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DYNAMICS FOR ESTABLISHING SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN MODERN KENYA: COMPARISON WITH THE HARAMBEE MOVEMENT

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Abstract

Following independence in 1963, Kenya saw the flourishing of a community-led movement to establish secondary schools known as *Harambee*. In the *Harambee* Movement, required contributions were proportional to the ability to contribute, encouraging wealth redistribution via the establishment of local schools. This study examined the role played by local communities in the provision of educational opportunities in modern Kenya to shed light on current secondary-school development through a comparison with the *Harambee* Movement. Analysis of five case study secondary schools in Sub-County X, Busia County, Kenya, revealed that, since the *Harambee* Movement, the overlap between the communities that provide educational opportunities and the communities that make use of them has been shrinking, while at the same time there has been an expansion in school options available to students and their guardians. At new schools, the need for options was recognized among the various actors involved in schools' establishment. The community-minded wealth redistribution function accomplished by former *Harambee* Movement schools continued in a modified form, diverging into two strands operating before or after a school's registration as a public school. This changed the limited resource redistribution from the wealthier members of the community and to a cost burden—not necessarily based on a spirit of community—shouldered by those sending children to a given school. This study results suggested that changes in and stratification of the community involved in a school interacted with a diversification in the approaches to school involvement to complicate regional disparities, and these disparities may be found increasingly at a more micro-level.

Key words: *Harambee*; community; Kenya; secondary school; wealth redistribution

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1. Introduction

Access to secondary education is rapidly increasing in the Republic of Kenya. The gross enrollment ratio[1)] increased from 38.0% in 2007 to 68.5% in 2017, an increase of just over 30% in ten years, while the number of enrollees more than doubled in the same period, from approximately 1.2 million to approximately 2.8 million (Republic of Kenya, 2010, 2018).

School education rapidly expanded in Sub-Saharan Africa following the World Conference on Education for All, held in 1990, with the strong backing of the international community. Development goals targeting a variety of other domains in addition to education were agreed upon at the United Nations Millennium Summit in 2000, after which a total of eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) were selected. While the MDGs included "Achieve universal primary education" (Goal 2), their secondary-education goals were confined to "Eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education" (Goal 3), aimed at gender equality. However, guaranteeing completion of "free, equitable, and quality primary and secondary education" for all children was specified in Goal 4 of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs; there were 17 total) newly selected in 2015, the year set as the completion date for the MDGs. While this series of development goals has supported the rapid expansion of primary education, advocacy for expanding secondary education to meet the needs of those who have completed primary education has only now begun.

Throughout Kenya's history, communities have played an important role in the expansion of secondary education. Upon independence from the United Kingdom in 1963, Kenya's first president officially encouraged *Harambee*[2)] ("Let us all pull together" in Swahili) programs that established and managed community-funded public facilities to compensate for limited government revenue. Secondary schools were particularly quick to be established, with communities taking on the leading role in their creation to solve the lack of educational provision. The peak of the *Harambee* Movement ended in the 2000s, as government-led educational development progressed and the local presence in establishing secondary schools weakened.

Previous studies, particularly those since the 1980s, have noted the importance of participation by communities and students' guardians through community-based school management, school-based management, and similar methods. However, the engagement

1) Gross enrollment ratio is the total number of students attending a given level of education as a percentage of the total school-age population for that level. This is distinct from net enrollment ratio, which expresses the number of school-age students attending a given level of education as a percentage of the total school-age population for that level. There is a striking disparity between the gross and net enrollment ratios in countries such as Kenya, where many school attendees are over school-age for various reasons, including repeating years or readmission after dropping out. Net enrollment rates rose from 24.2% to 51.1% over the same period (2007–2017).

2) Harambee is a Swahili word meaning "together," among other definitions. It has often been replaced with the English translation "self-help" or the Japanese translation jijyo-doryoku [self-help efforts] in previous studies of the Harambee Movement in Kenya. It refers to community-level fundraising.

discussed in this article is chiefly school management or improvement of educational quality with a reduced community role in establishing schools. Fundraising is still carried out through *Harambee*, and schools are established under community leadership, with grassroots action encouraging the expansion of educational opportunities. However, haphazard expansion of educational opportunities at the secondary education level can perpetuate inequalities (World Bank, 2005; Wedgwood, 2007). There are confirmed instances in Kenya of standards dropping at existing schools when students and teachers were poached by newly established schools (Ogawa, 2017a). Establishing schools during the *Harambee* heyday of the 1960s and '70s was championed as a panacea for the shortage of educational opportunities, but this endorsement cannot explain the dynamics of the present day whereby new schools are established in areas with existing schools.

This study investigates the role of communities as providers of educational opportunities to shed light on the development of new secondary schools at a time when educational opportunities and government influence have increased. By focusing on trends in community-led educational opportunities, this study examined the bottom-up spread of education, in contrast to the top-down popularization of education.

2. The Spread of Secondary Education and Its Characteristics

2.1. Origins and Rise of the Harambee Movement

The *Harambee* Movement's establishment of secondary schools originated in response to a government appeal. However, it took off so rapidly that the government-imposed limits in 1964, a year after the country's independence (Mwiria, 1990). This occurred against a backdrop of shortages in primary school teaching staff due to poaching by secondary schools and concerns about potential unemployment in a labor market unprepared to receive secondary-school graduates (Mwiria, 1990). Although the government prohibited the opening of schools without an approval (with certain exceptions), this was of limited effect (Buchmann, 1999) and the number of *harambee* secondary schools, of which there were only 13 in 1963 (13.7% of all secondary schools), reached 1,048 (over 70% of all secondary schools) in 1977 (Keller, 1983).

The origins of *harambee* schools can be traced back to the colonial period. The markedly restricted opportunities to attend school available to Africans at the time were chiefly at Christian mission schools. However, African-run "independent schools" quickly gained traction throughout the country in the latter half of the 1920s, motivated by clashes between churches and the people in Kikuyu-land in central Kenya. Between 200 and 400 schools were established in Kikuyu, Kamba, Luo, Luhya, Kitui, and other communities by World War II (Keller, 1983).

The independent schools were forced to close in the 1950s when the movement to gain

independence from colonial rule began to gain momentum (Keller, 1983), but the grassroots campaign to establish schools flourished again after independence. The new government tried to expand primary education, but provisions for secondary education fell well short of demand, prompting harsh selection processes based on academic attainment for those wishing to advance to the next level of education (Buchmann, 1999). *Harambee* schools were seen as a necessity to provide options for those who did not have the opportunity to progress to government-run schools after their primary education, and, building on the experiences of the independent schools of the colonial period, community-funded schools were first introduced in the Central Province, home to the Kikuyu, before spreading throughout the country (Santō, 2003). Expectations of immediate benefits through the possibility of upward mobility thanks to education gave impetus to the expansion of educational opportunities (Mwiria, 1990). Demand was particularly high in rural areas with insufficient government-run secondary schools (Santō, 2003).

2.2. Impacts of the Harambee Movement on Communities

Establishing schools through *Harambee* not only expanded educational opportunities but also served to collaboratively redistribute wealth within communities. In the *Harambee* Movement, all members of the community were expected to make some contribution, regardless of their poverty or wealth, and there was strong social pressure to do so (Keller, 1983). As a result, the movement entailed a kind of compunction necessitating some contribution, even from households with no children who would enroll in a secondary school. The sums of money and resources expected differed according to degree of wealth: richer households had to make larger contributions, even if they were sending their children to government-run schools. Some viewed this as the fulfilment of an obligation imposed by membership of a community, rather than as a payment in exchange for a service. The establishment of schools during the *Harambee* Movement provided a means of reducing the economic disparities in individual communities through the intermediary of secondary schools, a public good.

Conversely, while the *Harambee* Movement expanded educational opportunities in rural areas and prompted wealth redistribution within communities, it also led to educational disparities among the country's communities. As the *Harambee* Movement flourished separately within each ethnic group (Amutabi, 2003), the economic strength of each group and the degree to which it prioritized education played a significant role (Keller, 1983; Bradshaw, 1993). Thus, discrepancies between ethnic groups (Bradshaw, 1993) and between regions (Keller, 1983) led to discrepancies in the degree of education expansion among communities across Kenya.

3. Harambee and Schools in the Present Day

Modern Kenya promotes an 8-4-4 educational system—eight years of primary education and four years of secondary education followed by four years of university education.[3] Public secondary schools can be grouped into four main categories: national schools, which are boarding schools primarily for the education of the elite; extra-county boarding schools; county schools for both boarders and day students or boarding only; and mainly nonboarding sub-county day schools.

Government allocation of educational resources follows this order, with national schools taking precedence and sub-county schools receiving the least support, leading to serious shortages of classrooms, teaching staff, and other resources. Nevertheless, the foundation of sub-county day schools is encouraged to expand educational opportunities. Selection of those who may advance to national, extra-county, and county schools is still based on academic attainment, using the results of final examinations at the end of primary education (KCPE: Kenya Certificate of Primary Education).

Former *harambee* schools have been progressively converted to public schools since the 1980s. The government's cost burden gradually increased as cost-sharing with the community diminished, with all *harambee* schools being converted to government-run schools by 2002 (Oanda, 2014); officially, there are no *harambee* schools currently in existence. However, during the *Harambee* Movement, there was a marked difference in the quality of education between government-run schools and the *harambee* schools, with graduates from the latter encountering difficulties in entering further education or employment (Mwiria, 1990; Saeteurn, 2017). Even now, graduates of sub-county schools face similar problems, in a continuation of the previous hierarchy.

Recognizing the disparities in education quality from school to school, the Kenyan government took steps to rectify quality gaps and make the competition for high-quality education fair. For example, it recommended that each of Kenya's 47 counties establish at least two national schools (one for boys and one for girls) to improve access to high-quality education. It also introduced funding allocations that actively targeted regions in particular difficulty and vulnerable children. The government aims, by addressing the school hierarchy and enacting policies that allow fair academic competition, to guarantee high-quality educational opportunities for "competition winners" in all regions.

Following the introduction in 2008 of a free secondary education policy, capitation grants were allocated to public schools in proportion to the number of students. The grants were equal to 10,265 KSh[4] per student per year, increasing to 12,870 KSh in 2015. However, even then, the grants fell short by as much as 9,374 KSh for day students and 53,553 KSh for

3) A transition from the 8-4-4 system to a 2-6-3-3 system is currently under way.
4) KSh (Kenyan shilling): 100 KSh was approximately equal to ¥110 in July 2018.

boarders, requiring students' guardians to shoulder the burden of school fees. In 2018, a "full" free secondary education policy was adopted, under which the previous shortfall amount (9,374 KSh) was added to the 12,870 KSh grant, almost doubling the total at 22,244 KSh and making the day-student system completely free; unnecessary school fees, excepting meal charges, were prohibited. This made access to secondary education easier.

The augmentation of the grants and an increase in the number of schools encouraged a rise in attendance, expanding educational opportunities for communities and diminishing the need for them to fund or establish schools. Previous research shows an emerging focus on school management using a community participation model that developed as power was decentralized, and factors improving the quality of education have remained a chief research concern (Bruns, Filmer, & Patrinos, 2011; Masino & Niño-Zarazúa, 2016), even though community creation of educational opportunities is not as common a topic as it was during the *Harambee* Movement. However, African people were active participants in the creation and management of schools before the trend of international advocacy for community participation (Yamada, 2011).

While Kenya's *Harambee* Movement has been a notable example, community-led, bottom-up movements to expand educational opportunities are an infrequent focus as the movement has declined. Central problems now are regional disparities left over from the *Harambee* Movement, politicians' preferential allocation of resources to their home communities, and controversies related to top-down policies in education (Briggs, 2014; Kramon & Posner, 2016; Schech & Alwy, 2004).

However, educational opportunities created by the people themselves have been continuing since before independence and remain important as current trends in establishing schools are readdressed. By analyzing case studies of modern community-led school foundations, this study sheds light on the process of creating educational opportunities from a local, micro perspective that rather the narrow top-down approach to education.

4. Fieldwork

4.1. Summary of Fieldwork

The author stayed in Sub-county X, Busia County, Western Kenya, for nearly eight months total, spread over six occasions between 2014 and 2018, and conducted participatory fieldwork and interviews primarily in secondary schools and the surrounding areas. Western Kenya, alongside central and southern Kenya, was one of the first regions where schools established through *harambee* advanced at a fast pace, and it is still known for its zeal for education. The area benefits from a climate suitable for both double cropping and two consecutive harvests of a single crop, and population density is high. As a result, several secondary schools were established within a short distance of one another, despite it being rural. At the time of the

study (2018), Sub-county X had 75 primary schools (51 public, 24 private) and 24 secondary schools (21 public, 3 private).

In terms of ethnic groups, Busia County is primarily inhabited by the Luhya (also "Luyia") and Teso groups. The Luhya are a super-ethnicisation (ethnically similar but diverse) group formed, for political reasons, from an estimated 17 small ethnic groups living in western Kenya and belonging to the Bantu linguistic family (Matsuda, 2000); they comprise the second-largest ethnic group in Kenya—after the Kikuyu—accounting for approximately 15% of the population (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, 2015). The Teso are members of the Nilotic linguistic family inhabiting the regions surrounding the Kenya–Uganda border and are one of Kenya's minority ethnic groups, accounting for less than 1% of the population. However, the Teso population is not insignificant within Busia County, and the current Busia Country governor is of Teso origin. Of the seven sub-counties in Busia County, Sub-county X, the survey site, straddles the northern portion of the Teso's settled area and the southern section of the area inhabited by the Luhya (primarily of the Khayo and Bukusu sub-groups). The member of Parliament elected in sub-county X is also of Luhya descent.

Sub-county X is divided into four wards, provisionally translated here as Central Ward, East Ward, South Ward, and North Ward (Figure 1). Central Ward is the center of municipal government, with a large population and a variety of residents; East Ward and South Ward are districts principally occupied by the Luhya; and North Ward is a region inhabited by many Teso people.

A comparison between primary school figures and the numbers of public secondary schools and secondary school students in each region reveals that primary school student numbers do not differ greatly between the South, East, and North Wards, while the number of secondary schools and secondary school students in East Ward is noticeably higher than the equivalent figures in the South and North Wards (Table 1).

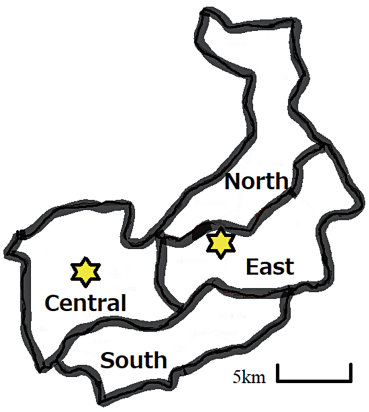

Figure 1.
The four wards of City X. The two principal markets are marked with stars

Table 1.
Public Primary and Secondary Schools in Sub-county X (2018)

	Public Primary Schools*		Public Secondary Schools	
	No. of schools	No. of students	No. of schools	No. of students
Central Ward	12	17,111	7	3,740
South Ward	10	12,460	3	1,151
East Ward	14	13,130	7	1,969
North Ward	14	13,890	4	1,319

* Less one special needs school

4.2. Targets and Method

The number of secondary schools in Sub-county X has increases since the 2000s (Table 2). Of these new schools, this study focuses on four new public schools: three (Schools A, B, and C) were established in the East Ward, already replete with schools; the fourth (School D) was founded in the ethnically diverse North Ward, and is analyzed with consideration to its relationship to the existing School E (Table 3).

Table 2.
Registration Year of Secondary Schools in Each Ward of City X (as of 2018)

	Central Ward	South Ward	East Ward	North Ward
Up to 2002	Extra-county (1970)*		County (1998)	Sub-county (1987)
	Extra-county (1972)**	Sub-county (2002)	Private (2001)	
2003–2007	Sub-county (2006)		Sub-county (2006)	
			Sub-county (2006)	
2008–2012	Sub-county (2011)	Sub-county (2008)	Sub-county (2008)	Sub-county (2011)
	Private (2011)**			Sub-county (2011)
2013–2017	Sub-county (2014)	Sub-county (2014)	Sub-county (2013)	Sub-county (2014)
	Sub-county (2014)		Sub-county (2014)	
	Private (2014)		Sub-county (2015)**	
	Sub-county (2016)			

Notes: * Boys' school; ** Girls' school; Schools surveyed in this study are underlined

Table 3.
Summary of Surveyed Schools (as of March 2018)

Ward		Year School Made Public	Students		Teachers			KCSE Examination Results*	
			New Students	Total	Government Employees	School Employee	Students Per Teacher	Average Score (Rank among 21 sub-county X Schools)	Students Scoring 7 or Over
A	East	2013	41	132	2	6	16.5	3.12 (7)	0
B	East	2014	85	243	4	7	22.1	3.80 (4)	3
C	East	2015	51	171	4	5	19.0	No exam	–
D	North	2014	203	516	5	13	28.7	3.04 (10)	0
E	North	1987	61	239	9	4	18.4	2.65 (16)	3

*KCSE (Kenya Certificate of Secondary Education) examination data is for 2017 graduates. The maximum score was 12 points, the minimum 1. Those wishing to proceed to university should have a minimum score of 7.

At each school, the author carried out participatory fieldwork for approximately one week and interviewed principals and deputy principals about the details of the school's foundation. In addition, the author left the schools to visit local leaders of and participants in the establishing of the schools and local government ministers, and conducted semi-structured interviews regarding the details, motivations, difficulties, and other facets of establishing the schools. Furthermore, the author participated in classes and extracurricular activities, and conducted interviews with students and teachers during breaks. The author gathered information from students about the background to their choices of which school to attend, with a particular focus on the features of their schools as compared to neighboring schools and their reasons for choosing a school other than the nearest one, if they had done so. Interviews were conducted primarily in English, with some supplemental use of Swahili.

5. The Dynamics of Establishing Schools and Community Influence

5.1. Establishing Schools: Background and Legitimacy

This section examines how Schools A–D were established, why, and by whom.

5.1.1. Roles and Benefits of Schools' Founding Leaders

Momentum in the movement to establish schools was not generated by government or county planning but from the personal motivation and initiative of the founding individuals. The founding of Schools A and B was spearheaded by the principals of the primary schools with which they share the regional name, and both were established in near these primary schools. School C was established under the leadership of the member of Parliament elected by the local constituency, beside his family home. School D was established under the leadership of the assistant chief [5] of sub-location D, next to the primary school that bears the sub-location's name. All of these founding leaders were male.

The process of registering these schools as public schools was not easy, and these leaders devoted considerable amounts of both time and their own personal funds to the success of the move. Their motivations were not only the predictable, logical arguments of "education is important" and "schools are a necessity," but were also based on more individual or personal benefits. For example, the primary school principals and assistant chief were promoted into higher job groups after their schools' foundations.[6] There were participants who declared "the pay rise was a goal" (School B) and "I am aiming for the next [pay] grade, so I plan to establish another school" (School D). The benefits gained were not limited to monetary rewards. The founding leader of School B had this to say:

5) Assistant chief is a public service position appointed by the government.

6) Public service employees are ranked in pay grades called "job groups," with pay scales differing according to job group and post.

> [Establishing the secondary school] allowed me to meet a great many people. I went to Nairobi to register the school, and also cooperated with parents and people from the Ministry of Education. I will be able to become the founder principal, and that is a first step from the primary school section to the secondary school section. That is something to be proud of.… This is not something that everyone can do. Public relations influence people. Everyday relationships. You cannot do it unless you can get along with people and communicate with them.—founder, School B

The importance of gaining local reputation and contributing to the area through a concrete achievement was also named as a motivation.[7] The personal contributions to establishing schools made by these people in public positions delivered personal benefits and reputation through the intermediary of the public good (the schools).

5.1.2. Community–School Relationship Prior to Public School Registration

If there was already a school in a given area, how did the establishing another school come to be considered necessary, and who collaborated to achieve it? In all the case studies examined here, the schools' founding leaders were from the areas in which the schools were established. Their chief role was in calling for the funds and collaboration necessary for the schools to be registered as public schools. For example, School B's founding leader described the process leading to the school's registration as a public school:

> It was first established through local initiative. It was in competition with other villages, and received a few contributions—very small, trifling contributions—from elders. The other villages have schools, so why are there none here? So, everyone paid just a few thousand KSh each. This was what we call *Harambee*[8]. It was gathered from the locals, whether or not they had children. With that set-up money, we could request a grant from the local government. We could say, "This is all we have, so please back it up." I mobilized the community. I persuaded the primary school parents. There were people who did not want to offer the [educational resources of the primary] school [to secondary education] or who were against it because of school fee issues, but I advocated the importance of education and they got on board in the end. There were also people who provided basic necessities like desks.—founder, School B

7) The founding leader of School B also manages a kiosk and a carpenter's workshop at the market not far from the school. Although many in the community express dissatisfaction with this, complaining, for example, that he "does not take his duties as principal seriously," his clear and lasting achievement in establishing the school has worked to reduce resentments. The local populace considers this an important practice: "The wealthy should not keep their riches for themselves but should share it."

8) Although both use the name "*Harambee*," this differs from the *Harambee* of the *Harambee* meetings mentioned in the next section.

From this account, inferences can be made regarding three school–community relationships: (1) communities in which a school was established; (2) communities without schools; and (3) communities involved in the establishing of a school.

In the first school–community relationship, elders—"people recognized as leaders in the community," such as large property owners, former politicians, and former school principals—were mentioned in reference to communities in which a school was established. The people who made concrete contributions to establishing schools, including the founding leaders, were not average members of the community, but those who played specific roles within it. Regardless of whether or not they had school-age children, the founding leaders took on the responsibility of participating in the schools in nonguardian roles, on the grounds that it was "what we must do."

The second school–community relationship, communities without schools, includes School B's founding leader's account giving a "village" as the range within which there were no schools. In other case studies, administrative areas form the dividing lines; for example, School D's founding leader said, "Of course, there are several schools nearby. But they are in other sub-locations." Meanwhile, the principal of School C referred to vague area boundaries:

> The school is here as a result of advertising by area leaders. There was no school in this area before that. An area is not the same as a sub-location. A sub-location is larger than an area. An area can be something like a village.
> —principal, School C

Each speaker's situation altered the boundaries of the areas in which new schools were deemed necessary. It appeared that the definition of a school-shortage zone was fluid when the personal motivations of a school's founding leader intersected with the school's raison d'être as a public good.

Finally, in the third school–community relationship, communities involved in establishing a school comprised the guardians of children attending the neighboring primary schools. New secondary schools were established adjacent to existing primary schools. In the periods before and after their foundation, when there was not yet a full complement of teachers and classrooms, the secondary schools were obliged to rely on the primary education sections until the resources were supplied. For this reason, primary school students' guardians necessarily collaborated in establishing each case study secondary school.

As evidenced by the three different school–community relationships, there were multiple interpretations of exactly who and what ranges were covered by the word "community (locals, parents, guardians, area, sub-location, village)" used in descriptions of the process prior to public school registration (e.g., "the community built the school" and "a school is needed in this community").

5.1.3. Harambee Meetings after Public School Registration

The process of establishing a school continues after its registration as a public school. "Public school registration" refers to the formal registration with the government as a public school. A newly registered school may have only the minimum school facilities—one classroom and only a government-employed teacher who is a principal. Various resources are still needed after registration and before the acceptance of new and transfer students fully realize the school. Participation of local politicians and secondary school students' guardians increased following public-school registration at each school.

None of the case study schools presented an example of a *Harambee* meeting taking place before public school registration, although such meetings were held at Schools A, C, and D after public school registration. At all three schools, the principals—newly appointed at the time of public-school registration—were at the heart of the meetings, and their goal was to fundraise for new classroom expansion. As the principal of School A explained, "If we held [a *Harambee* meeting] now, nobody would come because the next election is in 2022. If we were close to an election, our Member of Parliament would start cooperating." The run-up to the 2017 elections was the period of *Harambee* meetings, and the donations at the schools' meetings shared three characteristics: other than students' guardians, ordinary community members did not participate; guardians' participation was mandatory, and donations were at a fixed rate rather than calculated according to degree of wealth; and the principal donors were local politicians with political interests in the school's location (Table 4).

Table 4.
Donations from Local Politicians and Students' Guardians in *Harambee* Meetings

	Local Politicians	Guardians (per Student)
School A	member of Parliament: 15,000 KSh	1,000 KSh
School C	member of Parliament: 300,000 KSh government official*: 1,000,000 KSh member of county assembly**: 20,000 KSh	400 KSh
School D	county governor: 60,000 KSh	300 KSh

Notes: *A friend of the member of Parliament, invited by the same; **one member of county assembly is elected per ward

The obligation to donate imposed on students' guardians at the *Harambee* meetings was not "sliding scale"—in proportion to individual capacity to contribute—as it would have been to accord with the original *Harambee* spirit; the donations were more like the collection of school fees. Although the government currently prohibits the levy of excessive school fees, these schools used the *Harambee* meetings to collect fixed sums from guardians. Notable was the allowance of payment in installments and deferred payments—other similarities with school fees. In addition, local politicians demonstrated concrete contributions to the communities in which they won votes and their communities of origin. The principal of

School A, which was unable to meet its fundraising target through *Harambee* meetings, expressed resentment with School C's success: "The member of Parliament comes from community C. School C therefore already has sufficient classrooms."

At each school, *Harambee* meetings were planned to collect money from students' guardians and from politicians rather than from average members of the community. For students' guardians, participation constituted a mandatory payment for their children's enrollment in the given school; for the politicians, their investments in the schools formed part of their election campaigns, designed to win votes. Although they were called *Harambee* meetings, it was clear that the format had changed, with only those who would benefit directly participating.

To reiterate, the principal contributors to public school registration, in the periods both before and after, were the schools' founding leaders, the "area leaders" who responded to the leaders' appeals, the primary education section, and the local politicians and secondary school students' guardians summoned to the *Harambee* meetings. All provided the schools with the necessary support at the necessary moment, based on their individual motivations and responsibilities.

5.2. A School's Host Community

This section provides an analysis of a previously established school, School E, and the impacts of a newly established School D on the same community in the ethnically diverse North Ward. Additionally, it examines portrayals of the communities surrounding the schools.

5.2.1. School D's Foundation

In 2011, School D fought but failed to achieve registration as a public school. The assistant chief, who led the founding of the school, stated that "School D was established at the request of the parents [of students in the final year at Primary School D]. But there is a heavy burden to be shouldered in the lead-up to public school registration. Meal costs, employment of teaching staff, and other costs have to be managed as in a private school." He mentioned issues with meal provision as a reason for the failure to establish the school:

> The guardians [of secondary school day students] did not bring in the meal fees. Each term, we needed 3,000 KSh in cash, 10 kg of maize, and 6 kg of beans. There were ten students at the time. But their parents did not pay, so they were eating the meals for the final-year students at the primary school, whose guardians complained. The [primary school] principal therefore stopped providing meals.—founder, School D

As a result, the secondary school students' guardians stopped sending their children to School D. The following year, in 2012, the assistant chief once more prevailed upon the

parents of the secondary school day students; after assembling a group of 16 students, he requested building funds from the local government. These were granted the following year, leading to the school's registration as a public school in 2014.

School D's founder reported having actively engaged "stakeholders" in the second push for registration—church leaders, the member of the county assembly, and people appointed to high-ranking administrative positions, including himself. The burden imposed on students' guardians was alleviated through personal contributions to the school from "people who want to develop the community," such as maize provided by those owning extensive farmland and cash offered by others. In addition, he reported that the primary education section cooperated thanks to "the goodwill of the primary school principal." Echoing the conclusions of the previous section, this shows that a variety of contributions were received from specific people based on obligations engendered by expectation.

5.2.2. Comparison of Schools D and E

School E, the third-oldest in Sub-county X, is located near the center of North Ward. School D was also established, in 2014, farther south in the North Ward. Schools D and E, located in confirmed Teso land, both bear school names derived from the Teso language. Approximately 4 km (2.5 miles) to the south of School D is the East Ward's large-scale market, in an area inhabited by Luhya.

A comparison of the numbers of students between the two schools reveals the stagnation of the older school, School E, in contrast with the marked growth of School D (Table 3). School D, insufficiently equipped in 2018, borrowed from the primary school for even its most basic facilities, including classrooms, laboratory, kitchen, teacher's lounge, and principal's office. However, when the school held its first Kenya Certificate of Secondary Education (KCSE) examinations in 2017, the average score was midrange for both Sub-county X and Busia County. Those scores were much higher than expected for a new school, and the number of new students enrolling topped 200 after the release of the exam results, demonstrating the community's high hopes.

Despite being long established, School E had low enrollment relative to its higher capacity. In addition to the minimum teaching facilities, it was also equipped with amenities not usually found in sub-county schools, such as a dining hall, library, and computer room. However, despite its resources, it did not present high scores in the KCSE examinations, posting slightly lower-average scores than those of School D in 2017. Even leaving aside assessments of which school provided the highest quality education, the notable difference new and returning students between the schools demonstrated that School D was the more popular choice.

5.2.3. Community Influence

The deputy-principal of School E recalled the cause of the school's stagnation as being

"because this school is affiliated with the Teso. That has had a negative impact on the growth of the school." She also pointed to student-led strikes demanding a new principal, which she claimed was because the previous principal was Luo,[9] but the students themselves gave other reasons, including "[the principal] could not be trusted" and "there was not enough support." The deputy-principal spoke negatively of the community in which the school is located:

> A strike among secondary school students is unusual. As a result, this school is famous for it. I am from Bungoma [Busia County's neighboring county], but I knew [about this school] before I was sent here.… Before me, there were teachers who refused the deputy-principal position because they did not like the school. That is the fault of the community surrounding the school.—deputy-principal, School E

She said of School D's registration as a public school in 2014, "they wanted their own school," implying that the school was established by and for the Luhya community. However, teaching staff at School D were roughly half Luhya and half Teso. More students were Teso, at 60–70% of the student body. In addition, the assistant chief who led School D's founding was of Teso origin. This directly invalidates the portrayal by School E of School D as "a school created by the Luhya, for the Luhya."

Sub-location D's assistant chief also criticized the School E, saying that "The community have a negative attitude toward the school," while making an opposite assessment of School D:

> There are people of different origins in community D. But there is an attitude of cooperation.… [Examination results at] School D were good, even though it was our first attempt. We have taken in students from the bush who had dropped out halfway through school, but the teachers are doing a great job. This community is proud of School D. That is why we have gathered more students.—founder, School D

Close relationships between the teachers are characteristic of School D, in striking contrast to School E. For example, when teachers at School E are not actively teaching classes, the principal, deputy-principal, and other high-position teaching staff remain in their offices, and the science teachers cram into a small room beside the laboratory. There are only one or two chairs in the staff room and few teachers spend time there. Conversely, at School D, while the principal has a borrowed office at the primary school, the other teaching staff crowd together into a small room also borrowed from the primary school. During tea and lunch breaks, the principal joins them there. Even when classes begin, five or six people remain, enjoying one another's company, until a student appears, calling, "Please begin our class!" On hot days

9) Teachers in secondary schools outside City X also said that "the community of School E continued to complain that the principal should be Teso." Similar rumors were shared widely.

when the small room was too stuffy, a bench in the shade of a tree next to the classroom was substituted as the spot for their cheerful gatherings.

A female student at School D said this about School E:

> They have had eight different principals because the students went on strike, insisting that they did not want a non-Teso principal. Here [at School D], there are Teso students and Luhya students, but we do not turn to hostility. There is a mixture of [ethnic groups among] teachers and students, but we just cooperate. You [the author] are from somewhere else too, but the school just accepts that. We do not chase away people from other places.—student, School D

The claim that there have been eight different principals is an exaggerated rumor however, both her and the assistant chief's words reveal that exclusion and confrontation between ethnic groups is portrayed negatively, while harmony between groups is judged positively.

While the ethnic affiliations of both schools were mentioned by School E, negative judgments of such affiliations were noted by School D. In School D's founding, ethnic diversity was assumed to be a given; not excluding other groups was seen as a positive.

6. Transformations in the School–Community Links

6.1. Comparison with the Harambee Movement

The *harambee* schools that flourished during the *Harambee* Movement began as community schools, registering as public schools only after several years or even decades. Formerly, the founding process of these *harambee* schools acted as a means of wealth redistribution within the community.

This wealth redistribution function was partially maintained in the case studies examined here through the engagement of people in specific positions ("area leaders") before and after public school registration; in the form of individual donations made by certain people prior to public school registration; and by donations from local politicians at *Harambee* meetings post-registration. Their involvement in the schools bore similarities to the former *Harambee* Movement, in that each person provided different resources and funds, and in being a cooperative act based on obligations associated with particular positions. The involvement of the students' guardians, however, despite these being *Harambee* meetings, involved mandatory donations that were not based on degree of wealth but were a previously agreed, fixed sum, similar to school and meal fees. This may be because students' guardians have come to view schools as personal investments, and they now compare various schools within and outside their areas of residency before enrolling their children.

Under the wealth redistribution of the *Harambee* Movement, the community members

who participated in *Harambee* and the students' guardians who selected the resulting school showed a certain degree of overlap. However, in the communities that had a wider choice of schools, choices were made on a more flexible basis, centering on differences in quality of education and school fees (Ogawa, 2017b). Schools have been commercialized, and the overlap between the community surrounding a school and the students' guardians is diminishing, even at day schools, as the community members who take up educational opportunities reinforce their position as consumers.

In contrast to the contributions of local politicians and "area leaders" who supported the schools, made in response to community responsibilities or expectations, this provision of capital by students' guardians became more like a payment in exchange for educational services, necessary for their children's continued attendance at a given school. Suetomi (2005) cited Buchanan's (1965) concept of "club goods"—goods between private and public—to indicate that, in public schools undergoing a process of decentralization, students' guardians and other contributors were not simply users of services; because the contributors were also "cost bearers" engaged in the service, public schools had become club goods. In the case studies examined here, students' guardians were asked to bear the necessary cost burdens at each school, despite government policies providing free education, and the communities around the school were formed by the beneficiaries of these educational services.

In other words, the old *Harambee* Movement's wealth redistribution element, based on community spirit, had split into two diverging strands in the processes before and after public school registration. One change was limited redistribution through the involvement of people holding particular positions in the community; as before, this did not involve the engagement of average community members but contributions by certain members of the community before registration and local politicians after registration. The other change was payment by cost bearers of what was essentially an attendance fee, a phenomenon not based on community spirit; this change was brought about by a reduced overlap between the new secondary school's surrounding community and the guardians who chose to send their children there.

6.2. Multilayered Communities: School Necessity and Legitimacy

Who founded the school and for whom? Discussions of the regional imbalances that had become a growing concern by the time of this study indicates that the schools of the *Harambee* Movement flourished in each separate clan, fomenting discrepancies among ethnic groups and regions (Keller, 1983; Bradshaw, 1993). Here, "region" refers to a fixed geographical area surrounding a single school; it was assumed that the students enrolled there would be from the same ethnic group(s) that shared that geographical area. However, the exact definition of a school's "region" has grown more complicated.

Previous studies have indicated that the community participating in the management of a school is multilayered, including parents who are geographically removed from the school; not

all parents send their children to the nearest school, nor is the "community" in geographical proximity to the school a monolith (Yamada, 2011). In the case studies examined here, the communities involved in establishing the schools were not uniform, and there were different motivations for and methods of engagement. Active engagement in establishing schools was by founding leaders and founding supporters, based on personal benefits and responsibilities. Conversely, engagement by the guardians of primary school students was that of passive cost bearers. In addition, the "geographical area with insufficient schools" had a flexible definition that changed to suit those involved. Plans to establish schools may have been realized through skillful manipulation of this multilayering, before public school registration, to convince people of the necessity of establishing new schools and to grant them legitimacy.

Among the case studies in the ethnically diverse area examined here, an attitude of accepting multiple ethnic groups rather than adhering to an exclusive affiliation, was judged positively, and the schools were established smoothly. Each school was open to diverse students rather than just a particular group, and both teachers and students brought a variety of attributes to the schools. In other words, the clan-based boundaries that once dictated the nature of collaboration were becoming porous, crossed by those seeking flexible choices in educational opportunity.

On the other hand, the "area leaders" and local politicians who were involved in the schools exerted as strong an influence on the foundation process as in the past. Preferential allocation of teaching resources to the home communities of politicians has been documented in multiple previous studies (Briggs, 2014; Kramon & Posner, 2016; Schech & Alwy, 2004). While the powerful influence of local politicians at *Harambee* meetings during the *Harambee* Movement has been pointed out (Buchmann, 1999), others have viewed politicians' preferential treatment of supporters and supporting communities as appropriate to the "public realm" (Ekeh, 1975). Unlike students and their guardians, "area leaders" and local politicians were not concerned with factors like the schools' high or low fees and educational quality but were particularly interested in the schools' locations and geographical areas (i.e., their constituencies). This suggests that the supporters of a school's foundation emphasized and repositioned the communities that would be centered on the school's geographical area.

7. Conclusion

Focusing on five sample schools in Sub-county X, Busia County, Republic of Kenya, this study examined the dynamics surrounding the recent establishment of schools compared to the time of the *Harambee* Movement. The case studies revealed that the boundaries of both the "community" providing the educational opportunities and the "community" taking up those opportunities changed as school choices expanded, reducing the overlap between the two that was characteristic during the *Harambee* Movement. In the case of newly established

schools, the importance of this was recognized among various actors influential in their foundation. In the process, the wealth redistribution function of the former *harambee* schools, based on community spirit, was transformed but continued as two divergent strands, pre- and post-registration as public schools. This change continued community-driven redistribution founded on a spirit of community but limited it to certain people, with the cost burden shouldered by those enrolling their children. Their payments were not necessarily based on spirit of community but by the need for services.

To widen access to secondary education given their limited education budgets, local governments have been obliged to encourage the establishment of schools preferentially, promoting schools in communities that can help meet the financial burden. As a result, the drive to establish a school is not planned based solely on lack of available schools but depends upon the individual leadership of founding leaders. This being the case, imbalances arise even within individual areas, with one community lacking sufficient secondary schools while prospective students fight for placement in schools concentrated in another. This study suggests that, since the *Harambee* Movement, changes in and stratification of the "community" involved in starting a school and a diversification in the ways in which people are involved in schools have interacted to complicate regional disparities, and these disparities may occur increasing at a more micro-level in the future.

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