

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

**THE EFFECTS OF PASTORAL CONFLICTS ON SECONDARY EDUCATION
IN KENYA: A CASE STUDY OF EAST POKOT**

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THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT
MANAGEMENT**

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DECLARATION

I, James Gikunda Marete hereby declare that this research project is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university.

Signed..... **Date**.....

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my family especially my parents for supporting me throughout my educational life. I also dedicate this work in a special way to my workplace for the financial support towards the studying of this degree. Your encouragements, consistent support and prayers did not go in vain and have borne fruits. Thank you and may God bless you.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ASALs:	Arid and Semi-Arid Lands
CBOs:	Community Based Organizations
DEO:	District Education Officer
ECDE:	Early Childhood Development Education
FGM:	Female Genital Mutilation
GoK:	Government of Kenya
MDG:	Millennium Development Goals
NGOs:	Non-Governmental Organizations
SPSS:	Statistical Package for Social Science Research
UN:	United Nations
WHO:	World Health Organization

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ABSTRACT

This study assesses the effects of pastoral conflicts on secondary education with a focus on East Pokot sub-county. This therefore will assist in determining possible interventions. Importantly, the research was motivated by the need for understanding how the deteriorating performances within secondary schools are influenced by the pastoral conflicts. The study was based on three out of four secondary schools within East-Pokot sub-county whereby a total of sixty respondents were involved. Guided by this goal, the researcher set out to investigate how secondary education has been affected by the pastoral conflicts in East Pokot sub-county that has been experiencing constant violent pastoral based attacks. The study was anchored on a conceptual framework that provided the independent variable as pastoral conflict and the dependent variable as secondary education.

This study employed a case study approach where primary data was collected through interviews and filling of questionnaires while the secondary data sources were partly used to compliment the research. The data collected was structured along several thematic strands as guided by the objectives and presented along selected, graphs, tables, map and pie charts. The study found out that there was a relationship between the pastoral conflicts and secondary education as the outcomes of the latter indicated that the conflicts had effects on the students and their families. The secondary schools within the conflict prone region registered low enrolment and completion of school as most students dropped out of school along the way.

The study established that the nature of conflicts in East Pokot region was influenced by factors such as poverty, cultural practices, nomadic lifestyle and water challenges. The effects of these pastoral conflicts were on the livelihoods of the residents and consequential outcomes on school enrolment and attendance, academic performance and slowed economic development. The predominant incidents of cattle raids in the region heightened insecurity that led to destruction of property and instilled fear among the residents which consequently kept the students and teachers out of school. As a result of these effects of pastoral conflicts on secondary education, this study provides a number of intervention mechanisms that will ultimately help improve secondary education in East Pokot. They include equitable distribution of resources, initiation of a comprehensive disarmament program, increased security, inclusivity of all stakeholders in the peace-building process, and the creation of policies and strategies to improve secondary education.

Chapter One

Introduction to the Study

1.1 Background of the Study

The nature of conflicts in pastoral areas has created and heightened pressure on other resources and various aspects of life. The local communities that practice pastoral livestock keeping have been experiencing challenges most of which are attributed to diminishing pastoral resources that include grazing land and water. The decreased pasture resources for the livestock occur due to climate change, population growth and reclamation of land that was initially used for pasture. This has resulted to conflict between communities involved.¹ Additionally, the practice of cattle raiding which is culturally accepted among the pastoral communities has played a part in causing the constant conflicts in their region. The conflicts involving the pastoral communities have affected various aspects of life. These include education due to increased insecurity. East Pokot sub-county is a region that has experienced the effects of pastoral conflicts and this study is focusing on the effects of such conflicts on secondary education. The incidents of cattle raiding that are primarily conducted by the neighboring communities such as the Samburu and the Turkana have left many of the residents, the Pokot, with fear of further attacks. This makes them to flee from their homes.

East Pokot is a region that is a predominant home for livestock keepers of the Pokot tribe of Kenya.² The secondary schools in the pastoral regions have constantly registered lower number

¹ Cheserek, Grace J., Paul Omondi and Victor A.O. Odenyo. (2012). Nature and Causes of Cattle Rustling among some Pastoral Communities in Kenya. *Journal of Emerging Trends in Economics and Management Sciences (JETEMS)*, 3 (2), pp. 173–179.

² Berger, R. (2003). Conflict over Natural Resources among Pastoralists in Northern Kenya: A Look at Recent Initiatives in Conflict Resolution. *Journal of International Development: The Journal of the Development Studies Association*, 15(2), 245-257.

of students joining secondary schools and have been characterized with higher rates of school dropouts and considerably low performance. The inadequate resources, increased insecurity, some cultural practices of the local communities such as early marriages and initiation of boys into adulthood as well as tension due to cattle rustling are among the factors attributable to these outcomes in education. Significantly, the pastoral conflicts are a major challenge in the development of education particularly in terms of rates of enrolment and quality of education in the secondary schools.³ This is because the local communities practice nomadic pastoralism. They migrate with their families, livestock and properties to different places in search of pasture and water. This makes it difficult for children to attend schools consistently.

The leading causes of the conflict in East Pokot are competition for grazing land and water especially during the dry months and cattle raiding.⁴ The practice of cattle raiding involves violence as the attacking groups are armed with lethal weapons. The rising incidents of violent attacks and destructive activities experienced in the pastoral areas have been attributed to many factors. They include accessibility of small arms in the region, inadequate security, prolonged droughts and ethnic conflicts.⁵ The communities involved in the East Pokot pastoral conflict are the Njemps, Turkana, Tugen, Samburu and Marakwet.⁶ This study focuses on the effects of pastoral conflict on secondary education in East Pokot sub-county. It seeks to critically investigate how the pastoral conflicts affect secondary education in East Pokot sub-county.

³ Bosch D, Maxey K, Mohamed Ali I. (2006). Pastoralists and Education: Towards Integrated Education for Sustainable Community Development in the Horn of Africa. Proceedings of the Seminar on 'Nomadic Education', The Hague, July 2004.

⁴ Cheserek, supra note 1.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Musau, (2018). Pokot Community Claims their Neighbours are Favoured during Conflicts. [online] The Standard. Retrieved from: <https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2000168930/pokot-community-claims-their-neighbours-are-favoured-during-conflicts>.

In the arid and semi-arid regions, there is inadequate or lack of infrastructure due to nomadic lifestyle of the residents who are pastoralists. Higher levels of poverty and poor development has been noted. Therefore educational needs of the children are hardly met.⁷ Instead, the children are easily integrated into the socio-economic activity of pastoralism especially upon attaining the age of 13 years whereas they should be at school. The patterns of violence in areas such as East Pokot have been dominant due to a number of factors that have favored cattle raids. One of the primary factors is the ease of illegal proliferating of arms in the region. This means they can be used to carry out attacks and perpetuate stock theft from the neighboring communities. This trend has forced the pastoral communities to purchase illegal arms to reinforce their security. As the arms increase, violent attacks targeting other communities also increase. The armed communities have taken advantage of the less secured region that has mostly relied on traditional governance system. The communities uphold cultural rules of coexistence. This has led to inadequate policing and is an enabler for insecurity.⁸ Additionally, culture has played a role in the pastoral conflict as the communities now use arms to attack the vulnerable communities. It ought to be noted that the traditional raiding practice never advocated for use of violence.

1.2 Study Area

This study is based on East Pokot sub-county which is part of the six sub-counties within the larger Baringo County. The other sub-counties are Baringo Central, Eldama Ravine, Mogotio, Baringo North, Tiaty and Baringo South. East Pokot sub-county has approximately 159,404 people according to the population census conducted in 2009. Furthermore, the region has an average area of 4524.8Km². Moreover,

⁷ Adano, W. R., Dietz, T., Witsenburg, K., and Zaal, F. (2012). Climate Change, Violent Conflict and Local Institutions in Kenya's Drylands. *Journal of Peace Research*, 49(1), 65-80.

⁸ Krätli, Saverio and Jeremy Swift. (1999). *Understanding and Managing Pastoral Conflict in Kenya: A Literature Review*. Brighton, Institute of Development Studies.

East Pokot region is divided into seven divisions with two livelihood zones, Agro-Pastoral (Churo division) and Pastoral (Ngoron, Nginyang, Mondri, Tangulbei, Akoret and Kolowa divisions)⁹.

Figure 1: Map of East Pokot sub-county



Source:¹⁰

1.3 Statement of the Research Problem

The complexity of pastoral conflicts in Sub-Saharan African countries has had far-reaching implications on the different sectors of growth and development. One of the major sectors that are

⁹ Lelenguyah, G. L. (2013). Effects of Climate Variability on Pastoral Livelihoods in Marigat District, Baringo County, Kenya. Masters in Environmental Studies thesis, Kenyatta University.

¹⁰ Elizabeth, K., George, K., Raphael, N., & Moses, E. (2015). Factors Influencing Low Immunization Coverage among Children between 12-23 Months in East Pokot, Baringo Country, Kenya. *Int J Vaccines Vaccin*, 1(2), 00012.

adversely affected by the occurrence of pastoral conflicts is education. This is because learning is halted mainly due to insecurity and tension that come with the conflicts. As a matter of fact, the fewer areas with the privilege of having learning facilities are the targeted places in the event of a pastoral conflict. This is because they act as rescue centers. The emergence of conflict brings along multiple challenges to secondary education such as increased dropout rate, destruction of learning facilities and resources, as well as fear infliction among teachers, students and parents. In East Pokot, the prevalence of pastoral conflicts in the region has had an effect on secondary education. This study therefore focusses on the effect of pastoral conflicts on secondary education. The extent of the effect on secondary education can be witnessed through indicators such as low rates of enrolment, high rates of drop outs and poor academic performance.

According to a research by Karanu, Murenga and Osamba, the cases of school drop outs for both boys and girls in conflict-prone pastoral regions are high.¹¹ For a better understanding of the problem, the researcher is motivated to research on the extent pastoral conflict affects secondary education in East Pokot. East Pokot is a region where over three-quarter of the population is comprised of pastoralists and where conventional conflicts are attributed to pastoral communities from the neighboring counties. This study focuses on the effects of the pastoral conflicts on secondary schools in East Pokot and provides the interventions that will help improve secondary education through increased enrolment and reduced drop-out rates. East Pokot has witnessed historical pastoral conflicts over the natural resources which include water, pasture and grazing area. Moreover, the incidents of organized livestock raiding between 2015 and 2017 have

¹¹ Karanu, M., Murenga, H., & Osamba, J. (2015). Socio-Cultural and Economic Factors affecting Primary School Enrolment in Baragoi Division of Samburu County, Kenya. *Asian Journal of Management Sciences & Education* Vol, 4(2).

been extreme as the violent attacks have led to death, displacements and destructions. This study therefore seeks to examine whether these pastoral conflicts have an effect on secondary education in the study area.

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The overall objective for this study is to determine the effects of pastoral conflicts on secondary education in East Pokot. The study specifically seeks:

1.4.1 To determine the links between pastoral conflicts and secondary education.

1.4.2 To assess the effects of pastoral conflicts on secondary education in East Pokot sub- county.

1.4.3 To determine the interventions for improving secondary education in East Pokot sub-county.

1.5 Research Questions

1.5.1 What are the links between pastoral conflicts and secondary education?

1.5.2 What are the effects of pastoral conflicts on secondary education in East Pokot sub-county?

1.5.3 What are the interventions put in place to improve secondary education in East Pokot sub-county?

1.6 Hypotheses

1.6.1 Pastoral conflicts have adversely affected secondary education in East Pokot.

1.6.2 The low level of secondary education enrolment, completion and performance in East Pokot can partly be attributable to ineffective interventions.

1.7 Justification and Significance of the Study

This research draws its relevance on two key areas; academic and policy.

1.7.1 Academic Relevance

The findings of this study will promote a body of knowledge that will be useful in raising awareness on the effects of pastoral conflicts on secondary education. Education is one of the critical sectors of growth for any progressive community. This is because it relies on an ample environment, adequate facilities, safe surroundings, support by the local community, National and County governments for it to thrive. This study has broken from the norm of discussing the overall effects of pastoral conflicts to the socio-economic sector of life and draws the readers into the effects on secondary education. This study further highlights other factors that require further research. This is because low turnout in enrolment in secondary schools compared to the number of the pupils who have completed primary school has been the trend in East Pokot region. Furthermore, the high rate of secondary school drop outs shows how frequent the learners at this level get disengaged from their education.¹²

1.7.2 Policy Relevance

The outcomes of this study will contribute to effective formulation of policies by the responsible authorities such as the National and County governments in enhancing secondary education in East Pokot. Additionally, this study will enable the readers to understand how secondary education is perceived, implemented and rated by the local communities. These policies will lead to empowerment and the building of a bright future for the young generation. The National government has established policies and practices that cater for education in the marginalized regions. The marginalized regions are areas affected with adverse climatic conditions, limited natural resources and extreme environmental degradation. In the education sector, the

¹² Achoka, J. S. K., Wakwabubi, S., Shiundu, J. O., & Ejakait, E. (2018). Students' Socio-Economic Status and Enrolment in Public Secondary Schools in Kenya. IJASSH.

government has been allocating more funds for development and running of public care services such as public schools. For instance, to encourage teachers to work in the marginalized areas, the GoK has been offering hardship allowances while the County government takes the initiative of constructing the classrooms and facilitating the required equipment.¹³ The emphasis on education in the pastoral areas particularly by the County government is to enable the transformation of the communities living there. The efforts of the National and County government have started being felt in the marginalized regions as the last two years, 2016 and 2017, have seen West Pokot County produce the top students in the KCSE results.¹⁴ This study will therefore assist in providing approaches and recommendations that will help improve secondary education in East Pokot.

1.8 Literature Review

This section provides a review of the literature of the previous studies on the effects of conflicts on education sector across Sub-Saharan region and among pastoral communities in East Africa. The issues on pastoral conflicts in Kenya have not only been experienced in Kenya but across all arid and semi-arid areas such as Sub-Saharan region where pastoralism is prominent. However, the issues of pastoral conflicts are of different nature in different environments. For instance in Kenyan pastoral areas, most conflicts are triggered by factors such as cattle rustling and competition for grazing land especially during the dry months. The researcher explores the preliminary findings of the other authors in relation to the pastoral conflicts experienced by the pastoral communities and their implications on education.

¹³ Republic of Kenya (2005). Kenya Education Sector Support Programme 2005-2010. Delivering Quality Education and Training to All Kenyans. Nairobi. Government Printer.

¹⁴ Hifadhi Africa, (2018). Education in East Pokot – HifadhiAfrica.org. Retrieved from: <https://goo.gl/2ZwKw7> [Accessed 12 Nov. 2018].

1.8.1 The Relationship between Conflict and Education

Pastoral conflicts are a common phenomenon among most pastoral communities in the Sub-Saharan region. Pastoral conflict emerges from incompatibility of interests or rather from disagreements between two groups for instance on sharing of natural resources such as grazing lands and water in the case of pastoral communities. Reportedly, the primary cause of conflicts is competition for natural resources although political incitements, ethnicity and deep-seated cultural values such as livestock raiding are other factors triggering conflict. Since most arid and semi-arid regions with harsh climatic conditions are suitable for livestock keeping, the pastoral groups have been accustomed to pastoralism as a way of livelihood.¹⁵ The onset of dry season increases scarcity for pasture and water and this leads to nomadism whereby the pastoral communities migrate with their animals to other places in search of pasture and water. In this movement, they get into conflict with other communities that either live within these regions or are on the move to secure pasture and water for their livestock. Nomadism among the pastoral communities is inevitable otherwise if they remain in one place they risk the loss of their livestock to drought. The nomadic lifestyle has a consequential effect on other aspects of life of the pastoral communities. Like any other society, they have children who need education especially in this modern age and it is an aspect that is disrupted greatly by nomadism.¹⁶

According to a study conducted in Tanzania on how pastoral conflicts and tension can be resolved to enhance primary and secondary education, the research found out that changing the perceptions of the pastoral communities involved in conflict about its effects can bring tremendous

¹⁵ Mutso, B. M., Kimaiyo, D. M., & Gaciuki, P. (2014). The Politics of Livestock Marketing among Pastoralist Communities in Kenya: A Case Study of the East Pokot Pastoralists and the Kimalel Culture Fair and Goat Auction in Marigat, Baringo county of North Western Kenya. *Journal of Anthropology and Archaeology*, 2(1), 175-188.

¹⁶ World Bank, (2009). "Strengthening the Foundation of Education and Training in Kenya: Opportunities and Challenges in Primary and General Secondary Education", Report No.28064-KE.

improvements .¹⁷ Education plays a very important part in any community's social, economic and political development. The significance of education for any modern society is based on its ability to bring social, economic and political change. The author stated that the conflicts are triggered by cultural perceptions of prosperity in the society that have been passed over the generations. For instance, the author discovered that most pastoral communities highly regard livestock wealth. He also noted that the most respected individuals are the ones who own large herds of livestock. This desire to become wealthy has pushed communities to engage in cattle raids that were traditionally accepted and also get into conflicts to protect their communal grazing land. However, the world has changed and education has become the key to success and a way to eradicate poverty. In relation to education, the communities have not fully embraced education and some still prefer their children to herd livestock and do household chores as per the customs. This is in comparison to attending school in the midst of tension and conflict. Whenever conflict breaks out and the pastoral communities are displaced, the desire and dream for their children going back to school is quashed. Therefore, there is a link between the pastoral conflicts and education. By changing the mindset and perspectives of the society on the value of education, it is possible to enhance secondary education among the pastoral communities.

A previous study has shown that the occurrence of conflict among pastoral communities creates stressful situations that interfere with the education of learners of any society.¹⁸ The resource-centered conflicts have been experienced in most parts of sub-Saharan region which are mainly occupied by the pastoralists. Cattle raiding practices have made the pastoral areas insecure

¹⁷ Mlekwa, V.M., (2018). State, Pastoralists and Education in Tanzania: How Can Conflicts and Tensions be Resolved?. *Utafiti Journal*, 3(1).

¹⁸ Odhiambo M. O., (2012) Impact Conflict on Pastoral Communities Resilience in the Horn of Africa: Case Studies from Ethiopia, Kenya and Uganda. Report to Resource Conflict Institute (RECONCILE).

and consequently paralyzed most social and economic activities. Most of the learners at secondary school level are normally at a critical stage where most traditional cultural set ups expects them to take responsibility as they are ushered into adulthood. Traditionally, the teenage girls used to be groomed in preparation for marriage whenever a suitor who could pay dowry came up. On the other hand, the boys underwent initiation mostly through circumcision to join the youth group, ‘warriors’, who could protect the community and provide for the family.¹⁹ Such society expectations present confusing situations for the teenagers thereby thwarting any hopes of getting secondary school education.

Pastoral regions have few secondary schools often equipped with limited resources.²⁰ This makes the learners to be deprived the opportunity of being educated. When conflict occurs, it causes tension and insecurity in the region which results into closure of schools and displacement of families. With regards to learning in secondary school, the conflicts affect the school fraternity as well as academic achievements. These insecurity concerns have had a direct impact on the education sector whereby the children of the victim families are forced to stay out of school. These conflicts come along with effects on other sectors of the economy for the local communities. These include the inability to settle in one particular place and lack of utility of publicly provided facilities such as schools and hospitals.

Among the pastoral communities, ownership of large numbers of cattle has a great significance socially, economically and politically. Wealth was measured based on the number of cattle owned. This makes the livelihoods of the pastoral communities to be greatly influenced by

¹⁹ Macharia, T. N., Ochola, S., Mutua, M. K., & Kimani-Murage, E. W., (2018). Association between Household Food security and Infant Feeding Practices in Urban Informal Settlements in Nairobi, Kenya. *Journal of Developmental Origins of Health and Disease*, 9(1), 20-29.

²⁰ Davies, L., (2003). *Education and Conflict: Complexity and Chaos*. Falmer, London, New York.

livestock possession.²¹ The motive of the conflicts that are instigated through cattle raids are to restock after drought and dowry payment. The social pressure on the students makes them to lack the zeal and motivation to be in school and acquire education. The regions are often sparsely populated due to low productivity. This is because mostly, the weather conditions cannot support cultivation and crop farming. Therefore, livestock keeping is not only a lifestyle for the pastoral communities but source of their survival. Most of the communities practicing pastoralism attach it to their culture which they are not prepared to abandon for anything else. The programs introduced by the governments on agro-pastoralism have not had any significant effect on the pastoral groups and their families.²² This attachment to their culture has made the pastoral communities not to take education with the seriousness that it deserves. The pastoralism aspect of moving with the animals to different places while looking for grazing land and water has forced many children to abandon schools and get integrated into the cattle herding socio-economic activity.

The emergence of conflict results into insecurity. The occurrence of raids causes deaths, loss of animals and destruction of property and consequently forces migration of pastoralists into safer places.²³ The rising incidents of insecurity often invite the urge for retaliation. Through the proliferation of arms, the pastoral communities find themselves in constant conflicts with the neighboring communities. The confrontational conflicts cause closure of the schools and markets and heighten food insecurity in these regions.²⁴ Lack of food which is a basic necessity also hinders

²¹ Bosch D, Maxey K, Mohamed Ali I. (2006). Pastoralists and Education: Towards Integrated Education for Sustainable Community Development in the Horn of Africa. Proceedings of the Seminar on 'Nomadic Education', The Hague, July 2004.

²² Little, P.D., McPeak, J., Barrett, C.B. and Kristjanson, P., (2008). Challenging orthodoxies: Understanding Poverty in pastoral Areas of East Africa. *Development and Change*, 39(4), pp.587-611.

²³ Schilling, J. et.al. (2012) Raiding Pastoral Livelihoods: Motives and Effects of Violent Conflict in North Western Kenya in Pastoralism. *Research, Policy and Practice* 2012, 2:25. Retrieved from: <http://www.pastoralismjournal.com/content/2/1/25> [Accessed 12 Nov. 2018].

²⁴ Lange, Matthew (2011). Social Welfare and Ethnic Warfare: Exploring the Impact of Education on Ethnic Violence. *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 46 (4), pp. 372–396.

the students from attending schools. A study by Bosch, Maxey and Mohamed Ali unveiled that in the conflict-prone and marginalized regions the children are actually influenced into attending schools by the government-provided food that is served at the learning institutions.²⁵ Therefore, pastoral conflicts result from a complex web of challenges among the communities thereby interrupting education.

1.8.2 The Effects of Pastoral Conflicts

1.8.2.1 The Effects of Pastoral Conflicts in Sub-Saharan region

The Sub-Saharan region whose climatic condition is arid and semi-arid is characterized with low rainfall, consistently high temperatures in the day and low temperatures in the night. The livelihoods of the pastoral communities are dependent on the livestock but live under poor conditions. The Sub-Saharan Africa has approximately 20 million pastoralists and the stretch is identified with poorly developed infrastructure, inadequate water and pasture supply, state absence, aridity, insufficient basic social services, and largely uncontrolled spaces and borders that have become sanctuaries to armed groups, criminals and terrorists.²⁶ Most of these conflicts have been difficult to quell due to the complexity of the issues that have been in existence for a long time and the previous governments have cared less to resolve completely. The in-depth issues are barely addressed. In Northern Uganda, the practice of cultural raiding is organized by the communities and is culturally acceptable.²⁷ Historically, cattle raiding was not meant to deploy violent means as compared to today. However, the proliferation of arms in pastoral regions such as Uganda

²⁵ Little, *supra* note 22.

²⁶ Wily, Liz A. (2011). 'The Law is to Blame': The Vulnerable Status of Common Property Rights in Sub-Saharan Africa. *Development and Change*, 42 (3), pp. 733–757.

²⁷ Mirzeler, M., & Young, C. (2000). Pastoral Politics in the Northeast Periphery in Uganda: AK-47 as change agent. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 38(3), 407-429.

among the Karamojong and radicalization of youths by the rebels have played a role in discouraging the youths from perceiving raiding as a custom but a violent activity that is breaking down the modern society.²⁸ Moreover, the youths are being forced into violent acts of stealing livestock and this has devalued the society's pursuance of education which is a basic need for excelling in the 21st century. Instead, the children are occupied in looking for the livestock for their families instead of being in school to acquire education. The increased insecurity in the regions has affected social and economic developments which keep the children out of school. The extremity of the civil wars in the Sub-Saharan regions and the horn of Africa have left many people homeless leading them into becoming refugees. The instability and insecurity of countries within Sub-Saharan region such as Somalia and South Sudan have resulted into increased poverty for the pastoral communities.

In most of Africa's pastoral communities, the cattle raids are practiced as traditional customs of increasing stock, compensating earlier theft and acquiring dowry. The young men are trained to establish a reputation in the society through conducting successful raids and maintaining large herds of cattle. However, the modern society and that cultural aspect have been overturned by introduction of small arms in the raids and advocacy for peace and unity in the democratic system of government.²⁹ The raids have been influenced by loss of grazing areas whereby plateaus used initially for grazing have been are now used for farming. Pastoralists have been forced into marginal lands that have inadequate resources. This is because of insufficient pasture and water especially during dry seasons. Raids have been characterized with high levels of armed violence

²⁸ Greiner, Clemens. (2013). Guns, land, and votes: Cattle Rustling and the Politics of Boundary (re)making in Northern Kenya. *African Affairs*, 112 (447), pp. 216–237.

²⁹ World Bank. (2011). *Minding the Stock: Bringing Public Policy to Bear on Livestock Sector Development*. Report 44010-GLB, Washington, DC.

that destroy inter-pastoral relations, livelihoods of the victims and some are conducted under political manipulations.³⁰

Birgegard argued that increased population and limited resources have changed the nature and motives of the modern conflicts. This is because they are now violent incidents that trigger ethnicity.³¹ The prevalence of ethnic conflicts and wars are a disruption to the normal lives of the pastoral communities as they live in fear of displacement from their grazing lands. According to a study by Catley and Iyasu, the traditional set up doesn't prepare children for a better future through education. For instance the secondary school enrolment rates in the dry lands of Ethiopia are low, 21% in Afar and 39% in Somali (a tribe in Ethiopia) compared to the 90% enrolment rate of the entire country. Furthermore, the proportion of illiterate citizens in both Somalia and Ethiopia constitute over 50% of the population living in arid and semi-arid lands (ASALS).³² In the ASALS of Sub-Saharan Africa there are few infrastructural developments and the few that have been established have insufficient facilities. The poorly developed physical and administrative infrastructure means that the pastoral communities face limited access to health services and education. The learners have to walk for miles to the location of the nearest school. This discourages them from going to school resulting into dropping out.

³⁰ Schwartz Daniel M. (2002) Environment and violent Conflict. In Encyclopedia of Global Environmental Change. Edited by Ted Munn Vol 5 Chichester, UK: John Wiley.

³¹ Birgegard L. E. (1993). "Natural resources tenure: A Review of Issues and Experiences with Emphasis on sub-Saharan Africa" (Rural Development Studies, Swedish University of Agriculture Science/International Rural Development Centre: Uppsala).

³² Catley, A. & Iyasu, A. (2010). Moving Up or Moving Out? : A rapid Livelihoods and Conflict Analysis in Mieso-Mulu Woreda, Shinile Zone, Somali Region, Ethiopia. Feinstein International Centre.

1.8.2.2 The Effects of Pastoral Conflicts in East Africa

The proliferation of arms among the pastoral communities has become the major threat to insecurity in the pastoral regions. The illegal arms are used by pastoral communities for various reasons. The arms are used for protection from hostile groups, to protect their animals against other armed pastoral communities and for conducting cattle theft from other armed communities. The pastoral communities along the commonly known “cattle corridor” stretch of Uganda that runs through the country from southwest to northeast to the Sudan/Kenya border forms a pastoral areas of Uganda.³³ The acquisition of these arms has become a great security concern especially at the cross-borders of East African countries given that Uganda has been undergoing internal rebellion especially from the northern part and the civil wars of South Sudan. The porous border of Kenya and Uganda has become a serious security concern especially in the West Pokot County where raids are often conducted between the Turkana, Pokot and the Karamojong of Uganda.³⁴ The high tension in West-Pokot County and Elgeyo-Marakwet County often breaks into violent conflicts. This is often attributed to availability of illegal arms by some communities which are acquired through the Ugandan border.³⁵

Pastoral conflicts have a negative effect on local development. They hinder trade due to insecurity concerns. The calls for peace and efforts by the government to restore unity and coexistence among the conflicting communities have not borne long-term results. Some leaders particularly elders of the afflicted pastoral communities have firmly held onto their arms as the

³³ Grahn, Richard and Darlington Akabwai 2005. Lessons Learned from Conflict Management Work in the Karamojong Cluster. International institute for environment and development (IIED). Drylands programme.

³⁴ Kameri-Mbote, Patricia. (2013). Preface: Securing the Land and Resource Rights of Pastoral Peoples in East Africa. *Nomadic Peoples*, 17 (1), pp. 1–4. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43123918> on 25.10.18.

³⁵ Obika A. Julaina and Harriet K. Bibangambah. (2013). Climate Change and Peace Building among Pastoralist Communities in Northeastern Uganda and Western Kenya In Omeje and Tricia Redeker Hepner. Eds (2013) *Conflict and Peace Building in the African Great Lakes Region*. Indiana University Press.

most assured way of guaranteeing their security from the cross-border bandits.³⁶ The conflicts have bred hatred between communities. This is because killings, torching of houses and burning down of schools occurs.. Such drawbacks have left the communities in poverty, depression and despair. Some communities are using the conflicts to extend their boundaries and secure more grazing land and this causes them to invade and destroy the inhabitants' property completely. For instance, there have been constant conflicts between the Turkana and the Pokot over encroachment of land that has consequently led to deadly clashes between the two communities. During such violent conflicts the local communities suffer a lot in terms of displacements of people, burning down of their homes, deaths, destruction of other properties such as schools and healthcare facilities. This consequently disrupts learning for the children while families end up in refugee camps.³⁷

In Tanzania, livestock is among the major agricultural sub-sectors of the country and it contributes to a significant role in the welfare of most households. The country has not undergone critical pastoral conflicts in the past compared to the pastoral communities of the other East Africa countries particularly Kenya and Uganda.³⁸ The resource-based conflicts experienced in the country are associated with land ownership. They are caused by the policies of communal land ownership. Some of the areas that have experienced land conflicts in Tanzania are Morogoro region within Kilombero and Kilosa districts, Mbeya region in Mbarali district and Kilindi and Handeni district in Tanga region. These conflicts have involved confrontations between the pastoralists and the farmers over land redistribution and ownership. The conflicts have in most instances been heightened by politicians seeking to safeguard their personal interests in the name

³⁶ Kameri-Mbote, supra note 34.

³⁷ Obika, supra note 35.

³⁸ Mlekwa, supra note 17.

of fighting for their communities. The conflicts increase tension in the region which disrupts the normal livelihood of the residents who live in fear of getting attacked or evicted from their homes by the combatants. In southwestern Tanzania, the Sangu people were initially pastoralists but with the changes in land ownership from the communal system they were forced to revert into farmers.³⁹

Cattle raiding in Pokot region escalated after 1960s because Kenya's post independent government lacked proper mechanisms of adequately handling these conflicts.⁴⁰ From then onwards, cattle raiding assumed a more violent and destructive character, which has greatly contributed to the fragile security situation in the present day. The Pokot and the Samburu are Kenyan pastoral communities that practice pastoralism in the northern part, migrating with their livestock across the vast arid lowlands. During the dry months the conflicts are easily triggered as every group competes for an area to graze their animals. Most animals succumb to drought and diseases during this period. The onset of rainy months provides an opportunity to restock through cattle raids. Cattle raiding acts as a coping strategy for a community that feels it has suffered a huge loss from the drought. These raids have been turning violent especially when arms are involved.⁴¹ The pastoral conflicts have had a negative impact on livelihoods of the locals and have consequently prompted the Kenyan government to focus on promoting education in the marginalized regions.⁴²

³⁹ King, N. A. S. (2013). Conflict Management among the Farmers and Pastoralists in Tanzania. *International SAMANM Journal of Business and Social Sciences*, 1(2), 40-50.

⁴⁰ Bollig, M. (1990). Ethnic conflicts in North West Kenya: Pokot-Turkana Raiding 1969–1984. *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 115: 73–90.

⁴¹ Greiner, C. (2012). Unexpected Consequences: Wildlife Conservation and Territorial Conflict in Northern Kenya. *Human Ecology*, 40(3), 415-425. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41474671> ON 25.10.18.

⁴² Schilling, J., Opiyo, F. E., & Scheffran, J. (2012). Raiding Pastoral Livelihoods: Motives and Effects of Violent Conflict in North-Western Kenya. *Pastoralism: Research, Policy and Practice*, 2(1), 25.

The occurrence of conflicts among most communities not only in Kenya but across sub-Saharan Africa is common. When the conflicts heighten and break into wars, livelihoods of the pastoral families are disrupted. The nature of the pastoral conflicts revolves around unpredictable climate change. Some border areas become no-go zones and cannot be accessed due to risks of attacks by the surrounding pastoral communities. The implication of such volatility is a consequential effect on livelihood. This is because families move from one area to another in search of pasture for their livestock. This nomadic nature results into various groups engaging in activities such as roadside banditry, cattle raids and territorial control which creates another pattern of conflict.⁴³ The state of insecurity is heightened by the raiders, mercenaries and bandits who are ready to take advantage of the desperate situation of the West Pokot nomadic pastoralists. The violent wars cause many aspects of life to change which negatively affects the people.⁴⁴

The way the West Pokot are perceived by the surrounding communities as cattle raiders has left them as a neglected group due to historical practices of raiding. The strained relationship between them and the Turkana, Samburu, Marakwet and Tugen communities who are the immediate neighbors have deterred any efforts to broker peace. According to a previous report, the West Pokot are addressed with suspicion by the surrounding communities.⁴⁵ They are seen as hard to trust therefore hard to establish friendly relations. They have previously abused the negotiations by raiding the neighboring communities. The ongoing conflicts between the Turkana and the West Pokot who are neighbors in the north-western Kenya have been associated by the lack of reciprocal grazing rights. The vast areas allows either community to graze across the

⁴³ Cheserek, supra note 1.

⁴⁴ Kameri-Mbote, supra note 34.

⁴⁵ Kenya Brief. (2018). Pokot-Marakwet Conflict: Chaos in the Valley - Kenya Brief. Retrieved at: <https://www.kenyabrief.com/pokot-marakwet-conflict-chaos-in-the-valley/> [Accessed 12 Nov. 2018].

borders and with scarcity of pasture it is turned into a conflict. The Turkana retaliate by driving their cattle to West Pokot and plot cattle raids which has consequently led to suspicion, unrest and mistrust between the two pastoral communities. Other communities such as the Marakwet, Samburu and Tugen have been under constant incursions from their neighbor Pokot in form of cattle raids. This has diminished any efforts of arriving at peace through negotiations.⁴⁶

1.8.3 The Interventions for Improving Secondary Education in Pastoral Communities

The competition for inadequate resources alongside other issues of cultural practices and easy reach to illicit arms has been a cause of the conflicts in pastoral regions. The need for privatization of land which means shifting from communal land ownership to individual ownership has led to increased tension.⁴⁷ Consequently, the pastoral communities such as the East Pokot feel threatened by such change as they are rooted in the status quo. The foundations of pastoral economy are facing test of modernism despite the complexity of historic coping strategies such as raiding and shared communal lands that were accepted culturally. Furthermore, with the rising population, the resources are getting limited which also means limiting the pastoral activities yet it's the sole means of living for these communities. During the dry months when most conflicts occur, the pastoral communities tend to invade the secured land due to scarcity of pasture and water. The government has to initiate programmes that will ensure the pastoral communities do not lose their livestock to the drought during the dry months.⁴⁸ Enhancing security and sustainability of pastoral livelihood will increase accessibility of schools. Families will also have food security to sustain them during the harsh dry seasons.

⁴⁶ Mutsotso, supra note 15.

⁴⁷ Moru, ERJ. (2010). *Adaptation to Climate Variability among the Dry Land Population in Kenya: A Case Study of the Turkana Pastoralists*. Wageningen: Wageningen University.

⁴⁸ World Bank, supra note 29 at 15.

Pastoral conflicts have been heightened by some communities being in possession of arms that they use to conduct raids. Bandits from surrounding communities such as the Turkana and Samburu use illegally acquired guns to conduct raids in an effort to acquire pasture and grazing territory from the East Pokot.⁴⁹ In recent times nomadic pastoralists are spear headed by hired groups that are well armed to enable them graze and water livestock in hostile territories. The use of arms has resulted in deaths and attacks that burn down houses while the bandits make away with the livestock. Disarmament of all pastoral communities can help in reducing incidents of raids that are accompanied by violent encounters. The authorities should monitor and control acquisition of illegal arms among the pastoral communities. According to a previous study, most of the illegal arms in the North Eastern Kenya are smuggled from Northern Uganda that is in constant conflicts under the rebel group referred to as Lord's Resistance Army.⁵⁰ The disruption of lifestyle and heightened insecurity means interruption in the attendance of school by the school going children.

In Tanzania the administration has invented strategies for improving the livelihoods of the pastoral communities. The conversion of the communal lands that acted as grazing lands for pastoral communities and introduction of farmlands has helped transform their lives.⁵¹ Initially, the pastoral communities used to heavily rely on livestock. However they have now embraced subsistence farming under improved farming systems such as drought resistant crops. Increased productivity means sustainability of people. This ultimately reduces conflict as resource-based disparities are reduced. The improved way of life being experienced in the regions such as Usangu Plains is bound to reap the benefits of education. Education is significant as it equips individuals

⁴⁹ Greiner, *supra* note 41 at 415-425.

⁵⁰ Obika, *supra* note 35.

⁵¹ Holmern, T., Nyahongo, J., & Røskoft, E. (2007). Livestock loss caused by predators outside the Serengeti National Park, Tanzania. *Biological conservation*, 135(4), 518-526.

with capacities to make informed choices about their lives besides contributing positively to the society.⁵²

The cultural practices of the pastoral communities are partly to be blamed for the low enrolment and high drop-out rates of the children in secondary schools of the pastoral communities. The stage of initiation into adulthood through circumcision is a leading factor that forces many students not to join secondary school. This is because they are ushered into a stage where the society expects them to be responsible. The boys are engaged in herding and taking care of the family, while the girls are prepared for marriage.⁵³ The NGOs, government and civil society have put measures to sensitize the society against the dangers of FGM and early marriages while encouraging the parents to educate their children.⁵⁴ The government efforts of disarming the pastoralists have resulted into violence whereby armed bandits attack the police officers. The NGOs alongside the National and County governments organize programs to sensitize the locals on the effects of FGM, early child marriages and encourage them to embrace education.⁵⁵

The Ministry of Agriculture in Kenya is laying down measures to improve livestock keeping. This is through purchasing cattle from the livestock keepers during the dry months, providing effective veterinary services and encouraging agro-pastoralism. The ministry has shifted its focus to the pastoral communities whose economic activity of livestock keeping is a major contributor of country's economic growth. Through developing infrastructure and setting up

⁵² King, *supra* note 39.

⁵³ Krätli, *supra* note 8.

⁵⁴ Omolo, NA. (2010). Gender and Climate Change-induced Conflict in Pastoral Communities: Case Study of Turkana in Northwestern Kenya.

⁵⁵ USAID, (2014). Education for Marginalized Children in Kenya II Fact Sheet August 2014. Retrieved from: www.akdn.org/AKF. [Accessed 12 Nov. 2018].

systems that can boost their livestock keeping, the government is providing hope for improved livelihood among the pastoral communities. In other countries such as Tanzania the government has reclaimed the communal land and turned it into state property to help maximize its productivity and reduce chances of conflicts due to grazing land conflicts. The significance of pastoral lands in Kenya and Tanzania cannot be ignored as previous researches have shown that approximately 75% (in Kenya) and 90% (in Tanzania) of meat consumed comes from the pastoral communities.⁵⁶

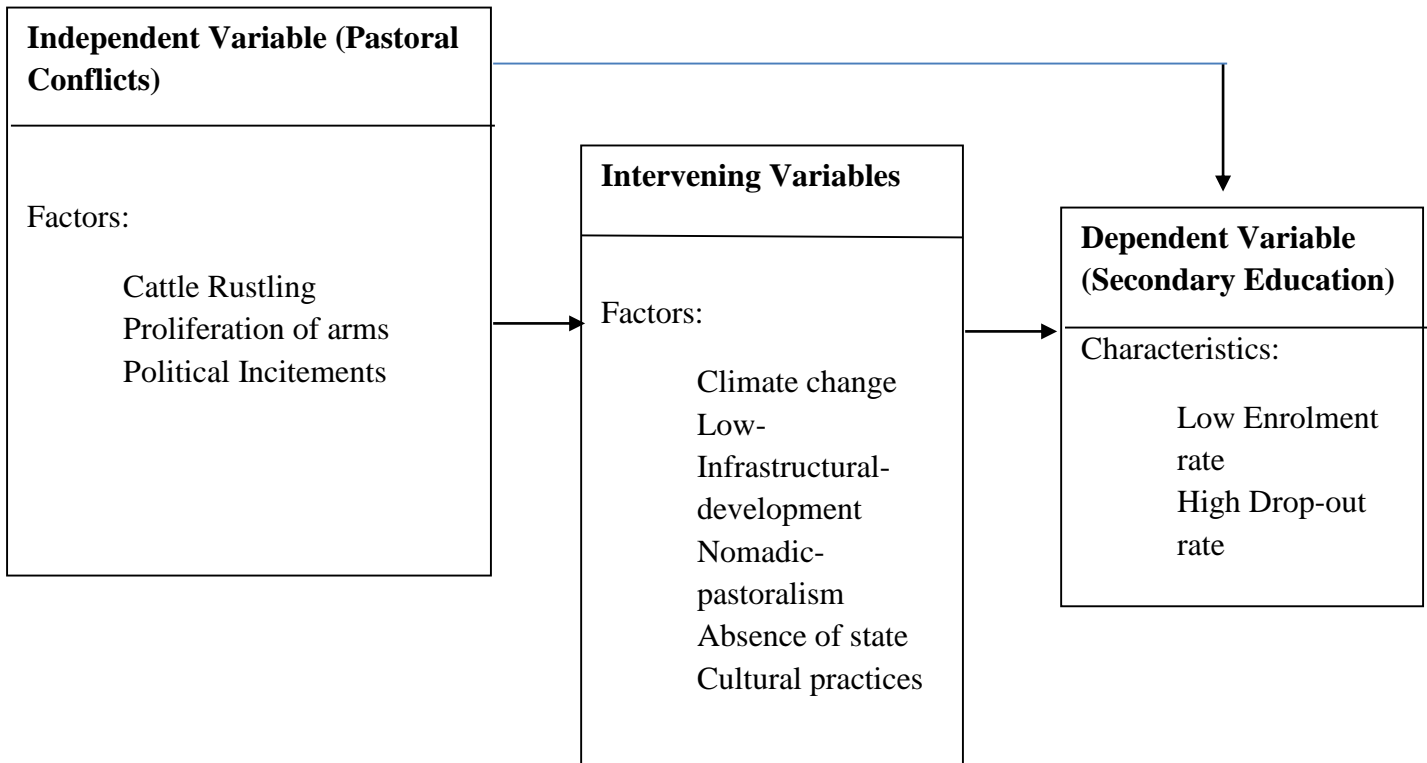
1.9 Conceptual Framework

This conceptual framework is vital in the study as it draws explanations of the variables identified in the research. The conceptual framework for this research is employed in explaining the relationship between the independent and dependent variable. The framework adopted by this research further identifies the intervening variables that influence secondary education in the conflict prone areas. Some of these variables include cultural practices, climate change, nomadic pastoralism and low infrastructural development. An independent variable is a variable that is constant and it is not changed or controlled by the other variable. Conversely, a dependent variable is a variable that is influenced or caused to change by another variable.⁵⁷ In this study, secondary education is the dependent variable while the pastoral conflicts are the independent variable.

⁵⁶ Mkutu, K., 2001. Pastoralism and Conflict in the Horn of Africa. Nairobi, Africa Peace Forum/Safer world.

⁵⁷ Cavana, R.Y., Delahaye, B.L. and Sekaran, U., (2001). Applied Business Research: Qualitative and Quantitative Methods. John Wiley & Sons Australia.

Figure 2: Conceptual framework



The actors of the independent variable that trigger pastoral conflicts are cattle rustling, proliferation of arms and political incitements. Each of the mentioned factors can trigger violent attacks by one pastoral community on another. Secondary education is a dependent variable that is determined by the outcome of the conflicts that at pastoral and marginalized regions are prone to due to hardships. This study has been motivated by the desire to know the effects causing unstable nature of secondary education. The present state of the secondary education in the pastoral area, East Pokot, is that it has low enrolment and high drop-out rate for both boys and girls. Therefore, this state of the secondary education is presumably connected to the pastoral conflicts the study seeks to affirm. The intervening variables are climate change, low infrastructural development, nomadic pastoralism, absence of state in ASALs and cultural practices.

10.0 Research Methodology

This section outlines a detailed description of the research design employed by the researcher. The section will expound on the case study approach used as research design, the target population, sample size, sampling technique, procedure for data collection and data analysis.

10.1 Case Study

The approach employed for the research is a case study and was preferred because it allowed the researcher to investigate the area of study explicitly. Case studies provide the researcher a room to conduct an in-depth investigation on a particular group.⁵⁸ This approach is suitable for this study because it allows for an empirical inquiry on specific issue (on secondary education) within a specific environment (pastoral conflict prone area). Case study uses qualitative data whereby non-numerical data is used to help in drawing a relationship between a group and a phenomenon. The data being gathered bears extensive measure and is rich with details due to explanatory plans involved in the process. Its in-depth examination of the subject makes it suitable for this study.

10.2 Research Design

The researcher deployed descriptive survey design because of its simplicity nature and that the researcher does not have to do any modifications irrespective of the situation of the study. The descriptive survey design entails retrieving information about a particular segment of a population in a natural setting. For this research design to be successful, the researcher integrated both qualitative and quantitative methods of collecting data.⁵⁹ The quantitative data plays a vital role in

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Neuman, W. L., (2000). *Social Research Methods – Qualitative and Quantitative approaches*, Allyn and Bacon Pub.

research as it enables the study to use numerical figures that can support the study with factual statistics for better analysis. The quantitative data is retrieved from both primary and secondary data such as surveys and observations as well as books and journal for the secondary sources.⁶⁰ On the other hand, qualitative research is important for the study as it provides data in form of photographs and words.⁶¹ The research procedures involved identifying target population, developing questionnaires and piloting them, selection of a relevant sample, and administration of questionnaires.

10.3 Data Collection

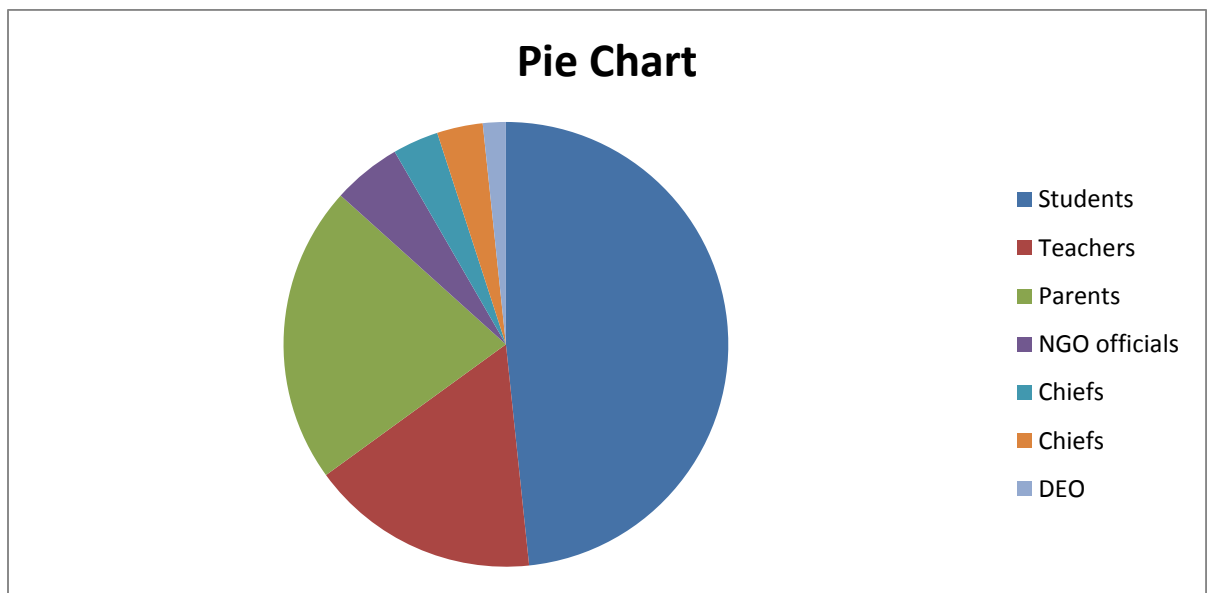
This study has utilized both primary and secondary data. The primary data was collected from the respondents within the study area. The simple random sampling was used in identification of the participants. Simple random sampling involves selecting the most appropriate and convenient item without following any specific formality. This method is easy, convenient and time saving and it was used to select the participants from which the students and their teachers were involved. Since this research involved administering interviews, the researcher prepared interview schedules. For this study, the questionnaire was semi-structured with close-ended questions and open-ended questions that provided quantitative data. On the other hand, the qualitative data was extracted from demographic and background information of the secondary sources. The researcher included one research assistant in the field to help in collecting data. The secondary sources included journals, government publications, books, magazines and newspapers that could be accessed from libraries or online.

⁶⁰ Mugenda and Mugenda, (1999). *Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. Nairobi: Act Press.

⁶¹ Ibid.

The targeted population for this study was sixty respondents with the background from East Pokot sub-county. The students and teachers were from three secondary schools situated in Kollowa, Chemolingot and Ngoron, and the parents were parents of children from any of the three schools. Questionnaires were administered to some members of pastoral communities from East Pokot such as the parents of students enrolled in secondary schools in the region. The respondents involved in the data collection were ten secondary school teachers from East Pokot schools, two local chiefs and twenty nine secondary school students from which twelve had dropped out of school but had been enrolled back. Additionally, thirteen parents, three Non-Governmental Organization officials, DEO from Ministry of Education and two law enforcement officers were involved in this study. The pie chart below shows the representations of the participants of the study.

Figure 3: A pie chart showing a representation of the distribution of respondents involved in the study.



Source: Research Data, 2018

10.4 Data Analysis and Presentation

A large portion of the data collected after sample size was determined and the data was analyzed through hypothesis testing. A wide range of details are investigated during analysis for instance sufficiency of the target population, relevance of source variables, appropriateness of sample size and meaningfulness of the results. Hypothesis testing is a statistical analysis method that will be used to examine and measure the sample of the entire population and determine if the hypothesis is null or true. An extensive examination of the data was done from the developed questions. As an integral part of academic study, data analysis would ensure quality and relevance of the survey. When transcribing the data, systematic identification of categories from all the data for simplicity in presentation was done. The results were arranged logically based on relevance, comprehensibility, consistency and accuracy of the text. Additionally, the tables, charts and graphs were used to enhance clarity and prevent any misinterpretation.

10.5 Limitation of the Study

The primary limitation of this research was the spectrum of the topic given that the issue of pastoral conflicts is a sensitive one particularly within the pastoral regions. Gaining trust of some of the respondents was an uphill task. Since insecurity in the area is still high, the respondents showed uneasiness. However, there was some remedy from the schools as engaging the teachers who understood the essence of the study cooperated and provided detailed information helpful to the study. Another limitation of this study is time, whereby the researcher is expected to have data within two months which is not sufficient for a study of this nature. It led to limitation of the number of participants involved. However, this shortcoming was remedied by authenticity and real situation on the ground through interviews that were based on experiences and testimonies of respondents regarding issues on their secondary education.

11.0 The Organization of the Study

Chapter one presents the introduction to the study. It introduces the issue of pastoral conflicts and their relation to the secondary education on a broader context in Sub-Saharan Africa, East Africa and Kenya. It then narrows down to East Pokot sub-county. The chapter provides a wide-ranging description of the research problem. It also provides the research objectives, research questions, hypotheses, and research methodology. Chapter two presents a detailed discussion of the first research objective which is the links between the pastoral conflicts and secondary education. It narrows down to the case scenario of East Pokot sub-county. The researcher explores how prevalence of pastoral conflicts has far-reaching implications on secondary education.

Chapter three examines the effect of pastoral conflicts on secondary education in East Pokot by looking at the incidents of pastoral conflicts and how they have affected secondary education. Backed up by the primary and the secondary data of the study, the chapter discusses the negative effects of the pastoral conflicts on pastoralists' livelihoods and the inequalities associated with resource distribution. Chapter four discusses the interventions for improving secondary education in the study area. They include the role of National and County governments in enhancing secondary school education in East Pokot. Chapter five summarizes the entire study. It also presents the conclusion and the recommendations of the study.

Chapter Two

The Links between Pastoral Conflicts and Secondary Education

Introduction

The focus of this research is to determine the effect of pastoral conflicts on secondary education in East Pokot sub-county. The occurrence of the conflicts has disrupted the daily lives of residents by increasing insecurity and intensifying ethnicity as well as forcing some families to migrate to other safer places. This chapter discusses the links between the pastoral conflicts and secondary school education. For the school-going children, their pattern of pursuing their dreams through education has been interrupted by the violent pastoral based attacks that pose danger to their lives and have led to destruction of homes and schools. This study also discusses the factors that are attributable to the conflicts. Furthermore, it critically investigates the causes of low secondary school enrolment and whether culture has influenced secondary school education in the East Pokot region.

2.1 The Relationship between Pastoral Conflicts and Secondary Education

The theoretical connections between violent pastoral conflict and education are many and complex. They have consequently constrained the accessibility and provision of education in the affected areas. They include inequality in distribution of land resource, insecurity issues that make learning facilities inaccessible and heightened poverty that leads to recruitment of the youths into armed groups that perpetrate cattle rustling.⁶² This assertion is supported by the findings of this study.⁶³ When conflicts emerge they have far-reaching effects not only on the security of people

⁶² Mkutu, supra note 56.

⁶³ Table 4.

but also their source of income, health, possessions, education and social development. The subsequent dynamism of modern conflicts particularly in the pastoral regions are being accompanied with extreme evils such as brutality, ethnicity and political incitements unlike what conflicts associated with cattle raiding used to be in the past. In the modern society, the stability and prosperity of every society is based on its peace as the level of interrelations and interdependence has increased.⁶⁴ Therefore, whenever conflicts emerge, the systems that support a community's livelihood are affected. This study established that the occurrence of conflicts in the pastoral regions affects education system as the learners cannot access schools, the teachers fear for their lives or even the infrastructure is destroyed amidst the conflicts.⁶⁵

The occurrence of conflicts can hinder the people from accessing public resources such as schools besides other outcomes such as destruction of the facilities and violent attacks targeting the teachers and the students.⁶⁶ The conflicts have wide-reaching outcomes that disrupt most aspects of any functional society. It is appropriate to admit that conflicts are unavoidable in the human social orders particularly due to disagreements, diversity of people and their cultures as well as the difference in social, economic and political ideologies. Given the fact that most of the pastoral areas are marginalized, the unequal distribution of resources has always been a center of heated debate. Most of these areas have been neglected by the governments when providing social amenities and allocating funds for infrastructural development.⁶⁷ The marginalized areas are usually the less developed regions and therefore there are fewer resources and public facilities. This is because the areas are less productive based on the land productivity and arid and semi-arid

⁶⁴ Österle, M., (2008). From Cattle to Goats: The Transformation of East Pokot Pastoralism in Kenya. *Nomadic Peoples*, 12(1), 81-91.

⁶⁵ Maritim Kiprob, 5-10-2018.

⁶⁶ Adano, *supra* note 7.

⁶⁷ Davies, *supra* note 20.

climatic conditions.⁶⁸ This study observed from the three secondary schools involved that there was shortage of standard facilities such as laboratories and necessary equipment. In the event of a conflict, the families are the most vulnerable to the conflicts and the children are affected as the schools are closed. In order to stop conflicts, the communities have to address the core issues that trigger wars through mediation and negotiations that will help find long-term solutions.⁶⁹

One of the areas that are highly affected by emergence of conflicts is education. This is because the subsequent insecurity confines people to their homes. Over three quarter of East Pokot is inhabited by pastoralists and the climate of the area is more suitable for livestock keeping rather than arable farming.⁷⁰ In the event of attacks in the conflict prone region, the communities flee their areas of residence to safer places. The intensity of violence leads to destruction of properties. The fresh attacks leave the schools closed down until peace is restored by the government which is a process that takes months in most cases. In the pastoral region of East Pokot which has for a long time experienced sporadic conflict, there are poor developments in terms of infrastructure and population settlements since the residents have deserted the areas due to insecurity.⁷¹

This study found that the learning process in schools became paralyzed on the onset of the conflicts. This is because the families are displaced and learning institutions are torched which ultimately leads to untimely closure of schools.⁷² Additionally, the respondents claimed that

⁶⁸ Mwaniki, T. W. (2007). *Peace Building & Conflict Management in Kenya: Joint Case Study of North-rift Region of Kenya* (Vol. 15). Paulines Publications Africa.

⁶⁹ Katam, E. J. (2012). *Impact of Cattle Rustling on Curriculum Implementation in Tot Division of Marakwet District, Kenya*. A Thesis Submitted to Kenyatta University. Master of Arts in Education.

⁷⁰ USAID, *supra* note 55.

⁷¹ Mutsotso, *supra* note 15.

⁷² Maritim, *supra* note 65.

teachers, students and the parents are reluctant to teach, attend school and allow their children to go to school respectively.

From the study of previous literature, the socio-economic factors affected enrolment of students in secondary schools.⁷³ For instance, in this study, a parent to a student in one of the schools stated that practices such as the boys taking up economic roles such as grazing have had greater effect on the students abandoning education.⁷⁴ This outcome is because involvement of more members of the family in providing labour means increasing income and food for the family.⁷⁵

2.2 Causes of Low Secondary Education Enrolment and Completion

In this section, the researcher focused on identifying different elements that are attributable to low enrolment within secondary schools and low completion rates as many students dropped out of school. Secondary education in East Pokot is faced by complexity of issues that range from forced marriages, early pregnancies, FGM, and the need for more labour to support the family. The climatic changes have caused drought that has resulted into famine. They have also led to competition for the limited resources which has triggered violence in some sections of East Pokot sub-county.⁷⁶ The poor productivity in the pastoral area heightens poverty, making it hard for most families to provide basic needs such as food, shelter, clothing and education.⁷⁷ The cost of education particularly secondary education is high for the families living within the marginalized

⁷³ Achoka, *supra* note 12.

⁷⁴ Kimei Joseph, 4-10-2018.

⁷⁵ Österle, *supra* note 64.

⁷⁶ Koske, J. C. (2014). *Vulnerability to Climate Change and Conflict, its Impact on Livelihoods and the Enjoyment of Human Rights: Case Study: Pastoral Communities in Northern Kenya (Turkana, Pokot and Samburu Districts)* Master's thesis, Norwegian University of Life Sciences.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

areas. However, there is a ray of hope after the current government introduced free secondary education in all public schools across the country and the number of students being enrolled is expected to increase. Based on African Development Bank study that was conducted in 2005, it is estimated that the illiteracy level is over 85% among the pastoral groups and this entails the people who have gone beyond primary school level of education.⁷⁸

Many schools in East Pokot are severely under resourced and under staffed which discourages the learners from valuing education as they do not get the attention they need in learning effectively.⁷⁹ The few students who manage to focus on education are faced by other challenges such as constant attacks, insecurity and shortage of basic needs such as water and food which may force the schools to close down untimely if the government does not intervene.

The table below shows the findings on the causes of low secondary education enrolment and completion. The findings of this study emanated from students, teachers, NGO officials, police officers, chiefs and a DEO. The respondents ascertained that the need for extra family labor, forced marriages, early pregnancies and FGM have greatly contributed to low enrolment and completion of secondary education.

⁷⁸ Carr-Hill, R., & Peart, E. (2005). *The Education of Nomadic Peoples in East Africa*. African Development Bank: Tunis.

⁷⁹ Glowacki, L., & Gonc, K. (2013). Customary Institutions and Traditions in Pastoralist Societies: Neglected Potential for Conflict Resolution. *Conflict Trends*, 2013(1), 26-32.

Table 1: A table showing responses on causes of low secondary education enrolment and completion in East Pokot sub-county

Cause	Responses (Percentage)
Forced Marriages	16%
Need for Family Labour	13%
Early Pregnancies	13%
Violence in Cattle Raids	25%
Drought and Famine	20%
FGM	13%

Source: Research Data, 2018

This study therefore corroborates the findings by Owen⁸⁰ that the primary causes that affect education in most pastoral areas are drought and increased violence. This study established that factors such as forced marriages, early pregnancies, FGM, violence in cattle raids, drought, famine, and the need for extra family labor had an effect on secondary education in terms of low enrolment and completion rates. This study unveiled that (25%) of the respondents believed violence resulting from cattle raids was the main cause, then followed by drought and famine at (20%). The other factors contributed to low school enrolment at almost same rate (16% and 13%) as shown in table 1.

The emergence of pastoral conflict is in most cases caused by the insufficient resources which create competition and may trigger violence as communities decide to square it out through

⁸⁰ Owen O., (2011). "The Impact of Secondary Schooling in Kenya: A Regression Discontinuity Analysis", University of California Working Paper.

violent means by pushing others out of the marginal locations. The game of marginalization of the pastoral communities goes beyond geographical marginalization to deep-rooted political and cultural marginalization.⁸¹ This inadequate distribution of resources often leads to competition for scarce resources which accounts for greater part of conflict. The scarce resources in question include inadequate learning facilities such as schools and learning materials.

This study further interviewed a Ministry of Education official on school enrolment and completion in East Pokot sub-county.⁸² The focus of the interview was on three secondary schools out of the four within the sub -county. The data collected was classified on the basis of the number of students enrolled in years 2012, 2014 and 2017. The secondary schools included Kollowa Secondary School, Chemolingot Secondary School and Ngoron Secondary School. The data on enrolment in form one and completion in form four of the same intake was compared for the years' 2012 and 2014. The class of students of 2012 completed their forth form in 2015 while the class of 2014 completed their fourth form in 2017. The inclusion of enrolment of 2017 intake in this study was due to the recent insecurity issues and raids that occurred last year and it will help in assessing the effects they had on enrolment from the three schools. This study shows the number of boys and girls separately to show the gender disparity in secondary education in East Pokot sub-county.

The table below shows the number of students enrolled in the three secondary schools in East Pokot in 2012, 2014 and 2017. Note: (-) means that there were no girls in that school during that year.

⁸¹ Glowacki, supra note 79.

⁸² Maritim, supra note 65.

Table 2: Number of students enrolled in three secondary schools in East Pokot

School	2017			2014			2012		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Kollowa	19	7	26	20	18	38	14	10	24
Chemolingot	121	-	121	63	-	63	27	-	27
Ngoron	46	30	76	39	18	57	21	9	30
Total Students	223			158			81		

Source: Ministry of Education, East Pokot sub-county headquarters, 2018

This study established that in all the three secondary schools, the number of boys was slightly higher than that of the girls. Chemolingot had actually been converted into a boys-school with increased number of boys in the school over the years while the number of girls constantly decreased. This corroborates the previous study by Boyle, Brock and Sibbons's that indicated that most public schools in the pastoral regions have a higher population of boys compared to girls.⁸³ This study further established that the fluctuating number of enrolled students was affected by displacements of people due to frequent conflicts related to pastoralism.⁸⁴

The table below shows the number of students who completed secondary school for the three secondary schools in East Pokot in the years 2015 and 2017.

⁸³ Boyle, S., Brock, A. & Sibbons, M. (2002). Reaching the Poor – the 'Costs' of Sending Children to School - A Six Country Comparative study. (Report no. 47). Great Britain: Educational Papers.

⁸⁴ Maritim, supra note 65.

Table 3: Number of students who completed secondary school in East Pokot Sub County

School	2020			2017			2015		
	Not yet in 4 th Form			Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Kollowa				18	8	26	24	8	32
Chemolingot				23	19	42	39	13	52
Ngoron				19	13	32	27	10	37
Total Students				100			121		

Source: Ministry of Education, East Pokot sub-county headquarters, 2018

From the data collected, all the three schools had a reduction in the number of students who completed in 2017, having enrolled in 2014. This affirms that occurrence of the violent attacks particularly in between 2016 and 2017 had an effect on the schools. For instance, Ngoron high school had a high enrolment of students (57) in 2014 and the same class of students that completed school in 2017 had decreased to 32 in number. This therefore seems to affirm the expectation of this study that the occurrence of pastoral conflicts resulted into reduced number of students attending school. However, this research also established that there was an increase in the number of student enrollment in some schools. For instance, Chemolingot high school had recorded an increase in the class of students who had enrolled in both 2012 and 2014. This was attributed to the allocation of Transitional Infrastructural Grants for development by the Ministry of Education, migration into the area where the school is located by the locals and the transition of the school from a sub county school to an extra-county school that enrolls students from far regions within

Kenya.⁸⁵ It was also noted that the occurrence of violence forces the pastoral families to move to more secure places and this displacement affects the school attendance.

2.2.1 Poverty

Secondary education among the pastoral communities remains a distant dream for many children due to high levels of poverty. The pastoral communities have greatly experienced multiple challenges. They include inadequate health care, insecurity and lack of access to education.⁸⁶ In most areas the students have to walk for miles to get to the learning institutions. This is attributed to sparse population and pastoral lifestyle of the local communities. This is supported by the findings of this study in that East Pokot sub-county has only three public secondary schools and one private secondary school.⁸⁷ As a result of the arid and semi-arid climatic conditions, it means the region is deprived of resources that can sufficiently support the lifestyle of the residents.⁸⁸ In addition to the sparse population, the rough weather conditions, harsh terrain and high levels of poverty have contributed to the severity of the livelihood in these pastoral areas of East Pokot. A study that was conducted by the Ministry of Education in 2009 in the pastoral regions showed that over 91 per cent of the children in Turkana, Samburu and Pokot households that underwent early childhood development education (ECDE) did not proceed beyond this level. This is because they never enrolled to school at primary level education. Failure to get enrolled at this early age means that the dream of ever joining a secondary school is already cut short.⁸⁹

⁸⁵ Maritim, supra note 65

⁸⁶ Boyle, supra note 83.

⁸⁷ Maritim, supra note 65.

⁸⁸ Fratkin, E., & Mearns, R. (2003). Sustainability and Pastoral Livelihoods: Lessons from East African Maasai and Mongolia. Human Organization, 112-122.

⁸⁹ Ministry of Education, (2010). Educational Statistical Booklet 2003-2007, Government Printers, Nairobi, Kenya.

Food insecurity is a major concern in East Pokot. Most communities rely on livestock which provides food and other essentials. The harsh weather does not provide a suitable environment to practice sustainable farming. In other areas of the sub-county the pastoralists herd cattle, goats, sheep, donkeys and camels. The government has been helping the communities by sinking boreholes as most rivers are seasonal. The delayed rainfall and months of drought risk the lives of the people as well as their livestock due to impending starvation. The need for survival forces them to practice nomadism and to only return to their homes with the onset of rains. Along the way, most livestock is lost as it may succumb to diseases, starvation and fatigue as well as dangers from attacks by the wild animals and communities from the surrounding areas.⁹⁰

The drop-out rate of the students in secondary schools in East Pokot stands between 10% and 50% as most learners struggle to pursue education due to challenges such as insecurity, poverty and cultural practices.⁹¹ This is supported by the findings of our study for instance, Ngoron high school had a high enrolment of students (57) in 2014 and the same class of students that completed school in 2017 had decreased to 32 in number.⁹² The harsh learning environment and lack of facilities such as classrooms and teachers discourage the learners from pursuing education. More so, most families cannot afford to feed their families. The children are therefore forced to stay out of school and assist the rest of the family through herding. Due to poverty the children at the secondary school level are forced to drop out since their families need them to provide labour and the extremity of poverty makes school fees unaffordable. The lack of secondary education among the youths results into increased crime rate, drug abuse, impoverished persons, low-life expectancy

⁹⁰ Andieme, R., Dietz, A. J., & Kotomei, A. (2008). Participatory Evaluation of Development Interventions for Poverty alleviation among (former) Pastoralists in West Pokot, Kenya.

⁹¹ Achoka JSK, Odebero SO, Maiyo JK, Ndiku JM. (2007) Access to Basic Education in Kenya: Inherent Concerns. Paper presented in the first KAEAM Conference. Eldoret, Kenya April 9th- 11th.

⁹² Table 2 and 3.

and unskilled persons.⁹³ Therefore pastoral raids have been used as means to end poverty by the East Pokot community.

2.2.2 Nomadic Lifestyle

Pastoralism contributes approximately 12% of Kenya's gross domestic product, while at the same time the livestock sector in the arid and semi-arid zones is providing an estimated 90% of all employment opportunities.⁹⁴ Nevertheless, the lifestyle of pastoral nomads has undergone drastic changes over the last decades and continues to change. Beginning in the 1970s and 1980s, ongoing change is expressed by an intensified work of NGOs based on the devastating droughts in the region. Ongoing privatization and individualization of communal land marks one of the most important change processes, and is intensifying in recent times. Based on this change, free and liberal exposure to land is increasingly regulated. Boundaries gradually decide the issue of access to resources, pasture and water, as well as other natural resources such as Geothermal. Over the years, sedentism was propagated in programmes paired with a narrative of developing the Pastoralist communities, aimed at opening up pastoralism for agriculture and other income generating activities.⁹⁵ Pastoralism in East Pokot is predominant in the arid and semi-arid region that has lowland plains towards the arid north. During the past decade, the efforts to transition the pastoral areas into mixed farming with the goal of optimizing productivity have been frustrated by the climatic conditions as well as strong attachment of the people to livestock keeping.⁹⁶

⁹³ Ministry of Education Science and Technology (2003), National Action Plan on Education for all, Nairobi: Government Printer.

⁹⁴ Schilling, *supra* note 42 at 25.

⁹⁵ Njiru, BN., (2012). Climate Change, Resource Competition, and Conflict amongst Pastoral Communities in Kenya. In *Climate Change, Human Security and Violent Conflict: Challenges for Societal Stability*, ed. J Scheffran, M Brzoska, HG Brauch, PM Link, and J Schilling, 513–527. Berlin: Springer.

⁹⁶ Moru, *supra* note 47.

The Pokot have always practised pastoralism but a few who have settled in fertile lands have turned to mixed farming. The nomadic pastoralists are the groups of Pokot that are in constant wars over grazing land, cattle theft and fights to secure their territories.⁹⁷ The wide plains often experience conflict as they form points of contact between different nomadic pastoralists. Moving from one place to another disrupts education for the school going children. Furthermore, attendance and learning have indirectly been affected. This is because conflict results into increased poverty or food insecurity due to loss of livestock by the residents. Livestock is the main source of livelihood for them. Efforts by the government to encourage a settled lifestyle has put pressure on the East Pokot and other nomadic pastoral groups resulting into struggles to secure land for grazing their animals.⁹⁸

Educational attainment levels have dropped among the pastoral communities. Secondary school educational standards have declined among the marginalized groups.⁹⁹ In East Pokot, most of the students are bound to drop out of school not only due to lack of enough learning resources but the hardship from their background. The secondary schools have registered high rates of dropping out due to family migrations, high poverty levels and cultural practices that force girls into early marriages while boys are given responsibilities of tending the livestock.¹⁰⁰ This is corroborated by the findings in our study that the reduction in the number of secondary school students who completed the fourth form compared to those who enrolled could be as a result of

⁹⁷ Bond, J. (2014). Conflict, Development and Security at the Agro–Pastoral–Wildlife Nexus: A Case of Laikipia County, Kenya. *The Journal of Development Studies*, 50(7), pp. 991-1008.

⁹⁸ Nkinyangi, J. (1998). “Education for Nomadic Pastoralists: Development Planning by Trial and Error”. In: Galaty J., Aronson, D., and Salzman P. (eds), *The Future of Pastoral Peoples*: pp 67 113 Proceedings of the Conference in Nairobi.

⁹⁹ Carr-Hill, supra note 78.

¹⁰⁰ Hifadhi-Africa, (2018). Education in East Pokot – HifadhiAfrica.org. Retrieved from: <http://hifadhiafrica.org/water-and-education-challenges-in-east-pokot/> [Accessed 12 Nov. 2018].

forced migrations that occur in times of pastoral conflict.¹⁰¹ The occurrence of fresh attacks forces the schools to close down as the teachers and students fear for their lives and if the attacks are extreme the learning facilities may be destroyed as a way to chase the community from the area.

2.2.3 Cultural Practices

Traditional cultural practice of the pastoralists is a significant factor that results into low school enrolment and completion. Cultural practices have an impact on children within primary and secondary levels of education. They have consequently resulted into low enrolment in the schools. In this study, the schools involved indicated that the number of boys was in most instances found to be higher than that of girls.¹⁰² This corroborates the findings of an earlier study by Glowacki & Gonc on the traditions and customary institutions of the pastoral communities. This is because the boy-child is seen as an asset to the family as they are a promise to continuity and provision in the household compared to a girl-child who is married off to another family.¹⁰³

This study further affirms in its findings that communities still hold on to the traditions and myths that educating a boy-child has advantages over a girl-child. The cultural issues that act as impediments to education among the girls are characterized by practices of FGM and early marriages from a very young age.¹⁰⁴ As this study found out, upon initiation most boys are ushered into adulthood where they are expected by the society to take responsibility and join in providing for the family. After completing primary school they do not find other reasons to progress to secondary and therefore join the rest of the community members in cattle herding. The youths are inculcated into the communities' customs of cattle raiding since they want to pay dowry and start

¹⁰¹ Maritim, supra note 65.

¹⁰² Bollig, supra note 40.

¹⁰³ Glowacki, supra note 79.

¹⁰⁴ Österle, supra note 64.

their families. Up to recent times cattle raiding was an acceptable cultural practice and even the raiders were respected. It was meant to portray the stronger community or groups or individuals who conducted successful raids. The raids were also a method of restocking herds after drought or other calamities.¹⁰⁵ They often elicited-defence, revenge and counter actions that make conflict among the district protracted.

The girls are forced into early marriages by their families in exchange for dowry. Pokot community has held on the traditional set up that does not embrace education fully as a tool that can transform the society.¹⁰⁶ The traditional gender role and division of labour whereby the girls' roles are primarily household chores and taking care of the children has negatively impacted their opportunity to obtain education. The traditions of most African societies often regarded boy-child above a girl-child because they were viewed as custodians of the family property and ones to continue the lineage of the family. This is partly true as the girls get married to other families, but with modern society every child is entitled to equal rights and that prosperity of any family cannot be determined primarily by the gender of the children. Educating a girl is empowering her which has been viewed as educating the community since women are actively involved in children growth from the early stage. Therefore, educating girls means laying foundation for the younger generation that is brought up by empowered women who are agents of change.

Harmful cultural practices and attitudes like early marriages, child labour and FGM inflict physical and psychological damage to the children.¹⁰⁷ Such cultural practices have been detrimental particularly to the families with girls due to discrimination. There is need for raising

¹⁰⁵ Carr-Hill, *supra* note 78.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷ Bosch, *supra* note 2.

awareness on gender equality in communities that still practice these myths and misconceptions. The girl child should be added to the list of vulnerable disadvantaged groups because it's known that many societies in Kenya invest less in girls' education than in boys' education. At puberty most girls are forced to stop schooling in secondary schools when their suitors present themselves with the required bride price.¹⁰⁸

The attitude and beliefs on education of both genders has been changing as girls' education has increased in value in the modern society. In Boyle, Brock and Sibbons's research, African parents valued the education of both genders but in times of financial challenges the boys were given priority.¹⁰⁹ In the same research, the boys thought that the reason for girls not attending school was because of their fear of violence. Arguably, the girls who walk a long way to school are in danger of harassment and being raped on the way. Similarly cultural practices such as FGM and early marriages have contributed to gender disparity in education, whereby the girl child is disadvantaged over the boy child.¹¹⁰ In this study these cultural practices such as FGM and early marriages were found to have contributed to low secondary school enrolment and completion generally in the area of study.¹¹¹

2.2.4 Water Challenges

The harsh climatic conditions that are characterized by hot and dry weather result into drought and probable famine in most pastoral areas including East Pokot. Since the livelihoods of the people are heavily dependent on livestock, the droughts pose a great danger to their survival

¹⁰⁸ Österle, *supra* note 64.

¹⁰⁹ Boyle, *supra* note 83.

¹¹⁰ Chege, F., & Sifuna, D. N., (2006). Girls' and Women's Education in Kenya. *Gender Perspectives and Trends*, 91, 86-90.

¹¹¹ Table 1.

as there is limited water supply as well as pasture. The people are forced to travel for long distances looking for water to feed their livestock and for domestic use. Whenever rain delays or fail for instance between 2008 and 2009, there are losses registered such as death of livestock, malnutrition and very low production by the animals to feed the families.¹¹² The issue of water scarcity in the pastoral areas is a complicated one and has forced many pastoral families to migrate to new places. The issue of drought and famine does not provide many alternatives for the residents as even when donations of food are offered, they are never enough to salvage their situation. For instance, in 2016 East Pokot had experienced a long dry spell whereby rain had delayed for the most part of the year until October. During such difficult times the people and the animals are forced to share water from the same source such as dams which pose health issues to the residents.¹¹³

Conversely, the climate of the region may at times become unpredictable despite the hostility of the scorching sun. East Pokot terrain is rough, characterized by harsh semi-arid climatic conditions, remoteness, and poor road infrastructure. The few dams, rivers and boreholes are barely enough to provide water for the livestock and the animals. The unpredictability of the rain is experienced with occurrence of intermittent downpours. For example, an average of 30,000 persons were affected when the region experienced flooding as heavy rains had commenced in the end of December to January of the following year.¹¹⁴ The floods have a greater impact on the infrastructure as they erode bridges, destroy roads and damage structures such as schools. Lack of clean water in the region has also been associated with the spread of diseases to both human beings and livestock. During the rainy season there are increased cases of cholera which is a water-borne

¹¹² Vehrs, H. P. (2016). Changes in Landscape Vegetation, Forage Plant Composition and Herding Structure in the Pastoralist Livelihoods of East Pokot, Kenya. *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 10(1), 88-110.

¹¹³ Anderson, D. M., & Bollig, M. (2016). Resilience and Collapse: Histories, Ecologies, Conflicts and Identities in the Baringo-Bogoria Basin, Kenya.

¹¹⁴ Koske, supra note 76.

disease that is spread due to water contamination. With the destruction of infrastructure, schools and homes, the learning is interrupted by the abrupt heavy rains that many anticipated to salvage the drought.¹¹⁵ Previous literature has attributed multiple factors leading to low secondary school enrolment, increased truancy and high rates of drop-out to poverty, nomadic pastoralism, cultural practices and protracted ethnic conflicts.¹¹⁶ This is further supported by the findings of this study.¹¹⁷

The table below shows the rates of agreement from the participants' feedback on how various factors have resulted into low enrolment and completion of education in three secondary schools. The respondents attributed the poor situations at the secondary schools to levels of poverty (98%), nomadic lifestyle (87%), cattle rustling (93%), FGM & early marriages (80%), drought (100%) and floods (72%). The responses from the participants who are residents of East Pokot shows that secondary school education experiences low enrolment due to drought, poverty, cattle rustling, nomadic lifestyle, FGM and early marriages as well as floods. This study therefore affirms the findings of the previous studies that cattle rustling, drought, nomadic lifestyle and cultural practices such as early marriages as factors that cause poor performance and low enrolment in schools situated in the pastoral regions.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁵ Macharia, *supra* note 19 at 23.

¹¹⁶ Ministry of Education, (2008). Report on the Policy Framework for Nomadic Education in Kenya, July 2008.

¹¹⁷ Table 4

¹¹⁸ Österle, *supra* note 64.

Table 4: Respondents response on factors affecting secondary school enrolment and completion

Agreement level		Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Factors Causing low School enrolment						
Poverty		80%	18%	2%	0	0
Nomadic Lifestyle		65%	22%	8%	5%	0
Cultural Practices	Cattle	87%	7%	5%	0	1%
	Rustling					
	FGM & Early Marriages	72%	8%	10%	3%	7%
Water Challenges	Drought	93%	7%	0	0	0
	Floods	48%	23%	20%	7%	2%

2.3 Conclusion

In summary, this chapter has extensively drawn the relationship between pastoral conflicts and secondary education with the study centered on East Pokot sub-county. The occurrence of attacks such as cattle raids result into insecurity which has effects on various sectors of life. One of the sectors is education which is affected by conflicts as they result into destruction of schools. Insecurity also threatens the life of students and teachers, causes displacement of people and makes the schools to be inaccessible due to tension and fear. Furthermore, this chapter has explored the

causes of low rates of student enrolment and completion in secondary schools located in East Pokot region. The factors that have been attributed to the low enrolment and completion rates are poverty, nomadic lifestyle, cultural practices, forced marriages, early pregnancies, FGM and water challenges.

The high poverty levels in the arid and semi-arid region of East Pokot are triggered by low productivity of the region due to harsh climatic conditions that leaves the residents with the option of practicing pastoralism.¹¹⁹ The nomadic lifestyle of the residents has played a role in the emergence of conflicts with the neighboring communities over grazing land and water which consequently forces them to push their animals into private ranching farms.¹²⁰ The constant migration of the pastoralists means the children have to stop attending school as their families shift to new places lest they remain in the same area and succumb to the drought. The lack of water and food poses a potential threat to the pastoralists and their families and therefore the children cannot attend school due to hunger. The cultural practices such as cattle raiding, distribution of labour and early marriages of girls has had an effect on the education of the children. While the boys are forced to leave school to start taking care of the herds of livestock, the girls are expected to do house chores and are married off at an early age. These factors have contributed to low enrolment and high drop out of students in secondary schools in East Pokot region.

¹¹⁹ Mureithi SM and Opiyo FEO, (2010). Resource use Planning under Climate Change: Experience from Turkana and Pokot Pastoralists of Northwestern Kenya.

¹²⁰ Adano, supra note 7.

Chapter Three

The Effects of Pastoral Conflicts on Secondary Education in East Pokot

Introduction

The security situation in East Pokot, which is predominantly inhabited by pastoralists, is dire as the tense atmosphere has interfered with the livelihoods of the local residents. Cattle rustling and resource-based conflicts are common in the region. Insecurity and the subsequent migration has a direct impact on school enrolment and completion rates. Due to the practice of nomadic pastoralism and outbreak of attacks in areas prone to cattle rustling, most parents are unable to settle down for their children to go to school.¹²¹ The students in secondary schools are more affected since there are fewer secondary schools that are far apart. In the event of displacement that results from pastoral conflict, it becomes a challenge to get an opportunity to continue with learning elsewhere. Additionally, at this stage when such violent incidents occur, children are forced out of school. They alternatively engage in activities that can aid in feeding their families. The girls are easily married off while the boys are forced to join the rest of the youths in tending the livestock to sustain the families.¹²²

This section therefore discusses the effects that the emergence of conflicts in East Pokot sub-county has on secondary education which range from disrupted livelihoods, increased levels of illiteracy, unemployment, heightened inter-tribal conflicts and poor infrastructural growth.

¹²¹ Österle, supra note 64.

¹²² Fratkin, supra note 88.

3.1 The Effects of Cattle Raiding and Inter-ethnic Conflicts

Cattle rustlers engage the target communities in lethal raids that result from the combatants being armed. These cattle raids have adversely affected the lives of residents of East Pokot as they lead to loss of property such as the livestock, increased insecurity, deaths and ethnic rifts between communities.¹²³ Livestock remains the primary and only source of livelihood for most pastoral families. In East Pokot, livestock symbolizes prestige and prosperity. It is used to pay dowry and primarily as source of food. The scope of the increased tension and conflict is associated with the livestock rustling that has been commercialized in the recent past.

The easy access of arms by the pastoral communities has provided the bandits with an opportunity to use them to conduct raids. Efforts by the anti-stock theft unit to track the stolen animals have borne no fruits. The stolen cattle have become difficult to recover since the bandits work under coordinated trade activities. They are transported for sale in distant places such as Nairobi. Commercialization of cattle raiding has turned the traditional cattle raids into a modern sort of warfare involving use of dangerous and sophisticated weapons. The cases of well-organized raiding missions to gather livestock for the market have been reported among the Turkana, Marakwet, East and West Pokot as well as the Samburu communities. These coordinated activities have intensified insecurity and ethnicity in the region. It has been alleged that the commercialization of stolen cattle is facilitated by some wealthy and powerful individuals who are involved behind-the-scenes in the illegal business that has been fuelling the raids.¹²⁴ The incidents

¹²³ Cheserek, *supra* note 1 at 173.

¹²⁴ Eriksen, S., & Lind, J. (2009). Adaptation as a Political Process: Adjusting to Drought and Conflict in Kenya's Drylands. *Environmental management*, 43(5), 817-835.

of cattle raiding which is unlawful in Kenya have resulted in destruction and insecurity in East Pokot and the neighboring communities which have consequently interrupted education.

North-Western Kenya has been experiencing constant pastoral conflicts that have disrupted the livelihoods of the residents. The conflicts have been characterized by intolerance among the communities that have been divided by the diverse opinions on distribution of resources particularly grazing land and water.¹²⁵ Livestock is the core source of livelihood in the region. As a result of scarcity of water and pasture due to harsh climatic conditions, conflict is bound to occur as groups start competing for communal land to tend their animals. The scarcity and competition of the available resources contributes greatly to the conflicts. This is because the communities are engaged in violent theft of livestock. The cattle theft results into distrust between communities and creates enmity which is a prerequisite of conflict.¹²⁶ Similarly in East Pokot, as resources reduce with the change in climate, pastoralists start competing for grazing land and water. The onset of dry seasons brings along tension in the region. This brings violent attacks between communities hence paralyzing other activities particularly school going for the children.

East Pokot sub-county has witnessed the emergence of conflicts that are related to cattle raiding. These have been fueled by the ease of accessing and owning arms. The proliferation of small arms by most pastoral groups seeking to protect their livestock from the bandits has intensified the violence. The raiders have been using the arms to attack other pastoralists groups or pose threats in the event of dispute over land tenure rights.¹²⁷ Additionally, the modern small arms have been used to take advantage of the pastoralists as raiding has taken a different turn of

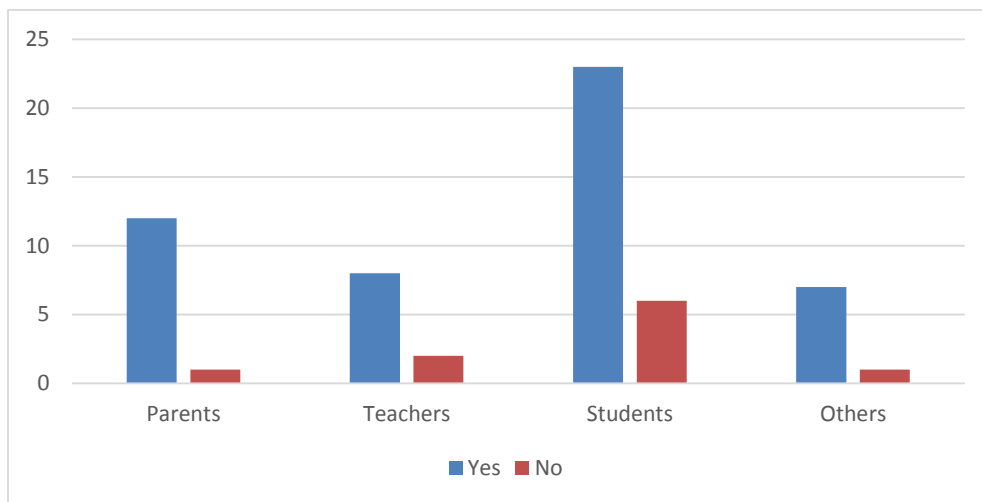
¹²⁵ Schilling, *supra* note 42 at 25.

¹²⁶ Mutsotso, *supra* note 15.

¹²⁷ Bollig, M., Greiner, C., & Österle, M. (2014). Inscribing identity and agency on the landscape: of pathways, places, and the transition of the public sphere in East Pokot, Kenya. *African Studies Review*, 57(3), 55-78.

commercialization of the stolen livestock.¹²⁸ The emergence of ethnic-conflicts goes beyond cattle rustling and has led to use of arms to protect animals and the territories that are reserved for herding even during the dry months.¹²⁹ The availability of arms has escalated the violence in the region as some groups still believe that cattle raiding and sharing of communal land are necessary customs. However, with the establishment of new boundaries, the communities have shifted into protecting their regions from being invaded by other pastoral groups. This competition for grazing land continues to pose challenges in East Pokot as there is tension over the control of grazing land as communities continue to grapple with the limited resources.¹³⁰

Figure 4: A graphical representation of the effects of cattle raiding on secondary education
NB: Others refer to 4-NGO officials, 2-chiefs & 2-police officers



Source: Research Data, 2018

¹²⁸ Greiner, supra note 28 at 216-237.

¹²⁹ Kaimba, G. K., Njehia, B. K., & Guliye, A. Y. (2011). Effects of Cattle Rustling and Household Characteristics on Migration Decisions and herd size amongst Pastoralists in Baringo District, Kenya. *Pastoralism: Research, Policy and Practice*, 1(1), 18.

¹³⁰ Lelenguyah, supra note 9.

In this study, it is evident that the occurrence of cattle raiding in East Pokot affected secondary education as shown by the feedback from the respondents in figure 4 above. The graph illustrates the response on the impact cattle raiding had on the secondary schools. This study established that 85% of the respondents admitted that cattle rustling played a key role in poor performance in secondary schools which is characterized by low enrolment and high dropout in the context of this study in East Pokot. This study therefore corroborates the previously reported findings from the secondary sources already discussed that cattle rustling has played a great role in poor enrolment and high dropout rates in secondary schools.

3.2 Effects on Livelihoods

The brutality experienced in pastoral conflicts has consistently posed significant threat to the residents that are already under pressure from recurrent issues of political marginalization, increasing drought and diseases.¹³¹ Such effects have been experienced in East Pokot which has encountered severe attacks in the recent past. The conflict disrupts livelihoods and creates or aggravates poverty making it difficult for households with competing priorities to fund children's education.¹³² Moreover, few children are willing to attend school in conflict-prone areas owing to fear of attacks and family displacement. The conflicts within the pastoral areas have been due to poor policies over sharing the resources such as grazing lands and water especially during the dry season. Food insecurity and ineffective resource utilization forces the communities to lock horns over the limited resources.

¹³¹ Kaimba, *supra* note 129.

¹³² Cheserek, *supra* note 1 at 175.

Based on a study conducted in May 2017 on food security, drought and disease, it was reported that approximately 2.6 million Kenyans are severely food insecure and the statistics predicted an increase in the number.¹³³ The arid and semi-arid regions have the population that is greatly affected by food insecurity due to their unfavorable climatic conditions. Furthermore, the research showed that three sub-counties inhibited Global Acute Malnutrition rates of 30 per cent, double the emergency threshold. The increasing drought has impacted almost all the counties in Kenya due to reduced water capacity from the water sources such as rivers and dams and that a population of over 3 million do not have access to clean water.¹³⁴ The recurrent droughts have destroyed livelihoods, triggered local conflicts over scarce resources and eroded the ability of communities to cope. The occurrence of droughts creates adversity for food particularly to the pastoralist communities that heavily rely on livestock for their livelihood. The inadequate food interrupts education programs particularly for the secondary school students most of who have to travel long distances to the schools.

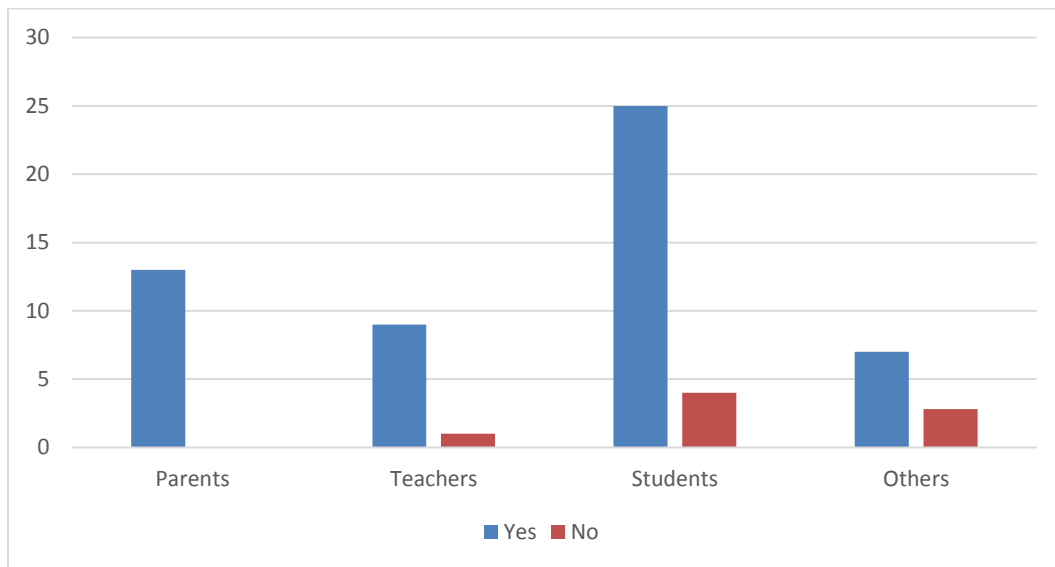
This study established that most of the people going for the option of engaging in cattle raiding are male youth and younger men mostly below the age of 30. These are the strong and young individuals that the families look forward to for provision and sustenance. The raids are conducted in well-organized groups whereby several hundreds to even thousands of raiders attack a neighboring community. The young men conducting raids are mostly illiterate. Due to utter desperation, unfair expectations and pressure from the community and families they take up arms and with brutality attack neighboring communities in an effort to acquire wealth and gain

¹³³ Macharia, *supra* note 19 at 24.

¹³⁴ Wanjiru, K. M. (2015). *The Effects of Food Aid on Food Security in Kenya* (Doctoral dissertation, MA Thesis). University of Nairobi, Nairobi.

reputation in the society. From this study, it was established that the prevalence of the pastoral conflicts had negative outcomes on the livelihoods of the residents of East Pokot sub-county.

Figure 5: A graph showing feedback on how pastoral conflicts have contributed to destabilized livelihoods that consequently affect secondary education NB: Others refer to 4-NGO officials, 2-chiefs & 2-police officers



Source: Research Data, 2018

This study established that most (88%) of the respondents believed that the constant pastoral conflicts in the area had destabilized people’s livelihoods. Whenever conflicts emerge they force people to shift to safer places and in the process lose property. The disrupted lifestyle means that the school-going children can no longer access schools at least until the family gets settled. Such issues have been common in some areas of East Pokot such as Chemolingot which are prone to cattle raiding attacks. Alongside the violent attacks, lives are lost and most of the victims lose their property that is destroyed by the invaders. The cattle raiders often steal livestock during the attack and burn houses.

3.3 Effects on School Enrolment and Attendance

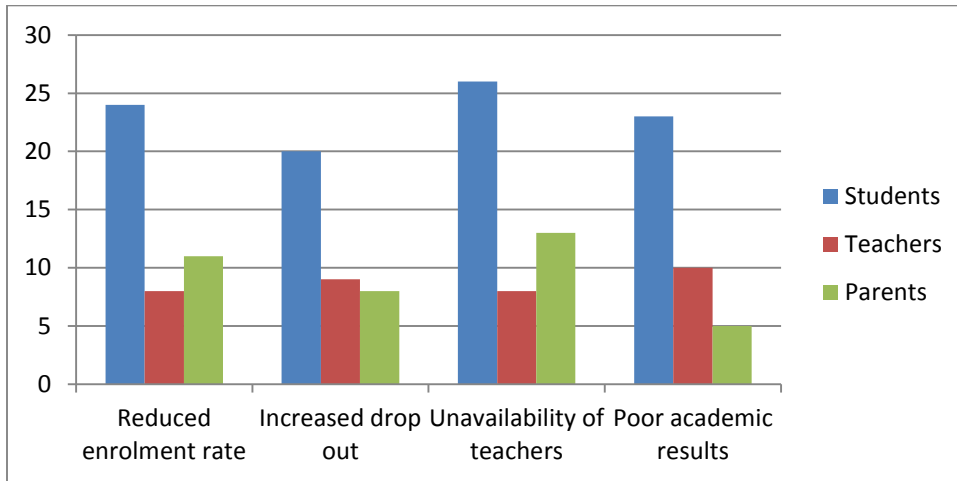
In the last ten years, there has been tremendous growth in primary school access although the number of secondary schools for the learners is still low compared to the primary schools despite a large number of students completing primary school. The secondary school net enrollment rate in the year 2009 in East Pokot was approximately 50%, whereas the rate of transition of students from primary school joining secondary school was slightly above 55% which is quite low. The shift of these ethnic-based attacks has resulted into hostility between the conflicting communities. The ethnic conflicts in many parts of Kenya have impacted negatively on the students' learning as they drop out of schools, while those who are meant to join school fail to enroll in secondary schools due to fear of attacks. These conflict prone areas suffer from lack of adequate teachers as they fear for their lives in case an attack occurs. On the other hand, schools are targeted by the bandits of the warring communities thereby destroying the existing school infrastructure.

These conflicts have greatly compromised participation of the students in secondary education through reduced enrollment rates, increased dropouts hence declining student's retention and failure of pupils to complete their secondary education. The inter-community tension on the eve of the violent raids have bred hostility and instilled fear thereby paralyzing any growth in the region.¹³⁵ The insecurity has not only led to closure of markets and hospitals but also the schools. The teachers and students were unwilling to go about with learning in such tense and insecure environments. The incidents of insecurity in the pastoral areas is rampant and a great

¹³⁵ Ministry of Education, (2010). Educational Statistical Booklet 2003-2007, Government Printers, Nairobi, Kenya. Retrieved from: http://open_jicareport.jica.go.jp/pdf/12083176.pdf [Accessed 12 Nov. 2018].

hindrance to schooling¹³⁶. The availability of these illegal arms is one of the causes of insecurity in the region which has affected secondary education negatively.

Figure 6: A graph showing the effects of pastoral conflict on secondary school enrolment



Source: Research Data, 2018

This study established that the prevalence of the pastoral conflicts had negative outcomes on the school enrolment of students in East Pokot sub-county. The researcher addressed this question on effects of pastoral conflicts on secondary school enrolment to teachers, parents and students because they have firsthand knowledge on aspects affecting education directly. Pastoral conflicts have been found to reduce enrolment rates in secondary schools, increase drop-out rate, increased unavailability of teachers and poor academic results.

This study affirmed that pastoral conflicts contribute to increased drop-out rate, reduced enrolment rate, poor academic results and unavailability of teachers. The schools in East Pokot were temporarily closed when conflicts intensified, as reported by the respondents, for example

¹³⁶ Schilling, supra note 42.

Chemolingot was closed for a month when there were raids in the village in February, 2017. Noticeably, the bullet hole in one of the classroom building was still visible which is evident of the attacks. These findings affirm that pastoral conflicts have multiple effects on secondary education through causing a reduction in enrolment rate, increased dropout rate, unavailability of teachers and ultimately poor academic results.

3.4 Effects on Academic Performance

In Kenya, ethnic conflicts among neighboring communities have been prevalent and have resulted into great tension and insecurity. The aftermath of violent attacks that are associated with competition for the limited resources or cattle raids is destruction of property, displacement and ultimate disruption of secondary education.¹³⁷ The ultimate outcome of the violence is inaccessibility of learning institutions which is the hope of a better life in this 21st century. Therefore, whenever students are disconnected from learning institutions, it denies them an opportunity of succeeding in life. A report conducted by the Ministry of Education on the impact of the 2015-2017 violent attacks within most areas under conflict in East Pokot has shown that secondary school academic performance has shot down sharply.¹³⁸ The drop-out rates have been followed by increased change of schools among the learners due to displacement from their original homes. Additionally, more girls who had enrolled in schools dropped out and most of them got into early marriages as their opportunity of acquiring education were shut down abruptly with the emerging violence.¹³⁹

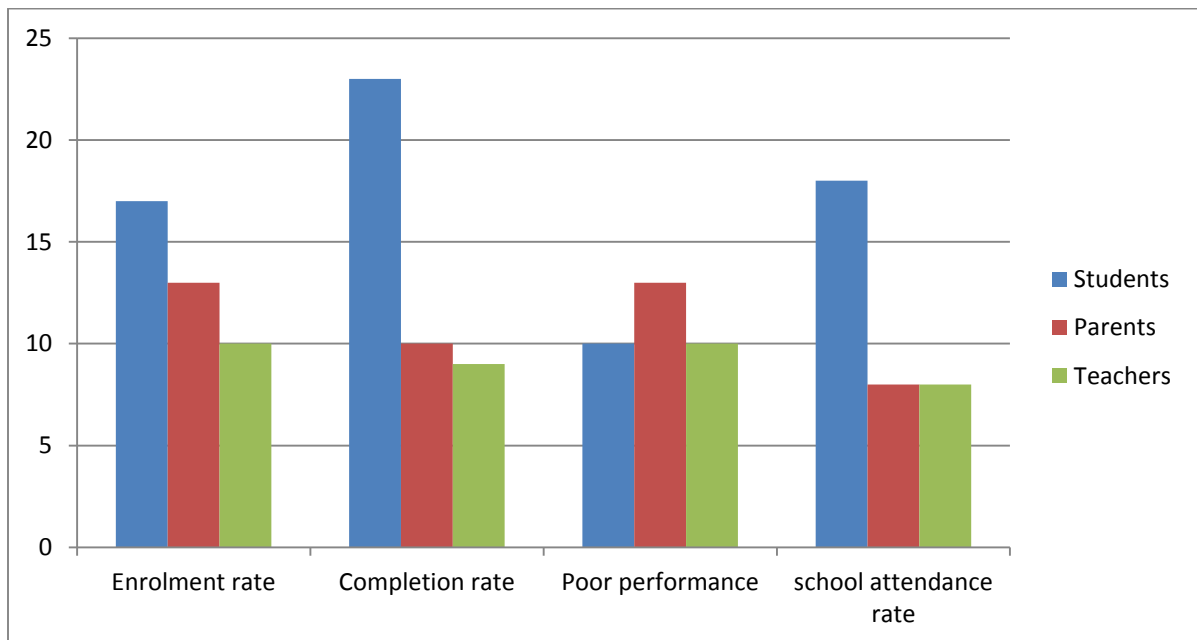
¹³⁷ Republic of Kenya, (2005). Kenya Education Sector Support Programme 2005-2010. Delivering Quality Education and Training to all Kenyans. Nairobi. Government Printer.

¹³⁸ Ministry of Education, (2008). Report on the Policy Framework for Nomadic Education in Kenya, July 2008.

¹³⁹ Ministry of Education, (2010). Educational Statistical Booklet 2003-2007, Government Printers, Nairobi, Kenya. Retrieved from: http://open_jicareport.jica.go.jp/pdf/12083176.pdf [Accessed 12 Nov. 2018]

The constant violent attacks disrupts learning. This causes poor academic performance which increases their chances of dropping out due to discouragement. Data from the Ministry of Education on the 2007 KCPE examination shows that 30 percent of public school candidates qualified for secondary school by scoring over 250 marks, while only 15% percent of the students managed to join secondary school.¹⁴⁰ This disparity in the performance, qualification, enrolment and completion has shown high rates of illiteracy. Here learners lack opportunity to successfully study and complete their secondary education despite the merit.

Figure 7: A graph showing how secondary school enrolment, completion rates and academic performance are affected by pastoral conflicts in East Pokot



Source: Research Data, 2018

¹⁴⁰ Hunt, F. (2008). Dropping out from school: A cross country review of literature. Retrieved from: http://www.create-rpc.org/pdf_documents/PTA16.pdf [Accessed 12 Nov. 2018]

This study affirmed that the prevalence of the pastoral conflicts had negative outcomes on academic performance of students in East Pokot sub-County as already discussed above. The teachers, parents and students agreed by a large margin that the pastoral conflicts reduced enrolment rates in secondary schools. Occurrence of a conflict can keep the learners away from school. The prolonged disruption of studies keeps them disengaged which ultimately cause poor performance due to declined attendance rate.

In this study, most students (over 80%) believed that their academic performance was affected by the pastoral conflicts which started by reducing school attendance due to insecurity. The teachers (over 78%) strongly agreed that the conflicts had directly disrupted learning as the violence kept both the teachers and students away from school thereby increasing the chances of dropping out. The graph above represents the feedback of the participants on how secondary school enrolment, completion rates and academic performance are affected by pastoral conflicts in East Pokot sub-county.

Poor living standards among most pastoral families increases the chance of engaging in conflicts. This is especially where the community is not focused on educating the young generation. While education is also viewed with some reservation by households, as it increases the workload on the rest of the family, it is still viewed as a viable long-term diversification strategy. This is because many households believe that education assists their children and family members in finding jobs in the modern urban economy, while some view it as a way for children to get adequate

food through school nutritional programmes.¹⁴¹ The adversity in these region make the learners attend school to at least get a meal rather than for the purpose of acquiring knowledge.

3.5 Effects on Economic Development

The effects of insecurity on pastoral livelihoods go beyond a reduction of food resources. The consequences of the pastoral conflicts include loss of human life, property, displacements of large segments of the communities, disruption of socio-economic activities and livelihoods, and increased hatred between communities. Pastoralists' livelihoods are closely correlated with rainfall patterns. An increase in frequency and severity of droughts reduces their ability to depend and survive on these natural resources.¹⁴² Droughts are associated with a general deterioration of livestock, with increases in disease and starvation, which can have adverse effects on the livestock market sometimes leading to market collapse. The increase in livestock deterioration and the increasing resource scarcity in the region can be largely attributed to climate change.¹⁴³ This is where the link between resource scarcity and increasing conflicts is said to occur. The lack of secure markets limits the ability of the pastoralists to sell livestock prior to or during dry periods and hence contributes to food insecurity. Food, crops, cash money and property is looted during the raids. Schools, health facilities and settlements are destroyed. This study noted that livestock rustling has increased economic hardships as pastoralism has been ravaged as a result of pastoral conflicts.

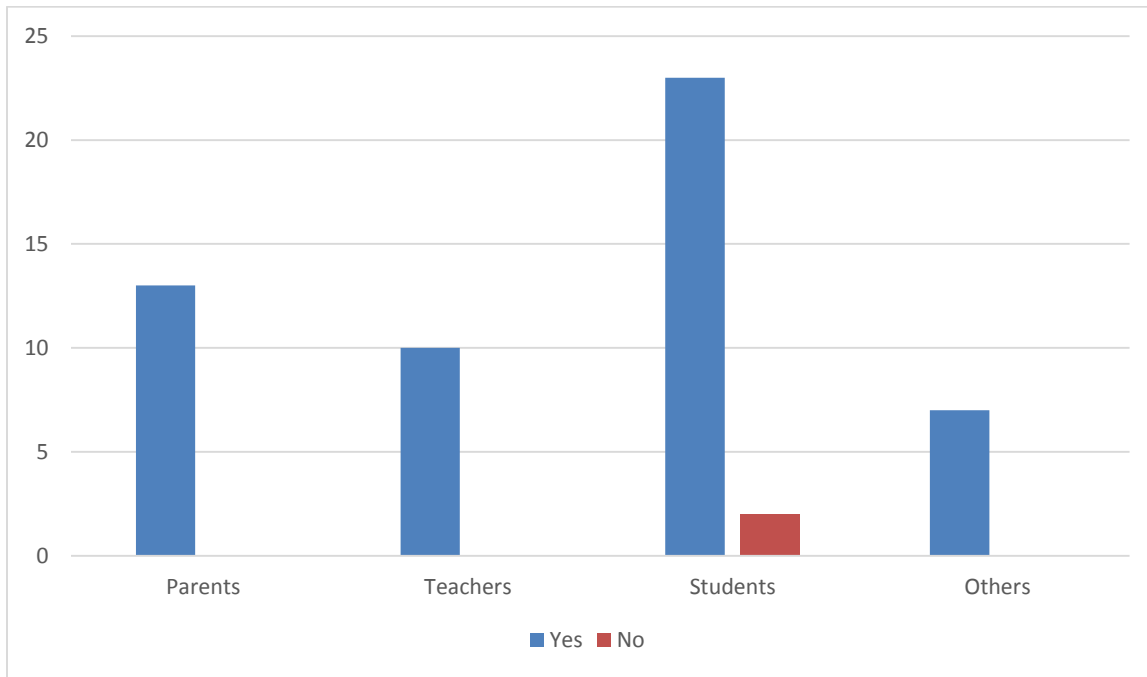
¹⁴¹ Lewin, K., Wasanga, P., Wanderi, E., & Somerset, A. (2011). Participation and Performance in Education in sub-Saharan Africa with Special Reference to Kenya: Improving Policy and Practice. Create Pathways to Access, (71).

¹⁴² Andiema, supra note 90.

¹⁴³ Kaprom T., (2015). Effects of Cattle Rustling on Economic Development: A Case of Masol Location, West Pokot County. Unpublished Thesis, University of Nairobi.

The inter-community relations have been worsened by the conflicts and there are not many conversations on economic development agenda. The livestock that was viewed as a source of livelihood has turned into the leading cause of conflict. The disintegration of the communities and heightened tension does not provide a room for working together to improve the standards of living. The practice of livestock raiding has led to mistrust and ethnic conflicts which has affected trade between the communities. In East Pokot sub-County the issue of cattle rustling has been rampant and has left many pastoral areas under developed as people migrated to safer places abandoning their original homes.¹⁴⁴

Figure 8: A bar graph showing feedback by respondents on effects of pastoral conflict on economic development



Source: Research Data, 2018

¹⁴⁴ Kaimba, supra note 129.

The bar graph above shows the response of the participants on whether the economic activities were affected by the occurrence of the conflicts. Most of the respondents believe that the conflicts had a direct effect on the economic development.

This study corroborated the findings in a study by Kaprom, discussed above, that the prevalence of the pastoral conflicts had negative outcomes on the economic development of East Pokot sub-county. Most respondents strongly agreed that pastoral conflicts in the area had deterred economic growth. The respondents affirmed that pastoral conflicts affected economic development of the area negatively.

Due to drought and endemic conflicts, the number of livestock and the wealth possessed by pastoralists has significantly declined.¹⁴⁵ If the traditional criteria for riches such as possessing many livestock, wives, children, dependants and food granaries were to be used as a measure of wealth as in the past, very few pastoralists would now pass the test. Poverty, exacerbated by raiding, is increasingly becoming the main source of vulnerability among many pastoralists.¹⁴⁶ Strong sentiments of deprivation and neglect by government are a fertile ground for ethnic clashes and inter-communal violence. Lack of employment opportunities to absorb victims of fatal livestock raiding, especially the youth, has also been cited as a cause of sustained conflict in the region. A lack of alternative livelihoods prompts the frustrated groups to revert to raiding, thus perpetuating inter-ethnic violence.¹⁴⁷ In desperation and in order to survive, destitute pastoralists target livestock of other clans or tribes.

¹⁴⁵ Karanu, supra note 11.

¹⁴⁶ Andiema, supra note 90.

¹⁴⁷ Kinyua, K. G., Yakub, G. A., Kamau, N. B., & Bett, H. K. (2011). *Livestock Marketing Decisions among Pastoral Communities: The Influence of Cattle Rustling in Baringo District, Kenya*.

3.6 Conclusion

The effects of pastoral conflicts in East Pokot have been shown through the outcomes of secondary education in the region. This is especially in terms of low rates of enrolment and completion. This section has discussed the effects of pastoral conflicts on the livelihoods of the local communities, on schools (teachers, students and parents) and academic performance as well as the economic development. The livelihoods of the local communities revolve around pastoralism. This has been affected by predominant issues of cattle raids, drought, loss of communal grazing lands and ethnic conflicts. The complexity of these issues on livelihood has resulted into displacements, loss of property, deaths, loss of food, ethnicity and insecurity which has consequently affected attendance, enrolment and completion of school by the students who are forced to drop out. Additionally, the pastoral conflicts have directly affected secondary education whereby the attacks have led to destruction of infrastructure such as classrooms, heightened ethnic tension and hatred among communities, instilled fear on both the teachers and students and reduced mobility.

Since the students cannot access schools it becomes difficult to acquire knowledge and they become demoralized and thereafter drop out of school. Also, the teachers fear being attacked in the conflict prone areas. They therefore don't turn up to teach which ultimately results into mediocre performances by the learners. The pastoral conflict indirectly affects secondary education by deteriorating economic productivity through destruction of vegetation, farms and markets. Similarly insecurity hinders economic activities of the people while overgrazing leads to environmental degradation all which have an effect on people's livelihoods.

Chapter Four

Interventions for Improving Secondary Education in East Pokot Sub-County

Introduction

This chapter focuses on the intervention role by the local communities, institutions such as NGOs and churches, National and County government in providing effective measures to resolve pastoral conflicts and improve secondary education in East Pokot sub-county. This is because the insecurity in the region has paralyzed education as the schools tend to shut down due to displacements and fear instilled on the teachers, parents and the students. For secondary education to improve and prosper in the region, peace and reconciliation has to be established first. Every resident has to be assured of security in the area to help reverse the tense situation in the region. Therefore, different stakeholders have a great role to play to provide the right interventions that can improve secondary education in East-Pokot sub-county.

4.1 Role of the Local Leaders

Pastoralism has efficiently enabled the pastoral communities to draw value from arid and semi-arid land. However, with the worsening effects of climate change, population growth and competing claims for land, preventing conflict and ensuring pastoralists remain mobile is more difficult than ever. These conditions have been blamed for the increased crisis within the pastoral regions such as East Pokot with emerging conflicts connected to cattle raids.¹⁴⁸

4.1.1 Council of Elders

The traditional leaders are at the heart of conflict resolution among the conflicting communities because they have a direct connection to the residents. The traditional system of

¹⁴⁸ Glowacki, supra note 79.

governance under the leadership of elders of the communities is still predominant in the remote regions and the community relies on the guidance and wisdom of the elders. Therefore, if peace has to prevail it has to be based on the traditional set up through engaging the elders. Traditional conflict management practice is a part of a social system which has been proven over time to be efficient in reconciliation since it improves social relationships by restoring balance, settling disputes and managing conflict because it is deeply rooted in the customs and traditions of Africa.¹⁴⁹ The traditional leaders have been instrumental in mitigating violence and quelling tension through positive traditional forms of peacemaking, mediation and peace interventions on behalf of the victims of the ethnic conflict.

The spread of small arms and light weapons has had an adverse impact on the authority of elders thereby undermining their control over processes associated with the management of conflict. Traditional authority over the organization of cattle raids was always vested in the elders, who directed how and when this would be done taking into account the advice of seers, diviners and prophets. However, the easy availability of small arms and light weapons has changed all this, with warriors organizing cattle raids without reference to elders, leading to a situation where such raids have become commercialized and no longer undertaken on the basis of traditional values.¹⁵⁰ However, the authority of traditional institutions has also been adversely affected by the introduction of administrative boundaries and borders, which have split up communities, in some cases placing different portions in different countries, as in the case of the Pokot. Within countries, administrative boundaries bring with them new institutional arrangements controlled by the state and backed with its police powers. These new state institutions render traditional institutions

¹⁴⁹ Eriksen, *supra* note 124.

¹⁵⁰ Berger, *supra* note 2 at 245.

redundant as they take over most of their roles and are deemed more effective since they have backing of national laws.¹⁵¹

The Pokot elders are tasked with mediating in the emergence of conflict and to ensure unity is attained in the long-run. The pastoral communities have great respect and trust on the traditional way of pastoral conflict resolution rather than the modern state led conflict resolution. As a result almost all cases of inter and intra-clan conflicts in the pastoral areas of Pokot Community are resolved in a traditional way of conflict resolution.¹⁵² The genesis of the recent conflicts on land resource is said to be setting up of demarcations that took away the ancestral land of the Pokot during recent setting up of counties. Pokot elders claim that the government did not involve the community in drawing up new maps and as such vast tracts of land traditionally belonging to the Pokot have been hived off. Besides advocating for peace, the elders can call for support and development of more learning facilities particularly the secondary schools in the arid areas such as East Pokot.¹⁵³

4.1.2 Political Leaders

The political leaders are the other group of individuals from the conflicting communities that can be invited to help in resettling disputes. In East Pokot sub-county, the politicians have failed to engage their local communities adequately in a bid to restore peace and advocate for education of the children who mainly drop out at secondary school level.¹⁵⁴ Since the politicians occupy elective positions, they stand at a better place to call for unity and promote development

¹⁵¹ Fratkin, E. (1997). Pastoralism: Governance and Development Issues. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 26(1), 235-261.

¹⁵² Obika, supra note 35.

¹⁵³ Mkutu, supra note 56.

¹⁵⁴ Kenya Brief. (2018). Pokot-Marakwet Conflict: Chaos in the valley - Kenya Brief. Retrieved at: <https://www.kenyabrief.com/pokot-marakwet-conflict-chaos-in-the-valley/> [Accessed 12 Nov. 2018].

within the rural areas. Some of the essential services that need to be addressed effectively include security, education, health and road networks which are to be provided under the administration of the political leaders. However, the politics have been ethnicized which might aggravate the conflict rather than solve it. This therefore makes the politicians to be neutral leaving the traditional system as the most preferred way of intervention.

4.2 Role of the Institutions

The institutions such as religious organizations and NGOs for example the Red Cross and United Nations have contributed in efforts to mitigate pastoral conflicts. The European Union has been in constant support for the pastoralist concerns and has supported different initiatives that can help maximize productivity and minimize the crisis. For instance, the union has been supporting the need for increasing community-based conflict resolution plans and programmes in pastoralist areas to allow communities to decide their own priorities.¹⁵⁵ Such efforts by the international and local institutions have helped to resolve their tribal conflicts and advocate for equality in education for both boys and girls among the marginalized communities. These institutions have been at the forefront in advocating for peaceful mediation and need for economic development in the conflict prone pastoral regions.¹⁵⁶ In this study it was noted that the peace building ambitions have shifted from negotiations between the warring parties to preventing future conflicts through the transformation of societies and the warring parties to prevent occurrence of conflicts in future. The peace initiative such as peace race and fashion show competitions have been initiated to help in

¹⁵⁵ World Bank, *supra* note 16.

¹⁵⁶ Galaty, J. G. (2016). States of Violence: Ethnicity, Politics, and Pastoral Conflict in East Africa. In *Geography Research Forum* (Vol. 25, pp. 105-127).

engaging the locals through recreational activities such as sports which encourage integration and peaceful coexistence.¹⁵⁷

The NGOs have contributed to the renovation and construction of schools to encourage the learners to get back to school and continue with their education. These parties have been sensitizing the public through the public awareness campaigns on the importance of monitoring human rights violations which has helped in providing the early signs of the conflict.¹⁵⁸ Furthermore, these organizations have been radical in advocating for gender equality and condemning evils such as FGM that has been culturally practiced among most pastoral communities. These efforts have ensured most of the local communities learn and embrace the value of getting their children educated and not allowing early marriages for girls which was used as a form of acquiring wealth in form of dowry received. These institutions are contributing positively to the improvement of education in the county.

4.3 Role of the County Government

The pastoral communities in Kenya are found in the marginalized regions. These regions mostly experience continued drought hence contributing to high poverty level. Most of these areas do not access adequate and equal resources to aid in development. In most of the pastoral communities, livestock is viewed as a form of currency. Therefore when all the livestock is raided and the bread winner is killed during the confrontational pastoral conflicts, the rest of the family is left in abject poverty.¹⁵⁹ With the new constitution through which the County government has been created, there is a need for equal allocation of resources for developing the marginalized areas.

¹⁵⁷ Maritim, *supra* note 65.

¹⁵⁸ Raleigh, C. (2010). Political Marginalization, Climate Change, and Conflict in African Sahel states. *International studies review*, 12(1), 69-86.

¹⁵⁹ Fratkin, *supra* note 151.

East Pokot, a sub-county within Baringo County has recently has been undergoing minimal economic progress due to increased violent attacks among the pastoral communities.¹⁶⁰ The focus of this study is on secondary education, and its findings have shown that most of the schools have been closed or have the number of students enrolling and completing school reduced. This is because of constant violent attacks most of which result from cattle rustling by the neighboring communities such as the Samburu and the Turkana.¹⁶¹

The prevailing insecurity in the sub-county has made it difficult for the County government to implement the outlined projects. Between 2012 and 2017, the fear of raids and attacks saw the massive displacement of over 580 people from their original homes in East Pokot.¹⁶² Additionally, the attacks have led to destruction of public amenities through burning down of facilities such as the healthcare centers and schools. The role of the County government is to provide a platform for mediation and ensure peace is restored among the local communities so that the development projects can be advanced. Therefore, the county government should help in restoration and reconstruction of socio-economic activities and the livelihoods of the pastoral communities.¹⁶³

The County government's education ministry has embarked on introducing all-inclusive programs that will ensure the residents are educated particularly those who dropped out of school at secondary level. The introduction of vocational training programs has aided in integrating all members of the county regardless of differences such as gender, religion, race or ethnicity. Skills

¹⁶⁰ Raleigh, supra note 158.

¹⁶¹ Maritim, supra note 65.

¹⁶² Straight, B., Pike, I., Hilton, C., & Oesterle, M. (2015). Suicide in Three East African Pastoralist Communities and the Role of Researcher Outsiders for Positive Transformation: A Case Study. *Culture, Medicine, and Psychiatry*, 39(3), 557-578.

¹⁶³ Macharia, supra note 19 at 23.

development is significant in building a strong economy as the engine to spur economic growth. This move has aided to provide knowledge and develop skills to the members of the pastoral communities particularly the youths who have dropped out due to violence. The county government can play a role through encouraging effective learning through parental and community participation, promotion of local initiatives, and improved teaching and education management.

4.4 Role of National Government

The government is the body involved in providing essential social amenities that encourage development in the pastoral areas such as roads, health care facilities and public learning institutions. Also, the government has the role of enhancing security in the region through disseminating more security personnel to deal with the cattle rustlers. The public schools in the marginalized areas of the pastoral communities lack adequate equipment to support effective learning besides being understaffed. Such issues have affected the school enrolment and are attributable to poor performances in the public schools in pastoral areas. The Ministry of Education must urgently initiate programmes to enroll and take these children back to school. To increase enrolment and attendance, the government has to provide adequate learning facilities particularly in the marginalized regions for example by constructing schools, hiring teachers and availing adequate teaching and learning materials.¹⁶⁴ As education policy makers, the government can

¹⁶⁴ Owen O., (2011). “The Impact of Secondary Schooling in Kenya: A Regression Discontinuity Analysis”, University of California Working Paper.

enhance education within marginalized areas such as East Pokot by increasing opportunities to be in school and complete the four years of study successfully.

Cattle rustling episodes at times degenerate into ethnic fights but the government has been quick to respond and diffuse tension. The Nakuru – Marigat – Chemolingot road has been known for insecurity over the last few years due to constant attacks by bandits resulting to security personnel being deployed in the area¹⁶⁵. As a matter of fact, the number of attacks has reduced since March in 2018 and the situation in the region is stabilizing. It is promising that the residents who had migrated to other places have a chance of getting back in the region and continue with their activities. To assure the residents of continued security, the government has set up a new district headquarters in Chemolingot.¹⁶⁶

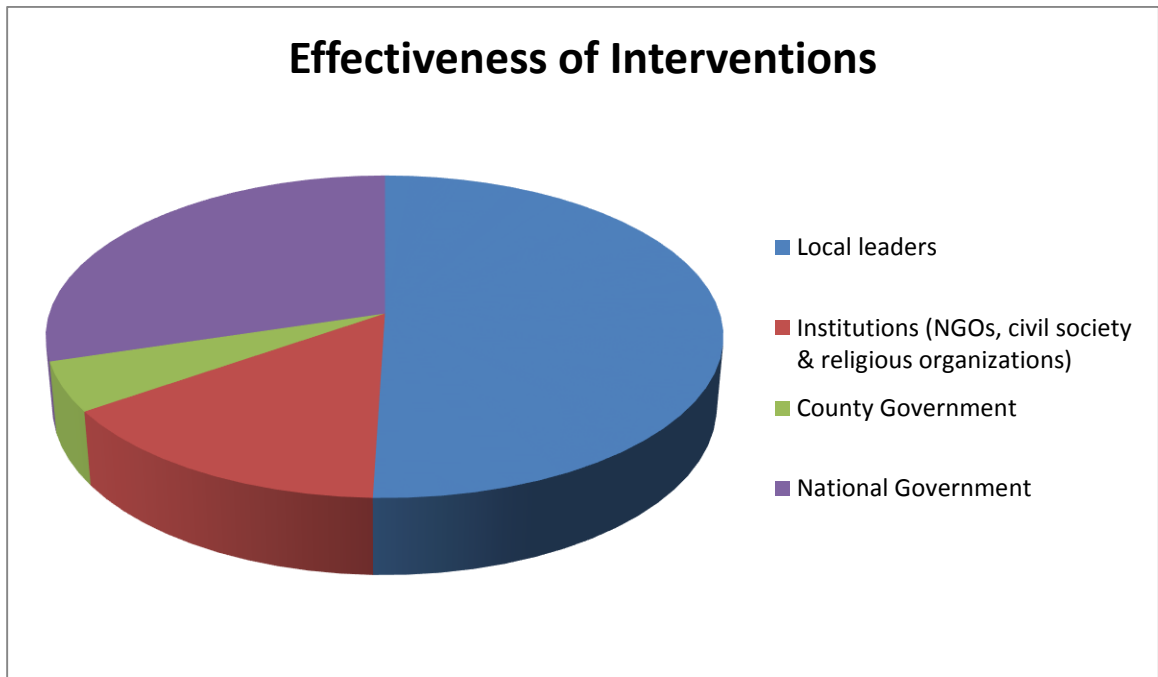
With the increasing demand for education as a result of the free primary and secondary education program, it is becoming increasingly important for the National government to implement programs that address the primary-to-secondary school bottleneck. These programs will reduce the barriers to secondary schooling especially for female gender and students from disadvantaged families.¹⁶⁷ For example, a merit scholarship program for students from poor backgrounds who gain admission to a national or provincial school could both alleviate the financial barriers and stimulate student performance in primary schools. Similarly creation of awareness through informing children and their parents about the economic returns to education can increase enrolment, attendance and reduce dropout rates.

¹⁶⁵ Mutsotso, supra note 15.

¹⁶⁶ Maritim, supra note 65.

¹⁶⁷ World Bank, supra note 16.

Figure 9: A figure showing the contribution of four groups in providing interventions for improvement of secondary education in East Pokot sub-county



Source: Research Data, 2018

This study established that there were efforts the National government, County government, leaders and institutions to offer interventions for improving secondary education in East Pokot sub-county. The pie chart above represents the feedback of the participants on the effectiveness of four groups being used to apply interventions to improve secondary education in East Pokot sub-county. From the questionnaire, 55% of the respondents felt that the local leadership had a great role in providing interventions that would lead to peace and eventually improve secondary education. The local leaders holding elective posts such as members of parliament and appointed posts such as administrators have been involved largely in mediating between the conflicting communities from the pastoral areas. 32% of the respondents felt that the National and County governments are involved in restoring peace and beefing up security in areas that are vulnerable

to attacks in East Pokot. The religious groups and Non-Governmental Organizations are involved through conducting peace campaigns and advocating for peaceful methods of conflict resolution. This was supported by 13 % of the respondents.

4.5 Conclusion

In summary, this chapter has critically discussed the role played by different groups in an effort to provide interventions for improving secondary education in East Pokot. The study has unveiled that the pastoral conflicts are propagated by competition for and exploitation of the limited natural resources especially during the dry months, cultural practices that encourage cattle rustling and access to illegal arms that are used during cattle raids. Essentially, the cultural values and beliefs of pastoral communities manifest themselves through various institutions. It is the totality of these components that defines and identifies a particular community. One of the components that has a role in providing interventions for pastoral conflicts is the local leadership. The elders are a part of the leadership of most pastoral communities who are highly regarded as they influence the decisions of a community. Thus, the elders should be consulted while seeking interventions for the pastoral conflicts which will help promote education in the pastoral areas.

From the findings of this study, the organizations such as NGOs and the civil society that advocate for human rights have been involved in brokering peace and reconciliation in the pastoral areas. The involvement of these parties brings the conflicting parties to the table to exchange ideas diplomatically to help resolve the ongoing conflicts. The significance of the County government in helping restore peace cannot be ignored because it is the body that is lawfully mandated under the constitution to enhance development within the region. The Baringo County government has not hesitated to provide an avenue for peace, reconciliation and healing among the conflicting pastoral groups. The National government has had a greater role to play in restoring peace through

its constant efforts to beef up security and crack down on bandits. Importantly, the government has been conducting disarmament processes to retrieve illegal arms used for raiding.

Chapter Five

Summary, Conclusion and Recommendations

Introduction

This chapter presents the summary, conclusion and suggests recommendations on how to improve secondary education in East Pokot sub-county. The study sought to determine the effects of pastoral conflicts on secondary education in East Pokot sub-county. This study was guided by the following research objectives; the links between pastoral conflicts and secondary education, an assessment of the effects of pastoral conflicts on secondary education in East Pokot and the need to determine the interventions for improving secondary education in East Pokot sub-county. The research was motivated by the desire to understand the impact the pastoral conflicts on secondary education. This was as a result of reported indicators of high dropout rates and low enrolment and completion in secondary schools.¹⁶⁸ This study found that pastoral conflicts have adversely affected secondary education in East Pokot sub-county. It concluded that the low level of secondary education enrolment, completion and performance can partly be attributed to ineffective interventions by the stakeholders such as the County government and National government.

5.1 Summary

This study sought to establish the effects of pastoral conflicts on secondary education in Kenya with a focus on East Pokot sub-county as the study area. It also aimed at determining how the occurrence of pastoral conflict manifested through cattle raiding incidents led to disruption of the lifestyle, peace and tranquility of the locals. This is because violence creates tension and

¹⁶⁸ supra note 92.

insecurity. The fear of future attacks by communities leads to displacement and acts as a discouragement to school going students. The relationship between pastoral conflicts and secondary education is that presence of peace enables the learning activities to proceed freely without fear of getting attacked by the enemy. When conflict in the pastoral areas occur, it often affects learning in schools as the teachers cannot go to teach and the children are afraid to get attacked while on the way to school or at school.

Pastoral conflicts affect the different aspects of life of the East Pokot people. The practice of cattle rustling in the study area is prevalent during the dry season as a result of movement of the pastoralists in search of pasture resulting to pastoral conflict between neighboring communities. The cultural practice of cattle raiding has been turned into commercial activity where arms are used to steal cattle among the neighboring communities of Pokot, Samburu, Turkana and Marakwet.¹⁶⁹ The incidents have led to unrest and tension in the region that has disrupted many livelihoods.

Chapter two gave a detailed discussion on the links between pastoral conflicts and secondary education. It is evident that the state of peace in every society impacts its welfare and this means stability in other sectors such as education and health. For the areas affected by pastoral conflicts such as East Pokot, the education of the children is affected due to insecurity, displacements, fear and destruction of property. It also examined the causes of low secondary education standards in East Pokot which has been characterized with low enrolment and high rate of drop-out which means low completion of school. This study established that the students fail to complete school due to a number of reasons which includes poverty, nomadic lifestyle, cultural

¹⁶⁹ Kaimba, *supra* note 129.

practices and water challenges. How each of the elements directly affects secondary education has been discussed and supported by the findings of the study. The instability in the region in terms of infrastructural development has specifically been attributed to cattle raiding, drought and famine as well as political marginalization.

Harsh climatic conditions that lead to drought is a factor that has affected livelihood in the region as most families are forced to migrate to other areas that can support their livelihood. Drought and famine are crucial elements in pastoral conflicts and they contribute to dropping out of students as well as their inability to attend schools.¹⁷⁰ Nomadic pastoralism is a survival tactic that has an effect on education whereby some schools lose students who migrate to new places. Similarly, education is disrupted as the children are involved in other activities in the family such as herding. This makes them to drop out of school so as to take care of the family's livestock. Also, the emergence of resource-based conflicts between migrating communities results into violent attacks and ethnic wars which affect secondary education in the area due to insecurity.

Chapter three has discussed the effects of pastoral conflicts on secondary education. The feedback from the respondents showed that the presence of the conflicts in pastoral regions greatly hurts the education of the learners. The occurrence of pastoral conflicts instills fear on the students, teachers and parents as there have been cases where the schools have been targeted by the bandits. Being out of school for long periods gets the learners engaged in other activities that may shift their focus from pursuing education. For instance, the girls may get pregnant or get married as an alternative of being in school while the boys get into herding of livestock to support the families. Also, there are learning institutions that have been destroyed during the conflicts and this acts as a

¹⁷⁰ Greiner, supra note 41 at 418.

discouragement to the learners since the communities do not have sufficient resources to rebuild the schools. The complexity of pastoral conflicts has far-reaching negative effects on secondary education.

The effects of pastoral conflicts in East Pokot sub-county have been seen through the outcome of secondary education in the region in terms of low rates of enrolment and completion. The emergence of conflicts results into displacements, loss of property, deaths, loss of food, ethnicity and insecurity which has consequently affected attendance, enrolment and completion of school by the students who are forced to drop out. Also, the pastoral conflicts have directly affected secondary education whereby the attacks have led to destruction of school facilities and instillation of fear on both the teachers and students which stops learning. It also leads to displacement and forced migration.

Chapter four of this study sought to determine the interventions for improving secondary education in East Pokot sub-county. This study identified four main groups that have a role to play in helping enhance secondary education in the region based on their influence and efforts in addressing the pastoral conflicts. The local leaders, institutions, County government and National government are the players who can change the state of the area in terms of peace and reconciliation as well as stability and education. The elders of the pastoral communities are highly regarded and they stand a better chance of helping the communities involved in ironing out their differences without resulting into wars. The political leaders can help in mediating between the combatants in effort to halt the cattle raids and private land invasions amidst the increased problems in accessing traditional grazing resources.¹⁷¹ However, there are also rife allegations that

¹⁷¹ Galaty, *supra* note 156.

the economically powerful people are behind livestock theft and politicians encourage conflicts to flush out potential supporters of their political opponents.

The pastoral conflicts have affected the livelihoods of the communities by increasing economic hardships within areas that have insufficient resources. Cattle have been raided thereby increasing vulnerability of the resource poor pastoralists to hunger, malnutrition and abject poverty.¹⁷² These pastoral conflicts are often exacerbated by prolonged drought and the proliferation of small arms. Inadequate policing and state arrangements and the diminishing role of traditional governance systems are among the factors that have contributed to the transformation of traditional conflicts to increasingly destructive and unmanageable levels. The National and County governments can enhance security in the region by increasing security personnel and introducing a well-structured and comprehensive disarmament program.

5.2 Conclusion

The study has identified the main effects of pastoral conflicts on secondary education as increased level of drop outs due to displacements and nomadic lifestyle, gender disparity in education between girls and boys , poverty and low rates of enrolment and completion of secondary school by students. These effects of pastoral conflicts have been enhanced by displacements, nomadic lifestyle, cultural practices, poverty and inadequate resource distribution. These form the basis of destabilization of secondary education among the pastoral communities of East Pokot sub-county. This study established that the practice of cattle rustling is a major cause of pastoral conflict that has heightened insecurity in East Pokot sub-county. The proceeds of cattle raiding

¹⁷² Kinyua, supra note 147.

were used for paying dowry. They were also used to restock the herds after the losses from previous raids, diseases and drought.

This study established that in all the three secondary schools that were the focus, the number of boys was slightly higher than that of the girls. Chemolingot had actually been converted into a boys' school with increased number of boys in the school over the years while the number of girls constantly decreased. Similarly there was a reduction in the number of students who completed school in 2017, having enrolled in 2014. This affirms that occurrence of the violent attacks particularly in between 2016 and 2017 had an effect on the schools. For instance, Ngoron high school had a high enrolment of students (57) in 2014 and the same class of students that completed school in 2017 had decreased to 32 in number. This therefore seems to affirm the expectation of this study that the occurrence of pastoral conflicts resulted into reduced number of students attending school. However, this research also established that there was an increase in the number of student enrollment in some schools. For instance, Chemolingot high school had recorded an increase in the class of students who had enrolled in both 2012 and 2014. This was attributed to the allocation of Transitional Infrastructural Grants for development by the Ministry of Education, migration into the area where the school is located by the locals and the transition of the school from a sub-county school to an extra-county school that enrolls students from far regions within Kenya.

Inter-community pastoral conflicts were the most common types of conflict in the sub-County. These conflicts were caused by historical rivalry, cattle rustling and competition for water and pasture. Conflicts as a result of historical rivalry existed between the Pokot and members of

other pastoral communities such as the Turkana, Pokot, Samburu and Marakwet.¹⁷³ The effects of these pastoral conflicts have led to deterioration of secondary education in East Pokot. The emergence of these conflicts causes insecurity and tension that make learning institutions inaccessible which ultimately result into dropping out of school.

This study established that cattle rustling is a way of life for the pastoralists where pastoral communities organized raids which were executed by the morans, as a symbol of dominance. These raids were planned, guided and moderated by the community elders. After the raid, retaliatory attacks were organized by the rival community elders' at the most appropriate time and ensured no fatalities occurred. However, contemporary raids have become more frequent and fatal. This was attributed to increase in extreme climatic events, particularly droughts and proliferation of small arms respectively.¹⁷⁴ However, it should be noted that livestock raids and droughts existed in an indirect relationship. Livestock raids during droughts were minimal due to poor livestock body conditions and scarcity of pasture. Raiding occurred during wet season when water and pasture was available for livestock. This ensured that livestock stolen had enough pasture and would reproduce to replace the lost herd¹⁷⁵. Nevertheless, raids were carried out in order to replace the herd lost due to weather-related disasters such as droughts, floods or diseases. After the raid, retaliatory attacks followed almost immediately.

The elders have played an important part in reducing tension and conflict, which usually centered on the control of grazing land or water. This study established that elders had an important role to play by laying down procedures for settling disagreements in which all the parties to the

¹⁷³ Schilling, *supra* note 42.

¹⁷⁴ Glowacki, *supra* note 79.

¹⁷⁵ Obika, *supra* note 35.

conflict got a chance to put across their views. The elders were recognized as having authority to act as arbiters and give judgment on the rights or wrongs of a dispute submitted to them and suggest a settlement even though they have no power of physical coercion by which to enforce them. Their interest was to ensure good relations in order to widen access to resources, to facilitate commercial activities and in general to promote security.¹⁷⁶

The powers, reach and effectiveness of traditional institutions and governance systems are no longer what they used to be. They have been constrained as result of the changes and influences arising from the introduction of the modern state and other institutions such as the church and civil society, all of which have intruded into areas of life that were the preserve of traditional institutions. Moreover, thanks to modernization, education, urbanization and other influences, there is increased differentiation within the communities, with the emergence of elites that no longer feel bound by traditional norms and values to the same degree as those who are still living in rural areas and fully engaged with the pastoral production system.¹⁷⁷ The elders could also sanction conflict with another community in order to gain access to more resources or political power. Therefore, the role of the elders determined peaceful co-existence or conflict between the communities. They determined whether a conflict was to be resolved or not and when this was to happen.

This study established that by addressing the issue of the protracted pastoral conflicts, there is a chance for secondary education in East Pokot to thrive. This deduction comes from the finding that the occurrence of conflicts ended up disrupting education of the targeted area. In this study, it was realized that pastoral conflicts have affected livelihoods of people by resulting into deaths,

¹⁷⁶ Glowacki, *supra* note 79

¹⁷⁷ Cheserek, *supra* note 1 at 175

destruction of property, ethnicity and insecurity. The proliferation of guns and the Kenya Government's biased participation in the conflict has equally fuelled it among the East Pokot and her neighbors. Therefore, such issues need to be addressed when trying to broker peace because the level of trust between the conflicting parties, leaders and the government has declined. This is because disarming one pastoral community and leaving the other with arms leaves one group vulnerable to attacks.

The respondents agreed that actions such as cattle raiding, stopping FGM, early marriages and allocating funds for developing marginal areas could bring improved effects on secondary education in areas prone to pastoral conflicts. The current governance in Kenya has been characterized by elements of manipulation of ethnicity, patronage and a political culture of exclusion which is part of the ongoing pastoral conflicts. This has continued from the period prior to independence. However, the introduction of County government under the new constitution has seen some commendable efforts to take care of the interests of pastoralists, but they are still not adequately represented in political life and in decision-making organs.

5.3 Recommendations

The pastoral conflicts are the leading hindrance to secondary education as it makes learning institutions inaccessible. Therefore, by bringing to an end pastoral conflicts in East Pokot sub-county, there will consequently be an improvement of secondary school education in East Pokot. For the pastoral conflicts to be resolved all the parties have to be involved to ensure that the issues that result into the conflicts are resolved amicably. The stakeholders who can be drawn into this conflict resolution process are the local leaders, the National and County government and institutions such as NGOs and churches and civil society organizations. The pastoral conflicts can be alleviated through inclusivity of all involved stakeholders in the peace-building process,

equitable distribution of resources, creation of policies and strategies that advocate for the need for secondary education, initiation of a comprehensive disarmament program and increased security.

5.3.1 Inclusivity of all stakeholders in peace-building process

The occurrences of violent attacks due to cattle raids have disrupted peaceful lifestyle of the residents. The cattle raiding practice has bred hatred and tension between communities. This problem can be resolved by engaging the conflicting communities. For instance, in East Pokot sub-county, the communities such as the Pokot, Marakwet, Tugen, Samburu and Turkana should be involved in peace talks.

The peace-building process should be centered on addressing the issues that affect their livelihoods and trigger violence. The program should facilitate and promote inter-community dialogues, peace meetings as well as compensation schemes including. Also, the importance of peace should be emphasized. The non-governmental organizations, political leaders and religious groups should broker peace between the communities undergoing conflicts.

5.3.2 Equitable distribution of resources

The National government should focus on increasing support through financing projects that will improve the state of education in marginalized areas such as East Pokot sub-county. This is for example by increasing the Transitional Infrastructure Grants allocation that has equipped learning facilities and has seen growth of schools such as Chemolingot. The County Government should also increase more development funds to open up the remote places to development by making them easily accessible through infrastructural development..

Secondary School Education is currently financed through capitation grants from Government under the Free Day Secondary Education programme and boarding user fees by households. The private sector, NGOs and Community Based Organizations (CBOs) should be encouraged to invest in development of learning institutions especially secondary schools and complement school construction by the Government.

5.3.3 Initiation of a comprehensive disarmament program

The National government should focus on quelling the conflicts involving cattle theft in the East Pokot region. One of the contributing factors is ease of availability of small arms. The residents justify their acquisition as way for protecting their livestock. The presence of the illegal arms has heightened violence. The government should not wait until the violence becomes severe for them to intervene. It should commence disarmament program and it should be well coordinated to ensure the disarmament is not selective.

It is important for the government to disarm all the communities since disarming one community will make it vulnerable to attacks in the future. Furthermore, the government should control smuggling of arms across the borders such as Uganda. All the armed communities should be sensitized on the importance of disarmament program through disarmament campaigns.

5.3.4 Increased security

Both the National and County governments should work together to improve security in East Pokot sub-county. The increased incidents of violent attacks and cattle raids are an indicator of inadequate security in the region. The government should deploy more security officers in the region to increase security. The government should also support policies that will secure the region

by ensuring adequate protection of citizens and private property. It is recommended that the number of security personnel be increased in the area for them to be able to foil any planned raids.

The establishment of security frameworks through effective community policing will help reduce cattle rustling in the region. The security will increase free movement of people and the learners will be able to attend schools without fear of being attacked by bandits. The National government should address the inadequate policing by firstly increasing the employment of security personnel to the region.

5.3.5 Creation policies and strategies for improving secondary education

The government should focus on providing education services based on learning needs and the unit cost of providing such services at this level. It should also ensure that the development and maintenance of infrastructure is well coordinated and linked to the recurrent budgetary provisions by both the National and County governments. This is especially through decentralization of funds. The financing of secondary education in marginalized areas will need to be increased to allow the sub-sector to expand to meet the growing demand. It should implement enrolment based staffing norms with high potential schools receiving teachers on basis of 1:45 students in schools which is manageable in every class. School mapping and demographic data should also be applied in planning and provision of education, including and establishing new schools in the marginalized regions such as East Pokot sub-county.

The prosperity of East Pokot relies on its ability to overcome the effects of pastoral conflicts through embracing education as a means of empowerment. This is because teaching and learning facilities are pivotal in education provision thus the government has a role to play in equipping the schools with the necessary resources. If teachers in mobile schools lack adequate

teaching and learning facilities, low quality education will be delivered to pupils. Policy makers should ensure that an integration approach is incorporated that could even encourage the children to enroll and complete school as well as offer them social support.

The government has significant influence in the provision of education for pastoralists' children in the areas that are under threat of attacks by bandits, drought and famine as well as political marginalization due to low economic potential of the ASALs. Therefore, policy makers need to address issues that trigger conflicts in these regions and increase funding to help sustain these regions that face challenges such as famine due to harsh climatic conditions. The cultural practices that do not act in favor of peace and social development need to be addressed for instance the issues on cattle raiding as a cultural practice for restocking or for paying dowry, FGM and early marriages. The pastoral communities need to be sensitized on the harmful effects of such practices and their contribution to stagnation in growth in the modern society especially now that they are recognized as offences under Kenyan law.

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Appendices

Appendix I: Questionnaire

1. What are the factors leading to low secondary education enrolment and completion?
2. Do you think that the pastoralists have fully embraced education as a way of transforming the society? YES/NO
3. Apart from the conflicts are there other factors leading to poor secondary education?
4. Does pastoral lifestyle and culture (e.g. cattle raiding) have an effect on secondary education? YES/NO
5. In your opinion, how has these conflicts affected secondary education in Kenya?
6. Have you heard of cases whereby teachers and students have been attacked when going to school or while in schools within this region? YES/NO
7. Are there learning institutions that have been destroyed in the course of the conflicts? YES/NO
8. Do you think pastoral conflicts contributed to destabilization of livelihoods and consequently affected secondary education? YES/NO
9. Do you agree that poor secondary education (low enrolment and high level of drop-out) are attributable to the ongoing conflicts in the region? YES/NO
10. What challenges do the local communities face as it tries to educate its children in such a hostile environment?
11. What are the indicators of poor/improved livelihoods in East Pokot as a result of pastoral conflicts?

Loss of human life & property { }

Reduced Livestock { }

Limited access to pasture & water { }

Displacements & forced migration { }

12. Do the pastoral conflicts affect economic development in East Pokot? YES/NO

13. How is the national and county government working to restore peace and help improve secondary education? Are they reconstructing schools or providing adequate learning resources?

14. What policies have been initiated to encourage and promote secondary education in the region?

15. What initiatives can be taken by the government to resolve the pastoral conflicts and improve secondary education?

Equitable distribution of resources: Strongly Agree { } Agree { } Disagree { } Strongly Disagree { }

Government support through provision of social amenities: Strongly Agree { } Agree { } Disagree { } Strongly Disagree { }

Initiation of disarmament program: Strongly Agree { } Agree { } Disagree { } Strongly Disagree { }

Increased security: Strongly Agree { } Agree { } Disagree { } Strongly Disagree { }

16. Do you agree with the ways the National and County governments are applying to end pastoral conflicts in East Pokot?

Banning Cattle raiding Strongly Agree { } Agree { } Disagree { } Strongly Disagree { }

Stopping FGM & early marriages Strongly Agree { } Agree { } Disagree { } Strongly Disagree { }

Disarmament of pastoralists Strongly Agree { } Agree { } Disagree { } Strongly Disagree { }

Developing marginalized areas Strongly Agree { } Agree { } Disagree { } Strongly Disagree { }

17. How effective are the interventions by the National and County governments, institutions (NGOs, churches) and local leaders in improving secondary education in East Pokot?

Local leaders Very Good { } Good { } Uncertain { } Bad { }

National government Very Good { } Good { } Uncertain { } Bad { }

County Government Very Good { } Good { } Uncertain { } Bad { }

Institutions Very Good { } Good { } Uncertain { } Bad { }

18. In your opinion, do you think the security mechanisms being employed presently are going to impact secondary education positively? YES/NO

19. In your opinion do you think government efforts to halt cultural practices such as early marriages, FGM and cattle raiding will help increase the number of students enrolling in schools? YES/NO

Appendix II: Interview Guide

1. Kindly state your category

Student

Parent

Teacher

Chief

Police Officer

NGO Official

DEO

2. Have you been involved or affected directly by pastoral conflicts? Please explain what happened

3. What causes students in secondary schools within East Pokot sub-county leave school?

4. In your opinion, do you agree that pastoral conflicts have affected secondary education (in terms of low enrolment, high drop-out rate and poor completion rate)?

5. Are there significant efforts by the National and County governments to restore sustainable peace in the area? How about to support secondary education?