This may be explained by the fact that a large number of secondary school age children puts pressure on material and financial resources, and increases the direct cost of schooling hence lowering the chances of school enrolment. Most of the respondents affirmed that having many children of secondary school age was challenging in terms of meeting secondary school costs. Some of them disclosed that it was even more difficult to have more than one child enrolled in boarding secondary school due to high boarding fees. This is contrary to Gebreselassie (1998) findings in Ethiopia that the larger the number of secondary school age children in the household, the greater the probability that they are enrolled in secondary school. The results of the Chi-square test are illustrated in Table 4.6.

Table 4.6: Secondary School Enrolment by Number of Secondary School Age Children

School Enrolment	Number of Children of Secondary School Age (14-21 years)			Total
	1 child	2-3 children	4 children and above	
Yes	15	13	1	29
No	0	24	7	31
Total	15	37	8	60

$\chi^2 = 22.729$, $p = 0.000$, $df = 2$

Source: Survey Data (2013)

4.3.3 Parents' Education Level

Parents' education level is thought to have a significant implication on child's secondary school enrolment status. The study sought to find out both parents' education levels because the decision to send a child to school may be influenced by either parent or both (Becker, 1964). On the highest level of education attained, the study revealed that the highest percentage of fathers (21.7 percent) had completed primary education, followed by 16.7 percent who had tertiary training. Only 11.7 percent of the fathers had secondary education, and another 11.7 percent of them had no formal education while 8.3 percent had university education. However, 8.3 percent of the fathers were deceased. With regard to mothers, the highest percentage (38 percent) did not complete primary school, none had university education and only 11.7 percent had tertiary training. Akin to fathers, only 11.7 percent of mothers completed secondary education. Mothers without any formal education were 15 percent (see Table 4.7). Overall, fathers were more

educated than mothers hence suggesting that this was a rural community where emphasis on education might be lopsided in favour of men.

Table 4.7: Parents' Education Level

Education Level	Father's Education Level		Mother's Education Level	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
None	7	11.7	9	15.0
Primary Incomplete	8	13.3	23	38.3
Primary Complete	13	21.7	10	16.7
Secondary Incomplete	4	6.7	4	6.7
Secondary Complete	7	11.7	7	11.7
Tertiary Training	10	16.7	7	11.7
University	5	8.3	-	-
Not Applicable	5	8.3	-	-
I Don't Know	1	1.7	-	-
Total	60	100.0	60	100.0

Source: Survey Data (2013)

When Chi-square tests were conducted, as could have been expected, the study established significant relationships between school enrolment and education levels of both parents (Father's: $X^2=15.557$, $p=0.049$, $df=8$; Mother's: $X^2=14.543$, $p=0.013$, $df=5$). For instance, out of 7 fathers that had no formal education, only one had all his secondary school age children enrolled in secondary school while 4 out of 5 fathers with university education enrolled all their secondary school age children in secondary school, and the same situation applies to the mothers (see Table 4.8). This implies that the more educated the parents, the more likely are their children to be enrolled in school and the longer their stay in school before dropping out, a result which has also been found by Onsomu *et al.* (2006) and Chaudhury *et al.* (2006). This could be associated with the positive relationship between earnings and educational attainment; low parents' education level is associated with low household income which in effect can be a barrier to children's access to secondary education (Bedi *et al.*, 2004). Unlike less educated parents, more educated parents may also impart positive values and attitudes towards schooling on their children.

Table 4.8: School Enrolment by Parents' Highest Education Level

		Father's highest level of education								
School Enrolment	None	Primary Incomplete	Primary Complete	Secondary Incomplete	Secondary Complete	Tertiary Training	University	N/A	I Don't Know	Total
Yes	1	2	5	3	4	8	4	1	1	29
No	6	6	8	1	3	2	1	4	0	31
Total	7	8	13	4	7	10	5	5	1	60
		Mother's highest level of education								
School Enrolment	None	Primary Incomplete	Primary Complete	Secondary Incomplete	Secondary Complete	Tertiary Training	Total			
Yes	2	8	4	3	7	5	29			
No	7	15	6	1	0	2	31			
Total	9	23	10	4	7	7	60			

Father's: $X^2 = 15.557$, $p = 0.049$, $df = 8$; Mother's: $X^2 = 14.543$, $p = 0.013$, $df = 5$

Source: Survey Data (2013)

The Chi-square tests, however, indicated a higher significance between mother's education level and school enrolment ($p=0.013$) than between father's level of education and school enrolment ($p=0.049$).⁸ This is probably attributed to women's crucial role in socialization of their children. The assumption is that educated mothers have access to information on child development and therefore understand the benefits of secondary education on the development of the child.

4.3.4 Household Income Level

Households were asked to estimate their monthly total income. This is because household income level is assumed to determine household's ability to afford to pay secondary school fees and other basic needs. As stated in Table 4.9, over half of the households interviewed (55 percent) stated that their total monthly income was Kshs. 10,000 or less, followed by 20 percent who stated their monthly household income to be Kshs. 10,001-20,000. Only 16.7 percent said their household monthly income fell within Kshs. 30,001-40,000 bracket while 5.6 percent revealed that their monthly income was Kshs. 40,000 or more. A few households (3.3 percent) indicated that their monthly household income was between Kshs. 20,001 and 30,000. The study further established that the maximum and minimum monthly household incomes were Kshs. 48,000 and Kshs. 800 respectively, while the mean household monthly income was Kshs.

⁸ There is only one chance out of 100 that the relationship between mother's education level and child's secondary school enrolment is out of chance while there are 5 chances out of 100 that the relationship between father's education level and child's secondary school enrolment is out of chance.

13,968. These findings imply that there was a variation in household income levels with majority of the sampled households having relatively low earnings. Low income levels of the households could be attributed to constant conflicts and the fact that the area is of low agricultural potential.

Table 4.9: Total Household Income per Month

Income (Kshs.)	Frequency	Percent
10,000 and below	33	55.0
10,001-20,000	12	20.0
20,001-30,000	2	3.3
30,001-40,000	10	16.7
40,001 and above	3	5.0
Total	60	100.0

Source: Survey Data (2013)

As would be expected, Chi-square test revealed that the level of household income significantly improved household's secondary school enrolment chances ($X^2=18.311$, $p=0.001$, $df=4$). This relationship has also been found by Al-Samarrai and Peasgood (1998) in Tanzania and Onsomu *et al.* (2006) in Kenya. For example, as shown in Table 4.10, all the 3 households with Kshs. 40,001 monthly income and above had all their secondary school age children enrolled in secondary school while only 8 out of 33 households with Kshs. 10,000 monthly income and below had all their secondary school age children enrolled in secondary school. One of the possible explanations is that with higher income, a household can invest in child's secondary education because the income can be shared among many household needs. Contrary, children from low-income households have lower chances of going to secondary school because households are less likely to meet school-related costs. One respondent stated that it was mostly those with salaries who were able to pay secondary school fees since they had better income than other households in the area. Further analysis showed that only 28.3 percent of the sampled households stated salary as their main source of income, 41.7 percent stated farming while 16.7 percent stated casual labour. Charcoal burning and selling of illicit brews were each stated by 5 percent of the households while small business (off-farm) and construction work (masonry/carpentry) were each stated by 1.7 percent of the households. Additionally, children from low income households are likely to engage in paid employment to supplement the household's income instead of going to school.

Table 4.10: School Enrolment by Household Income

School Enrolment	Household Income (Kshs.)					Total
	10,000 and below	10,001-10,000	20,001-30,000	30,001-40,000	40,001 and above	
Yes	8	9	2	7	3	29
No	25	3	0	3	0	31
Total	33	12	2	10	3	60

$$X^2 = 18.311, p = 0.001, df = 4$$

Source: Survey Data (2013)

4.3.5 Distance to the Nearest Secondary School

Literature argues that availability of secondary schools is an important determinant of secondary school enrolment (Maglad, 1994). In this study, all respondents were asked to estimate the distance from their household to the nearest secondary school in Kilometres (Kms). It is evident from Table 4.11 that more than half of the households (56.7 percent) were more than 2Kms radius from a secondary school while 43.3 percent were within 2Kms from a secondary school. On average, the distance from the sampled households to a secondary school was 2.4Kms. This shows that secondary schools were somewhat available to the households and this fact was confirmed by the researcher through observation. Some of the key informants affirmed that many Day secondary schools, such as Tot and Mogil, were established in the area following the introduction of subsidized secondary education in 2008. The aim was to ensure availability of secondary schools to accommodate the increased number of children enrolled.

Table 4.11: Distance to the Nearest Secondary School

	Frequency	Percent
Within 2 Kms	26	43.3
More than 2 Kms	34	56.7
Total	60	100.0

Source: Survey Data (2013)

The study hypothesized that there was a relationship between the distance to the closest secondary school and household's secondary school enrolment. This hypothesis was confirmed by findings of Chi-square test conducted ($X^2=17.106, p= 0.000, df=1$). For instance, 21 out of 26 households located within 2Kms of a secondary school enrolled all their children in secondary school while only 8 out of 34 households located more than 2Kms from a secondary school had all their children enrolled (see Table 4.12).

Table 4.12: School Enrolment by Distance to the Nearest Secondary School

School Enrolment	Distance to the Nearest Secondary School		
	Within 2 Kms	More than 2 Kms	Total
Yes	21	8	29
No	5	26	31
Total	26	34	60

$$X^2 = 17.106, p = 0.000, df = 1$$

Source: Survey Data (2013)

This result implies that secondary school age children from households located far away from secondary schools had higher probability of not being enrolled in secondary school, a result which has also been found by Gerter and Glewwe (1998) in Peru. This can be explained partially by the fact that there is a high opportunity cost of time and money spent to travel to a distant school. Some key informants also stated that, being a conflict-prone area, parents in Kerio Valley were reluctant to send their children to schools far from home due to fear of attack; especially if those schools were located in East Pokot.

4.3.6 Household Assets

Household assets which can be classified into physical, financial, human or social categories are the prime source and measure of productivity in most households. For instance, household assets can be utilized directly or indirectly to generate the household's means of survival. Furthermore, household assets are argued to determine access to services such as education (Al-Samarrai and Peasgood, 1998). This study sought to determine whether household assets influenced secondary school enrolment in Kerio Valley. Some of the household assets considered by this study were livestock, land, television, bicycle, motorcycle, phone, and radio. In terms of livestock, 57 out of 60 households interviewed stated that they owned livestock (that is, cattle, goats, chicken, and/or sheep). The remaining households (3) indicated that all their livestock had been stolen by livestock rustlers and that they could not purchase others owing to rampant insecurity and financial constraints. In determining the value of livestock that the households owned, the households with livestock were required to state the type of livestock they kept, their number, and average cost of each type of livestock in their local market. As shown in Table 4.13, 52.6 percent of the households had livestock valued at Kshs. 50,000 or below while 31.6 owned livestock worth Kshs. 50,001-100,000. Those who owned livestock valued at Kshs. 100,001-

150,000 and Kshs. 150,001-200,000 were each represented by 7 percent. Only one household (1.8 percent) owned livestock worth Kshs. 200,001 or above.

Table 4.13: Average Value of Livestock Owned by the Households

Livestock Value (Kshs.)	Frequency	Percent
50,000 and below	30	52.6
50,001-100,000	18	31.6
100,001-150,000	4	7.0
150,001-200,000	4	7.0
200,001 and above	1	1.8
Total	57	100.0

Source: Survey Data (2013)

This data suggests that most households had few livestock (valued at Kshs. 50,000 or below) and this confirms what one respondent said:

“We have no livestock...most of them have been stolen by Pokot livestock rustlers...if you talk to people in this area they will tell you that they had to purchase other livestock because Pokot took all of them...some of the families cannot afford to purchase and hence have no livestock...some fear to restock because it will attract livestock rustlers” (Respondent35, 10th June, 2013).

A Chi-square test computed to establish whether there was a relationship between the value of livestock owned and secondary school enrolment indicated that there was no significant relationship ($X^2=6.340$, $p=0.175$, $df=4$). For instance, while over half of the households with an average livestock value of Kshs. 50,000 or less had secondary school age children who were not enrolled in secondary school, also the household which had over Kshs. 200,000 livestock value had secondary school age children who were not enrolled (see Table 4.14). This confirms Chernichovsky (1985) findings in rural Botswana but is contrary to Rankin and Aytac (2006) findings in Turkey that secondary school enrolment is related to the value of livestock owned by the household. The expectation would have been that the higher the value of livestock owned by the household the higher the chances of enrolling in secondary school because the household could sell some of the livestock to meet secondary school fees. However, one explanation of the Chi-square results could be that ownership of many livestock means higher demand of child labour hence affecting children’s secondary school enrolment.

Table 4.14: School Enrolment by Value of Livestock Owned

School Enrolment	Value of Livestock Owned (Kshs.)					Total
	50,000 and below	50,001-100,000	100,001-150,000	150,001-200,000	200,001 and above	
Yes	14	10	4	1	0	29
No	16	8	0	3	1	28
Total	30	18	4	4	1	57

$$X^2 = 6.340, p = 0.175, df = 4$$

Source: Survey Data (2013)

The other assets that households reported to own were land, television, bicycle, motorcycle, phone, and radio. Some households indicated that they owned more than one of these assets and this is why there were a total of 63 responses despite the study's sample size of 60 households (see Table 4.15).

Table 4.15: Other Assets Owned by the Households

Assets	Number of responses (N)	Percent (%)	Percent of Cases (%)
Land	6	9.5	17.1
Television	3	4.8	8.6
Bicycle	2	3.2	5.7
Motorcycle	4	6.3	11.4
Phone	32	50.8	91.4
Radio	16	25.4	45.7
Total	63	100.0	180.0

Source: Survey Data (2013)

About half of the households (50.8 percent) owned mobile phones while radio and motorcycles were owned by 25.4 and 6.3 percent respectively. A further 9.5 percent of the households owned private land, 4.8 percent had television while 3.2 percent had bicycles.

With regard to land, most of the households stated that all their lands were communally owned except for 9.5 percent of them who had bought private land outside Kerio Valley. It was also reported that those who had private land were considered wealthy since they could sell part of it to generate income. Households which owned private lands were also said to use it as collateral for borrowing loans/credit hence easily accessing money for meeting secondary school costs. Overall, ownership of the physical assets shown in the Table 4.15 was believed to determine household ability to pay school fees since they could be disposed off whenever need arose.

4.3.7 Other Household Characteristics

Apart from the aforementioned characteristics, other factors such as the materials used to build the main residential house, and the main sources of lighting and cooking fuel in the households were important in understanding the characteristics of the households. On roofing materials, about 46.7 percent of the households had grass-thatch while 53.3 percent had iron-sheets. Regarding the walls, 73.3 percent had stone and mud, 25 percent had stone and cement while one household (1.7 percent) had bricks as their main wall materials. About 68.3 percent had earth as their floor material while 31.7 percent had cement. On window materials, majority (90 percent) had wooden windows while only 10 percent had glass windows. Regarding the main source of lighting, lantern lamp and firewood were each used by 46.7 percent while tin-lamp and solar were each used by 3.3 percent of the households. All the households used firewood as their main source of cooking fuel (see Table 4.16).

Table 4.16: Type of Housing Materials and Main Sources of Lighting and Cooking Fuel

Variable Name	Frequency	Percent
Roof Material		
Grass-thatched	28	46.7
Iron-sheet	32	53.3
Total	60	100.0
Wall Material		
Bricks	1	1.7
Stone-Mud	44	73.3
Stone-Cement	15	25.0
Total	60	100.0
Floor Material		
Earth	41	68.3
Cement	19	31.7
Total	60	100.0
Windows Material		
Wood	54	90.0
Glass	6	10.0
Total	60	100.0
Main Source of Lighting		
Tin Lamp	2	3.3
Lantern Lamp	28	46.7
Solar	2	3.3
Firewood	28	46.7
Total	60	100.0
Main Cooking Fuel		
Firewood	60	100.0

Source: Survey Data (2013)

These findings indicate that the main housing materials for majority of the households were iron-sheet (roof), stones and mud (wall), earth (floor), and wood (windows). As such, most of the main residential houses of the sampled households were semi-permanent. Furthermore, the main sources of lighting in the sampled households were firewood and lantern lamp while firewood was the main (and possibly the only) source of cooking fuel. These findings could be attributed to the fact that most households were of low-income level, as earlier discussed, and could not afford to build permanent residential houses or buy expensive lighting/cooking fuel. Being a semi-arid area, iron-sheets were popular roofing materials due to scarcity of grass for thatching.

4.4 Household Secondary School Enrolment and Attendance

It was one of the objectives of this study to establish secondary school enrolment and attendance levels of the sampled households. This information was considered necessary because although secondary education is subsidized countrywide the Pokot-Marakwet conflict is thought to jeopardize access to schooling in Kerio Valley. The study thus sought to establish the number of secondary school age children in the households who were in secondary school at the time of the study and their attendance patterns. It also collected information on those children who were not in secondary school although they belonged to secondary school age (14-21 years). While the target households were those with children of secondary school age in Kerio Valley, regardless of whether at the time of the study the children were enrolled in secondary school or not, it was observed that all sampled households had at least a child in secondary school during the study period.

As Table 4.17 shows, nearly half of the households interviewed (46.7 percent) had one child in secondary school, 40 percent had two children while 10 percent had three children enrolled. Only a few (3.3 percent) had four children in secondary school. Therefore, the highest and lowest numbers of children enrolled in secondary school at the time of the study were 4 and 1 respectively while the mean was 2 children. Compared to households with 1-2 children in secondary school, households with 3-4 were few probably because it was expensive to send many children to school at once. This confirms our earlier hypothesis that households with many children of secondary school age face difficulty in paying school fees and hence are unlikely to enrol all their children at once.

Table 4.17: Number of Children of Secondary School Age in Secondary School

Number of Children	Frequency	Percent
1	28	46.7
2	24	40.0
3	6	10.0
4	2	3.3
Total	60	100.0

Source: Survey Data (2013)

4.4.1 Frequency of Secondary School Attendance

Regular school attendance is a necessary condition of a learning process and a means of completing school with a good education while chronic school absenteeism is associated with school drop-out. In determining the secondary school attendance levels of the children enrolled, respondents were asked to indicate whether the children enrolled failed to attend school in the previous school term (equivalent to three months) as at the time of the study. A vast majority (78.3 percent) indicated that the children failed to attend school in the previous school term while 21.7 percent stated that the child/children did not fail to attend school. This suggests that most children of secondary school age from the sampled households did not attend school regularly hence leading to loss of learning hours which could eventually affect their school performance.

To further gauge the level of absenteeism, the households whose children failed to attend school in the previous school term were required to state the number of days that the children missed school. Table 4.18 presents the average number of days missed per child in a household. About 44.7 percent of the respondents stated that the children missed school for an average of 7 or fewer days, 25.5 percent stated an average of 8-14 days while an average of 15-21 days was indicated by 21.3 percent of the respondents. Averages of 22-28 days, and 29 or more days were each stated by 4.3 percent of the respondents. The mean number of days missed per child was found to be 11. This means that there was learning time wasted of not less than a week in the previous term which could lead to poor academic performance and ultimately school drop-out.

Table 4.18: Average Number of School Days Missed per Child in a Household

Number of Days	Frequency	Percent
7 days and below	21	44.7
8-14 days	12	25.5
15-21 days	10	21.3
22-28 days	2	4.3
29 days and above	2	4.3
Total	47	100.0

Source: Survey Data (2013)

4.4.2 Reasons for Secondary School Non-Attendance

In an attempt to establish the reasons for secondary school non-attendance, households were asked to state why their children failed to attend school in the previous school term. Most respondents suggested multiple reasons for secondary school non-attendance and this is why there were 53 responses despite only 47 respondents who said that their children missed school in the previous school term. A large majority (79.2 percent) of the respondents attributed the non-attendance to lack of school fees. This was followed by a distant 11.3 percent who quoted sickness/illness, and indiscipline was stated by 5.7 percent. The reasons that children had to work/help at home and insecurity/conflict were each stated by 1.9 percent of the respondents (see Table 4.19).

Table 4.19: Reasons for Secondary School Non-Attendance

	Number of Responses (N)	Percent (%)	Percent of Cases (%)
Lack of school fees	42	79.2	89.4
Sickness/Illness	6	11.3	12.8
Had to work/help at home	1	1.9	2.1
Conflict/Insecurity	1	1.9	2.1
Indiscipline	3	5.7	6.4
Total	53	100.0	112.8

Source: Survey Data (2013)

These findings suggest that despite the introduction of subsidized secondary education in 2008, lack of school fees was still a major reason for secondary school non-attendance in the sampled households. One of the respondents stated that his child was sent home frequently due to lack of school fees. The respondent further explained that the same child had initially been enrolled in a Boarding Secondary School but since they could not afford the school fees in that school the child was transferred to a Day Secondary School. The household, however, still faced difficulties

in raising the school fees required in the Day school. In addition, all the key informants confirmed that lack of school fees was the main cause of secondary school non-attendance in Kerio Valley. Most of them stated that low agricultural potential combined with frequent conflicts exacerbated poverty levels in Kerio Valley hence rendering many households unable to meet school costs. For instance, one of the secondary school Head Teachers argued:

“Most children from this area lack secondary school fees because of high poverty levels in the households. Most of them are often sent home to collect school fees and they end up staying home for more than two weeks. They then come back with a little amount, stay in school for a while, and they are sent home again...” (KI5, 19th June, 2013).

Another secondary school Head Teacher stated:

“Poverty levels in the households are so high that some students in Form one have fees balance of up to Kshs. 20,000. If they have such a fee balance in Form one, how much fee balance will they have when they get to Form four?” (KI4, 18th June, 2013).

A number of the key informants, however, felt that some parents had apathy with regard to their children’s education. One of them revealed that some financially capable households evaded payment of school fees, especially for girls, because they lacked interest in their children’s education and career development. Interestingly, another key informant stated that some parents interrupted their children’s learning process by demanding that the child (especially girl-child) should go home and help parents in planning social events such as weddings. Related to this finding, the DEO of Marakwet District estimated that the secondary school enrolment gender parity in the District was 0.97 in favour of boys (in perfect situations gender parity ratio is 1:1). This could be attributed to lack of awareness among parents on the importance of secondary education to the child’s and family’s future. Another notable reason for school non-attendance reported by the households was indiscipline. Some of the Head Teachers argued that a few children, mostly boys, were reluctant to learn and hence they either overstayed school holidays or sneaked out of school. When this happens, the children involved were suspended from school because such behaviour was not tolerated.

4.4.3 Secondary School Non-Enrolment

We also sought to establish whether there were children who were not enrolled in secondary school at the time of the survey although they belonged to secondary school cohort. About 51.7 percent of the households indicated that they had children of secondary school age who were not in secondary school while 48.3 percent stated that all their children of secondary school age were in secondary school. This shows that the sampled households were almost halved between those which had some secondary school age children who were not in secondary school and those which had all their children of secondary school cohort in secondary school. Households which had children of secondary school age who were not in secondary school were requested to state the number of these children in the household. The aim was to determine the level of secondary non-enrolment in the household. Majority of the respondents (87.1 percent) said that they had one child who was not enrolled, 9.7 percent stated that they had two children while only 3.2 percent reported that they had three children of secondary school age who were not in secondary school. This suggests that only a few children from the households interviewed failed to enrol in secondary school and this could be attributed to the provision of subsidized secondary education.

The study further sought to find out whether the children who were not in school had enrolled in secondary school before. About 54.8 percent of the households indicated that their children had never enrolled in secondary school while 45.2 percent said that their children had enrolled but dropped out. In an attempt to ascertain why some of the children had never enrolled in secondary school, households which indicated that their children had never enrolled were asked to explain why this was the case. Some of the respondents provided multiple reasons for secondary school non-enrolment and this explains why there were 19 responses despite only 17 households which indicated that their children had never enrolled in secondary school. Some respondents (42.1 percent) revealed that the children of secondary school age were still in primary school. About 26.3 percent stated that the children were not in secondary school because they had performed poorly in KCPE examination while 21.1 percent indicated that the children failed to enrol due to lack of school fees to join Form one. Respondents who indicated that the children failed to enrol because they were pregnant prior to joining secondary school and those who said the children did not to complete primary schooling were each represented by 5.3 percent (see Table 4.20).

Table 4.20: Reasons for Never Enrolling in Secondary School

	Number of Responses (N)	Percent (%)	Percent of Cases (%)
Did not complete primary school	1	5.3	5.9
Poor KCPE performance	5	26.3	29.4
Lack of school fees to join Form one	4	21.1	23.5
Child is still in primary school	8	42.1	47.1
Pregnancy	1	5.3	5.9
Total	19	100.0	111.8

Source: Survey Data (2013)

As discussed in chapter three, one of the reasons why many children of secondary school age in Kerio Valley were still in primary school was due to the Pokot-Marakwet conflict. Conflict effects such as displacement, insecurity, mortality, and overall disruption of household livelihoods delayed primary school enrolment for most children and by extension resulting in late secondary school enrolment. One of the village heads who accompanied the researcher during the field study avowed that owing to the conflict between Pokot and Marakwet communities it was normal for the households to have secondary school age children who were still in primary school. The study also observed that poor KCPE results discouraged many children from enrolling in secondary school. For instance, the DEO reported that out of all the candidates (11,216) who sat for KCPE examination in 2012 in Elgeyo-Marakwet County, only 69 percent (7,709) achieved the pass mark (250 out of 500 marks) required to join secondary school. However, some children who did well in KCPE also failed to enrol to secondary school due to pregnancy or lack of school fees. There were nevertheless a few children who failed to complete primary schooling mainly due to lack of interest in education.

The study also sought to determine the main reasons for dropping out from the households which had enrolled their children in secondary school at one point in time. One respondent suggested multiple reasons for dropping out and this explains why there were 15 responses despite only 14 households which stated that their children had dropped-out. About 40 percent of the respondents stated lack of school fees as the main reason for secondary school drop-out, 26.7 percent stated indiscipline while pregnancy was mentioned by 20 percent. Insecurity and lack of interest in education were each stated by 6.7 percent of the respondents (see Table 4.21).

Table 4.21: Reasons for Dropping Out of Secondary School

	Number of Responses (N)	Percent (%)	Percent of Cases (%)
Lack of school fees	6	40.0	42.9
Pregnancy	3	20.0	21.4
Conflict/insecurity	1	6.7	7.1
Lack of interest	1	6.7	7.1
Indiscipline	4	26.7	28.6
Total	15	100.0	107.1

Source: Survey Data (2013)

Generally, these findings suggest that lack of school fees was the main and constant reason for secondary school non-enrolment/drop-out and non-attendance among the households sampled. It also implies that even in the presence of secondary school subsidies the sampled households still faced difficulties in paying school fees. One of the unexpected observations was that only few households directly linked conflict to school non-attendance and non-enrolment. We however conclude that households' inability to pay school fees could have been partially related to the effects of Pokot-Marakwet conflict. In addition, the Head Teacher of one of the boys' secondary schools confirmed that indiscipline among the boys was a major reason for school drop-out. What the schools considered indiscipline included such behaviours as sneaking out, failure to attend school without permission from the school administration, and violence.

Some key informants also suggested that pregnancy cases among girls in secondary schools were increasing hence exacerbating school drop-out rates in Kerio Valley. For instance, the Head Teacher of one of the girls' secondary schools stated that on average there were 3-4 pregnancy-related drop-out cases per year. On the other hand, the DEO estimated secondary school drop-out cases related to pregnancy in Marakwet District to be 10-20 per year. Lastly, cultural practices such as male and female circumcision were stated by some key informants to contribute towards lack of interest in secondary education among children in Kerio Valley, which in effect led to high school drop-outs rates. After circumcision, as one key informant reported, boys and girls assumed to be ready for marriage hence dropping out of school. This information is consistent to Ondiek (2010) findings in Kuria District in Kenya that after circumcision boys and girls dropped out of school because they believed they were mature enough to marry and start a family. One key informant in Kerio Valley reported:

“Circumcised boys and girls undergo attitudinal changes and reject formal education...perceiving themselves as adults and schools as institutions for children.” (KI8, 21st June, 2013).

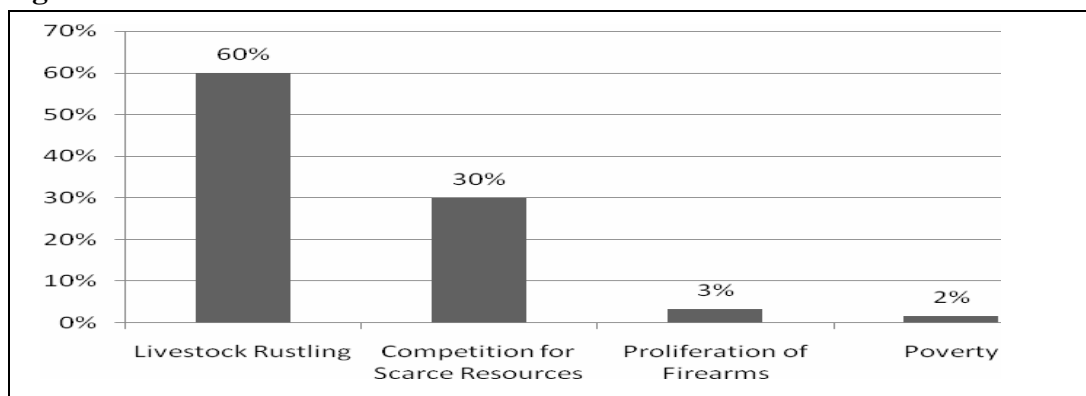
4.5 Effects of Conflict on Secondary School Enrolment and Attendance in Kerio Valley

The importance of context within which the household is located and its influence on access to schooling need not be emphasized. This study was based on the premise that households in conflict-prone areas typically have low access to secondary education owing to significant financial obstacles brought about by conflict. It was important therefore for this study to identify ways in which the Pokot-Marakwet conflict affected secondary school enrolment and attendance of the sampled households in Kerio Valley.

4.5.1 Main Causes of Pokot-Marakwet Conflict and the Affected Household Activities

In an attempt to understand the basis of the conflict between Pokot and Marakwet communities, respondents were asked to identify the main causes of the conflict. As shown in Figure 4.3, about 60 percent of the respondents identified livestock rustling as the main cause of the conflict, 30 percent stated competition for limited resources, and 3 percent stated proliferation of firearms while only 2 percent mentioned poverty. This is consistent with Kipkebut (2007) findings in his study on understanding the phenomenon of Pokot-Marakwet conflict in Kerio Valley. The respondents who stated livestock rustling as the main cause of the conflict, argued that this was so because the Pokot needed to create wealth for paying bride price, secure food, and restock their livestock after devastating drought effects while the Marakwet raided in vengeance to recover their stolen livestock. Some of the respondents who stated competition for limited resources explained that during dry seasons Pokot who are purely pastoralists migrated to Marakwet lands along Kerio River in search of pasture and water and this fuelled conflict between the two communities. Respondents who mentioned possession of firearms disclosed that the porous borders between Kenya and its neighbours (particularly Somalia, Ethiopia, and Uganda) made it easier for livestock rustlers to own firearms which they used in their raiding expedition.

Figure 4.3: Main Causes of Pokot-Marakwet Conflict



Source: Survey Data (2013)

Respondents were further asked to indicate the last time (year) that Kerio Valley was affected by Pokot-Marakwet conflict. All the respondents interviewed stated that the conflict still existed by the time of the study (2013) but in small scale; involving frequent livestock rustling and devoid of loss of human life. This was affirmed by the researcher given that during the study period livestock rustling was reported to have taken place in one of the villages in Kerio Valley. When the respondents were asked whether in 2013 the conflict affected their household normal activities, only 5 percent stated that the conflict affected their normal activities while 95 percent said that their normal activities were not affected. Respondents who stated that their household normal activities were not affected in 2013 were asked to state the last time (year) their household's normal activities were affected by the conflict. About 82.5 percent of the respondents stated that their normal activities were affected by conflicts which occurred in 2003-2007, 15.8 percent stated 2008-2012, while 1.8 percent said that they had never been affected by the Pokot-Marakwet Conflict. This implies that most households were affected between the year 2003 and 2007 and this affirms our earlier hypothesis that the intensity of the Pokot-Marakwet conflict has reduced. Most of the key informants attributed this reduction in intensity of the conflict to peace awareness and sensitization campaigns carried out by local leaders in collaboration with Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) including World Vision International and Catholic Peace and Justice Commission (CPJC). Some key informants also reported that shared resources such as schools, health centres, and roads had been established

along the Pokot-Marakwet boarder to curb the hostility and tension between the two communities.

The study further sought to identify the household normal activities affected by the conflict. Most respondents interviewed gave multiple responses to this question and so there were 260 responses despite only 60 respondents interviewed. About 22.3 percent of the respondents stated that livestock keeping was affected by the conflict, crop farming was mentioned by 21.5 percent while schooling was stated by 18.8 percent of the respondents. Some respondents (15.4 percent) reported that trading activities were affected, 14.2 percent stated family social life while 7.7 percent mentioned human life (see Table 4.22).

Table 4.22: Household Activities Affected by Pokot-Marakwet Conflict

	Number of Responses (N)	Percent (%)	Percent of Cases (%)
Crop Farming	56	21.5	94.9
Trading	40	15.4	67.8
Livestock Keeping	58	22.3	98.3
Schooling	49	18.8	83.1
Family Social Life	37	14.2	62.7
Human Life	20	7.7	33.9
Total	260	100.0	440.7

Source: Survey Data (2013)

The respondents were also required to explain how these activities were affected by conflict, to which most of them gave multiple responses (see Table 4.23). Regarding crop farming, 55.4 percent of the respondents explained that farming activities were abandoned, 26.8 percent stated that crops were destroyed and harvest looted, and 17.9 percent said they had to postpone their farming activities. On trading activities, 85 percent of the respondents said that markets were closed, followed by 7.5 percent who stated that shops were burnt and stock looted and 5 percent reported that transportation of goods was disrupted due to insecurity. Few respondents (2.5 percent) said that they had to postpone their trading activities due to the conflict. All the respondents who reported that the conflict affected livestock keeping said that their livestock were stolen. In terms of family social life, 75.7 percent of the respondents stated that their close family members were displaced, 18.9 percent argued that their houses were burnt and property destroyed while 5.4 percent disclosed that their families broke-up as a result of the conflict. Of the respondents who said that the conflict affected human life, 95 percent stated that their close

family members were killed while 5 percent stated that their close family members sustained permanent body injuries due to the conflict. With regard to schooling, 42.9 percent of the respondents argued that the conflict resulted in difficulty of raising school fees and 34.7 percent said that the conflict led to school non-attendance due to fear of attack. A few respondents (14.3 percent) stated that the conflict disrupted delivery of learning services while 8.2 percent reported that schools were closed due to insecurity.

Table 4.23: Effects of Pokot-Marakwet Conflict on Household Activities

Activity Affected	How The Activity Was Affected	Frequency	Percent
Crop Farming	Postponed farming activities	10	17.9
	Abandoned farming activities	31	55.4
	Crops were destroyed and harvest looted	15	26.8
	Total	56	100.0
Trading	Postponed trading activities	1	2.5
	Shops were burnt and stock looted	3	7.5
	Markets were closed	34	85.0
	Transportation of goods was disrupted	2	5.0
	Total	40	100.0
Livestock Keeping	Livestock were stolen	58	100.0
	Total	58	100.0
Family Social Life	Family members were displaced	28	75.7
	Houses were burnt and property destroyed	7	18.9
	Family was broken-up	2	5.4
	Total	37	100.0
Human Life	Family members were killed	19	95.0
	Family members sustained permanent body injuries	1	5.0
	Total	20	100.0
Schooling	School non-attendance due to fear of attack	17	34.7
	Disrupted delivery of learning services	7	14.3
	Difficulty in raising school fees	21	42.9
	Schools were closed	4	8.2
	Total	49	100.0

Source: Survey Data (2013)

These findings were further confirmed by some key informants in which one of them reported:

“...the conflict upsets economic activities of the people. Some people have abandoned their farms along Kerio River due to insecurity. Due to this they are not able to raise enough income for school, food and other household needs...”
(KI6, 19th June, 2013).

Another key informant argued:

“...many households lost their relatives, assets and economic activities due to the conflict...the problem of school fees payment and school non-attendance are partially because of the effects of the conflict...” (KI8, 21st June, 2013).

4.5.2 Conflict and Secondary School Enrolment and Attendance in the Households

In identifying the ways in which the Pokot-Marakwet conflict affected secondary school enrolment in Kerio Valley, the respondents were first asked whether the conflict affected secondary school enrolment of the children in their households. About 66.7 percent of the respondents stated that secondary school enrolment was affected by the conflict while 33.3 percent reported that it was not affected. Of the respondents who stated that the conflict affected secondary school enrolment, 50 percent said that the children dropped out of school, 35 percent explained that the conflict delayed children's entrance to Form one while 15 percent stated that the children failed to enrol in secondary school as a result of the conflict. Among the respondents who indicated that the conflict did not affect secondary school enrolment, 35 percent said that they did not have a child of secondary school age at the time of the conflict while 30 percent stated they had adequate funds to pay their children's secondary school fees during the conflict period. A further 20 percent of the respondents disclosed that the conflict effects they experienced were too minute to affect school enrolment, 10 percent said they transferred their children to schools in safer places, and 5 percent stated that they were not affected by the conflict.

The study also sought to establish whether the conflict affected secondary school attendance in the households. Most of the respondents (60 percent) stated that the conflict affected secondary school attendance in their households while 16.7 percent argued that the conflict did not affect secondary school attendance. Some respondents (23.3 percent) however stated that they were either not affected by the conflict or did not have children of secondary school age at the time of the conflict. Of the respondents who stated that the conflict affected secondary school attendance, 83.3 percent reported that their children missed school for 30 days or more, 13.9 percent stated that their children missed school for 14 days or less while 2.8 percent said that their children missed school between 15 and 29 days as a result of the conflict. This means that

most children from the households whose school attendance was affected missed a lot of learning hours which could lead to poor school performance.

In determining how the conflict caused secondary school non-attendance, households whose children missed school during the last conflict episode were asked to identify the reasons why this happened. Some respondents suggested multiple reasons for school non-attendance and hence there were 107 responses to this question despite only 36 respondents who acknowledged that the conflict affected secondary school attendance in their households. As shown in Table 4.24, 31.8 of the respondents stated that the conflict led to inability to pay school fees while respondents who stated that the conflict led to displacement and those who mentioned that the conflict led to insecurity were each represented by 29 percent. Some respondents (6.5 percent) pointed out that boys missed school because they were involved in defending the community during the conflict period while 3.7 percent said that the children missed school because their school items such as uniforms and books were burnt during the conflict.

Table 4.24: How the Conflict Caused Secondary School Non-Attendance

	Number of responses (N)	Percent (%)	Percent of Cases (%)
Inability to pay school fees	34	31.8	94.4
Displacement	31	29	86.1
Insecurity/fear of attack	31	29	86.1
Boys went to defend the community	7	6.5	19.4
School items were burnt	4	3.7	11.1
Total	107	100	297.2

Source: Survey Data (2013)

These findings indicate that Pokot-Marakwet conflict affected secondary school enrolment and attendance in most of the households interviewed. As a result, low secondary school enrolment and attendance observed in some households could be partly linked to the effects of the conflict.

4.5.3 Gendered Effect of the Conflict on Secondary School Enrolment and Attendance

Some studies such as Shemyakina (2006) argue that conflict has a gendered effect on secondary education attainment. We thus sought to determine whether the conflict in Kerio Valley affected access to secondary school for girls and boys in the same way. Of the respondents interviewed 36.7 percent stated that the conflict affected secondary school enrolment and attendance for both girls and boys similarly while 63.3 percent disagreed with this assertion. Of the respondents who

disagreed, 76.3 percent argued that boys' secondary school enrolment and attendance was more affected while 23.7 percent stated that girls' enrolment and attendance was more affected by the conflict.

Of the respondents who said that secondary school enrolment and attendance for boys was more affected, 69 percent explained that this was because boys dropped out of school during conflict period to protect the community. Another 31 percent of these respondents argued that boys failed to attend school during conflict period due to fear of attack as livestock rustlers targeted to kill boys owing to their responsibility of protecting the community. One key informant confirmed this by stating that it was culturally the role of boys and other male members to protect the community during conflicts and hence the boys were more likely to miss school. Furthermore, a cross tabulation of sex of the respondents, who argued that girls' and boys' secondary school enrolment and attendance were not affected similarly, by gendered effect of conflict showed that both male and female respondents agreed that boys' enrolment and attendance was more affected. For instance, 14 out of 20 male respondents and 15 out of 18 female respondents stated that secondary school enrolment and attendance for boys was more affected than for girls (see Table 4.25).

Table 4.25: Sex of the Respondent by Gendered Effect of Conflict

Sex of the Respondent	Who is More Affected by Conflict		
	Boys	Girls	Total
Male	14	6	20
Female	15	3	18
Total	29	9	38

Source: Survey Data (2013)

Of the respondents who stated that girls' enrolment and attendance was more affected by conflict, 55.6 percent said that girls dropped out of school due to fear of attack while 44.4 percent stated that girls dropped out because they were raped and impregnated during the conflict. Of the respondents who stated that the conflict affected secondary school enrolment and attendance for both boys and girls the same way, 45.5 percent argued that all schools were closed and teachers transferred during the conflict period hence no children could go to school. About 27.3 percent of the respondents stated that boys and girls were displaced or killed during the conflict. A further 22.7 of the respondents said that household livelihood sources were destroyed

during the conflict and so both boys and girls could not go to school due to lack of school fees. Another 4.5 percent of the respondents stated that both boys and girls lost their parents/sole breadwinners and this lessened their chances of going to secondary school.

These findings suggest that boys' secondary school enrolment and attendance was more affected by conflict than for girls. This confirms Akresh and De Walque (2008) findings in Rwanda that enrolment and attendance for boys was more affected during conflicts than for girls because boys were more likely to be drawn into the conflict. It is however contrary to Shemyakina (2006) findings in Tajikistan that conflict had little or no effect on boys' secondary school enrolment but had a large negative effect on girls. This could be attributed to the fact that conflict effects vary with context. For instance, in Marakwet community boys were directly involved in the conflict as it was culturally their role to protect the community and hence were more affected and tended to miss school more than girls. This might not be the case in Tajikistan.

4.5.4 Household Socio-Economic Status and Conflict Effects

All respondents interviewed were asked whether the Pokot-Marakwet conflict affected wealthy and poor households in the same way. The aim was to determine if the conflict influenced secondary school enrolment and attendance of children for wealthy and poor households similarly. Some respondents (36.7 percent) stated that both wealthy and poor households were equally affected while 63.3 percent disagreed with this assertion. Of the respondents who argued that wealthy and poor households were not affected similarly, 92.1 percent said that poor households were more affected compared to a distant 7.9 percent who said that wealthy households were more affected by the conflict. About 51.4 percent of the respondents who stated that poor households were more affected explained that, unlike poor households, wealthy households easily relocated to safer places and hence escaped negative impacts of the conflict. Some respondents (42.9 percent) said that wealthy households had alternative sources of livelihood and were able to bounce back after the conflict unlike poor households. A few of the respondents (5.7 percent) mentioned that contrary to poor households, the wealthy had savings which sustained them during the conflict period.

All the respondents who reported that wealthy households were more affected by the conflict than their poor counterparts argued that wealthy households had more property to lose during

conflict and this implied more harm. One of the respondents argued that, unlike poor households, it was more painful for wealthy households to lose their property during conflict since they had invested a lot of time and money to accumulate them. All the respondents who stated that the conflict affected both poor and wealthy households similarly argued that livestock rustlers attacked anyone they met during their raiding expedition regardless of whether they were rich or poor. As could be expected, these findings suggest that poor households were more affected by the Pokot-Marakwet conflict. This confirms Bird *et al.* (2011) findings in Northern Uganda that wealthy people were more likely to have economic resilience during conflicts than their poor counterparts because they could easily find alternative livelihoods and adjust to displacement. The assumption therefore is that secondary school participation in poor households was likely to be more affected by conflict than in wealthy households.

4.6 Benefits of Secondary School Subsidy to Households in Kerio Valley

Given the disruption of household livelihood sources, family social life, and schooling by conflict in Kerio Valley, we sought to determine whether the sampled households benefited from subsidized secondary education programme introduced to all public secondary schools in Kenya in 2008. In order to determine if the children from the sampled households qualified for the secondary school subsidy, respondents were first asked to indicate the type of secondary school(s) the children attended. It was observed that children from 45 percent of the households were enrolled in Public Boarding Secondary Schools while children from 43.3 percent of the households were enrolled in Public Day Secondary Schools. Households which had children in both Public Boarding and Day Secondary Schools comprised 11.7 percent of the sampled households. There was no household that had a child or children in Private Secondary School. This suggests that secondary school children from all the households sampled qualified for subsidized secondary education. A further discussion with the DEO of Marakwet District revealed that many households in Kerio Valley did not enrol their children in Private Secondary Schools mainly because they could not afford school fees charged in these schools. The DEO also added that secondary school subsidies motivated parents to enrol their children in Public Secondary Schools.

In determining whether the households sampled knew about subsidized secondary education programme, respondents were asked if they were aware that Public Secondary School costs were subsidized in Kenya. Majority of the respondents (98.3 percent) stated that they were aware while only one respondent (1.7 percent) was not aware. It was further observed that of the respondents who stated that they were aware of the programme, 91.5 percent understood that the programme was a Government's initiative to lower secondary school fees while the rest (8.5 percent) thought the programme was a Government's bursary scheme for poor children. This misconception could not only influence school enrolment by shaping a household's perception of the benefits accrued from subsidized secondary education but also hinder households from playing their role in the programme's implementation.

4.6.1 Average Cost of Secondary Education Incurred by the Households

Classical Liberal Theory of Equal Opportunity by Rousseau (1762) argues that the main assumption of education subsidies is that school costs will be lowered and hence majority of households will afford to send their children to school. In establishing whether this assumption applied to the households sampled, all households were asked to estimate the cost of other secondary school items (non-tuition) that they were required to meet per child per annum. The aim was to determine the extent to which the removal of secondary school tuition fees benefited the sampled households in Kerio Valley. Table 4.26 shows the average cost of some of the compulsory secondary school items (Boarding and Day) identified by the respondents interviewed. The cost of each item has been rounded off to the nearest tenths for easier calculations.

Table 4.26: Cost of Public Boarding and Day Secondary Schools per Child per Annum

Boarding School Items	Average Cost (Kshs.)	Day School Items	Average Cost (Kshs.)
School Uniform	2,170	School Uniform	2,100
Books/stationery	7,580	Books/stationery	5,820
Transport	3,520	Transport	0
Games Kit	1,620	Games Kit	1,500
School Shoes and bag	1,900	School Shoes and bag	1,790
Development projects	860	Development projects	600
PTA fee	1,920	PTA fee	1,560
Remedial Fee	1,910	Remedial Fee	1,250
Blanket	440	Lunch	3,660
A pair of sheets	520	Rent	2,500
Bucket	110		
Towel	190		
A pair of Slippers	100		
Utensils (spoon, plate, mug)	150		
Total Cost	22,990		20,780

Source: Survey Data (2013)

From these findings, the total average cost that a household paid per child per annum was slightly higher for a child in Boarding than for a child in Day Secondary School (less by Kshs. 2,210). Overall, it implies that the average secondary school costs for both Boarding (Kshs. 22,990) and Day (Kshs. 20,780) Secondary Schools were still substantially high; about two times the amount of subsidy (Kshs. 10,265) provided by the Kenyan Government. This is contrary to Ohba (2009) finding in Makueni District that since secondary education was subsidized in 2008, average fees for Public Day secondary schools have been reduced to less than Kshs. 15,000 per child per annum. One likely explanation for the difference between Ohba (2009) result and the current study's finding could be that although children in Day Secondary Schools in Kerio Valley did not pay boarding expenses officially, some of them had to rent rooms near their schools in order to reduce the amount of time spent in daily travels to and from school. It was also observed that given conflict incidents in Kerio Valley the children were forced to rent rooms near their schools to avoid being attacked on their way to or from school. Thus, rental fees added to the cost of evening meals increased the school fees incurred per child per annum. There were however a few children who walked to and from school and hence did not incur any transport or rental costs. It is important to note that the list of secondary school items presented in Table 4.26

is not conclusive since there were some items such as personal emolument and sanitary necessities which the respondents did not mention or regard as compulsory.

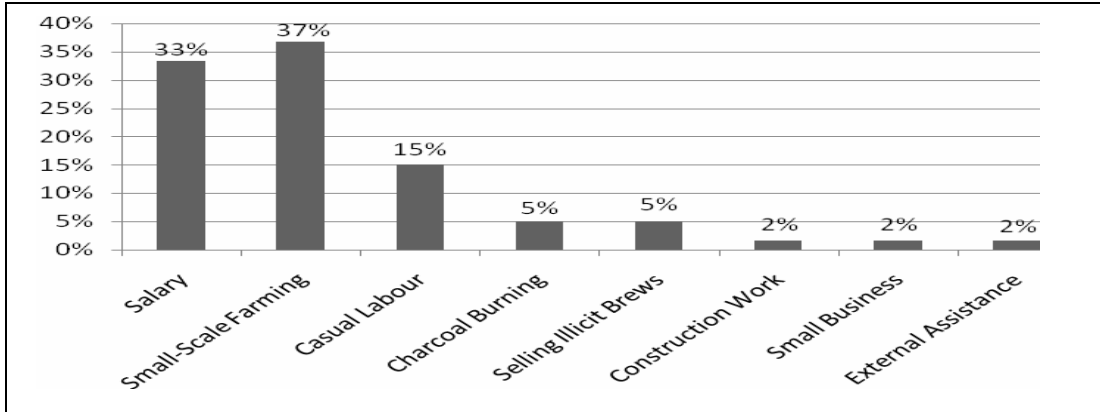
4.6.2 Challenges Faced by the Households in Meeting Secondary School Costs

The study further sought to find out if the households interviewed faced any challenges in meeting the secondary school costs outlined above. Majority of the respondents (90 percent) reported that they faced challenges in meeting the school costs while only 10 percent said they did not face any difficulty. Of the respondents who reported that they faced challenges in meeting the school costs, 35.2 percent said it was because of inadequate household income while 20.4 percent stated that it was due to unstable sources of income. Harsh climatic conditions were stated by 29.6 percent of the respondents while conflict/insecurity was mentioned by 9.3 percent. A further 5.6 percent of the respondents explained that they had many children in secondary school and it was thus difficult to meet all their school costs at once. We sought to establish why the 10 percent of the sampled households did not face any challenge in meeting secondary school costs. Half of the respondents (50 percent) stated that they had stable sources of income, 33.3 percent said they had few children in secondary school while 16.7 percent stated that they received external financial assistance from either relatives, Government or NGOs.

From these findings, most of the sampled households faced difficulties in paying secondary school costs and this explains why lack of school fees was mentioned by many respondents as the main reason for school non-enrolment and non-attendance. This result could be explained partly by the unstable sources of raising secondary school fees which the households relied upon (see Figure 4.4). For instance, 37 percent of the households mainly depended on small-scale farming, but because Kerio Valley is prone to frequent droughts and conflicts, most respondents reported low annual agricultural output. Moreover, 15 percent of the households depended on casual labour while charcoal burning and selling of illicit brews were each depended by 5 percent of the households. Construction work (masonry or carpentry), small business (off-farm) and external financial assistance were each depended by 2 percent of the households. These sources were unreliable and unlikely to provide enough money to meet school costs and other household basic needs. Salary which was relied upon by 33 percent of the households was the

only stable source reported and hence explains why some households had no difficulty in meeting secondary school costs.

Figure 4.4: Main Sources of Raising Secondary School Fees in the Households



Source: Survey Data (2013)

In addition, unlike households which had few children in secondary school those with many children reported that they faced difficulties in meeting school costs. This confirms our earlier hypothesis that the higher the number of secondary school age children in a household the lower their chance of going to secondary school. Overall, these findings indicate that secondary school costs met by the sampled households were still high. For both Boarding and Day Secondary Schools the amount of fees that the households were required to pay was approximately two times higher the amount of subsidy provided by the Government. Therefore, given the unstable sources of raising school fees mainly due to constant conflicts and droughts in Kerio Valley, the sampled households generally faced difficulties in meeting secondary school costs and hence most of them reported that the secondary school subsidy was inadequate and insignificantly beneficial.

4.7 Influence of Subsidized Secondary Education on School Enrolment and Attendance

Provision of secondary school subsidies is considered one of the apt initiatives in promoting access to secondary education in conflict-prone areas (Bailey, 2009). Given the secondary school costs met by the sampled households and challenges faced, it was pertinent to determine whether provision of subsidized secondary education influenced secondary school enrolment and attendance in the sampled households. Some of the respondents interviewed (33.3 percent) acknowledged that the subsidy facilitated in sending children to secondary school while 61.7

percent stated that the subsidy did not facilitate. A few respondents (5 percent) however said they did not have enough information to tell whether or not the subsidy facilitated in sending children to secondary school. This suggests that lack of information on how the funding operates could hinder households from evaluating the programme.

All the respondents who said that the subsidy facilitated in sending children to secondary school simply stated that the subsidy lowered the school costs that the household was required to pay. Some key informants further explained that cost of secondary schooling was extremely lowered especially when the subsidy was accompanied by educational bursaries provided to children from poor households. However, of the respondents who stated that the subsidy did not facilitate in sending children to secondary school, 48.6 percent claimed that the direct school fees that households were required to pay were still high. This was followed by 40.5 percent who reported high costs of other compulsory school items including text books and boarding essentials. Another 5.4 percent of the respondents claimed that new levies including PTA and remedial fees which increased the amount of fees paid by households had been introduced in the secondary schools. Delay in disbursement of subsidies and having many children in secondary school were each stated by 2.7 percent of the respondents.

With regard to direct cost of secondary schooling, key informants added that even with subsidies most households in Kerio Valley were unable to raise the school fees required due to high poverty levels aggravated by conflicts and droughts. Some key informants explained that the subsidy provided by the Government was insufficient to facilitate school enrolment and attendance in conflict-prone area of Kerio Valley especially because the area has historically been marginalized. On the cost of other compulsory school items such as uniforms and boarding items, some respondents expressed that although their household income remained constant prices of these items had increased hence raising the cost of secondary education. In relation to delay in disbursement of subsidies, one respondent argued that the Government sometimes released the funds to schools towards the end of the year thus forcing some schools to impose extra charges on households. However, though the Head Teachers and the DEO agreed with the households that there was delay in the release of subsidies, they disagreed with the argument that schools imposed extra levies on the households. Most of the key informants argued that many

parents, especially fathers, did not attend school meetings and hence lacked information on why schools charged certain levies. For instance, one key informant explained:

“There is apathy among some parents with regard to education of their children...there are those parents who are notorious in missing parents’ meetings and hence cannot get such information if they do not attend the meetings...” (KI7, 20th June, 2013).

To expound this further, of all the respondents interviewed, only 18.3 percent stated that they were aware of National Secondary School Fees Guideline (NSSFG) while 81.7 percent were not aware. Discussion with the DEO informed that NSSFGs were given to all parents during school meetings held at the beginning of each school year. According to Oketch and Somerset (2010) the aim of distributing NSSFGs is to inform households the amount of school fees paid by the Government and the amount that the household is required to contribute. Therefore, when parents are unaware of NSSFG recommendations they are likely to conclude that schools imposed extra levies whenever there is a rise in school costs. Nevertheless, there were a few respondents who were aware of NSSFG and still felt that schools had imposed extra levies on the households. As earlier indicated, PTA and remedial fees were some of the extra levies reported by the respondents to have been introduced, each costing about Kshs. 2,000 per child per annum.

Some of the respondents who argued that the subsidy did not facilitate households in sending children to secondary school felt that it facilitated enrolment and attendance only in households with certain characteristics. For example, some respondents explained that the subsidy facilitated enrolment and attendance in households with other means of raising school fees including bursaries and permanent employment. Others stated that the subsidy facilitated enrolment and attendance in households with few children in secondary and those with children in Day Secondary Schools as it was assumed that school fees required were low. Interestingly, some respondents argued that the subsidy assisted children from extremely poor households who would have otherwise not enrolled in secondary school. These respondents therefore seemed to suggest that the subsidy provided failed to facilitate secondary school enrolment and attendance in households which did not belong to these categories. Some respondents however stated that other factors (non-financial) such as lack of motivation and interest hindered some children from going to secondary school.

4.7.1 Amount of School Fees and Decision to Send Children to Secondary School

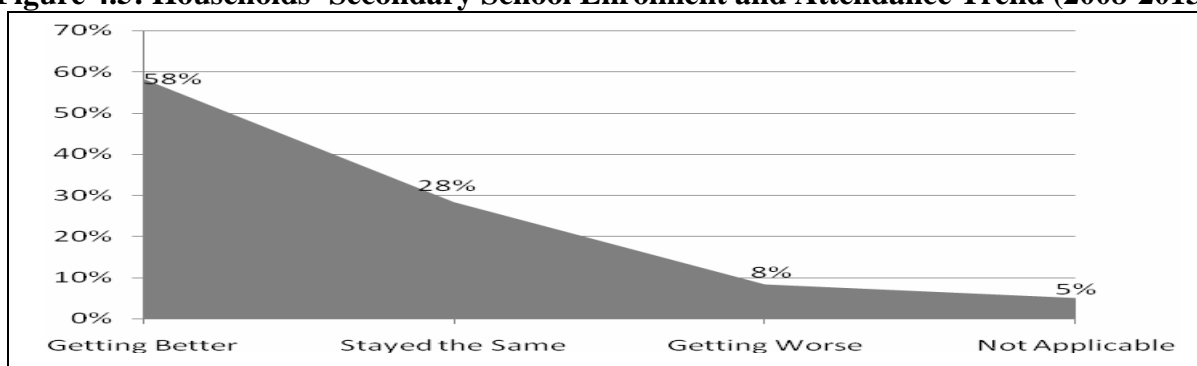
In an attempt to establish whether it was the cost of schooling or other factors that determined access to secondary education in the households, respondents were asked if the amount of school fees affected their decision to send children to secondary school. Almost three quarters (71.7 percent) of the respondents interviewed reported that the amount of school fees affected their decision to send children to school while 28.3 percent stated that school fees amount did not affect their decision. When respondents were further asked whether changes in the amount of school fees affected their decision to send children to secondary school, 68.3 percent agreed that the changes affected their decision while 31.7 percent said that changes did not affect their decision. Some of the respondents who said that the amount of school fees did not affect their decision to send children to secondary school explained that there were other vital factors such as illness, pregnancy, insecurity, indiscipline, and availability of schools which influence their decision to send children to secondary school.

These findings imply that the cost of secondary education determined whether or not a child went to secondary school in majority of the sampled households. It also means that changes in the amount of school fees met by the households significantly influenced children's access to secondary school in most of the households sampled. The expectation, therefore, is that provision of secondary school subsidies has the potential to influence secondary school enrolment and attendance in most of the sampled households.

4.7.2 Households' Secondary School Enrolment and Attendance Trends (2008-2013)

In determining the influence of subsidized secondary education programme on secondary school enrolment and attendance at the household level, all the respondents were required to describe how secondary school enrolment and attendance had changed in the household since the introduction of the programme in 2008. As shown in Figure 4.5, over half of the respondents (58 percent) stated that secondary school enrolment and attendance has been getting better, 28 percent said that it stayed the same while 8 percent indicated that it has been getting worse. The rest of the respondents (5 percent) stated that they had never had children of secondary school age prior to the year 2013 and hence this question did not apply to them.

Figure 4.5: Households' Secondary School Enrolment and Attendance Trend (2008-2013)



Source: Survey Data (2013)

Of the respondents who stated that secondary school enrolment and attendance was been getting better, 51.4 percent attributed this to the provision of subsidies. Another 42.9 percent of the respondents attributed it to other factors (other than provision of subsidy) while 5.7 percent said they did not know what to attribute this change to. All the respondents who attributed the change to the provision of subsidies argued that secondary school costs had been lowered hence improving enrolment and attendance levels of the households. Among the respondents who attributed the change in enrolment and attendance to other factors, 53.3 percent credited it to external financial assistance such as bursaries and fundraisings while 33.3 percent attributed it to adequate household income. A further 13.3 percent of the respondents acknowledged the contribution of non-financial factors such as parents' interest and strictness on their children's education. Of the respondents who indicated that secondary school enrolment and attendance stayed the same between 2008 and 2013, 94.1 percent indicated that school costs were still high and households could not afford to send children to school. A few respondents (5.9 percent) stated, however, that they did not know why secondary school enrolment and attendance in the households stayed the same. Lastly, of the respondents who stated that secondary school enrolment and attendance was getting worse, 80 percent attributed this to rise in commodity prices (inflation) which rendered households unable to meet the cost of school items. The rest of the respondents (20 percent) explained that they had many children in secondary school between 2008 and 2013 and it was thus difficult to raise all the school fees required. Table 4.27 summaries these findings.

Table 4.27: Explanation of Households' School Enrolment and Attendance Trends

Variable Name	Reasons	Frequency	Percent
Getting Better	Subsidy	18	51.4
	Other factors	15	42.9
	I do not know	2	5.7
	Total	35	100.0
Stayed the Same	Secondary school fees are still high	16	94.1
	I do not know	1	5.9
	Total	17	100.0
Getting Worse	Rise in prices of commodities (Inflation)	4	80.0
	Have many children in secondary school	1	20.0
	Total	5	100.0

Source: Survey Data (2013)

4.7.3 Gendered Effect of Subsidized Secondary Education on Enrolment and Attendance

In an effort to understand gendered effects of subsidized secondary education, we sought to determine whether provision of subsidies influenced secondary school enrolment and attendance for both boys and girls in the households. The respondents were first asked to indicate which child (boy, girl, or both) they would send to secondary school in absence of secondary school subsidies. Most of the respondents (86.7 percent) stated that they would send both children (a boy and a girl) to school, 8.3 percent said that they would send a boy while 5 percent said they would send a girl. Of the respondents who said that they would send a boy, 80 percent argued that, unlike a girl, a boy would take care of his parents in future while 20 percent said that they were sure that a boy would complete his education hence resources invested were unlikely to be wasted. Therefore, Becker's (1964) assumption that household's decision to send a child to school is determined by the cost of education and expected future returns to the household was supported.

Among the respondents who stated that they would send a girl, 66.7 percent said that, unlike a boy, a girl obeyed her parents while 33.3 percent stated that a girl assisted in daily domestic chores. This implies that in absence of subsidies households are likely to send girls to secondary school as a reward gesture while boys are likely to be sent due to expected future returns (that is, they will take care of their parents). This could also mean that when faced with financial constraints, households are likely to send boys to secondary school rather than girls. Respondents who said that they would send all children to secondary school in the absence of subsidies either

stated that all children were equal, secondary education was important for children's and household's future, or that they would send both children due to the Government's policy on education for all.

All the respondents were also asked to indicate which child they would send to secondary school if secondary school subsidies were provided. As would be expected, most respondents (98.3 percent) stated that they would send all children (both boys and girls) while 1.7 percent said that they would send a boy because boys would take care of their parents in future. Respondents who said that they would send all children (boys and girls) to school either stated that all children were equal, secondary education was vital for children's or household's future, or that they would send all children due to the Government's policy on education for all. These findings generally imply that when secondary education is subsidized, school fees are likely to be lowered and hence households need not to choose which child, based on gender, goes to secondary school. Girls, however, seem to benefit more considering their historical discrimination in access to education. Most respondents, nevertheless, emphasized that they would only send all children to secondary school if the amount of subsidy was scaled-up to cover other items such as school uniforms and stationeries.

4.7.4 Influence of Bursaries on Secondary School Enrolment and Attendance

To acknowledge the influence of other forms of financial assistance on secondary school enrolment and attendance, the study sought to establish whether secondary school children from the households benefited from any kind of bursary from the Government, individuals or private organizations. Given the high poverty levels in Kerio Valley, it would have been expected that many households were beneficiaries of bursaries. However, of the sampled households, only 21.7 percent benefited from bursaries while 78.3 percent did not. The main forms of secondary school bursaries that were available to the households included those from the MoE, Constituency Development Fund (CDF), and World Vision International. The DEO argued that one of the reasons why few households benefited from bursaries, especially those from MoE, was that only children in Public Boarding Secondary Schools were eligible for the bursary hence leaving out children in Public Day Secondary Schools. According to the DEO, the Government's assumption was that since secondary education was subsidized, fees in Day Secondary Schools

drastically declined compared to fees in Boarding Secondary Schools. Findings of this study however differ with this assumption as it was found that the amount of fees in Day and Boarding Secondary Schools were almost the same (see Table 4.26).

A further discussion with the Education Officer in charge of secondary schools in Marakwet District revealed that the amount of bursaries available in the District was not enough to benefit all eligible children who included partial or total orphans, vulnerable girls, and children with living parents but with no source of income. The DEO, for instance, stated that in 2013 only 150-200 secondary school children in the District benefited from bursaries from MoE although there were over a thousand applicants. Regarding CDF bursaries, some respondents reported that though their children were eligible for the bursary, they were not awarded. A few respondents argued that CDF committee only allocated the bursaries to their children or relatives even if they were ineligible.

On the influence of bursaries on secondary school access, all the respondents who indicated that the children benefited from bursaries said that the funding improved secondary school enrolment and attendance. Some of these respondents (38.5 percent) said that the bursaries reduced school absenteeism in the household. The respondents who stated that the bursaries assisted children to join Form one and those who said the bursaries improved secondary school retention were each represented by 23.1 percent. About 15.4 percent of the respondents argued that the bursary enabled them to divert their available income to paying school fees for the other children who did not benefit from the bursaries. The implication of these findings is that secondary school enrolment and attendance levels were likely to be more improved in households whose children benefited from both subsidy and bursaries.

To sum up this chapter, the findings of this study indicate that household characteristics greatly influence secondary school enrolment in the sampled households. In most households, lack of school fees was found to be the major reason for secondary school non-enrolment and non-attendance. It was also established that disrupted livelihoods associated with the Pokot-Marakwet conflict partly contributed to households' inability to raise school fees, more so in poor households. The study also found that despite provision of subsidized secondary education, school fees paid by households in both Day and Boarding Secondary Schools were still high.

This was because households were required to meet numerous indirect costs including transport, school uniforms, PTA and remedial fees, and boarding expenses whose prices were worsened by inflation. However, other factors such as indiscipline, sickness, pregnancy, and parents' apathy were also found to hinder secondary school enrolment and attendance.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This study sought to determine the effect of subsidized secondary education on secondary school enrolment and attendance in conflict-prone area of Kerio Valley. The specific objectives of this study were to determine the characteristics of the households in Kerio Valley and to establish their secondary school enrolment and attendance levels. Another specific objective was to identify the ways in which the Pokot-Marakwet conflict affected secondary school enrolment and attendance of the households. Lastly, the study sought to investigate the benefits of and the extent to which subsidized secondary education influenced secondary school enrolment and attendance of households amid conflict and its related impacts. This chapter gives a synopsis of the main study findings and draws conclusions and recommendations based on the research findings.

5.2 Summary of the Findings

Chi-square tests established that there was a significant relationship between various household characteristics and secondary school enrolment at a 5 percent significance level. The findings showed that compared to households with many household members, households which had fewer members were more likely to enrol all their secondary school-age children in secondary school. It was also found that households with fewer children of secondary school age were more likely to enrol all their children in secondary school than those which had many children of secondary school-age. Similarly, Chi-square test showed that more educated parents were more likely to enrol all their secondary school-age children in secondary school compared to less educated parents. However, as compared to fathers', mothers' education level was found to have a higher significance on their children's secondary school enrolment which could be attributed to women's vital role in socialization of their children. Chi-square test also revealed that households with higher income had higher chances of enrolling all their secondary school-age children in secondary school than households with low income. It was also established that the longer the distance between the household and the nearest secondary school the higher the chances of not enrolling all the children in secondary school. It was however found that the value

of livestock owned by a household did not influence school enrolment. Overall, these findings can be seen in the light of Beckerian approach (1964) which holds that household characteristics determine a household's decision on whether or not a child goes to school.

Findings on secondary school enrolment and attendance showed that the sampled households were almost halved between those which had all their secondary school-age children enrolled in secondary school (48.3 percent) and those which had some secondary school-age children who were not in secondary school (51.7 percent) at the time of the study. Of all the respondents who had secondary school-age children who were not in secondary school, 45.2 percent stated that the children had enrolled in secondary school before while 54.8 percent said that the children had never enrolled. Respondents who stated that the children had enrolled in secondary school before gave multiple responses as to why the children dropped out. Some respondents (40 percent) stated lack of school fees, 26.7 percent stated indiscipline while pregnancy was mentioned by 20 percent. Similarly, respondents who said that the children had never enrolled in secondary school gave multiple reasons for this. Some respondents (42.1 percent) revealed that the children were still in primary school, 26.3 percent said that the children performed poorly in KCPE while 21.1 percent stated that the children lacked school fees to join Form one.

The study further established that of all the respondents who had children in secondary school at the time of the study, 78.3 percent stated that the children missed school in the previous school term while 21.7 percent said that the children did not miss school. Respondents who stated that the children missed school gave multiple reasons for this. About 79.2 percent of the respondents indicated lack of school fees, 11.3 percent stated sickness while 5.7 percent mentioned indiscipline. It was found that the children missed school for an average of 11 days in the previous school term.

On effects of Pokot-Marakwet conflict, 66.7 percent of the respondents stated that the conflict affected secondary school enrolment while 33.3 percent disagreed with this assertion. Of the respondents who argued that conflict affected secondary school enrolment, 35 percent stated that it delayed entrance to Form one, 50 percent said that it led to school drop-out while 15 percent disclosed that their children never enrolled in secondary school due to the conflict. Among the respondents who argued that the conflict did not affect secondary school enrolment, 35 percent

stated that they did not have children of secondary school age at the time of the conflict. Another 30 percent stated that they had enough money to sustain their children in school during the conflict period while 20 percent said that the effects of the conflict were too minute to affect secondary school enrolment in the household. A further 10 percent stated that they transferred their children to secondary schools in safer places.

In terms of attendance, 36 of the 60 respondents reported that the conflict affected secondary school attendance, 10 respondents argued that the conflict did not affect secondary school attendance while 14 respondents were either not affected by the conflict or did not have a child of secondary school age at the time of the conflict. The respondents who said that the conflict affected secondary school attendance cited several ways of how this happened. About 31.8 percent said that the conflict led to inability to pay school fees while displacement and insecurity were each stated by 29 percent of the respondents. A further 6.5 percent of the respondents stated that boys failed to attend school during the conflict period because they had to defend the community.

Interesting information was elicited on the benefits of secondary school subsidy to the households. It was learned that the average costs of Public Boarding and Day Secondary Schools met by the households per child per annum were still considerably high and not far apart. On average, a household contributed Kshs. 22,990 for a child in Public Boarding Secondary School and Kshs. 20,780 for a child in Day Secondary School per annum. We found that though children in Day Secondary Schools did not pay boarding fees officially, some rented rooms near their schools to avoid being attacked on their way to or from school and also to reduce the amount of time used in daily travel. Therefore, rental fees and cost of evening meals increased the cost incurred in Day Secondary Schools. Majority of the respondents (90 percent) disclosed that they faced challenges in meeting the secondary school costs specified while only 10 percent stated that they did not face any challenge. Among the respondents who reported that they faced challenges, 35.2 percent quoted inadequate household income while 20.4 percent stated unstable sources of income. Harsh climatic conditions were stated by 29.6 percent of the respondents while conflict/insecurity was mentioned by 9.3 percent. Of the respondents who stated that they did not face any challenge, 33.3 percent said they had few children in secondary school, 50

percent said they had stable sources of income while 16.7 percent stated that they received external financial assistance.

On whether the subsidy facilitated the households in sending their children to secondary school, 61.7 percent of the respondents argued that the subsidy did not facilitate while 33.3 percent said it facilitated because it lowered school fees payable. Of the respondents who said the subsidy did not facilitate, 48.6 percent reported that secondary school fees were still high while 40.5 percent quoted high prices of other school items met by households. Another 5.4 percent of the respondents claimed that new levies introduced including PTA and remedial fees increased the amount of fees paid by households.

When respondents were asked to describe household secondary school enrolment and attendance trends since secondary education was subsidized in 2008, 58 percent stated that it was getting better, 28 percent said that it stayed the same while only 8 percent stated that it was getting worse. Few respondents (5 percent) indicated that the household had never had children of secondary school age prior to the year 2013 and hence this question did not apply to them. Of the respondents who said the household enrolment and attendance was getting better, 51.4 percent attributed the change to the provision of secondary school subsidy while 42.9 percent attributed it to other factors (including increased household income, external financial assistance, and parents' strictness on their children's education). Among the respondents who said the household enrolment and attendance stayed the same, 94.1 percent stated that school fees were still high. Of the respondents who stated that the household enrolment and attendance was getting worse, 80 percent attributed this to inflation which led to costly school items while 20 percent said they had many children in secondary school in 2008-2013 making it difficult to meet all their school fees.

5.3 Conclusion

A number of conclusions can be drawn from the findings of this study. First, household characteristics such as household size, income, number of children of secondary school age, parents' education level, and distance to the nearest secondary school significantly influence secondary school enrolment in the sampled households. It is also evident that most of the interviewed households are of low income levels of which over half had a monthly income of Kshs. 10,000 or less. This could be because majority of the households depended on unstable

sources of income such as subsistence farming pitied against unreliable climatic conditions and frequent conflicts. This finding explains why lack of school fees was stated by most of the respondents as the main reason why children failed to enrol or attend secondary school. It implies that most of the sampled households struggle to raise school fees and thus require considerable financial assistance.

Second, levels of secondary school enrolment and attendance of the households sampled are relatively low in the view of this study. For instance, over half of the sampled households had children of secondary school age who were not in secondary school at the time of the study. In addition, over three quarters of the households which had children in secondary schools at the time of the study, indicated that the children missed school in the previous school term. It is clear that lack of school fees is a major reason for secondary school non-enrolment and non-attendance in the households interviewed. Apart from lack of school fees, this study concludes that other factors such as indiscipline, sickness, pregnancy, lack of interest, and parents' apathy curtail secondary school participation in the sampled households. This implies that pragmatic interventions should target a wide range of issues leading to school absenteeism and drop-out.

Third, although the Pokot-Marakwet conflict still exists, its intensity is decreasing owing to peace awareness and sensitization campaigns carried out in the area. It is the contention of this study that with continued peace awareness campaigns conflicts in Kerio Valley will be completely combated. Nevertheless, the conflict affects secondary school enrolment and attendance particularly for boys owing to their cultural role of protecting the community during attacks. The conflict also aggravates poverty by destroying households' livelihoods, causes displacement and insecurity, and claims lives of primary care-givers thereby increasing incidences of school non-enrolment and non-attendance. According to this study, most of the sampled households have limited ability to meet school costs because of their disrupted livelihoods. Poor households particularly are more affected by conflict because they lack alternative sources of livelihoods.

Fourth, information on subsidized secondary education was not as widespread as respondents admitted. This is confirmed by respondents who thought subsidized secondary education was Government's bursary scheme for poor children. This misconception could deter school

enrolment by influencing household's perception of the benefits accrued from subsidized education. It could also hinder the households from playing their role in the implementation of the programme. Moreover, Day and Boarding Secondary Schools' fees met by the sampled households are substantially high and not far apart. The implication is that the subsidy provided is inadequate in comparison to the high cost of other school items met by the households. Furthermore, since Government bursaries are only awarded to children in Boarding Secondary Schools, children whose households cannot raise school fees required in Day Secondary Schools may fail to go to school.

Fifth, provision of secondary school subsidies has the potential to increase secondary school enrolment and attendance in conflict-prone areas but the grant provided needs to be scaled-up. Overall, secondary school enrolment and attendance trends in most of the sampled households have increased since secondary school subsidy was provided in 2008. Besides the provision of subsidy there are however other factors that account for this improvement. They include increased household income, receipt of external financial assistance, and non-financial aspects such as parents' interest and strictness in their children's education. Also, most households interviewed would attempt to send all their children (regardless of children's gender) to secondary school with or without subsidy. This proves that most households sampled are aware of the importance of secondary education. However, girls who have historically been marginalized in terms of educational access seem to benefit more from subsidy provision.

5.4 Recommendations

The findings of this study have important implications for the improvement of subsidized secondary education programme and enhancement of secondary school enrolment and attendance in the study area as well as in Kenya in general. They also provide directions for further research.

5.4.1 Recommendations for Policy

This study recommends an upward revision of the capitation grant to students, especially in poverty-stricken and conflict-prone areas, so as to keep up with the rising inflationary rates. Since 2008, the annual capitation grant has remained constant at Kshs. 10,265 per student while inflationary levels have continued to rise hence undermining the purchasing power of

households. Given that the Government has the mandate to ensure education for all it should look for ways to increase the grant, for instance by partnering with local or global organizations. If possible, the grant should also cover other school items such as uniforms, stationeries, and games-kits while parents continue to meet boarding and other remaining expenses. Government bursaries, which are currently allocated to only children in Public Boarding secondary schools, should also be allocated to children in Public Day secondary schools. This is because the amount of fees paid in both Day and Boarding secondary schools were found not to be far apart (see Table 4.26).

There is need for the Government Ministries concerned to facilitate effective and timely disbursement of the grants to schools. This could be accomplished by eliminating or lessening the bureaucratic procedures followed in disbursement of the funds. It is crucial to note that delay in disbursement of funds affects running of school budgets and overall school functions.

In order to be effective, removal of secondary school tuition fees should to be supported by investment in the provision of learning services and facilities such as adequate teachers and classrooms. The findings show that, perhaps due to increment in school enrolment and inadequate learning resources, households were required to fund development projects (for instance, expansion of classrooms) and pay salaries for teachers employed by PTA. Lack of enough teachers also compels the available ones to hold remedial classes in order to cover the syllabus. This evidently raises the cost of education met by the households. We recommend that the Government in collaboration with other key stakeholders should expand learning facilities, recruit and post more teachers to cope with demand and as a result reduce the cost of education to the households. The Government should also offer adequate hardship allowances to attract and reward teachers in difficult areas such as Kerio Valley.

This study also recommends that a clear policy on subsidized secondary education that defines the roles and responsibilities of different stakeholders must be stipulated. Furthermore, an intensive and sustained public information and communication strategy to educate all stakeholders on their various roles is needed. This is because involvement of all stakeholders including parents, school management committee, District Education Officers, and the community at large enhances a sense of ownership therefore contributing immensely to the

success of the programme. Parents in particular should be encouraged to attend school meetings regularly for it is in these meetings that they get more information on the programme.

This study established that destabilised livelihoods accompanying conflicts in Kerio Valley were likely to render many households unable to raise secondary school fees. In response, we recommend that this conflict should be fully combated. The study also shows that some attempts including establishment of shared services such as schools, health centres, and roads along the Pokot-Marakwet border have been made to curb the tension between the two communities. These efforts however need to be strengthened by employing multi-faceted interventions that will deal with the root causes of the conflict and greatly bolster cooperation, interdependence and betterment of the livelihood sources of the two communities. For this to succeed, all key stakeholders including religious organizations, community members, NGOs, and the Government should collaborate in implementing initiatives such as the following:

- a) There is need for the Government, NGOs and religious organizations to effectively sensitize the communities on the importance of sharing scarce resources such as water and pasture. This can be done by organizing workshops for raising awareness on the value of peace, development and interdependence in this area. Conflict over water can be reduced by establishing piped water projects and dams in Kerio Valley which can be used for both consumption and irrigation. This will also facilitate the introduction of productive irrigated agriculture and so communities will not have to heavily rely on livestock for their livelihoods. Some crops such as cassava, pawpaw, mangoes and green grams have been found to grow well under irrigation in Kerio Valley.
- b) Given that the Pokot and Marakwet communities currently depend on livestock for their livelihood, NGOs, Government, and community members should initiate better livestock management and marketing projects in the area. Such projects may include improvement of breeds, treatment of livestock diseases, and improvement of livestock feeds especially during droughts. This will minimise the number of livestock that die due to drought or diseases thereby reducing the need for livestock rustling. Land demarcation exercises can be introduced alongside these projects in order to curtail the high mobility rate which is known to promote conflict. Demarcation of land will also make communities responsible for the

management and use of their land thus minimising conflict arising from competition for pasture and water.

5.4.2 Recommendations for Further Research

To further knowledge in this area, a need for additional research is necessary owing to the emerging gaps that were outside this study's scope. This study established that there was a delay in disbursement of subsidized secondary education funds to schools in Kerio Valley. A further study is therefore required to investigate the administrative and procurement systems that need to be improved to ensure timely disbursement of funds to the schools.

This study also found out that some efforts including the establishment of shared services such as, schools, health centres, and roads along the Pokot-Marakwet boarder have been made in an attempt to combat the conflict between the two communities. It would be interesting to determine the contribution of these projects towards stamping out conflict in Kerio Valley. Further investigation of whether the schools established have influenced primary and secondary school enrolment and attendance in Kerio Valley is also crucial.

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1. Firewood/Charcoal 2. Electricity 3. Other (*Specify*) _____

Section C: Household's Secondary School Enrolment and Attendance

25. How many children of secondary school age (14-21 years) from this household are currently enrolled in secondary school? 1. Male ___ 2. Female ___ Total ____
26. Did the child/children fail to attend school in the last school term? 1. Yes 2. No
27. If YES, how many days in the last school term did she/he miss school? (*if NO proceed to Qn. 29*) 1. Child one ___ 2. Child two ___ 3. Child three ___ 4. Other (*specify*) ___
28. What was/were the main reason(s) for non-attendance? (*tick all that applies*)
1. Lack of school fees 2. School is far 3. Sick/ill 4. Poor quality of schools
5. Had to work/help at home 6. Pregnancy 7. Insecurity/conflict 8. Other (*specify*)
29. How many children of secondary school age are NOT in secondary school in this household? 1. Male ___ 2. Female ___ 3. Total ____
30. Has any of them ever enrolled in secondary school? 1. Yes 2. No
31. If NO, why? 1. Did not complete primary school 2. Performed poorly in KCPE examination 3. Lack of school fees 4. Other (*Specify*) _____
32. If YES, When did she/he enrol? (*Indicate month and year*) _____
- When did she/he drop-out? (*Indicate month and year*) _____
33. What was/were the main reason(s) for dropping out? (*tick all that applies*)
1. Lack of school fees 2. School is far 3. Sick/ill 4. Poor quality of schools
5. Had to work/help at home 6. Pregnancy 7. Insecurity/conflict 8. Other (*specify*)

Section D: Effects of Conflict on Secondary School Enrolment and Attendance

34. When was the last time that this area was affected by the Pokot-Marakwet conflict? (*Indicate year*) _____
35. What was the main cause of the conflict? _____
36. Did this conflict affect your household's normal activities? 1. Yes 2. No
37. If YES, indicate which activities were affected:

Activity Affected	Explanation (<i>how the activity was affected</i>)
1. Farming	
2. Trading	
3.	

38. If NO to Qn. 36, when was the last time your household's normal activities were affected by the Pokot-Marakwet conflict? (*Indicate year*) _____

39. Indicate which activities were affected:

Activity Affected	Explanation (<i>how the activity was affected</i>)
1. Farming 2. Trading 3.	

40. Did the conflict affect secondary school enrolment in this household? 1. Yes 2. No

41. Explain your answer _____

42. Did the conflict affect secondary school attendance in this household? 1. Yes 2. No

43. If YES, how many days in a term did she/he miss school during the last conflict episode?

44. How did the conflict cause school non-attendance? 1. Led to inability to pay school fees
2. Led to displacement 3. Led to insecurity 4. Other (specify) _____

45. What is the distance to the nearest secondary school? (*approx.*) KMs _____

46. In your opinion, do you think the conflict in this area affects the wealthy and poor households the same way? 1. Yes 2. No

47. Explain your answer _____

48. In your opinion, do you think conflict in this area affects secondary school enrolment for girls and boys the same way? 1. Yes 2. No

49. Explain your answer _____

Section E: Benefits of Subsidized Secondary Education to the Household

50. Which of the following type of secondary school(s) do the children from this household go to? (*tick all that applies*) 1. Private Boarding 2. Private Day 3. Public Boarding
4. Public Day

51. Are you aware that secondary education costs are subsidized in all public secondary schools in Kenya? 1. Yes 2. No

52. If YES, what do you know about the subsidized secondary education programme?

53. What informed your decision to enrol the child/children in private secondary school while secondary school costs have been subsidized in public schools? (*If child/children attend private secondary school*) _____

54. Please specify the average costs of other secondary school items (non-tuition) that the household is required to pay per child per annum (*If child/children attend public secondary school*).

No. of Children	Item	Average Cost (Kshs.) per Year	
		Public Boarding School	Public Day School
	School uniform		
	Books/stationery		
	Transport		
	Games kit		
	School shoes and bag		
	Development Projects		
	Lunch		
	Boarding expenses (<i>specify</i>)		
	Other (<i>Specify</i>)		

55. Please specify the average school fees paid by parents per child per year (*If the child/children attend private secondary school*) Kshs. _____

56. What is your main source of raising secondary school fees?

1. Farm proceeds (*Specify*) _____ 2. Off-farm proceeds (*specify*) _____
 3. Bank Loans 4. Salary 5. Other (*specify*) _____

57. Do you face any challenges meeting the secondary school costs required by the school as a household? 1. Yes 2. No

58. Please explain your answer _____

59. Are you aware of the National Secondary School Fees Guideline (NSSFG)? (*If child/children attend public secondary school*) 1. Yes 2. No

60. If YES, has the secondary school in which the child/children attend introduced other levies/items that are not recommended in the NSSFG? (*If child/children attend public secondary school*). 1. Yes 2. No 3. I Don't Know

61. If YES, specify the item and its average cost per child per annum _____

62. In your opinion, has subsidized secondary education assisted your household to send children to school? 1. Yes 2. No

63. Please explain your answer _____

Section F: Subsidized Secondary Education and Secondary School Enrolment and Attendance in Conflict-Prone Areas

64. Does the amount of secondary school fees affect your decision to take a child to secondary school? 1. Yes 2. No

65. Do changes in the amount of school fees affect your decision to send a child to school?
1. Yes 2. No
66. In your opinion, how has secondary school enrolment and attendance changed in your household during the last five years (2008-2013)?
1. Getting worse 2. Stayed the same 3. Getting better 4. Other (*Specify*)
67. Would you attribute these changes to the provision of secondary school subsidy?
1. Yes 2. No
68. Please explain your answer _____
69. Are any of the children in secondary school in this household on bursary or external assistance? 1. Yes 2. No
70. If YES, has this assistance improved secondary school enrolment and attendance in the household? 1. Yes 2. No
71. Please explain your answer _____
72. If you were faced with the choice of sending a girl or a boy to secondary school, which one would you send under the following conditions?

Condition	Response	Explain
1. Without Secondary School Subsidy	<input type="checkbox"/> 1. Boy <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Girl <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Both	
2. With Secondary School Subsidy	<input type="checkbox"/> 1. Boy <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Girl <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Both	

73. In your opinion, does provision of subsidized secondary education encourage secondary school enrolment and attendance in conflict-prone areas? 1. Yes 2.No
74. Please explain your answer _____
75. What challenges do you face as a parent in the subsidized secondary education programme? _____
76. What should be done to ensure children in conflict-prone areas access secondary education? _____

THE END

THANK YOU FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION

APPENDIX 2

Interview Guide for Key Informants

Hello. My name is Margaret Cheptile and I am a student at the Institute for Development Studies in University of Nairobi. I am carrying out a study on the effect of subsidized secondary education on secondary school enrolment and attendance in conflict-prone areas. The findings of this study will be used to write an M.A project. I would highly appreciate if you spare a few minutes to answer the following questions. All information collected will be treated as confidential. Thank you in advance for your cooperation.

Target Population

- ◇ District Education Officers
- ◇ Secondary School Head Teachers

Background Information *(This section applies to all key informants)*

1. Date of interview
2. Name of the respondent, designation, sex, age, and level of education
3. The year that he/she first started working in this area (School or District)

General Issues on Secondary Education in the Area *(This section applies to all key informants)*

4. What are the main problems facing secondary education in this area?
5. In your opinion, what is the current status of secondary school enrolment and attendance in this area?
6. Does the conflict between Pokot and Marakwet communities affect secondary enrolment and attendance in this area? 1. Yes 2. No *Please explain your answer
7. Has there been any intervention put in place to end the conflict? 1. Yes 2. No
If YES, what was the outcome?
8. In your opinion, do you think the provision of subsidized secondary education by the Government of Kenya has benefited households in this (conflict-affected) area?
1. Yes 2. No *Please explain your answer
9. What is your view on the Government's implementation of subsidized secondary education?

10. In your opinion, why do you think some households/parents do not have adequate information on subsidized secondary education programme and NSSFG?
11. Give some suggestions on how the implementation of subsidized secondary education programme may be improved.
12. What should be done to ensure that children in conflict-prone areas access secondary education?

District Education Officers

13. With the secondary school subsidy, do you think there are some children in this District who still fail to enrol in secondary school? 1. Yes 2. No
If YES, why do you think some children fail to enrol in secondary school despite the provision of subsidized secondary education? (*Ask for concrete figures on secondary school enrolment levels*)
14. What should be done to ensure that children who are out of secondary school in this District are enrolled?
15. What should be done to ensure retention of all those who are currently enrolled?
16. What should be done to ensure that those currently enrolled attend school regularly?
17. What can you say are the main challenges facing the implementation of subsidized secondary education programme in this District?
18. What can be done to improve the implementation of subsidized secondary education programme in this District?
19. Are there any other forms of financial assistance available for secondary school students in this District? 1. Yes 2. No *If yes, please specify the type and the targeted beneficiaries
20. In your opinion, have these forms of assistance influenced secondary school enrolment and attendance in the District? 1. Yes 2. No *Please explain your answer
21. Is there any other issue about subsidized secondary education that has not been mentioned and you would like to discuss?

Secondary School Head Teachers

22. In your opinion, do you think subsidized secondary education has influenced secondary school enrolment and attendance in your school? 1. Yes 2. No

*Please explain your answer (*Ask for concrete figures on the school's enrolment levels*)

23. Why do you think some children fail to enrol or attend secondary school despite the provision of subsidized secondary education?
24. What challenges is this school facing in implementing subsidized secondary education programme?
25. How does this school deal with these challenges?
26. What is your view on the argument that a delay in the release of subsidized secondary education funds by the Government forces schools to impose extra levies on the households? (*Probe whether the school has introduced any extra levies*).
27. Indicate the average amount of school fees charged per student per year in this school (Kshs.) _____ how much of this, on average, is household out-of pocket contribution? (Kshs.) _____
28. Is there any other issue about subsidized secondary education that has not been mentioned and you would like to discuss?

THE END

THANK YOU FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION