

Community School Formation in Kalanthuba Chiefdom

A Working Paper of the Kalanthuba Development Project

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Prefatory Note with Acknowledgments

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The research team interviewed headmasters, teachers, and community stakeholders at each school site. The size of the interview group varied from seven to as many as twenty-eight people (each group is described in a footnote). We are grateful to all those who attended the school-community meetings, providing us with their knowledge and insight concerning the process and problems of community school formation and sustainability. We owe a debt of thanks to James Kamara, Bumbuna educator and Tonkolili District local counselor, for his guidance and support throughout the research process, and to Hassan N'Bompa Turay, who provided translation when needed. Daniel S. Koroma, Regent Chief of Kalanthuba during the period of research, faithfully supported the team's work and led the team on foot to a distant village where the team met with villagers considering the formation of a new community school.

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Introduction

Kalanthuba Chiefdom has seven community schools: six primary schools and one junior secondary school. In the absence of government-approved schools, community schools are the only providers of childhood education located in the chiefdom. Education has been slow to come to Kalanthuba. With a single exception, all of the schools have been established since 1999, most since the end of the civil war in 2002.

Basic characteristics are common to the community schools in the chiefdom:

- *Governance Structure.* All schools share a similar governance structure: a school management committee (SMC) composed of teachers and community stakeholders, including traditional village authorities (headman, mammy queen, and youth leader), either *ex officio* or as full members. The SMC chairman is a signatory to the school's bank account. With a single exception the schools also have a Community Teachers Association (CTA), analogous to a Parent Teachers Association (PTA) in American experience. CTAs are charged with maintaining the working relationship between school and community, while reporting to the SMC.
- *Curriculum.* All schools follow the government-prescribed curriculum, apparently with little deviation. The curriculum is highly standardized, with a specific set of lessons and objectives for every class level. Instruction is delivered in English. Although teachers may use Limba or Krio to explain concepts to students, they focus heavily on English-learning.
- *Calendar.* All schools follow the government-prescribed calendar, which is the same in every region of the country. The calendar has three terms: the first beginning in September, the second in January, and the third beginning after Easter and ending in July.

As community schools, none have central-government recognition (although some report recognition by Tonkolili District). All schools in the chiefdom must therefore rely primarily on community support, which comes in various forms, both monetary and in-kind. The process of community school formation—the focus of the present study—also varies with local circumstances, but it uniformly relies on initiative from within the chiefdom. School management is also local.

Certain modal characteristics are shared by a majority of the schools:

- Out of the 35 teachers delivering instruction in the chiefdom, only two (in a single school) are government certified.
- Although a full primary education consists of six years of instruction, only two of the six primary schools in the chiefdom offer all six classes. The other four primary schools require their students to seek education elsewhere to finish.
- Five of the seven schools lack permanent, modern structures.
- Four of the seven schools report school fees. A few have received significant, external support, but two report none.

See Table 1 for a summary of key school characteristics by school.

School Profiles

The process of school formation varies among communities, and the results are uneven; therefore, while sharing many similarities, each school exhibits a different mix of characteristics. Below, the schools in the chiefdom are profiled in order of the school's founding, beginning with the earliest.

Saint George's Primary School, Kathombo (1964)¹

St. George's Primary School is a community school sponsored by the Roman Catholic Church and located in the village of Kathombo (Kasokira section). It is the oldest primary school in the chiefdom, established just prior to independence, and currently one of the two largest schools in Kalanthuba. St. George's enrolls 158 students (77 boys and 81 girls), meeting in three classrooms in a concrete school building located on the edge of the village center. Three male teachers including the headmaster and one female teacher provide instruction in years one through five, omitting year six. In addition to Kathombo, students attend from as many as eleven villages,

¹ The interview group included the headmaster, David. A. Bangura, plus two teachers, the SMC chairman and two SMC members, the CTA chairman, and Hassan Turay (local educator and translator)—seven men and one woman. Most of the conversation, which took place on the school veranda, was in English, though sometimes in Krio or Limba. The headmaster and a teacher were the main contributors. The team visited the school a week later for a second meeting with the headmaster, accompanied by James Kamara, a Konkolili District counselor and vice principal of the secondary school in Bumbuna Town.

although many children in the surrounding villages do not attend St. George's, in some cases because their parents would reportedly rather send their children to schools outside the chiefdom with better educational opportunities. Enrollment has declined over the past few years, due in part to mining workers leaving the area in 2016. All students walk to school, some as far as five miles, one-way.

Formation and Development. The Catholic Mission founded St. George's in 1964 as a branch of its parent school in Kasokira, which the Mission had established in 1953. Upon the urging of the paramount chief of the newly amalgamated chiefdom (which absorbed Kalanthuba) to relocate the school in Kasokira to the more central location in Kathombo, the Kasokira primary school was closed. Kasokira was considered remote from the villages lower in the hills of Kalanthuba. Neither could students easily access the school in Bumbuna Town, for there was no bridge over the Seli River, and the use of canoes or ferries presented challenges. The Catholic Church supplied books and training for teachers, while the colonial government funded the teachers. Post-independence, however, the school was not formally recognized by the new government, depriving it of regular government support. The school met in a small building in the village center until 2006, when the Ministry of Education's Sababu project (a post-Civil War rehabilitation program) funded construction of the current building, which was built on land donated by local land-owning families, including the family land of the current SMC chairman.

Staff, Program, and Facilities. Four teachers deliver instruction: two have government Teaching Certificates (TCs), the headmaster and one other, and are therefore salaried; the other two teachers are community volunteers. The school supplements the required government curricula with religious curricula from the Diocese of Makeni and meets for a devotional session at the beginning of the school-day, gathering for prayer three times each day. The school also provides practical agriculture training using a school garden for instruction. The concrete building has three classrooms, requiring that some classes be combined in the same classroom: class 1 on its own, classes 2 and 3 together, and classes 4 and 5 together. Each classroom contains chalkboards, educational posters (many pertaining to disease prevention), and benches or desks (though not enough to provide seating for all students). Textbooks are available, but there are not enough for every student; the reported ratio is just under one book for every two students. The building has separate office space. School grounds include a football field and six VIP latrines (three stalls in two buildings, handicapped-accessible, each with an attached hand-washing station (a large bucket and a spigot). A shallow well supplies water, except (with increasing frequency) later in the dry season.

Governance. St. George’s School Management Committee (SMC) has 8 members, with officers including the chairperson, secretary, treasurer, and whip. They meet 3 times per term. The Community Teachers Association (CTA) serves as a secondary governing body. It has the same structure as the SMC and. The group meets to talk about problem solving, and organizes events, such as picnics and sports, for students and families, although it requires the consent of the SMC to solve problems. Father Edmund of Christ the King parish in Bumbuna serves as the school “manager.”

Resources. There are currently no school fees for students, though the leadership suggests a donation of 2,000 Le per child. Just under 45 percent of the students (71/158) had not make the donation in May 2018. Both teachers with TCs (including the headmaster) receive salary “vouchers” through St. Joseph’s in Bumbuna, a government-approved school. The other two teachers receive no salary. When he can, the headmaster gives the other three teachers small monetary gifts. The school garden (using space provided by the village) provides teachers with a food source. The government formerly provided subsidies for the upkeep of the building but has ceased to do so. Currently, the community occasionally helps with building maintenance.

The school has often benefitted from NGO support. *Orient*, a local NGO sponsored by UNICEF, built the latrines, and CARE funded the hand-washing stations. *Street Child*, a UK charity that supports educational opportunity for students in poverty internationally and is active in northern Sierra Leone, provides learning materials, such as rulers, chalk, and report cards, as well as supporting a few of the most vulnerable students’ educational costs (such as uniforms and books). The World Food Program (WFP) formerly funded lunches for students every day but ceased support during the Ebola crisis—although there were no reported Ebola cases in Kalanthuba. More recently, the government subsidized lunches for children, using Kathombo as one of a number of test schools for a feeding program. The subsidies, however, were not sufficient, and the teachers could only buy enough supplies for lunches on Tuesdays and Thursdays. The government program has ended, and consequently there is no longer any feeding program.

St. George’s receives some school supplies from the Ministry of Education through the Tonkolili District council at Magburaka. The district Local Council sends the materials to St. Matthew’s school in Bumbuna, where the teachers retrieve them. Some students purchase their own books.

Some students cannot afford school uniforms, which cost around 50,000 Le for boys and 30,000 Le for girls. Though Sierra Leonean law prohibits schools from preventing students without a uniform from attending school, informally families are reluctant to send students without one.

Students seem to feel ashamed of coming without proper attire, including good footwear. Teachers sometimes provide uniforms for students. For example, the headmaster once bought uniforms for three students. A second teacher sponsors two students: one boy who is an amputee, and another named Alfa, who is an orphan. Nonetheless, the teachers cannot reasonably provide for all students in need.

Kathombo formerly had an active mothers' club, which would buy books, uniforms, and materials for some 6-11 of the most vulnerable students in the community, but the club stopped functioning after one of the executive members died of Ebola, contracted outside the chiefdom. The club still exists, however, and Helen Koroma, St. George's female teacher, is one of the main leaders trying to restart the program. It has no funds presently, though the headmaster has indicated the potential for NGO support.

Saint Henry's Roman Catholic Primary School, Kamasaypayna (1999)²

St. Henry's is a community school sponsored by the Roman Catholic Church, located in the small village of Kamasaypayna in Kamakatheh section. The school enrolls 95 students (41 boys and 54 girls), meeting in a small, one-room structure constructed of sticks and mud. In addition to Kamasaypayna, the students come from many villages, including Kamagbarain, Kawornor II, Kadanso, Kafungia and Kamera (Kamakihila section). A headmaster and one other teacher, both unsalaried, provide instruction in years one through four, omitting years five and six. All students walk, at the most three miles one-way.

Formation and Development. The school began in 1999 at the initiative of Daniel Sara Turay, who came to the village and explained the need for education and particularly the need for a school in this strategic location in the section. The community was "gladdened" by the idea, but Daniel also explained that before they would open the school, they would need people to volunteer to do research, to determine the needs of the community, and to find suitable teachers. When Daniel located three teachers, the village considered the school to have been formed, although lacking a building. The school initially met on the veranda of a local pastor's home. Even in these

² The interview group consisted of 28 persons, several holding school or community leadership roles and some coming from the neighboring village of Kamagbarain. Persons attending from Kamasaypayna included Chief Kali Sesay, headman and the eldest person in the village, as well as SMC Chairman; the village mammy queen and youth leader; two village elders; the headmaster, Peter Bangura; the teacher for classes 1 and 2; and the chairlady of St. Henry's Church. Persons attending from Kamagbarain included Chief Sara Turay, headman; the village mammy queen; the youth leader ("chief of young men") and his assistant. In addition, ten unidentified community stakeholders were present, and 4-5 of them contributed to the discussion. A crowd gathered throughout the discussion.

earliest days of the school's existence, children from many surrounding villages attended, and enrollment grew rapidly. When the veranda was no longer a large enough space to accommodate the number of students, the community came together and thought it wise to build a "long hut-like structure." At this point there was another campaign by Kalanthuba leadership on the importance of education and sending children to school. This led to another significant increase in enrollment. However, the thatch-roofed building provided insufficient cover from the rain during the rainy season.

In 2012, enrollment had grown enough that the SMC began to ask for assistance in building a more durable structure. Daniel Sara Turay suggested that the school ought to be built in the same compound as the newly constructed health center, so that if the children become ill or get injured while playing, there is easy access. It also was a short distance from the village center so as to eliminate outside distraction. The village received a subsidy from the Ministry of Education to purchase three bundles of zinc and nails for a metal-roof structure that would be functional in the rainy season. The community provided other materials and workers to complete the construction, as well as funds to pay the workers. The community funding came from all six of the villages that the school serves. The Kamasaypanya village leadership donated land, and Daniel Sara Turay provided two blackboards. The one-room building, however, remains unfinished. Although the surrounding communities had initially hired a local contractor to oversee construction, insufficient funding brought the work to a halt before completion.

Facilities and supplies. The school building is a 12' x 36' single-room, stick-and-mud structure with a zinc roof. The building is located behind the community health center on a main road leading out of the village center, The building has makeshift benches for students made from wooden planks resting upon rocks., facing two blackboards. Students have textbooks and exercise books. Educational posters from the Ministry of Education hang from under the roof. The floor is uneven, and there are nails protruding in various places. Due to the stick and mud construction, it appears that the building requires frequent maintenance. There is a small garden for agriculture classes, as well as a hand-washing station. The health clinic has a latrine that is available for the students to use.

Governance. The school-s has a nine-member School Management Committee (SMC) meets once every two months to discuss the various problems facing the school and how to solve them. This committee is composed of a number of elected representatives from the surrounding villages that send children to the school as well as the school's headmaster. Also included are a number of *ex officio* members from village leadership including village headmen, mammy queens,

and youth leaders. The SMC chairman is not literate. A Community Teachers Association (CTA) meets once at the beginning of the term and once before the exams at the end of the term for the purpose of maintaining the relationship between the school, teachers, and community. Membership on the two committees overlaps. The CTA submits major issues for consideration by the SMC.

Resources. Kamasaypanya school reports no school fees as of 2018. The school is classified as government-assisted but not government-approved. Although no NGOs currently support the school, in 2015 UNICEF donated learning materials in 2015 and CARE donated a hand-washing station. Teachers are compensated by means of a small token made possible by the voluntary contributions of village members and through non-monetary compensation, such as gifts of food. The village provides land for a school garden, from which the teachers can eat freely. Both teachers are also reliant on family members to support them. Books, stationary, and other supplies are provided through the Roman Catholic primary school in Bumbuna, as extras became available, though this support is irregular in nature. Peter Koroma and Daniel Sara Turay also donated exercise books at one time and have given some funds to cover basic supplies.

Kasokira Primary School (~2003)³

Kasokira Primary School is a community school located in Kasokira, the traditional headquarters town of the chiefdom in Kasokira section. It has an enrollment of 115 students (72 boys and 43 girls), who meet in a large open, sheltered space in the village center, equipped with two chalkboards. Students also attend from the nearby villages of Kegbema, Kamera, Kasasie and Kadala. A schoolmaster and two teachers, all un-salaried, provide instruction in years one through four of the six-year primary school curriculum.⁴ All students walk to school, some as far as six miles or more, one-way.

Formation and Development. The Roman Catholic Mission established the first school in Kasokira in 1953, but it was closed in the 1960s in favor of St. George's in Kathombo, which has a

³ The interview group consisted of seven villagers, including the headmaster, Francis S. Turay, and other community members and stakeholders involved in the management of the school. Hasan Turay, a local educator in the chiefdom, was translator. The headmaster was the only group member to speak but said that he spoke for everyone, and the group agreed with him. The meeting took place in the village center. Afterward, the team visited the present school site, a permanent school under construction, and the headmaster's farm, from which he earns his livelihood.

⁴ As this report was being prepared in the fall of 2018, news arrived that the school headmaster, a brother of the founder, Daniel Sara Turay, had died, leaving the school without a head teacher.

more accessible, central location. One of the Kasokira students in the 1960s was Daniel Sara Turay, a member of the traditional royal house in Kalanthuba chiefdom who would pursue graduate education in London and, following the civil war, would become a regional coordinator for World Hope International, a faith-based NGO active in Sierra Leone. In the early 2000's he returned to his home village to address the importance of education and the need for a school in Kasokira. He was met with enthusiastic support from the community. His achievements served as a model of what could be accomplished through education, motivating villagers to give all they could to establish a school and support its ongoing operations. With no school building in place, however, he suggested that classes meet provisionally in a pavilion that covers the sacred burial grounds of two previous paramount chiefs in Kalanthuba, located in the village center. An elderly man from the village who had taught at the original school in Kasokira became the head teacher, and books, paper, and blackboards were obtained by arrangement with schools in Bumbuna Town.

Soon thereafter, efforts began to erect a permanent school building with support from engineers at the Bumbuna Hydroelectric Project. Kasokira village leaders donated land for a building just outside the village center, and the village headman convened a meeting with surrounding villages to request monetary and material support. Work was divided among participating villages by assigning a quota of mud bricks to be formed according to the size of the village and the number of children that would be attending. In a weekly rotation, villages would send laborers to form the bricks, and women from Kasokira would prepare food and bring poyo (palm wine) to the workers. This proceeded through the dry season until the necessary bricks had all been finished. At this point, the villages all donated crops to sell for the raising of funds to pay a contractor and buy two bundles of zinc for the roof; ten more bundles were donated by Bumbuna hydroelectric engineers. Villagers were able to raise enough funds to give the contractor a deposit and the contractor began work on a structure that would house three classrooms and one office. The school grounds include a football field, but the school does not own a football.

Construction began, but it came to a standstill before completion. The villagers were unable to sell enough produce to finish paying their obligation to the contractor due to a drought. When the building could not be finished in the 2017-18 dry season, it began to fall into disrepair. Part of the roof collapsed, and the mud-bricks, which were not cemented into the structure, had "spoiled." In June 2018, a windstorm obliterated what remained of the structure, leaving villagers with the prospect of starting over.

Staff, Program, and Facilities. The community school is staffed entirely by volunteers. The meeting place is an open-air pavilion covered by a corrugated metal roof with an uneven

concrete floor, equipped with two chalkboards, benches, and desks for writing. When school does not meet, the building is open to wandering goats and cattle, and the floor requires constant cleaning due to the feces dropped by the animals.

Governance. The School Management Committee (SMC) for Kasokira Community School has ten members representing the five villages served. Its composition includes teachers, community stakeholders, and traditional authorities (headmen, mammy queens, youth leaders). The SMC meets monthly to make administrative decisions, reached by debate and consensus. A Community Teachers Association (CTA), consisting of teachers and community leaders, brings problems and issues to the SMC as needed.

Resources. Kasokira School has no school fees. The headmaster believes that, if students are charged a fee, enrollment would decline. Students are required to wear uniforms, however, paid for by parents, who also must purchase their children's books. Teachers subsist on alternative livelihoods as well as "tokens" received from the community. The headmaster has a farm, which he cultivates with his family; another teacher's wife sells palm wine at market to support his family. The school receives no support from the government or NGOs.

Kamathor Community Primary School (Founded 2012)⁵

Kamathor Primary School is a community school located in Kamathor village in Kasokira section, just outside Kamankay across the river from Bumbuna Town. The largest and best-equipped school in the chiefdom, Kamathor Primary enrolls 193 students (88 boys and 105 girls), meeting in five classrooms in a newly constructed, government-provided building. Students come from Kamathor, Kasokira, Kadala, Kamankay and Kasasie. Eight teachers including the headmaster provide instruction in years one through six, one of two primary schools in the chiefdom to do so. Most of the students walk to school, but a few commute by motorbike or automobile, and some students from the more remote village of Kasasie may stay in Kamathor or nearby. The greatest distance that students walk is approximately three miles, one-way.

Formation and Development. The school began in 2012 under the leadership of the pastor of the Christ Ambassador Church of Bumbuna, Daniel Bangura, shortly after the completion

⁵The interview took place in a classroom. The composition of the group initially consisted of the headmaster, three teachers, and Hawa Sesay, Team Leader at the Bumbuna Watershed Management Authority, headquartered nearby. Later, the town chief arrived to tell of the history of the school. Later still, Reverend Daniel Bangura of the Christ Ambassador Evangelical Fellowship in Bumbuna, previously a major stakeholder, arrived and gave his account of the school's history. Hassan N'Bompa Turay provided translation and clarification as needed.

of Phase I of the Bumbuna hydroelectric project. Initially, the school met in a single room at the local branch of the New Apostolic Church, a concrete building with corrugated metal roofing. Establishment of the school intersected with local grievances concerning the hydroelectric project. According to the village headman, workers from the community of Kamathor began to strike because so much land had been taken from them without compensation. At one point they formed a barricade at the bridge and made a list of five demands to continue their work on the hydroelectric project. The demands were (1) a school established by the government for their community, (2) free electricity from the dam, (3) a source of clean, potable water, (4) a hospital or health clinic for the village and (5) some form of financial compensation for the significant loss of property to the project. Bangura spent several years writing letters to various ministries of government to petition that these “basic” requests be honored, with little response. However, he did obtain limited action on the first request. The government paid for the construction of a school building in time for the 2014-15 school year, action for which the community credits Sierra Leone President Ernest Bai Karoma. The Bumbuna Watershed Management Authority provided furniture, Bangura recruited teachers, and the new building was occupied in mid-October with over 300 enrolled students. However, the Ministry of Education did not participate in the opening or extend formal recognition to the school. Without government approval, the school would not receive salaried teachers, paid by the Ministry. Bangura reportedly was told that he was “overqualified” to work there and that the Ministry would rather have him work elsewhere. He moved his work back to Bumbuna and left the school in the hands of its current headmaster, Edward S. H. Kamara. Enrollment has declined since 2014, now standing at 193 students.

Staffing, Facilities, and Supplies. All six classrooms contain comfortable desk-seats and a chalkboard. There are latrine facilities on campus and a well, but the water is not clean and often runs dry. There is no sports field, but the school can use the community field for games. Kamathor uses the government-mandated curricula, but the headmaster ensures that the syllabi are up to date. Gifts of used or outdated books are supplemented by purchases made with NGO grants. The eight teachers are uncertified.

Governance. The School Management Committee (SMC) consists of seven members, including the village headman, mammy queen, youth leader, and community stakeholders. A chairwoman, Cecilia Turay, leads the group. The Community Teachers Association (CTA) is composed of teachers and parents, but village leaders have an *ex officio* position on its board. Michael Kargbo is the CTA chairman, and the group meets at the beginning of each term and as

needed if issues come up. The headmaster, CTA chairman, and SMC chairwoman are all signatories for the SMC.

Resources. The school requests a student fee of 20,000 Le per term (60,000 Le per year). This is not routinely collected in full, however, and the headmaster explained that teachers have been paid only 50 percent of the declared salary of 100,000 Le per month on a regular basis. As one of the teachers explained, “It costs me more to pay for transportation (4000 Le per day) to and from the school for the month than what I earn from the job.” In this way, most of the teachers are either bi-vocational or funded through parental and spousal contributions. They are holding out hope that further education opportunities will arise someday to allow them to become certified and receive a salary from the Ministry of Education. Informally, the Catholic Primary School in Bumbuna provides excess books and supplies as they become available (mostly used or dated editions). The headmaster also seeks out books from booksellers and received assistance from the NGO, Street Child, in the form of funding for the most impoverished students’ uniforms as well as stationary and books. The school also received a one-time donation of lesson planning guides in Mathematics and Language Arts for all six classes from Cause Canada.

Kamankay Primary School (Founded 2013)⁶

Kamankay Primary School is a community school located in the largest village in the chiefdom on the main road leading into Bumbuna Town from Makeni, the provincial capital. It enrolls 111 students (59 male and 52 female), meeting in two different temporary facilities. Students hail from many different communities, including Bumbuna, Kathombo, Kamasaypayna, and Kamathor. A headmaster and four other teachers, all un-salaried, provide instruction in years one through six, Kamankay being one of two schools in the chiefdom to offer all six years of the primary curriculum. Some teachers offer various subjects across grade levels. All students walk to school, some as far as seven miles, one-way.

Formation and Development. The idea for a school in Kamankay began with the encouragement of Christopher Kebbeh, a supervisor working with Phase II of the Bumbuna hydro-

⁶ The interview group consisted of more than fifty people, crowded into a makeshift classroom in the bamboo hut used for classes 4-6 (a classroom vacated for the interview). Among the key members of the group were the founder (or “proprietor”) of the school, Alfred Turay, the headmaster of the school, Emmanuel Koroma, members of the SMC and CT, including the acting chair and deputy chair, members of the mothers’ club including its chair, the pastor and members of the church that lends its facilities for the school, and members of the traditional village leadership, including the village youth leader and the mammy queen, plus the public relations manager for the Regent Chief. All were residents of Kamankay, the chiefdom’s largest village.

electric project. The village created a village development committee (VDC) to gain support for the formation of a community school. The committee included the chairman, Alfred Turay; a vice-chair, Momoh Turay (who is now chairman); an education advisor, Abraham Turay; plus a youth leader and health advisor, among other administrative positions. The primary purpose of the VDC was to “sensitize” locals to the necessity of education in the area. The VDC was also vital in the amassing of resources and labor to construct and maintain the school. Around one hundred parents came together to provide for the establishment of the school. The VDC chairman recruited teachers, all of whom were born in Kamankay (three returning home in order to teach at the new school). In 2013, the school began meeting in the court barray located in the village center. During this time the school offered only classes one and two. Later, community members with the assistance of the village youth leader met with the pastor of Kamankay’s New Apostolic Church and arranged to have the school meet in his church. After the move, the school added class three. In 2017, one concerned member of the community mobilized parents to construct a makeshift school building adjacent to the church, enough space to add classes four, five, and six. The current facilities are considered temporary, and the community has already identified a plot of land on which to construct a school building, but there is currently insufficient funding to begin construction.

Staffing and Facilities. The current facilities consist of a church building, housing classes one through three, and a makeshift bamboo and palm frond structure next to the church in which there are three classrooms, for classes four to six. The bamboo is sufficient to shade the students, but inadequate to keep them dry during the rainy season. Each room contains a chalkboard and benches for the students. All students wear uniforms and work from the government-issued textbooks. The school uses the curriculum and schedule mandated by the government of Sierra Leone with slight variations depending on the speed of the teachers’ instruction throughout the academic year. Three teachers were interviewed and described their curriculum and pedagogy. There is no feeding program at the school and the nearby World Hope International well is inoperable. There are no toilet or hygiene facilities at the school.

Governance. The school is governed principally by the School Management Committee (SMC). Presently, it consists of some twelve members including some teachers and community leaders. The regent chief of the chiefdom, village youth leader, and mammy queen are all *ex officio* members. The purpose of this committee is to further the development of the school, allocate funding, and help the school to continue to function. Reporting directly to the SMC is the Community Teachers Association (CTA). The chairman of the SMC is also the chairman of the CTA. Other members of the committee include all teachers and some traditional leadership and

prominent community members. The primary function of the CTA is to identify problems and bring them to the SMC.

Resources. Kamankay Primary is entirely community-funded, with the exception of a donation of twenty-five school uniforms by the Tawol Foundation. The school charges a fee of 15,000 Le per term, making the annual tuition 45,000 Le per student. This fee was established at a community meeting. Not all families pay the fee due to financial hardship. The school tries to give parents incentives to pay, even to the point of “begging.” Despite this, it remains impossible for many households to pay the school fee. As they are able, some give tokens, such as groundnuts, rice and other agricultural products, to teachers. In order to earn money to pay the school fees, many women sell some of their crops at market, but there does not seem to be a financial support group in place for the poorest of the poor. The funding the school receives at present is insufficient to sustain it. The recently established mothers’ club has created a community garden to support the school, but due to the poor quality of the soil on the land they obtained as well as climactic irregularities of an unusually dry dry-season, this project has thus far been unproductive. Informants identified a lack of funding from the community, government and NGOs as their principal struggle.

Kawangulu Primary School (Founded 2017)⁷

Kawangulu Primary School is the chieftdom’s newest and smallest community school. It is located in the remote village of Kawangulu, the headquarters of Folladugu section, centrally located in the section but accessible only by footpath. The easiest access to Folladugu section is by boat, about a 75-minute trip upstream from Bumbuna Dam; Kawangulu and its approximately 450 residents are located another 4 miles inland. The enrollment is 26 students (11 male and 15 female), meeting in a newly built, mud-brick church building. All students are Kawangulu villagers. A headmaster and one other teacher, both un-salaried, provide instruction for years one and two.

Formation and Development. Kawangulu Primary is a mission school, founded and partially supported by the Baptist Mission. Reverend Sorie A. Kamara, the pastor of the Baptist church in Bumbuna and head of the Baptist mission and a native of Kawangulu has been working to open a school in Kawangulu since 2004. This is his third attempt. The first attempt failed because

⁷ The interview group included Reverend Sorie A. Kamara, the school’s founder, a Bumbuna Baptist Pastor and the President of the National Baptist Mission Board; Peter Sesay, the head teacher (a second teacher was away); SMC Members, including the chair, an advisor, and the treasurer; the Acting Section Chief of Follodugu section; the church youth Leader (representing the church where the school meets), and one other person,

the community could not support the teacher financially; he stayed for a year before leaving, and the school closed. In 2007, the Baptist mission sent a teacher, support, and books, but the teacher could not be persuaded to stay in the village because of its remote location and the inability of the village to provide adequate support. In September 2017, the current teacher, Reverend Peter Sesay arrived, recruited by Reverend Kamara, and the school reopened. Sesay was previously head pastor at a Baptist church near Bumbuma. The school started meeting in a long, open, thatched structure in September 2017, but the structure had problems of leakage during the rains. In May 2018, the school moved to a recently constructed church building. The school is currently soliciting government approval with the assistance of the Baptist Mission.

A meeting of all village headmen in Folladugu section, the section chief, and the regent chief of Kalanthuba is being planned to explore interest in a section-wide primary school. The nearby village of Kabunban has agreed to donate land owned communally to build a permanent school building; the School Management Committee (SMC) provided the token presented to the village headman as required in customary law to gain access to village-owned land. It is a large flat, grassy area, located near a fertile swamp. The flat land is ideal for a football field, and the swamp can be used for a school garden. The site is near water and suitable for adding a well. The new site is located a short walk from the Kawungulu village center, though it lies across a small stream, which may pose seasonal problems of accessibility. The construction of the new school building is estimated to take place within the next year. The financial cost and labor will be divided among all villages in Folladugu section.

Staffing and Facilities. The church where the school meets has one large hall and two small side rooms. Although this arrangement is suitable for the current class sizes and program of instruction in years one and two, expansion will require new facilities. The teacher and Reverend Kamara noted that the current location, on a hill above the village center, is not ideal because the students must go down the hill for recreation. Both teachers are uncertified. One is a Baptist pastor from a neighboring village who stays in Kawangulu, away from the rest of his family; the other is a member of the Koronko tribe from Bumbuna. As a Koronko, he does not speak the local language, but reportedly is making every effort to learn Limba so as to communicate better with students.

Governance. Kawangulu School has an active SMC but no Community Teachers Association (CTA). Nonetheless, the school has a very hands-on relationship with the community in Kawangulu. After roll call in the mornings, a village leader goes to the homes of the missing students as a representative of the SMC and asks why they are not in school. Every day, members of the SMC

bring “food and encouragement” to the head teacher, and the SMC is spearheading the effort to obtain section-wide backing for a school building to be erected in Kabunban.

Resources. Twelve students have uniforms, but 14 students do not. Many come to school barefoot. Village policy mandates the collection of school fees from the entire village. The SMC has repeatedly gone throughout the village and explained that households are required to pay the school fees even if they do not have children enrolled because all of the village will benefit from the education provided. The village reached an agreement in May 2018, just prior to the research visit, that every household should pay 10,000 Le per child per month, beginning in June, whether or not the child is in school. Previously, when the teacher attempted to collect fees, some people denied they have children who attend school even though their children do attend. Some also refused to pay because they say they are too poor. No sanctions were imposed on those who did not pay. Only parents who feel they are reasonably capable of paying the small fee make the payments. Other parents claim that they do not have the funds, even if it is obvious that they are capable, and adults with no children insist that they will not pay fees since they do not have children who attend school. When asked what would happen if people continue not to pay, the headmaster said that he would rely on the SMC and Reverend Kamara to support him and that he would remain in Kawangulu if possible. The SMC requested the area’s Tonkolili District counselor (who accompanied the research team to Kawangulu) to address the village on the importance of supporting the school regardless of whether they have children attending because everybody benefits from having educated villagers.

Teacher support is the most significant expense and main funding concern. Reverend Kamara commented that the school is funded by the “sacrificial offer” of the head teacher. He is supported in part by the Baptist church in Bumbuna with around 50,000 Le per month. SMC members support the head teacher by bringing him food, money for transport, providing free lodging. They provide generous rent-free accommodations in a two-bedroom, zinc-roof house in the village center. After having two teachers leave the school due to its remote location, the SMC thought it would be wise to do what they could to provide for transportation to and from the village. To the extent they are individually capable, members of the SMC pay the fares for boat trips back to Bumbuna Town as well as mobile phone conversations between the head teacher and his wife and children in town 45 miles away. One woman outside the SMC, a member of the Baptist church in Kawangulu, also brings him food because of her respect for him and the church. The Baptist Primary School in Bumbuna sends supplies from time to time, as do Reverend Kamara and Peter Koroma a native of Kawangulu residing in Freetown. Even with all this effort, there are great

challenges to the head teacher remaining in Kawangulu, creating the most significant issue that the SMC has sought to address.

Kalanthuba Model Junior Secondary School, Kamankay (Founded 2016)⁸

The first and only secondary school in the chiefdom, Kalanthuba Model Junior Secondary School, located in Kamankay, just across the river from Bumbuna Town, is associated with the Catholic Diocese of Makeni. As a “junior” secondary school, it offers only Form I and Form II, while omitting Form III, which is required to complete a secondary education. Form I meets in rental space located in a former cinema, and Form II meets in a room in a house in the village. The number of enrolled students is fifty-six: Forty students (20 girls and 20 boys) in Form I, and sixteen students (6 girls and 10 boys) in Form II. The faculty is composed of 11 teachers, all un-salaried. The school is intended to serve the entire chiefdom. At present, the farthest village from which students attend (arriving on foot) is Kamasaypayna, 6-7 miles away.

Formation and Development. The school grew out of a desire of the educated élites in Kalanthuba to provide secondary education in the chiefdom. The school’s principal sponsor or “proprietor,” Thomas T. Turay, provided the necessary funding to begin the school’s formation. The objective was to mobilize and “liberate communities.” Opened in 2016, the JSS is currently in its second year of operation. The school’s motto is “We inspire to aspire.”

Community leaders found ways to get learning materials and looked around for possible sites, raising money for rent in the meantime. They found a village cinema, which serves the larger Form I, and, when they needed more room, began using a house donated by Abraham Turay for Form II. They also had a role in “sensitizing” local communities to the value of education. Additionally, the Chiefdom Development Committee has given a three-acre plot of community land for a future school building. Out of their current funds, the school has purchased 2,000 mud bricks, at 500 Leones each, which are sitting outside, exposed to the weather, at the new three-acre plot. The leaders are concerned to get the bricks under cover before the rainy season, so they do not lose

⁸ The interview group initially consisted of seven stakeholders: Christopher T. Kamara (acting head of school, principal, and assistant teacher of Language Arts); Abraham K. Turay (acting school fee Bursar); Pa Momo Turay (CTA chairman); Moses Y. Turay (teacher of RME); Josephine T. Fofanah (teacher of Home Economics and Assistant Mistress of Form I); and Joseph S. Koroma (assistant teacher for Language Arts). Four others came later, starting with the French teacher, Drima Keyz, teachers Benjamin Sesay, Harry Turay (who also teaches at the primary school in Kamankay), and Edward S. Kamara. The school founder (or “proprietor”), Thomas T. Turay, was at a burial for an influential man in the local villages and did not attend the meeting.

their investment. Along with this problem, the leaders and teachers are focused on the challenge of getting students and preparing for the next school year.

A number of the youth attend other secondary schools instead, such as the one in Bumbuna, which have benefits such as government accreditation and support, as well as better facilities (including science labs). Students who finish their primary education in Bumbuna often attended secondary school there as well, due to their familiarity with the town and facilities, making it difficult for the Kalanthuba Model Secondary School to recruit students.

Facilities and supplies. For the principal, the ideal school would include hygiene facilities, such as water sources and latrines, exercise areas, such as football fields, a library, and a “restaurant”, so students could be fed. At the moment, however, Kalanthuba Model Secondary rents a small, long building, which used to be a cinema. Form I meets in the former cinema, and Form II meets in one room of a donated house, half-way across the village of Kamankay. Each room contains desks and a chalkboard. There are no toilets, and the closest well has been out of operation for two years, though the community’s only other well is near by, serving most of the community’s nearly 2,000 residents. All of the students wear blue and white uniforms.

Governance. The JSS leaders are trying to finalize leadership responsibilities and positions. The School Management Committee (SMC) is mostly formed and takes administrative responsibility for the school. The interview group cited dialogue and community engagement as crucial. The community recommends potential candidates for the SMC. Special positions include a religious leader, someone with training in education, a mammy queen, and a Ministry of Education representative. The present Ministry of Education representative for the area is Phillip Kabea. The head teacher serves as the SMC secretary. The Community Teachers Association (CTA) is organized as a planning and communicative body. The CTA chairman notes that the CTA helped the school access land as part of a community effort, and its members are willing to do whatever is needed to erect facilities. He also said that CTA members hope to model good ways to live, ways that the people of Sierra Leone will respect. The school leadership is also putting together a Board of Trustees to serve an advisory and supervisory function. This Board would include as members the Regent Chief (or Paramount Chief), the Chiefdom speaker, the Village Chief, and the Mammy Queen (though it was unclear if she would be from the Chiefdom, Section, or Village level). In their plans, the school proprietor would be involved in this board and would hold the highest authority in the school setting.

Resources. School fees are 300,000 Leones per year, which is apparently less than those at government approved schools. Some parents pay in installments. The JSS leadership sometimes

struggles with parents who cannot, or will not, pay all of the fees. To ensure that fees are paid, teachers send messages through the students, telling parents to pay, and have sometimes threatened to keep students from taking standardized exams. The interview group said that the school fees are insufficient to run the JSS. Their “proprietor” steps in to donate funds when school fees are insufficient. The school has no feeding program. Teachers do not receive salaries but are provided with small “stipends.” Half of the income received goes towards administrative costs, including teacher stipends, exam materials, and stationary. All of the teachers rely on either alternative livelihoods or monetary support from spouses or parents. There is no funding specifically devoted to providing new facilities, so any work at the new school site comes out of general school income.

At present, the JSS has no support from NGOs or the Ministry of Education. Some of the young men in Kamankay, however, have formed a group called the House of Talents to help build roads in Kalanthuba. They have supported the JSS by building an operable road half-way to the new school site, previously only a footpath. The mothers club in Kamankay apparently supports girls in the community, specifically for books, fees, and uniforms, but the interview group said that it was not providing any funds at the present time.

	Saint George's	Saint Henry's	Kasokira	Kamathor	Kamankay	Kawangulu	Junior Secondary
Year	1964	1999	2002?	2012	2013	2017	2016
Enroll.	158	64	115	193	111	26	56
Bldg.	Cement	Trad.	Temp.	Cement	Temp.	Temp.	Temp.
Classes	1-5	1-4	1-4	1-6	1-6	1-2	I - II
No. of Rooms	3	1	1	5 or 6?	6	2	2
No. of Cert. Teachrs	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
No. of Uncert. Teachrs	2	2	3	8	5	2	11
Fees	Request 2,000 Le	None	None	20,000 Le per term	15,000 Le per term	10,000 Le per month	100,000 Le/term
Unifo'm	Yes	No	Yes		Yes	Yes/partial	Yes
Govt. Support	Yes	Yes/ roof	No	Yes/bldg.	No	No	No
NGO Support	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No
Church Support	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No

Table 1: Characteristics of Kalanthuba Community Schools

School Formation Process

Community school formation can be understood as a process of social entrepreneurship led by an individual (or individuals) connected to the community. In general terms, entrepreneurship refers to the individual initiative needed to activate and coordinate any new undertaking. Private entrepreneurs initiate for-profit businesses; within government, officials may act as public entrepreneurs who supply the initiative needed to commence and sustain a new public endeavor. Social undertakings outside government also depend on entrepreneurship. Without individuals or groups who supply the initiative needed to start something new, nothing can happen.

Understood as social entrepreneurship, community school formation entails a number of distinct tasks:

- Mobilizing community support—needed secure on-going financial and in-kind support for the school as attract students.
- Recruiting teachers.
- Raising funds and in-kind gifts to support teachers.
- Obtaining books and supplies.
- Securing facilities for classrooms and recreation, often temporary.
- Obtaining access to water and sanitary facilities.
- Securing land on which to construct a building.
- Obtaining building materials.
- Raising funds from charitable organizations.
- Securing government support.

Each task requires social entrepreneurs to act in a variety of different settings, both within the community to be served and outside it. They require both strong connection to the community in order to mobilize support for school enrollment and obtain local resources and outside connections to potential teachers and supporters. Entrepreneurs may also invest their own resources in the school.

Educators in Kalanthuba use the term “proprietorship” rather than entrepreneurship to characterize the role of school founders, referring to those individuals who initiate school formation as school “proprietors.” However, they are “social” proprietors, not private proprietors, of the schools they seek to establish. Once established, community schools are governed by locally constituted school management committees, on which the school “proprietor” may or may not serve. Over time, the school develops its own leadership.

The sources of social entrepreneurship (or proprietorship) in the process of community school formation are varied. The oldest school in the chiefdom, St. George’s in Kathombo, was founded as a mission school in 1964. In this case, the Roman Catholic Mission filled the role of social entrepreneur. The other six community schools in the chiefdom, all founded from 1999 forward, were initiated by individuals. Two schools (St. Henry’s in Kamasaypayna and the Kasokira Primary School) reflect the entrepreneurial initiative of Daniel Sara Turay, a leading member of the royal household of Kalanthuba, at this writing a candidate for Paramount Chief. Two are the work of local Baptist pastors (in Kamathor and Kawangulu), and two were initiated by village leaders in Kamankay, the largest (most populous) village in the chiefdom.

For the most part, community school entrepreneurs or proprietors depend on persuasion to mobilize support. Community mobilization is conceptualized as “sensitization,” explaining the community benefits of education to community members. Donors typically step forward to provide various components—facilities, supplies, teacher-support, land, and building materials. However, one case of school formation—in Kamathor—was accompanied by political protest. Directed at the central government, the protest was a reaction to the loss of village lands to the Bumbuna Hydroelectric Project. Among the protestors’ demands, which included electricity, clean water, health services, and compensation for the loss of land, only one received a positive response: the construction of a community school building.

The only other government-funded building was supplied for St. George’s through a grant-supported project to rebuild rural infrastructure following the end of the decade-long civil war in 2002. Otherwise, efforts to support school construction locally have for the most part been unsuccessful. A partial exception is the construction of a very modest, single-room, stick-and-mud building by the community at St. Henry’s in Kamasaypayna—partial because the Ministry of Education financed the materials for a zinc roof. Otherwise, school construction dreams remain unfulfilled. Kasokira expended great effort to construct a regional school building using a quota system among affected villages to make bricks and selling vegetables to hire a contractor. The building was unfinished due to drought, which inhibited further fund-raising, and the structure was

finally destroyed by a windstorm. Kamankay primary school continues to meet in temporary facilities. The junior secondary school in Kamankay has plans to build and bricks to use in construction. Kawangulu has land but awaits the resources to construct a building.

A major constraint to the process of school formation is the supply of teachers. All but two teachers in Kalanthuba are uncertified, and raising support for uncertified teachers is an ongoing struggle for every community school. Community-school teachers survive largely on the basis of alternative livelihoods and in-kind support from the community by way of housing and food. One school “proprietor” characterized the main source of support for the school as the “sacrifice” made by its teachers, whose primary motivation is often a desire to help their home community and returning home to do so. The more remote the school is, however, the more difficult it is to secure teachers. Kawangulu Primary School, which lacks road access, has struggled since 2004 to find and keep teachers, closing when the teacher leaves. The present attempt, initiated in 2017, is its third effort.

Four of the seven schools raise revenue through school fees. Among primary schools, fees range from 10,000 Le to 20,000 Le per term. Kamankay Junior Secondary School is costlier—100,000 Le per term. However, all have difficulty in collecting fees from parents and are reluctant to deny enrollment to those who fail to pay. The other three community schools avoid fees entirely in order not to exclude children. Two schools have received financial support from the international NGO “Street Child” to help students who are unable to pay; in some villages a mothers club tries to assist the most disadvantaged students with fees, books, and supplies, even uniforms.

Chieftdom leaders have considered coercive measures to compel school enrollment and the payment of school fees by all village households, regardless of school attendance. These leaders argue that, because education benefits the entire village, all households should contribute to the school’s support. Kawangulu village adopted a rule requiring all households to pay school fees in a village meeting in May 2018. Similar action by the chieftdom council and enforced by the paramount chief could extend this rule to all villages with access to schools.

Lack of road access remains a key issue. Chieftdom leaders are nonetheless seeking to establish a school in all five sections. To this end, the Regent Chief of Kalanthuba, Daniel Koroma, accompanied by a three-person research team, made a 4-hour trek on foot to the remote village of Kamakolo in Kakalain section, which has no schools. The village is strategically located near the center of population of the section. Here is an account of that meeting as recorded by our research team:

On the morning of 15 June 2018, village leaders from every village in Kakalain section came to the meeting in Kamakolo. More than fifty people attended. The meeting

opened with introductions of the research team and village leaders. Regent Chief Daniel Koroma then explained the proposal to form a new community school, arguing that Kamakolo is the best location in the Kakalain section because it is centrally located in the Kakalain valley, and it is most easily accessible. The idea was met with widespread applause and excitement. Chief Koroma also highlighted the need for a functional road network in the area to facilitate accessibility, promote more development initiatives in the area, and provide market access by way of petty trading in as much as the Kakalain section grows prized crops, such as groundnut. Villagers raised challenges to road-building, including the presence of large stones, seasonal limitations, and large streams that roads will need to cross, requiring culverts or bridges. They also expressed hopes of having a community health post built in Kamakolo after the formation of the school. During the discussion of the proposal, the mammy queen of Kakarima village made an impassioned plea for a health clinic due to high rates of infant and maternal mortality, citing recent deaths in the area that could have been prevented if there were experienced midwives and community health workers.

Next, Chief Koroma shifted the discussion to capital that the community could supply for the proposed community school. The research team discussed some of their recent findings on what is needed to maintain community schools. Villagers said they could contribute to building facilities with coordinated labor. They can mold bricks and have contact with a contractor in Magburaka [the district headquarters town] who can help build the school and help build culverts for the proposed road. As for supplying teachers, there were some individuals that could fill this role, and the communities were prepared to engage in communal agriculture to support community teachers. The last major need was a steady supply of students. When the research team inquired as to whether there would be a sufficient number of students to attend the proposed school, the group erupted in laughter, affirming that there would be students to attend the school. After they finished laughing at the team's "joke," the meeting adjourned, and the team had fresh goat pepper soup for breakfast, prepared from a goat received as a gift from a local village.

The effort in Kakalain section, undertaken at the initiative of the Regent Chief, indicates a commitment on the part of chieftom leaders to community school formation, including a willingness to assist social entrepreneurs. The meeting described above constitutes the first step in school formation—mobilizing community support. Chieftom leaders are well connected both to village communities and to potential teachers and donors. A chieftom committed to educational opportunity for all has the potential to accelerate the process of school formation.

The close tie between school success and physical accessibility suggests the need to coordinate school formation (as well as the establishment of health facilities) with road building. Likewise, the need to support schools financially is closely connected to the expansion of markets for locally grown agricultural products. The chieftom is in a much better position to supply coordination of this scope than are individual social entrepreneurs. Mobilizing and targeting resources to roads that can better connect villagers to well-sited schools and health facilities is appropriate chieftom-level development work. So is facilitating village access to agricultural markets, enhancing income that be used in part to support schools. Working in concert with local

communities as well as external donors, the chieftom can begin to supply essential coordination among the diverse elements needed for sustainable development.

Enrollment and Attendance Issues

The existence of schools is no guarantee of universal enrollment or regular attendance. All Kalanthuba schools except one identified significant problems with school attendance, much of which is poverty-related:

- It is common for parents to keep students home for agricultural labor during important farming seasons that take place at various times during the school year. May and June is the bird-scaring season, which is vital to the preservation of crops from avian pests. The rice harvest takes place in November and December. One season mentioned in Kawangulu is the “brushing” season, in which students who are physically able (usually boys) stay home to clear land for planting.
- An inability to purchase uniforms or pay school fees also stops students from attending school, as parents will often keep students at home either due to a sense of shame or chastisement by the school.
- Another reason for a lack of attendance is hunger. The effects of food insecurity in the home are further compounded by a lack of a feeding program at any of the schools. At times, students may choose not to attend school or leave midday due to hunger. This is especially acute when students must walk considerable distances to get to school.
- Lack of roads is a major factor in low enrollment. The road infrastructure that exists is poor, and during the rainy season, many roads become impassable and dangerous for students to use, reducing school attendance. The long distances that many students must walk to reach school also reduces attendance, especially during the rainy season.
- Another frequent cause of absence is periodic illness. Diarrhea is commonplace, caused by drinking unclean, untreated surface water. Reliance on untreated surface water is common throughout the chieftom.
- Schools report that peer groups may encourage students to skip school. Parents are unaware of this until they receive an attendance record from the school. Some schools report requests from parents to punish delinquent students.
- Periodic absences also occur for initiation into traditional societies when initiation rituals occur. Such absences may extend for one to three months. Although infrequent, students

may completely cease school attendance after initiation. The Kalanthuba Model Secondary School in Kamankay reports that they are on friendly terms with traditional societies and have been engaged in persuading society leaders to let students continue their education following initiation.

- According to interviews in two villages, the dynamics of polygamous households can influence the selection of children to attend school. Since families are large, the male head of household may choose to send a child or children of a “favorite wife” to school while keeping the other children at home for agricultural labor. Traditional (secret) societies were also mentioned as causing students to leave school early if they choose to marry after their initiation. However, child marriage is illegal in Sierra Leone, and informants indicated that it is now a rare occurrence on decline in recent years.

Although village leaders tend to recognize the value of education for the village, some villagers may be skeptical of its worth for their own households. Subsistence agriculture is labor-intensive, and farmers cite the shortage of labor as one of the key constraints on productivity. Children in school are children not working in the field, weeding or scaring away monkeys. At stake is whether there is food to eat. Not surprisingly, some parents may consider that it is more valuable to keep a child out of school for farm labor than to send them to school.

Development by way of school formation must therefore be accompanied by development through income generation. One without the other is untenable for many subsistence households. Even if there are no school fees, households engaged in subsistence agriculture experience an opportunity cost when children go to school. Increasing access to agricultural markets—or developing alternative sources of livelihood—is of a piece with increasing access to education. Food security and sanitation are closely tied to improvements in school attendance.

Conclusion

Primary and secondary education in Kalanthuba Chiefdom is almost entirely the work of community schools, initiated and managed by local communities. The process of school formation is highly dependent on social entrepreneurship and community sponsorship that occurs outside the government managed system of education. Under conditions of extreme poverty, Kalanthuba has nonetheless managed to sponsor seven community schools—six primary schools and one junior secondary school. Most of these are of very recent origin.

The challenges of recruiting and paying teachers, however, as well as building and maintaining facilities, are often overwhelming. The majority of children in the majority of villages

lack access to education, mainly due to the remoteness of most Kalanthuba villages and their lack of roads. Lack of formal education perpetuates illiteracy, estimated at 98 percent among adults resident in the chiefdom. Many villages have not a single literate adult resident.

The chiefdom has the social capital needed to support the process of community school formation and increase its effectiveness. The emerging leadership combines intimate connections to the chiefdom's five sections and 40 villages with outside connections to potential sponsors and teachers. Moreover, the chiefdom can simultaneously address other problems that suppress community school formation and make school management challenging. Roads and road maintenance, the improvement of drinking water, better markets for village agriculture—all have an important bearing on the sustainability of community schools and enrollment. All are feasible chiefdom-level projects.

A holistic approach to community development is the key to community school formation. Chiefdom leaders are committed to increasing the number of schools with the initial goal of at least one primary school in each of the chiefdom's five sections. Importantly, they are also committed to road construction—an effort that is well underway, improving access to existing schools (for both students and teachers), to health facilities (keeping students in school rather than sick at home), and to markets for farm produce (which can be used to pay teachers and buy books). Once the recently restored chiefdom is fully functional, other efforts to improve agriculture marketing and provide clean water can be added to the project mix. Such a multifaceted approach to development is essential to derive maximum benefit from each development project. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the process of community school formation.