

Investigating the Inclusion of Ethno-Depoliticization within Peace-Building Policies in Post-Conflict Sierra Leone

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ABBREVIATIONS

AA-SL	Accountability Alert Sierra Leone
ABC.....	Attitudinal and Behavioural Change
ACC	Anti-Corruption Commission
AFDB	African Development Bank
APC	All Peoples Congress
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CDA	Center for Democratic Action
CGG	Campaign for Good Governance
CMD-SL	Conflict Management and Development Sierra Leone
CNN	Cable News Network
CCYA	Center for Coordination of Youth Activities
DACDF	Diamond Area Community Development Fund
DDR	Disarmament Demobilization and Reintegration
DFID	Department for International Development
EC	European Community
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GoSL	Government of Sierra Leone
IFC	International Finance Corporation
JAS	Joint Assistance Strategy
PBF.....	Peace-Building Fund
PMDC	Peoples Movement for Democratic Change
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
RUF	Revolutionary United Front

SFCG	Search for Common Ground
SL.....	Sierra Leone
SLPRSP.....	Sierra Leone Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
SLPP	Sierra Leone People’s Party
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
TRCRSL	Truth and Reconciliation Commission Report Sierra Leone
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNPBF	United Nations Peace-Building Fund
WAYN	West African Youth Network

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ABSTRACT

Ethno-politicization has been identified as a covert yet pervasive contributing factor in the various outbreaks of violence throughout Sierra Leone's post-independence history. With the latest round of violent conflict having ended in 2002, the government of Sierra Leone in collaboration with local and international partners is presently engaged in peace-building. That being said, institutionalized peace-building has a considerable but imperfect track record of success. Furthermore, the intricate way in which ethno-politicization is woven into the social-political fabric of Sierra Leone is such that, if not effectively treated, it poses a continuing threat to the stability of the nation. Accordingly this thesis examined the extent to which ethno-depoliticization strategies have been directly incorporated into the peace-building framework. This task was accomplished through the development of a five-point definition of ethno-politicization that is based on the institutional instrumentalist theory. The definition provided an analytical framework used in the interpretation of results from a policy audit and field interviews with representatives of the peace-building architects. The research revealed that within the peace-building framework, ethno-politicization is not directly acknowledged as a real and ongoing threat to peace and stability and hence, a prioritized component of the peace-building architecture. However, some of the policy initiatives contained within the peace-building framework will indirectly result in ethno-depoliticization outcomes. These policy initiatives nevertheless require more rigorous and focused implementation and monitoring to be effective. Accordingly, the study recommends (i) the implementation of the recommendations of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (ii) a constitutional amendment stipulating ethnic quotas for political party leadership and parliamentary candidates; (iii) the strengthening of civil society;(iv) an intensive nation-wide campaign promoting a national identity and; (v) the strengthening of democratic institutions, which also includes making ethnically-inclusive and ethnically impartial practices within public institutions as part of the performance evaluation of senior public servants.

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Matilda J. Cole
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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the two women that have shaped my life:

To my grandma *Mrs. Matilda Josephine G. Grimisa-Cole*, (R.I.P) for the gift of education
and unconditional love

And

To my mother, *Ms. Lilian Konima Momoh*, for the gift of life

Chapter 1 Introduction

This thesis examines the extent to which ethno-depoliticization mechanisms has been incorporated into current peace-building efforts in Sierra Leone (SL) and the extent to which these mechanisms have translated into state policies and practices. Leading academics on the recent conflict in Sierra Leone have noted that ethno-politicization, the organization of political coalitions along ethnic lines, was a significant contributing factor in the 1991 to 2002 civil war (hereinafter referred to as “the war”, “the conflict” or “the strife”)¹ (Bah, 2000; Bangura, 2000; Peter, 2006; Keen, 2005; Richards, 2005; Abdullah and Muana, 1998; and Richards et al, 2004).

Nearly two decades ago, the former United Nations Secretary-General defined post-conflict peace-building as an “action to identify and support structures which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict” (Boutros Boutros-Ghali, 1992, p.32, para.55). Thereafter, practitioners, scholars, governments, as well as international organizations have relentlessly advocated institutionalized peace following conflict. Over time, the mainstream view on peace-building appears to have converged on the implementation of a set of mechanisms namely: truth commissions; the staging of democratic elections; security sector reform and state-building as the panacea for creating lasting peace in war shattered countries. Advocates, consisting primarily of liberal peace-building practitioners² assert that these mechanisms will ultimately manifest into *political*

¹ The use of the words (the war, the conflict, or the strife) should be read and understood within the same context in this thesis.

² Liberal peace is defined as the dominant form of peacemaking and peacebuilding favoured by leading states, international organizations and financial institutions. This of peace is that which is experienced in Afghanistan, Sudan, Bosnia and other international peace supported interventions. For a detailed discussion on the topic please see, Roland Paris, *At War's End: Building peace after Civil Conflict*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

transformation – a necessary step to end conflict and deliver good governance (Lamin, 2003; Goldstone, 1995; Dougherty, 2004; and Willis & El-Battahani, 2009). Accordingly, there has been notable bias amongst the primary peace-building agents towards the *blanket application* of this form of prescribed *liberal peace* (Barnett et.al, 2007) in Sierra Leone, as in the case of several other post-conflict scenarios in Sub-Saharan Africa including Liberia, Sudan, Kenya, South Africa, Uganda, Burundi and the Democratic Republic of Congo.

Undoubtedly some of the aforementioned peace-building mechanisms are contributors to Sierra Leone's current period of stability, which has spanned an entire decade since the signing of the Lomé Peace Agreement³ on 7 July, 1999. However, there are indications that institutionalised peace-building may not be as effective in securing lasting peace as previously thought. In general, leading experts in the field have demonstrated that there is a 20 to 50 percent chance of recidivism into conflict within four to five years of cessation of hostilities and that seventy-two percent of peace-building operations have left in place authoritarian regimes (Surhke, 2007; Walter, 2010; Page-Fortna, 2008; and Paris, 2004). These observations are particularly sobering, given the multifaceted and complex nature of the factors that catalyzed the 1991-2002 civil war in Sierra Leone.

Hence, while it can be argued that peace-building could form the necessary conditions for permanent peace, the failure of liberal peace-building architects to realise the importance of understanding the context in order to effectively address deeply rooted, and sometimes covert, socio-political structures behind a conflict, such as ethno-political dynamics, may jeopardize prolonged stability (Mac Ginty, 2010; Willis & El-Battahani, 2009; and Iro, 2009).

³ Signed between the government of Sierra Leone and the Revolutionary United Front (RUF).

As a consequence, the implementation of a non-contextualized peace-building initiative may only serve as a temporary deterrent for relapse into war rather than as an adequate recipe for permanent peace. Considering the political triggers to the war, national peace-building framework developed for Sierra Leone should pay sufficient attention to the country's political history and, as such, all the underlying determinants of the conflict. This thesis proposes, however, that the peace-building architects in Sierra Leone have neglected ethno-politicization and failed to properly implement ethno-depoliticization measures to create lasting peace.

Background History of the war

Sierra Leone can emerge as a showcase of West Africa, progressive in its politics and forward-looking in its policies...Building on a solid agricultural base, the economy has profited from diamond deposits and growing interest in its promising industries, which range from fish to oil. Sierra Leone is more than a symbol of freedom; it is an embodiment of the aspirations of Africa (Melady, 1964, p. 39).

Bordered to the north by Guinea and the southeast by Liberia, with 402 kilometres of Atlantic coastline on the southwest, Sierra Leone is a small country that covers a total of 71,740 square kilometers in West Africa.⁴ (See Figure 1 for the geographical layout of Sierra Leone). This small country located in the rain forest of West Africa, boasts of rich mineral resources, forest products, exportable agricultural commodities and marine resources, which at independence seemed to promise the idyllic future Melady described. On March 23rd, 1991, however, a group of armed Revolutionary United Front (RUF) rebels led by Foday Sankoh, an ex-army corporal, with the support of the then president of Liberia, Charles

⁴ See Christopher Fyfe, *History of Sierra Leone* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962).

Taylor, and other internationally supported mercenaries,⁵ attacked the district of Kailahun through the town of Bomaru near the eastern frontier⁶ of Sierra Leone. The RUF claimed that the reason behind its attack was to put an end to the neo-patrimonial⁷ governance of the All People's Congress (APC) party. These events would mark the beginning of a decade long conflict in Sierra Leone.

⁵ The Sierra Leone civil war was not only the result of internal malpractices. For an in-depth understanding about the internal and external factors that gave rise to the conflict please consult (Witness to Truth: SLTRC vol 1-3, 2004).

⁶ I share the views of various authors (Adbullah, 2004; Keen, 2005; and Pham, 2006) who believe that had the rebels attempted to launch their attack using the northern frontiers, the war would have never lasted as long as it did. This is based on the simple logic that the party that had been in power leading up to the war was from the northern region, and therefore encouraging the perpetuation of the war would not have serve their best interest. However, since this was an election year, encouraging conflict in the south-eastern regions would be a mechanism to distract the SLPP.

⁷ See Christopher Clapham, *Third World Politics (London: Croom Helm, 1984)*. Clapham describes neo-patrimonialism as a "form of organisation in which relationships of a broadly patrimonial type pervade a political and administrative system which is formally constructed on rational-legal lines." (p. 197). This type of politics is what constitutes Sierra Leones' socio-political fabric.



Figure 1: Geographical/Administrative Map of Sierra Leone. (Source: Nations Online Project)

In investigating the major causes of the civil war in Sierra Leone (1991-2002), academics as well as civil society organizations have pointed to numerous factors. Some (Bah, 2000; Bangura, 2000; Lujala et al, 2005; and Amnesty International, January 2003) have argued that the predominant cause of the civil war was greed, as manifested by political

corruption and the excessive accumulation of wealth by state officials through the illegal trade of one of the country's most valuable natural resources, diamonds. Others assert that the war was essentially an outpouring of frustration on the part of politically and economically disenfranchised youths who envisioned a very bleak future and therefore questioned their *raison d'être* (Peter, 2006; Richards, 2005; Abdullah and Muana, 1998; and Richards et al, 2004). According to this view, frustration amongst the youth was reinforced by the high levels of unemployment and the collapse of the educational system, due to reprehensible governance of the country by the elites.

Whilst the aforementioned factors are the most widely acknowledged as underlying causes of the Sierra Leonean civil war, closer examination of the conflict reveals that ethno-politicization – the organisation of political coalitions along ethnic lines – which can be traced as far back as the country's colonial era, also played a significant role. According to authors, the colonial structure contributed to a greater sense of superiority on the part of the Krios of the western area and Mendes of the eastern and southern provinces by privileging these ethnic groups over the Temnes and Limbas of the much larger Northern territories (Stovel, 2006; and Alie, 2008).⁸ Hence, shortly after independence in 1961, the people of Sierra Leone found themselves divided along ethnic political lines (Stovel, 2006; and Alie, 2008). This outcome is simply indicative of the fact that the nationalist front with which the nation achieved its independence was one based only on the opposition to colonial rule. However, after the attainment of independence there was no broad-based national unifying goal among the various anti-colonial groups. The Northern or Temne and Limba based-APC

⁸ Superiority in this context refers to the manner in which the more educated Krios and Mende were privileged by virtue of them been made emmissaries for the colonial masters in broadcasting authority over the populous and less educated Temne and Limba.

and the Southeastern or Mende-based SLPP therefore resorted to ethnic appeal for political mobilization.

Consequently, following the country's independence, the ethnic divide deepened as elite representatives of opposing ethnic factions – the major political parties, the Sierra Leone's People Party (SLPP) and the APC – formed and maintained ethnic loyalty through neo-patrimonialism. The country quickly disintegrated as the APC ruling party escalated these practices and intensified its nepotism.⁹ The evolution of this ethnic divide coupled with three decades of APC dictatorship, under whose rule corruption, nepotism and mismanagement of the country's natural resources and public funds flourished, ultimately set the stage for the eruption of the conflict.

1.1 Research Questions and Hypotheses

Despite the role ethno-politicization played in the Sierra Leonean conflict, this thesis hypothesizes that it has been neglected within the current peace-building architecture.

Accordingly, the questions at the core of this thesis are:

1. What are the areas of focus of the Sierra Leone peace-building architecture?
2. What strategies, if any, within current peace-building initiatives in Sierra Leone either directly or indirectly address the issue of ethno-depoliticization? And;
3. To what extent are the identified strategies within the current peace-building framework appropriate for achieving ethno-depoliticization outcomes? OR
4. How can the peace-building framework of Sierra Leone be strengthened/augmented in order to effectively achieve ethno-depoliticization outcomes?

⁹ I will use nepotism and neo-patrimonialism interchangeably throughout this research as both words have the same connotation.

These questions were framed in consideration of the fact that Sierra Leone's political history to date lends credence to Rabushka and Shepsle's (1972) contention that "democracy is unfeasible in an ethnically divided [and polarized] society because polarized ethnic preferences will lead to "ethnic outbidding" and polarized policies, which in turn make ethnic groups unwilling to share power through elections" (Fearon, 2004, p. 7). Hence, whilst Rabushka and Shepsle's (1972) deterministic view has been largely disputed in light of the fact that most of the world's ethnically divided and polarized states, such as Belgium, the United States and Canada are consolidated democracies, it is particularly relevant to the case of Sierra Leone. The conflictive manner in which politics has been polarized along ethnic lines has also undermined the ability of state institutions to diffuse disincentives for senior public servants in state institutions to function along ethnic lines. As Abdullah (2004) articulates:

...the centralization of power under the APC, the destruction of civic forms of opposition, the active under-development and destabilization of the countryside, and deliberate use of state sponsored violence by APC in settling disputes – provoked the crisis that led to war (p. 3).

With this said however, it must be emphasized that in the Sierra Leonean context, the conflation of political and ethnic identities in the face of weak governance institutions, is such that ethnic politics have become embedded into party politics to the extent that state action necessarily takes on an ethnic dimension. As Figure 3 demonstrates, the voting patterns and results of the 2007 parliamentary elections is a clear indication of the extent to which ethnic political polarization is immersed in the nation.

2007 Parliamentary Election Results

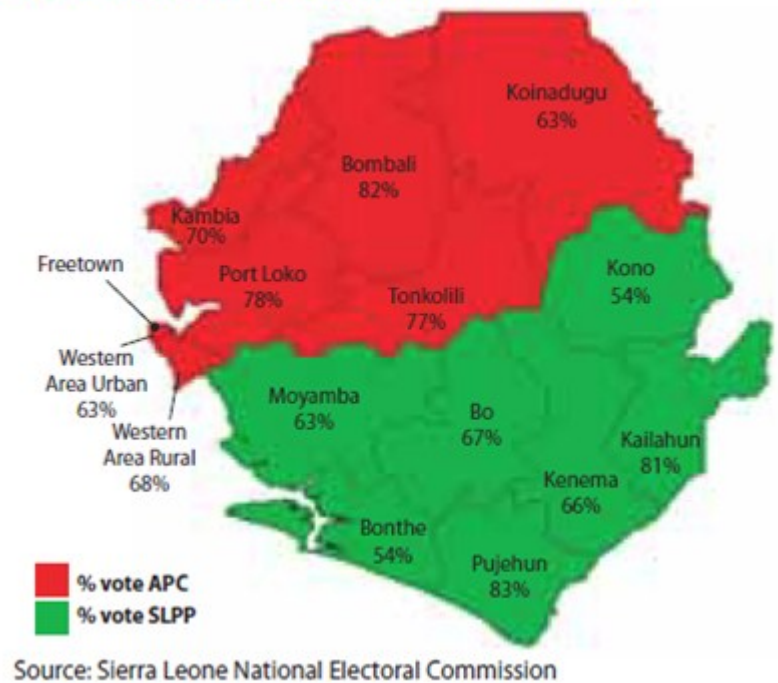


Figure 2: Results of Sierra Leone's 2007 Parliamentary Elections

More importantly, the aforementioned ethnic-based state institutional practices by the APC have remained prevalent in the country's post-conflict phase as manifested in the destruction of the opposition party's (SLPP) headquarters in 2009 (Sierra Express Media, September 9, 2011). The ethnic political violence that followed these events resulted in the adoption of the APC-SLPP Joint Communiqué. The 2011 political killings and ethnic violence against SLPP supporters in Bo district and re-intensified practice of neo-patrimonialism through the appointment of ministers who are predominantly northern are clear indication of the continued prevalence of ethno-politicization in post-conflict Sierra Leone (*Ibid*). Considering the continued presence of ethno-politicization in Sierra Leone, this thesis seeks to assess the extent to which ethno-depoliticization has been incorporated into the peace-building architecture efforts and examine whether the policies have been translated in to practice.

Rationale and Significance

While the importance of implementing an effective peace-building mechanism is prominently featured within post-conflict development institutions. In general, there has been very little talk about the importance of ethno-depoliticization within the peace-building architecture. The aforementioned observation is evidently missing within the academic and peace-building practitioners' debate and this, to a great extent, is demonstrative of the weaknesses in Sierra Leone's peace-building architecture.

Why is it that a country once referred to as the *Athens of West Africa*, now sits at the bottom of the United Nations (UN) Human Development Index?¹⁰ A partial answer to this question has been attributed to the predominance of ethnic politics that has permeated the socio-political fabric of the nation and contributed to a devastating war. The socio-economic impacts of the war on the country in terms of both human suffering and loss in economic development is a compelling reason to ensure that current peace-building initiatives produce permanent peace as opposed to a temporary cessation of hostilities. Achieving this objective requires that every factor that contributed to the conflict be adequately dealt with, in order to minimize the potential for relapse into conflict. Accordingly, this necessitates that ethno-depoliticization be mainstreamed into peace-building initiatives, as ethno-politicization remains a pervasive, yet nuanced element within Sierra Leone's socio-political fabric.

Consequently, this thesis seeks to establish the presence or absence of policy instruments and mechanisms designed to address ethno-politicization and determined their level of appropriateness. As such this thesis will pay particular attention to the degree to which peace-building documents have incorporated ethno-depoliticization mechanisms that

¹⁰ Sierra Leone ranked 180 out of 187 in the International Human Development indicators, (source: <http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/countries/profiles/SLE.html>)

have in practice filtered through the nation's political structures. If it is determined that limited or no attention has been given to the issue, this thesis will identify possible reasons for the gap, and offer some policy recommendations that would bolster ethno-depoliticization efforts in Sierra Leone.

The importance of this research lies in the fact that whilst ethno-politicization has been generally acknowledged as a significant factor in the lead up to the war - the importance of ethno-depoliticization seems relatively absent from the discourse around peace-consolidation and peace-building in Sierra Leone. This inconsistency is primarily due to the fact that the conflation of ethnic and political identities has effectively translated into the conflation of the political party identity with the state or government. Thus being that ethno-politicization is so covertly intertwined with state policies and actions, its manifestation can easily be misinterpreted by peace-building agents as simply state or institutional failure that is devoid of an ethnic dimension.

Hence, this thesis sheds light on the pervasiveness of ethno-politicization throughout Sierra Leone's post-colonial era to date. Furthermore, it raises awareness around the threat that the phenomenon poses to the country's long-term stability and success of the peace-building program if it is not effectively tackled. More importantly it is believed that if there has ever been a moment where Sierra Leoneans have had the opportunity to take control of their country's destiny that time is now. Sierra Leone is at a cross roads where if political agents are given the right incentives to strive for positive change; and if an effective, peace-building program is implemented, the country should experience long term stability that will ultimately manifest into the future prosperity and development of the nation.

Accordingly, the recommendations produced within this thesis will be made available to key peace-building stakeholders in Sierra Leone. These stakeholders include members of

the leading political parties – APC, SLPP and the People’s Movement for Democratic Change (PMDC). It is intended that the awareness of ethno-depoliticization recommendations from this thesis will provide some resources to political actors that might help them refrain from adopting policies that can widen the existing ethno- political divide. It is hoped that the awareness generated by this thesis on the prevailing divisive political culture in the country will dissuade politicians from engaging in policies that are non-conflict sensitive, centralised and non-inclusive.

1.2 Organization of Chapters

The thesis is organized as per the outline and discussion below. In chapter 2, the five different components of ethno-politicization are developed and defined as manifested in the case of Sierra Leone. The problem of ethno-politicization is illustrated using different examples from countries in sub-Saharan Africa. A definition for ethno-depoliticization that is based on the institutional strand of instrumentalism is also proposed. Chapter 3 surveys existing literature on ethno-politicization in Sierra Leone. Chapter 4 explains the steps and methodology used for this thesis. In chapter 5, the architects (actors) and architecture (policies or strategies) of Sierra Leone peace-building are presented. Also included in this chapter are the major findings from field interviews regarding the extent of the incorporation of ethno-depoliticization mechanisms in the Sierra Leone peace building architecture (?). Chapter 6 analyses how the documents reviewed, and the interview results summarized in chapter 5, have produced minimal impact on ethno-depoliticization in Sierra Leone. The chapter also highlights that the policy documents reviewed did not directly address ethno-depoliticization. However, some of the initiatives will have an indirect impact on impact ethno-depoliticization. Chapter 7 presents my concluding observations, as well as offers

some policy recommendations based on the observed inadequacies of the current peace-architecture framework with regards to ethno-depoliticization.

Chapter 2 Towards a Comprehensive Instrumentalist Framework for Ethno-(De) politicization

As explained above, this thesis examines the extent to which ethno-depoliticization strategies have been integrated into Sierra Leone's peace building process. This chapter explores the main definitions or treatments of ethno-politicization with a view to proposing a conceptual framework for assessing the extent to which concerted efforts are being made to address this problem in post-war Sierra Leone.

Ethno-depoliticization describes the process through which state institutions are strengthened by public stakeholders in order to effectively prevent, minimize or mitigate the organization of political coalitions along ethnic lines. Ethno-politicization largely involves the use of force against opposing ethnic groups with a view to monopolize access to state resources and levers of power. Where this condition is not prevented or mitigated, the problem of ethno-politicization is said to exist. Hence, the process of reducing or eradicating the problem of ethno-politicization is referred to as ethno-depoliticization.

Politics, in Sierra Leone, as in many other sub-Saharan African countries, is beset by ethno-politicization (Horowitz, 1985; Fearon, 2004; and Posner, 2005). The prevalence of ethno-politicization in sub-Saharan Africa is a phenomenon that has captured the interest of many scholars (Kandeh, 1992; Easterly and Levine; 1997; Fearon, 2004; Udogu, 1999; Orvis, 2001; Lieberman, 2011; Miodownik; Cartrite, 2010; and Chandra, 2005). Accordingly, the investigation of ethnicity in the political process – that is the politicization of ethnicity within the Sierra Leonean context – necessitates a conceptual basis in order to better understand the significance of ethno-depoliticization in the nation's peace-building efforts.

The Instrumentalist Theory of Ethno-politicization

Instrumentalist theory will be examined to describe the relationship between economic wants, greed and grievances and the active manipulation of ethnicity to explain how ethno-politicization fits into the Sierra Leonean political context. This thesis also emphasizes the institutionalism strand of instrumentalism. According to Sweezy (1942), institutional instrumentalism is the strand of instrumentalism which posits that the state or state institutions are instruments ruling elites use for enforcing and guaranteeing the existing power structures created by them for their own benefit. Milliband (1969) further extends on Sweezy's notion of institutional instrumentalism by identifying the ruling elites of a modern society as the group which controls political or economic power and by virtue of such powers conferred upon them, they are able to use the state as an instrument for their domination of society (p. 23). In the context of ethno-politicization in Sierra Leone, the political and economic leaders of the major ethnic groups - especially those belonging to the ethnic group in power - are viewed as the elites.

Instrumentalists explain the main sources of conflictive ethnic politics through economic factors and elite ambitions (Eriten and Romine, 2008, p. 4). Societal economic development increases social integration and awareness, which makes the differences between the members of the ethnic groups obvious. Those differences may include disadvantages for an ethnic group or may create discriminatory and exclusivist policies against the members of one ethnic group. Being disadvantaged or discriminated against creates ethnic grievances among the group members and increases the possibility of violent or conflictive ethnic contests (Eriten and Romine, 2008, p. 4). Instrumentalists therefore treat ethnicity primarily as an ad-hoc element of a political strategy, used as a resource for groups in achieving goals such as, for instance, an increase in wealth, power or status.

According to Weir (2012), instrumentalism has two elements. First, is the idea that ethno-politicization often emerges out of a desire for economic gain; this is often referred to as the ‘greed and grievance’ component. Secondly, instrumentalists argue that ethno-politicization emerges from a deliberate manipulation by elites based on their rational decision to encourage or incite ethnic differences. In other words: “if behaviour in terms of ethnic attachments could be seen to be serving some individual or collective political or economic ends, then the ethnic action could be reinterpreted as instrumental” (Fenton, 2010, p.74).

As such, instrumentalists view ethnicity as a phenomenon that operates within contemporary political contexts and is not an archaic survival arrangement carried over into the present by conservative people (Cohen, 1969, p.190). To the instrumentalist, ethnicity is “a conscious expression of short-term economic [or political] interest.” It is a convenient fiction constructed by self-seeking leaders and sold to impressionable followers (Cohen, 1969, p. 5). Leaders of an ethnic group manipulate some values, norms, beliefs, symbols, and ceremonials informal political organization weapon in struggle for power with other groups within the contemporary situation (Cohen, 1969, p. 5). Ethnic elites take advantage of differences created by modernization in order to institute ethnically based political movements with the aim of improving the economic or political wellbeing of their group or region (Connor, 1972). Their group or region, in turn, will go along with the leaders as an easier means of gaining access to whatever political wellbeing or economic incentives, however little these leaders have to offer them.

In accordance with the instrumentalist viewpoint, Fearon (2004) defines ethno-politicization as a situation in which political coalitions are organized along ethnic lines and/or access to political and economic benefits of society primarily depends on ethnic

affiliation (p.3). Fearon's definition best serves as the basis for an analytical framework for assessing the minimization or eradication of ethno-politicization in Sierra Leone. This is because, unlike the conventional instrumentalists' notion that ethnicity could be manipulated in the short-term, Fearon acknowledged that ethnicity is not a malleable concept that is subject to frequent changes and manipulation, presumably based on people's interests at the relevant time. Rather, ethno-politicization exhibits remarkable stability over the medium to long term. Compared to conventional instrumentalists, Fearon appreciates that ethno-politicization's hold on politics transcends the electoral or voting process. Organization of political coalitions is useful not just for the mobilization of supporters during elections; it can also be used as a means to gain access to wealth or other societal benefits in Africa and, thereafter, to sustain the gained wealth over the medium to long term.

It must be acknowledged that constructivism or the formation and reformation of ethnic identities could, to some extent, account for both the causes of the Sierra Leone civil war and the derailment of peace building. Constructivists posit that ethnicity or ethnic identities are socially constructed. This means that social categories – *i.e.* their membership rules, contents and valuation - are the products of human action and speech and that, as a result, they can and do change over time. Constructing an identity may refer to either the content of a social category, such as making “Mendes believe that Mendes cannot live with Temnes and vice versa. Or the boundary rules, such as making the Mendes believe that they are Mende by virtue of their paternal lineage and roots from Southeastern Sierra Leone (Fearon and Laiton, 2002, 847).

In Sierra Leone, ethnic labels or boundaries (*i.e.* Mendes and Temnes) are stable over the medium to long run. That is to say, individuals identify themselves as Mende or Temnes based on their paternal lineage/ancestry. Thus, in ways reminiscent of the constructivist

classification by Brubaker, Loveman and Stamatov (2004, p.31), ethnic labels are conceptualized as “entities in the world” rather than “perspectives on the world.” The contents of ethnic groups, on the other hand, are conceptualized as “perspective on the world” in a certain period of time (Brubaker, Loveman and Stamatov, 2004, p. 31).

Compared to ethnic labels or boundaries, ethnic contents are therefore relatively malleable, depending on which of the major ethnic groups has the upper hand in terms of political power and economic wealth during a particular period in post-colonial Sierra Leone.

Since the quest for political power and economic wealth amongst the major ethnic groups explains the dynamics or interaction amongst the major ethnic groups, it is posited, however, that instrumentalist-oriented framework is more effective in assessing the elimination or eradication of ethno-politicization within the Sierra Leone peace-building context. In other words, if individuals are viewed as agents who construct ethnic identities, then constructivist explanations for ethno-politicization tend to merge with instrumentalism, especially with respect to elite manipulation of the masses (Fearon and Laiton, 2002, p. 846). As well, unlike constructivism, which heavily relies on highly subjective features such as identities and perceptions, instrumentalism is a more effective conceptual framework for assessing ethno-depoliticization in the Sierra Leonean context because it offers a common denominator that could be objectively analyzed - economic incentives: i.e. the quest for economic power or gain. It should be noted that respected authors (Reno, 1995; Pham, 2006; Ndumbe, 2001; Bangura, 2000; and Kandeh, 1992, 1999, 2002, 2003, and 2008) who have studied ethno-politics within the Sierra Leonean context have also situated this issue within an institutional instrumentalist framework.

In applying Fearon’s instrumentalist-oriented definition for assessing the eradication or reduction of ethno-politicization in the context of Sierra Leone peace-building, the

following components of ethno-politicization will be addressed: i) political coalitions or political supporters organized or mobilized along ethnic lines; ii), access to political and economic benefits from the national wealth based on organized ethnicity (the mobilization of political supporters along ethnic lines); iii) use of force by ethnic groups to maintain or gain access to economic resources and to prevent other ethnic groups from doing the same ; iv) complementing the use of force with conflictive or violent ethnic group rhetoric v) lack of strong and effective social democratic institutions to reach a viable compromise among internal factions on the one hand, and to serve as disincentives for external political and economic actors from aggravating violent ethno-politicization on the other.

The following paragraphs explain how ethno-politicization and its different components have manifested themselves in sub-Saharan Africa.

i. Organization of political coalitions along ethnic lines in Sub-Saharan Africa

Under certain circumstances and in certain cases, appeals for representation and thus power during election campaigns can be rooted in ethnic sentiments. Several studies have shown, based on empirical research of voting behavior, that ethno-politicization is primarily manifested through ethnic affiliation being the main determinant of party preferences in sub-Saharan Africa.

Nigeria, for example, has a tri-polar ethnic structure which forms the main context for ethnic mobilization and contestation. The manifestation of ethno-politicization in Nigeria can be traced as far back as its attainment of independence. Political representation and power are continuously negotiated between the Northern Hausa/ Fulani, Eastern Ibo, and Western Yoruba. Since independence, Nigerian nationalists used ethnic unions to infiltrate the rural areas and mobilize people along ethnic lines (Ukiwo, 2005, 7). The untimely death of former president Umaru Yar'Adua, a Northerner, in 2010, and election

of his successor, Goodluck Jonathan, a Yoruba-Southerner, illustrates the phenomenon of ethnic mobilization. The country's ruling party has been able to accommodate northern and southern ethnic groups under one ticket because of the unwritten constitutional practice of interchanging Northern and Southern leaders. The election of Jonathan to the Party's leadership and ultimately to the presidency was viewed by many Northerners as objectionable and illegitimate.

ii. Access to political and economic benefits on the basis of ethnic affiliation

This phenomenon describes a situation in which ownership or possession of goods and services, or for that matter, access to national resources and wealth are driven by political allegiance and, by implication, hegemonic ethnic identification. Access by a dominant or hegemonic ethnic group to the resources of the state takes a political dimension. This is because, in ways reminiscent of the instrumentalist theory, custodianship of the state apparatus positions the winning or dominant ethnic group to distribute the state's scarce resources amongst its members to the exclusion of other ethnic groups (Udogu, 1999, p.794). Ethno-politics therefore facilitates a zero-sum political game among antagonistic ethnic groups in the sense that political parties view either the rise to or stay in power (i.e. executive branch) by their opponents as a complete or absolute loss for them. Close examination of the literature on ethnic politics reveals similar trends in most of sub-Saharan Africa.

In Kenya, for example, it has been a common practice for politicians to seek support from their ethnic groups "as citizens perceive most political battles to be about dividing the 'national cake' among the constituent ethnic groups" (Orvis, 2001, p. 2). Another example that could be drawn from the Kenyan context is the acquisition of the Kalenjin,

Maasai and Samburu land in the Rift Valley by the Kikuyu during the Kenyatta regime – a member of the acquirers’ ethnic group.

iii. Use of force by ethnic groups to maintain or gain access to economic resources and to prevent other ethnic groups from doing the same

The manifestation of this phenomenon is usually typified by an inequitable structure of access to economic resources. Inequality of access in turn gives rise to the emergence of what Oyugi (2011), describes as the “in group” and the “out group” with the latter trying to break the structure of inequality as the former responds by building barriers to access that ensure the continuation of its privileged position” (p.5). The use of force between ethnic groups in order to gain access to economic resources has been well documented within sub-Saharan Africa. Angola, Uganda, Liberia, Nigeria, Burundi, Rwanda, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Côte d’Ivoire are illustrative of this point. For more than three decades following independence, Côte d’Ivoire under Felix Houphouet-Boigny was conspicuous for its ethnic harmony and its well-developed economy. The potential for continued ethnic harmony was however severely undermined by a coup led by Robert Guei which toppled Felix Houphouet-Boigny's successor, Henri Bedie, in 1999. Prior to fleeing the country Bedie, planted the seeds of economic-linked ethnic discord by arming and encouraging southerners to defend the infiltration of their motherland by northerner, who at the time, controlled and worked on the vast stretches of cocoa plantations-the country’s breadbasket. This practice stirred up xenophobia against northerners, the region of his main rival, Alassane Ouattara and led to violence that caused more than a decade of bloodshed (BBC, April 2011).

iv. The construction of conflictive or violent ethnic group rhetoric in order to reinforce access to economic wealth

In line with the instrumentalist theory, in-group bias usually occurs in order to reinforce access to economic wealth and political power. People strive to pursue a favorable group reputation or status not just because they value the feeling of being part of a well-respected group but also because of the easier access that this favourable belonging gives them to the nation's economic resources compared to members of other ethnic groups (Brown, 2000, p. 748-750). For instance, long before the start of the widely publicized Rwandan genocide, there were reports of generalized out-group labelling of Tutsis by Hutus as "cockroaches". This ethnic scapegoating perpetuated by the Hutus reinforced existing physiological stereotypes (Lieberman, 2011, p.12). Such a practice of scapegoating the Tutsis also formed the basis of economic and political discrimination against the Tutsis.

v. Absence of strong and effective democratic institutions

Ethno-politicization in sub-Saharan Africa is greatly facilitated by either weak institutions or the non-existence of effective democratic institutions. Weak institutions can facilitate conditions of out-group labelling and ethnic tensions in ethnically diverse countries. This is because there are no impartial institutional constraints on more powerful or majority groups that seek to alienate minority or less powerful groups. Hence there are no disincentives preventing members of one ethnic group from demonizing the other for economic or political benefits. It should be noted that studies and concrete evidence from examples of western countries have shown that strong democratic institutions can reduce the adverse effects of ethnic tensions in a way that produces political stability (Quinn and Woolly, 2001, p. 635). Ethnic diversity is not a problem in

a society where fundamental institutions are functioning. This is because such institutions provide disincentives-- such as paying fines or serving jail time-- for members of the majority and powerful groups from imposing their will on minority and more vulnerable groups in a manner that undermine the fundamental rights of the latter. It only becomes troubling in countries where formal institutions are inadequate and weak. Weak institutions are also vehicles for expressing real or imagined grievances about inequality and injustice that further enhance in-group recruitment (Lieberman, 2011, p.5).

As well, the ineffective, inadequate and weak functioning of fundamental societal institutions has the potential to reduce the ability of civil servants and judicial officials to restrain politicians or other political stakeholders from deliberately encouraging ethno-politicization, through the reinforcement of the 'us-them' dichotomy among antagonistic ethnic groups (Lieberman, 2011; p. 6; and Longman, 2001; p. 355). Therefore, the institutional instrumentalist notion of state institutions being used as tools by ethnic elites to gain or consolidate political economic power or political advantages is most prevalent in the absence of strong and effective democratic institutions.

Chapter 3 Survey of Ethno-politicization in the context of the Civil War in Sierra Leone

This chapter surveys existing literature on ethno-politicization in Sierra Leone. The survey is intended to highlight the problem of ethno-politicization, which was a contributor to the Sierra Leone Civil War (1991-2002).

For a small country with a population of 5,485,998, Sierra Leone is arguably ethnically diverse (CIA World Fact Book, 2012). As Figure 3¹¹ illustrates, Sierra Leone's main ethnic groups are the Temnes, which make up 35% of the population and are mainly based in the Northern Area and the Mendes, which make up 31% of the population and are based in the Southern Area. The Temnes are mainly Muslims while the Mendes are mainly Christians. Politically, the Temnes are normally linked with the Limbas, which make up 8% of the population, while the Mendes are normally linked with the Konos, which make up 5% of the population. About 2% of the population are made up of the Krios, which are descendants of freed Jamaican slaves who were settled in the Freetown area in the late-eighteenth century. The Krios are known for being the most educated ethnic group in terms of percentage of the ethnic population with secondary and tertiary education. Based on their high literacy rate, the Krios have featured prominently in the non-political bureaucracy (CIA World Fact Book 2012; Keen; 2005).

¹¹ It should be noted that figure 2 is not a census of the ethnic makeup of the various regions. It is only an indication of the ethnic groups that are predominant in the various regions.

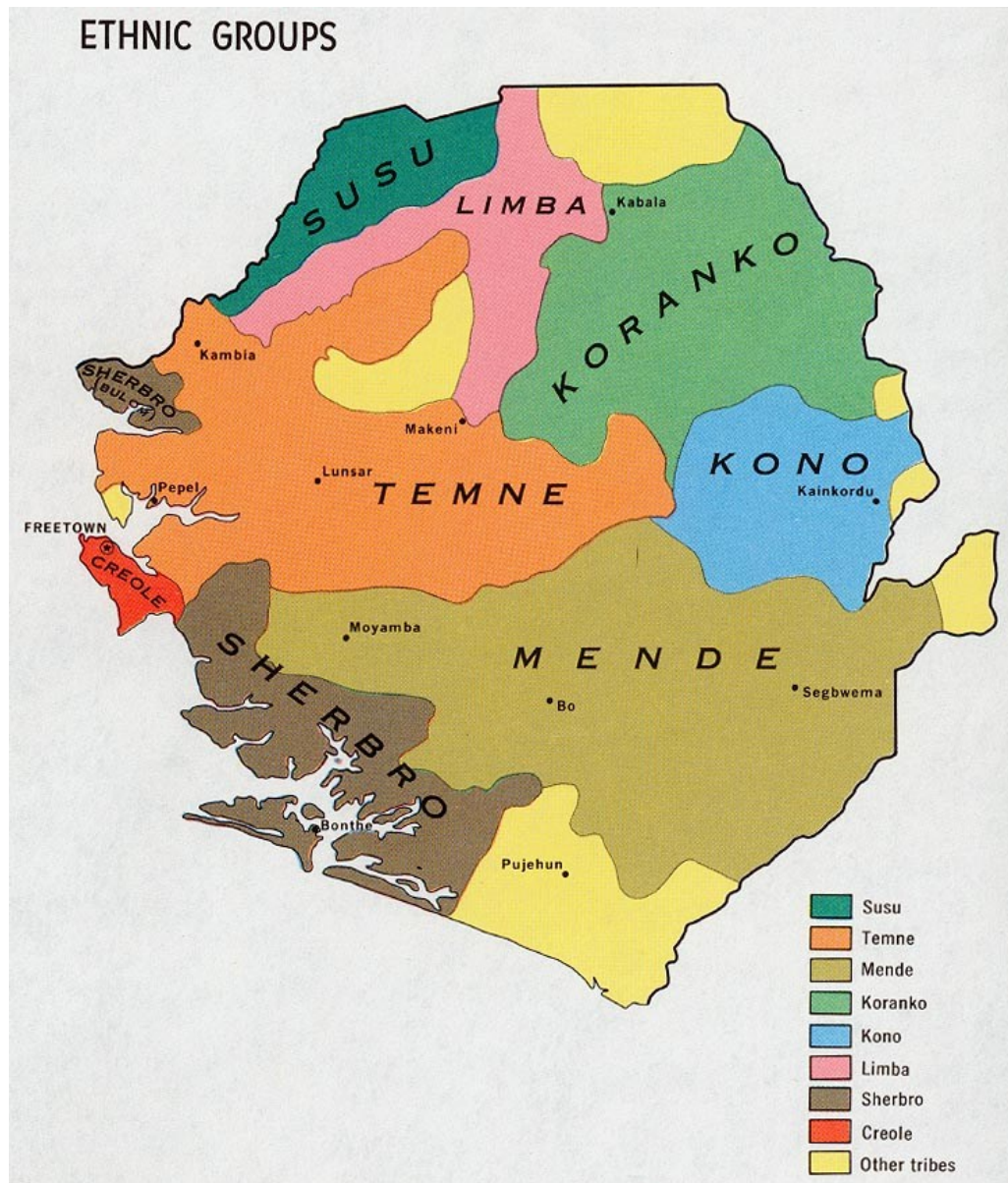


Figure 3: Regional ethnic layout of Sierra Leone (Source: CIA Agency)

Since independence two political parties have ruled Sierra Leone. First is the Sierra Leone's People's Party (SLPP), which ruled Sierra Leone between 1960 and 1967 and between 1996 and 2007. The majority of the members and supporters of the SLLP is made up of Southerners: Mendes and Konos. Second, is the APC, which ruled Sierra Leone from 1967 to 1994 and which has been in power since 2007. The members and supporters of the APC are mainly the Temnes and Limbas (Kenn, 2005; and Pham, 2006). The stage was

therefore set for the institutionalization of ethnicity in politics since the dawn of Sierra Leonean independence in 1961, when the SLPP initially wielded power (CIA World Fact Book 2012; Keen; 2005). The organization of Sierra Leonean politics along ethnic lines was therefore observable in the leadership and control of the two major political parties that have ruled the country over the past fifty years. The institutionalization of ethnicity in Sierra Leonean politics created a clear-cut division that further intensified following violent eruptions that took place during the 1967 elections in which Siaka Stevens¹² of the APC party emerged as the winner. Appeal for electoral votes were not based on manifestos but rather centered on ethnic loyalties. The Mende-Temne divide continued after Stevens took office, as “ethnic groups attached considerable importance to getting their ‘representatives’ into high office and were openly jubilant when appointments were made” (Keen, p. 15). Not surprisingly, just as the Mendes were favoured during, the first Prime Minister, Sir Milton Margai’s administration, so were the Temnes and other northerners under Stevens (Cox, 1976 as cited in Kandeh, 1999). Likewise, a similar shift affected the army, as more Temnes, Limbas and Korankos from the north were given higher positions based on ethnic loyalty whilst the technocratic Mendes were replaced (Brown, 1976).

During the years that the SLPP was in power (1961-1967 and 1996-2006), the Mendes held a majority of the senior government positions and were in the higher income brackets. By contrast, during the years where the APC party was in power (1967-1992 and 2007 to present) the Temnes and Limbas held a disproportionate amount of important governmental positions, regardless of their educational level, and were also among the higher income brackets (Keen, 2005, Pham, 2006; and Abdullah, 2004).

¹² An authoritarian leader who ruled Sierra Leone for 22 years between 1967 and 1989 (Pham, 2005 :206)

Thus, pre- independence Sierra Leonean ethnic group rhetoric was largely based on the privileged position that the Mendes had enjoyed during the colonial era by virtue of the fact that the Mendes (and Krios) were better educated than the Temnes, who were mainly traders and farmers. As a result the Temnes felt aggrieved by the fact that they were not proportionately represented in the centers of power. This situation effectively set the stage for the polarization of Sierra Leone's political landscape between the Northerners and Southerners which exists today (Keen, 2005; Ndumbe, 2001; Pham, 2006; Kandeh, 1992).

This ethnic-regional tension was exacerbated when in 1974. Stevens closed the railway line from the capital city to the rural areas in which a majority of the opposition ethnic groups reside, while there was free access to the capital city by loyal ethnic groups (Keen, p. 15). This action suppressed the market or trading activities in the south-eastern provinces while giving the Limba and Temne traders of the Northern Area an economic advantage. Figure 3, which illustrates the ethnic-regional layout of Sierra Leone, shows that the ethnic chasm persisted even when Stevens repressed political opposition by amending the country's constitution and instituting a single-party ruling system in 1978 – a move he claimed was primarily aimed at preventing ethnic divisions in national politics (Ferme, 1998; Ndumbe, 2001; Bangura, 2000; and Pham, 2006). It actually had the opposite effect. As noted by Ndumbe (2001), Kandeh (1992), and Pham (2006), the introduction of a single-party regime worsened the situation as state affairs and policies were guided along *ethno-clientelist* and *personalist* lines, setting the platform for institutional malpractices such as “political interference [...] favouritism, nepotism and political corruption” (Ndumbe, 2001, p. 3).

President Stevens continued to fan the flames of division with his adoption of slogans such as: “den say Bailor Barrie, you say Davidson Nicol” – wherein *Bailor Barrie*, which

means Wealth, was portrayed as far more important than *Davidson Nicol* which means an admirably high level of education. Put another way, the practice of corruption by state and non-state officials was portrayed as admirable, and education as of no importance.

Furthermore, under Siaka Stevens' one party regime, APC militias, the majority of whom were members of the Temne ethnic group, intimidated, assaulted and even killed members of opposing ethnic groups who were automatically presumed to be natural SLPP supporters (Keen, 2005; Abdullah, 2004; and Pham, 2006). As indicated by Keen (2005) the army served the purpose of coercing internal dissenters. Furthermore, Cox (1976) explains that, during the late 1960s, people from the Bo and Kenema Districts viewed the army as the 'paramilitary wing of the ruling party', as all of its top officers were members of the APC.

The political ethnic divide reached its apex when Stevens' successor, Joseph Momoh, not only restructured the military and brought army and police chiefs into the cabinet, but also awarded commanding military positions to members of his political party and, as such, his ethnic-regional group. Furthermore, the Momoh regime, generally dubbed the "Ekutay Government",¹³ disproportionately favoured his tribesmen in the allocation of resources and public positions. The aforementioned actions taken by Momoh had the impact of exacerbating the divide that already existed within a disunited military.

Consequently, the institutionalization of ethnicity in politics was also transferred to the military. Military officers pledged allegiance to either party, and "politicians repeatedly [...] used ethnic factions in the military to apply violence in their favour (Barrows, 1976, p. 226). This form of action gradually led the country to what William Reno (1995) referred to

¹³ The literal meaning of Ekutay in Limba is – "do you see what I see" or "are we in agreement?" in other words and more appropriately to this context, are we communicating on the same wave length? (Meaning it was the Limba's time to rule and take advantage of the economic benefits that is being presented to them).

as ‘shadow state’ – a system in which entrepreneurs and politicians work together to hijack the state for private gain. The use of ethnic factions in the military to settle political scores along ethnic lines partly accounted for the mysterious disappearances and subsequent killings of APC opponents. In fact, the enactment of the 1965 Public Order Act¹⁴ the creation of a Special Security Division (SSD)¹⁵ (implicated in acts of terrorism against University students with Mende and Kono connections in 1977), also laid a solid foundation for the conflict.

Prior to the civil war, the institutionalization of ethnic divide in the military was also widespread as there was ample evidence of serious ethnic grievances among senior officers who were repeatedly being bypassed for promotion because they lacked ethnic allegiance to the ruling APC Party. This meant that the Southern and Eastern regions, where the war started, were fertile grounds for the recruitment of rebel forces. In addition, the APC government also held the view that the areas that had been initially annexed by the rebels were opposition strongholds. The government did not, as a result, make any deliberate efforts to regain these territories from rebel control. Instead, the government orchestrated a political scheme to leave these territories under rebel control in the run-up to the planned 1991 Multi-Party elections.

To sum up, the division of Sierra Leone into four major ethnic groups appears to have set the stage for the institutionalization of ethnicity in politics. The Mendes and Konos make up the core of the membership and supporters of the SLPP, while the Temnes and the Limbas

¹⁴ This is an act that gives full authority to the state to apply the Criminal Libel in persecution of any person deemed by the state to be committing defamation. However, Politicians in position of power normally uses this law as a leverage on journalists to present legitimate criticisms of their offices or the exposure of wrongdoing and corruption.

¹⁵ In 1973 Stevens’ created a special paramilitary force known as Special Security Division (SSD) to serve as his private security. However, the SSD did not only serve the functions of personal Security guards, but they were used as agents on intimidation against his opponents. Unlike the regular army, the SSD were usually armed. In 1977, under the command of Stevens, the SSDs’ terrorised and attacked Fourah Bay college students who protested against his government.

make up the core of the membership and supporters of the APC. As well, the division of politics into two equally influential ethnic poles (*i.e.* the Mende-Kono vs. the Temne-Limba divide) made the mobilization of ethnic militant members, either from the military or from non-military affiliates easier to settle political scores with opponents in a violent manner. The institutionalization of politics along ethnic lines was also employed by politicians to facilitate access to national economic resources and influential public positions, including the military, for their supporters. The collective grievance as expressed by former public servants and members of the military who felt cheated by the ethno-politicization process was arguably also an effective cause of the civil war in Sierra Leone.

As the country now moves into a post-conflict phase, a variety of peace-building programs have been instituted in order to facilitate the country's effective transition to peace. Some of these policies and corresponding policy tools include:

- The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) (*Lomé Peace Accord* in 1999) – a mechanism through which accountability for human rights violations can be brought to the fore, whilst myths and lies that permeated the past are put to rest; thus providing a vision for the future (Final report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Sierra Leone).
- The Disarmament Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) initiative (Sierra Leone poverty reduction strategy paper, 2005) – aimed at building lasting peace by disabling the fighting capability of ex-combatants, and offering them an alternative to violence and predation by aiding their return and reintegration to civil society.
- The Diamond Area Community Development Fund (DACDF) – a diamond reform program initiative aimed at promoting a fair distribution of diamond revenues to mining chiefdoms (Maconachie, 2008, p. 10).

The above examples provides prima facie evidence that key stakeholders involved in, or affected by the war, have made great strides in constructing a comprehensive framework for promoting peace-building in Sierra Leone. In spite of the seeming successes of Sierra Leone's peace-building efforts to date, ethno-politicization, a core factor in the conflict, appears not to have been adequately addressed as yet.

Recent events relating to appointments into political offices reveal that the issue of ethno-politicization is once again at the center of Sierra Leonean politics. Measures taken by the current President Ernest Bai Koroma of the APC party suggests a reinforcement of the ethnic "divide by the dismissal of top government officials mostly from the southeast and replacing them with northerners" (International Crisis Group, 2008). Furthermore, despite international calls on government to disengage from policies that will lead to ethnic-regional division, to date, the President continues to appoint key state positions the members of the APC alliance.

In addition, the events – political violence and intimidation exerted on members of the SLPP party in Bo, Kenema and Koidu, coupled with the alleged attempted assassination of the APC Presidential candidate - in the 2007 presidential and 2008 local council elections solidified the notion that ethnicity remains a pervasive force to be reckoned with within Sierra Leone's politics (Sierra Media Express, 9 September 2011). The main political parties, the SLPP and the APC, not only continually accused each other of shady intentions during the electoral process, but the opposition (SLPP) also expressed increasing mistrust in the impartiality of key state institutions with the APC being in power (von der Schulenburg, 2010, p. 3), Continuous finger-pointing between both political parties led to violent ethno-political fighting amongst APC supporters from the North and SLPP supports of the south-east in the capital – Freetown (*Ibid*). This friction resulted in the destruction of the SLPP's headquarters and incited sexual violence perpetrated by thugs against women of ethnic

groups affiliated with opposing parties as a form of political intimidation in Freetown on 16th March, 2009 (Political Parties' Joint Communiqué, 2009).

In other words, Sierra Leone is once again at a crossroads where, a “repressive, anti-developmental political system rewards sycophancy (or what Sierra Leoneans like to refer to as *lay belleh*) and punishes honesty, hard work, patriotism and independent thought” (Bangura, 2004, p. 29). If such “ethno-clientelist” and neo-patrimonial practices continue to prevail in parallel to the peace-building process in Sierra Leone, the likelihood that Sierra Leone will be permanently free from the ethnically-based practices that sowed the seeds of civil war is very low.

Chapter 4 Methodology

Design and methodology

This thesis draws its findings from data collected during three months of fieldwork in Freetown, Sierra Leone, in the winter of 2011. As required by academic regulations of the University of Ottawa, an application for ethics approval for the study was made and subsequently granted in January 2011.

In assessing whether or not ethno-depoliticization strategies have been included within Sierra Leone's peace-building framework, a multi-level research approach was applied. This was achieved through a background analysis of existing literature on ethno-politicization in Sierra Leone, followed by an audit or review of leading policy documents both (national and international) on peace-building in Sierra Leone and interviews with key agents in the architecture.

Phase one (1): Background Analysis & Policy Assessment

The first step towards examining my research questions consisted of a background analysis and literature review of documents surrounding ethno-politicization and post-conflict peace-building efforts in Sierra Leone. A review of literature addressing ethno-politicization in the country was useful in understanding the trajectory of this phenomenon. Given that the background information deduced from the literature review revealed that ethno-politicization still poses a serious threat to permanent peace, I then proceeded to review key policy documents which are the cornerstones of the country's peace-building framework namely:

1. The Priority Plan for Peacebuilding Fund Sierra Leone (PBF-SL) – a multi-donor fund setup within the umbrella of the United Nations to bridge the gap between conflict and recovery;
2. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission Report of Sierra Leone (TRCRSL) – a document that provides an in-depth understanding into the events that led to the war and measures proposed to mitigate any form of recidivism;
3. The Sierra Leone Agenda for Change (Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper II) – a national peace-building framework designed to produce internal development and the consolidation of peace;
4. The SLPP and the APC *Joint Communiqué* – a political tolerance commitment document produced by the two major parties;
5. The Anti-Corruption Act of 2008 – a mechanism put in place to prosecute any offence of corrupt practices by public officials;
6. The Sierra Leone Decentralization Act of 2004 – a legislature that allows the devolution of central line ministries to local councils and;
7. The Sierra Leone Vision 2025 – a national document that outlines the possible outcomes of Sierra Leone’s current peace building efforts and the steps required to mitigate the factors that were identified as catalysts of the war.

With the use of content analysis, I was able to recognise important concepts, themes and words that were pertinent to the enquiry. The analysis of these policy documents provided insights into understanding the extent to which ethno-depoliticization is being addressed as an important factor in rebuilding, and minimizing the possibility of the recurrence of civil conflict in Sierra Leone. In the aim of ensuring that ethno-depoliticization is being adequately treated, the research sought the existence or presence of activities - designed to reduce or

mitigate the manifestation of the different forms of ethno-politicization as experienced in Sierra Leone. Therefore, using words, themes and concepts, the research examined the documents closely in order to establish whether ethno-politicization was acknowledged as a contributing factor to the conflict, and as such, if any strategies were incorporated within policies that would in practice, promote ethno-depoliticization within state institutions.

Phase two (2): In-Depth Interviews

Interviews, as a method, is a good fieldwork technique to collect data from participants in a study, as it enables the researcher to be present with the participant, providing the opportunity to gather non-verbal data, probe for more information, and clarify questions to participants when necessary (Wood & Ross-Kerr, 2006).

The second phase of the research methodology entailed in-depth individual interviews. Based on the knowledge acquired from the content analysis of the aforementioned peace-building policy documents, I was able to develop in-depth individual interviews that were tailored to uncover whether current peace-building mechanisms were inclusive of ethno-depoliticization. I conducted seventeen semi-structured open-ended interviews with key stakeholders in Freetown.

In constructing my sample, I sought to include a broad range of participants - stakeholders. The participants included government officials representing various political parties, as well as ministries or institutions involved in the implementation of the peace-building framework. Furthermore, institutions representing non-governmental, local, international or multilateral organizations such as the United Nations Peace Building Fund (PBF), the Sierra Leone Association of Non-Governmental Organization, the Office of the Coordination of the United Nations Family and other International and Multilateral Partners in Sierra Leone (the United Kingdom Department for International Development (DFID)), the

United Nations Development Programme's Bureau for Crisis Prevention and Recovery (UNDP) and the European Communities (EC) were interviewed.

Government officials are assumed to be equipped with first-hand information regarding the mechanisms that led to the creation of the TRC, as well as other post-conflict strategies such as Sierra Leone's peace-building framework, An Agenda for Change, presently under implementation. The UN is largely viewed as having been at the forefront of peace negotiations and has, within its mandates, identified Sierra Leone as an environment conducive to peace-building. International or multilateral donors have worked and are currently working alongside the government on measures that would nurture and preserve peace in Sierra Leone.

Members of grassroots or civil society organizations, namely the Campaign for Good Governance (CGG), the Center for Democratic Action (CDA), Conflict Management and Development Sierra Leone (CMD-SL), Search for Common Ground (SFCG), West African Youth Network (WAYN), Accountability Alert – Sierra Leone (AA-SL), and the Center for Coordination of Youth Activities (CCYA) were also interviewed in Freetown. The reason for choosing these organizations over others is that, over the years, these civil society groups have earned the respect of not only Sierra Leoneans, but also of international watch groups, for being politically neutral in their approaches when treating issues affecting Sierra Leone. More importantly, the selection of these stakeholders is mainly due to the fact that they all played an important role in re-establishing peace and stability in Sierra Leone. In addition, these grassroots organizations provided a bottom-up understanding of the importance of addressing ethno-politicization within peace-building initiatives.

Interview participants were targeted at the medium to high level of authority within their organizations and government institutions. The reason for this choice is that these:

Individuals are able to report on organizations' policies, past history, and future plans from a particular perspective. [They] often contribute insight and meaning to the interview process because they are intelligent and quick-thinking people, at home in the realm of ideas, policies, and generalizations" (Marshall and Rossman, 1999, p. 113-114).

Being fully aware that opinions from these groups may present possible biases, as it could be in their best interest to exaggerate the treatment of ethno-politicization within the peace-building framework, the interview covers a broad range of participants that will ensure diversity of opinion and as such eliminate familiar biases.

Open-ended semi-structured interviews were conducted during data collection. The use of semi-structured open-ended interviews allowed participants to express their personal understanding of the peace-building framework and ethno-depoliticization practices as manifested in the context of Sierra Leone. More importantly, the use of this method allowed for the "phenomenon of interest to unfold as the participant views it, not as the researcher views it" (Marshall and Rossman, 1999, p. 108), but while at the same time giving the researcher the time to cover questions that were relevant to the research. Consequently, the use of individual interviews as a method in the research gave participants the opportunity to address the issues of ethno-depoliticization from a policy, intellectual and organizational level. In other words, participants were able to reflect upon their experiences with regards to the issue.

Purposive and snowball sampling was determined to be the best methods of recruitment for all interviews. This was primarily due to the difficulty associated with obtaining a list of active non-governmental organizations in peace-building activities Sierra Leone. Purposive sampling also known as

Judgmental sampling [is used] when researchers use their special knowledge or expertise about some group to select subjects who represent [a certain]

population In some instances, purposive samples are selected after [preliminary investigation] on some group, in order to ensure that certain types of individuals or persons displaying certain attributes are included in the study (Berg, 2009, p.51).

In addition, snowball sampling was used as a method of interviewee recruitment. Snowball sampling, also known as convenience sampling, “is sometimes the best way to locate subjects with certain attributes or characteristics necessary in [a] study” (Berg, p. 51). Given the nature of the research, the use of this method ensured that all participants met the criteria discussed above. More importantly, by using this method, it was possible to conduct prior investigations into the activities of the target organizations through their websites. This in turn revealed their level of competence and involvement in dealing with post-conflict peace-building mechanisms being implemented in Sierra Leone.

At the end of some interviews, participants were asked to provide the names of other organizations that are currently involved in peace-building. Based on the information provided, copies of the letter of invitation and the project outline were mailed, e-mailed, and at times delivered personally to organizations. (See appendix B and C for the respective documents). It is however, important to note that though this approach allows for direct referrals, no particular individual working within an organization was directly contacted to participate in this research. This was done to ensure the voluntary participation of every interviewee.

Phase three (3): The Interview Process

Two different sets of questionnaires – one for government representatives and another for international and non-governmental organizations – were developed from an interview guide that was designed to follow a systematic pattern that approaches the research hypothesis from three dimensions. Namely:

1. The past - was ethno-politicization a phenomenon in Sierra Leone's politics leading to the war? Did the institutionalization of this practice have any impact on the socio-political fabric of the nation, and therefore, a possible contributor to the war?
2. The present – (i) is this phenomenon currently in practice, if so, what mechanisms have been put in place to tackle ethno-politicization? and; (ii) Are ethno-depoliticization mechanisms in place?
3. And the future – are current ethno-depoliticization mechanisms, if any exist, comprehensive, and if not how can they be strengthened?

All interviews were recorded using an audio voice recording device with the full consent and awareness of participants. Before the recording commenced, participants were provided with an explanation of the purpose of the study and the terms of confidentiality. In addition, each participant was given a copy of the consent form to read over together with the interviewer. The participants were informed that the results would be presented at conferences and other public fora and possibly in publications, but that their anonymity would be ensured through the use of pseudonyms which do not contain information that would identify them. At the beginning of each interview participants were asked to sign the consent form and fill out the demographic questionnaire. A copy of the signed consent form was provided to participants at the end of every interview. Also, at the beginning of every recorded interview, the participant was required to verbally reconfirm their voluntary willingness and participation in the study. Due to the interviewer fluency in the local language spoken in Freetown - Krio, participants were also given the option to speak in the language that felt more comfortable to them. However, all of the participants within this study chose English, which is the official language of Sierra Leone.

Audio recording was chosen as a method of data collection because it is the most guaranteed and accurate way of recollecting issues discussed during the interview, thus, facilitating the analyses of content provided in interviewee responses. Also, audio recording eliminates the possibility of inaccuracy in collected data information. Moreover, recording interview data is very beneficial as it allows the researcher to listen and be more engaged in the interview rather than taking notes, which might be distracting to the interviewee. Therefore, tape recording of interviews is effective in the sense that it removes any potential source of disruption, allowing the interviewer to focus in the interviews, plan for future questions and efficiently guide the interview to make sure the responses are complete and consistent with the objective of the study (Gorman et al., 2005). All interviews were held in a private setting that was deemed comfortable and safe by each participant. Finally, interviews were conducted at a time that was most convenient to the interviewee.

Phase four (4): Data Organization and Analysis

Once all the interviews were completed, using a combination of methods found in content analysis - word frequency, concepts and themes, a systematic analysis of documents and policies was conducted in order to deduce what has been done in terms of addressing or accommodating ethno-depoliticization.

Following the transcription of the interviews an in-depth reading of the transcripts and the field notes was undertaken in order to unearth key ideas that were relevant to the purpose of the research. The process was achieved by reconfiguring the acquired data – that is reorganizing the interview responses of the different stakeholder groups under the three themes of exploration and their subcategories set out in the interview guide - which allowed for the review of the information in a way that uncovered patterns and/ or connections. The

research questions were taken into consideration at all times when reading over the transcripts and reviewing field notes. Intensive and subsequent reading of the transcripts facilitated the identification of links between gaps in the policies, the accounts of the interviewees and the purpose of the study. This process revealed that word frequency or themes in terms of stated policy goal or peace-building architecture does not correspond to the word frequency or themes unearthed from the interview data. Accordingly this observation eventually contributed to the development of ideas about potential themes and categories in the coding process. A systematic examination of both policies and interview data led to the discovery of patterns and connections that were later further developed into specific themes.

The analysis of the results was therefore done using theme and content analysis – a process through which unstructured data is structured in the form of themes and categories (Wood & Ross-Kerr, 2006). After transcribing the interviews, using word frequency, themes and concepts, all the unstructured data was organized and grouped thematically with the goal of communicating the meaning of the data and answering my research questions.

Chapter 5 Policy Audit and summary of interview findings

This chapter set out to assess the extent to which ethno-depoliticization has been included in Sierra Leone's peace-building process. As such, the first section highlights the peace-building goals enumerated within policy documents of the major players or architects of peace-building. The section thereafter presents the responses of interview participants.

5.1 Presentation of Peace-Building Policy Documents

The architects of the peace-building framework in Sierra Leone include the politicians of the ruling party and the two major opposition parties, local non-governmental organizations, the World Bank, the African Development Bank, specialised United Nations agencies, the European Commission (EC) and the Department for International Development (DFID). (Refer to appendix H for a list of peace-building framework players).

Of all the policy documents produced in Sierra Leone following the 2002 Lomé Peace Agreement, the documents selected for analysis in this research were limited to those currently under implementation in Sierra Leone – that is those that were crafted in accordance with the peace-building projects that have been in existence since 2008. More specifically, this research focused exclusively on policy documents with a medium to long term focus, that is those centered on activities oriented towards addressing and / or treating the *root causes* of the conflict in Sierra Leone. As such, with ethno-politicization having been identified as a causal factor in the conflict, earlier documents with more of a short term focus and geared towards immediate post-war stability and recovery were excluded from the

analysis¹⁶ This means documents covering the period immediately after the 1999 Lomé Accords. To reemphasize, the 1999 Lomé Peace Accord, which is the formal peace agreement between the government of Sierra Leone and the RUF Rebels, is a document that entirely focussed on the cessation of hostility and human rights violations. It was not a peace-building document and hence did not address the problem of ethno-politicization.

The policy documents included in the analysis are reflective of the outcome of a comprehensive exercise that aligned the international community's country (Sierra Leone) strategy documents to the priorities set out in the GoSL's own five year strategic plan – the Agenda for Change (“PRSP II”). Hence, these documents contain key strategies and guidelines for the implementation of prioritized peace-building activities in Sierra Leone. Accordingly the documents discussed in this section are: the Government of Sierra Leone's Agenda for Change (2008 – 2012), the Joint APC – SLPP Communiqué of (2 April, 2009), the Joint Vision for Sierra Leone of the United Nations family (2009 – 2012), the Priority Plan for Peace-building funds Sierra Leone (revised July, 2008), the European Commission (2007- 2012)/Department for International Development Strategy paper and National Indicative Programme (2008-2013) and the World Bank and African Development Bank Joint Country Assistance Strategy for the Sierra Leone (2010 – 2013). Stated priorities of peace-building policies in Sierra Leone

Based on the gains and successes achieved in the immediate post-war period, especially after a peaceful transition of power following the 2004 and 2007 elections, the Government of Sierra Leone (GoSL) affirmed its main policy goal of consolidating peace

¹⁶ Excluded documents focused primarily on activities relating to: disarmament, security sector reform, security and stability creation, resettlement of refugees, parliamentary, local councils and presidential elections, the establishment of the TRC and the Special Court.

and security following the decade-old civil war. As well, peace-building, a vital component of the post war development program advocated by the Bretton Woods Institutions¹⁷ was presented as the only viable option for creating lasting peace.

Government of Sierra Leone – An Agenda for Change/PRSP II (2008 – 2012)

Following the 2007 presidential elections, the GoSL conducted open consultations with its population and international partners which resulted in the development of a peace-building framework entitled An Agenda for Change (hereinafter “PRSP II”).¹⁸ This framework is an amalgamation of the TRC Recommendations, the Peace Consolidation Strategy, Vision 2025 and the Sierra Leone Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (SLPRSP I).¹⁹ The creation of this document allowed key stakeholders of the international community already involved with the peace-building process to develop assistance strategies that dovetailed the priorities set out by the Government. In other words, the PRSP II mapped out the Government’s priorities for the way forward.

The dividends that resulted from the short and medium term policies aimed at cessation of war and security stabilization are becoming less relevant in light of the completion of the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants. The GoSL’s peace-building framework, on the other hand, is highly relevant because it focus on poverty reduction through economic growth, with emphasis on the private sector as a prescription for maintaining permanent peace. The PRSP II was launched in June 2009, and

¹⁷ The Bretton Woods Institutions herein refers to the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

¹⁸ The PRSP II - Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper Two.

¹⁹ The SLPRSP I was the first Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper that was implemented in Sierra Leone in the aftermath of the civil war. The implementation strategy was carried out on two-phase: i) transition period (2001-2002) – that focused on immediate post-war reconstruction, resettlement and security challenges ii) was considered the medium-term phase (2003-2005) established to address long-term development problems focusing areas such as : national security and food governance, re-lunching the economy and providing basic social services.

was subsequently endorsed by the boards of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund in October 2009. The strategy was also presented at the International Consultative Group meeting and Trade and Investment Conference held in London in November 2009.

The GoSL's PRSP II is centered on four key priority areas that are aimed at facilitating the economic and social progress of the country, and consequently, bolstering the prospects for lasting peace. The strategy which has a set target of ten percent annual GDP growth, places primary emphasis on energy, agriculture and transportation sectors and human development. Together with these four priorities, the Agenda for Change is also underpinned by preconditions to consolidate peace and ensure good governance to create an enabling environment for economic growth. The preconditions set out by the government are:

- i. **Good governance:** The rule of law, human rights, peace and security are emphasized as essential pre-requisites for sustainable growth and economic development. The government reaffirms its commitment to peace-building and peace-consolidation through capacity building that will lead to the improved efficiency of these institutions.
- ii. **Macroeconomic stability:** is acknowledged as a prerequisite for economic growth and poverty reduction, especially with respect to youth employment. As outlined earlier, one of the factors which fuelled ethno-politicization in Sierra Leone was the high youth unemployment rate, which made it easier for politicians to mobilize the unemployed by appealing to their ethnic loyalties and /or exaggerating their perceived ethnic grievances. A reduction in poverty and unemployment among the

youth is presumed to make it more difficult for youth to be used as instruments or thugs by ill-intended politicians.

- iii. **Financial & private sector development:** The Agenda for Change emphasizes fiscal incentives and infrastructural development strategies that are geared towards encouraging private investment in high growth sectors, such as the financial sector. More dominant and vibrant financial and private sectors improve the condition and opportunities for youth employment that are merit and not ethnic based. This in turn creates a level of independence among the much larger unemployed youth population, and as a result support continued stability and peace.
- iv. **Managing natural resources:** The Sierra Leone government reaffirmed its commitment to strengthening the legal and regulatory framework in a way so as to ensure returns that benefit the population. The government also pledges to improve property rights through the development of land management systems. Measures to ensure equality of access to natural resources for interested parties from all ethnic groups are being explored by the Government. In view of the extent of natural resource depletion in the country's eastern and southern regions (in relative terms), the move towards an equitable distribution of royalties from the nation's natural resources across all regions enhance peace-building efforts.

Within the Agenda for Change, the government identified certain risks which might hinder the successful development and implementation of the process:

- i. **Corruption** is seen as a challenge to development and advancement in the peace-building process. However the government remains committed to rooting out corruption and;

- ii. **Youth unemployment** is acknowledged as a major development challenge, as well as the most significant threat to peace and stability.

Of particular note within the PRSP II is the explicit mention of the Government's intention to provide all public goods – access to basic services – energy, transportation, education and healthcare to every Sierra Leonean and every region of the nation (An Agenda for Change, p. 5). Moreover, the document exposes awareness on the part of the Government of the citizens' "commitment to building a democratic, prosperous and tolerant nation, in which the ties of friendship, citizenship and kinship triumph over divisive efforts of ethnic or political allegiance" (An Agenda for Change, p. 5).

Joint APC – SLPP Communiqué of (2 April, 2009)

In acknowledgment of their joint responsibility to support peace efforts in the country and with the support of the United Nations, on 2nd April, 2009 the leaders of the APC and the SLPP adopted the *Political Party Joint Communiqué* (hereinafter the Joint Communiqué). The adoption of the Joint Communiqué was intended to bring a successful end to the outbreak of political violence and intolerance during the run-up to the 2007 elections, and at the same time, pave a way forward for democracy and the peaceful development of the country. The document also outlines a wider multiparty consensus on strengthening key democratic institutions and national policies. presents a list of strategies advanced within the Joint Communiqué specifically aimed at encouraging political and ethnic tolerance.

Ethno-Politicization Mitigation Strategies advanced in the APC – SLPP Joint Communiqué	
Support for political institution and space that are non-ethnic based	Support the implementation of regional balance in the membership and representation of their respective parties as well as within State institutions
Promote the independent media Commission	Promote support to strengthen relevant institutions that are equipped to address ethno-political benefits
Strengthen the role of the political parties’ registration commission	Support the implementation to disband youth task forces and other militant youth groups and refrain from inciting political party youth wings
Support the establishment of an independent public broadcasting corporation	Strengthen the independence of the Anti-Corruption Commission, the national human Rights Commission and the judiciary system
Support of organization that promotes equal opportunity for all regardless of ethnicity	Support for organizations and institutions that promotes non-violent acts against women as a form of political, ethnic or other means of intimidation
Support the promotion of Multi-party talks	Promote funding to Police in order to maintain operational independence and impartiality to uphold the rule of law and maintain peace and security
Respect the independence of the national electoral commission	Strengthening of democratic institutions - the capacity of parliament in fulfilling its roles of conducting open informed debates on all issue of national importance
Promote the establishment of an independent Police Complaints Board	Promote the establishment of an independent board review on the nomination of individuals that heads important independent democratic institutions before submission to parliament
Support for organizations that denounces ethno- political violence and intolerance	Support for organization and institutions that promotes accountability for violent political acts

Table 1: Summarized from the 2009 ACP - SLPP Joint Communiqué

It is notable that with the exception of the establishment of an independent broadcasting cooperation, and a few occasional one-day multi-party workshops, there has been very little in the way of the implementation of the *Joint Communiqué* pledges.

Joint Vision for Sierra Leone of the United Nations (2009-2012)

This document outlines, as well sets the guidelines for, all activities of UN organizations, agencies and programmes in Sierra Leone. In support of the Government's Agenda for Change, the UN Family vows to accomplish the mandate given to them by the Security Council and to support the goals and work of the UN Peace-building Commission. The document lays out "one and four" priorities meant to maximize the UNs' family contribution within their respective organizational mandates, specialization and expertise. It should be noted that these "one and four" priorities are not all-inclusive, as each UN agency or programme may continue to pursue other activities according to their specific mandates. Nevertheless, the overall priority and the four programmatic priorities represent a set of common goals behind which the UN Family joins forces and rallies resources in order to ensure greater and more tangible impact on the Sierra Leone peace-building project. The overall priority and four programmatic priorities of the UN family are summarised below.

- i. **Consolidation of peace & Stability** - the UN family identified the consolidation of peace and stability as an important element in the Sierra Leone peace-building process and pledged to work together with the government for the maintenance of peace and stability. The UN family proposals continue to support multi-party dialogue and all resolutions aimed at enhancing political and ethnic tolerance such as promoting national cohesion and the observation of human rights. The agencies' activities suggest building on the exceptional religious tolerance that exists in Sierra Leone. They propose to promote the rights of marginalized groups, the national electoral commission, the anti-corruption commission, the decentralization secretariat and the independent media commission.

- ii. **Integrating rural areas into the national economy** – the UN family aims to compliment government’s priorities by increasing access of the rural poor to markets, social services, justice and information. They also propose to focus on increasing local food production and better integrated farming and marketing technology for food processing through rural growth centers and youth education and training.
- iii. **Economic and social integration of the youth** – acknowledging the fact that over 60 percent of Sierra Leonean youths are uneducated and unemployed; the UN family suggests implementing quick-impact public works to employ large numbers of youth, as well as vocational training schemes and small-credits, while supporting educational opportunities for youth that have the potential to take up medium level managerial positions and become local leaders.
- iv. **Equitable and affordable access to health** – the UN Family proposes to strengthen national health systems by improving human resource development and other areas in need of intervention. They also aim to support priority health interventions through reproductive, child health and nutrition programmes.
- v. **Accessible and credible public services** – the UN Family strongly believes that good governance is the foundation for peace consolidation. In this light, they aim to support the government’s efforts in public sector reform processes to improve public accountability. They also propose supporting the decentralization process and the reform and capacity building of key national institutions such as the parliament, justice sector, local district councils, the anti-corruption and the new Sierra Leone Broadcasting Cooperation.

The UN family acknowledges that there are major risks to implementing the aforementioned programmes and have identified among others, in-country political

instability, the risk of concentrating on the implementation and attainment of specific outputs to the neglect of the broader picture of peace and stability, the lack of ownership of local and international government in achieving programme benchmarks, the lack of national capacities and lack of programme sustainability as some of the risks in complementing the government's Agenda for Change.

Priority Plan for Peace building Fund Sierra Leone (revised July, 2008)

In 2006, the government of Sierra Leone requested to be included as a country of focus of the UN Peace-building Commission. In December of 2007, the government of Sierra Leone and the Peace-building Commission adopted the Peace-building Cooperation Framework which was further revised in July 2008. The work of the Peace-building Fund²⁰ reinforces the Government's effort to address the root causes of the conflict to ensure inclusive development, stability and lasting peace. It is against this backdrop that, working in accordance with its mandate as defined in the relevant UN General Assembly and Security Council Resolutions,²¹ the Peace-building Commission complemented the government's Agenda for Change by engaging in:

- i. **Youth employment and empowerment:** the Commission aimed to provide support in capacity-building to the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports to ensure mainstreaming of youth concerns, support the Government's efforts for the generation of youth employment and support the up scaling of existing vocational, literacy training and civic education programmes;

²⁰ The United Nations Peacebuilding Commission is an intergovernmental advisory body of the United Nations specifically designed to help countries make a transition from war to peace. Whereas the Peacebuilding Fund serves as a sub-system that provides funding bridges between conflict and recovery for post-conflict countries. I will use both the peace-building fund and the peace-building commission cooperation framework in the same manner. Thus, their use should be understood or read within the same context.

²¹ General Assembly resolution 60/180 and Security Council resolution 1645 (2005) of 20 December 2005.

- ii. **Justice and security sector reform:** the Commission proposed to provide support to the implementation of the recommendations of the TRC in addressing the root causes of conflict by providing support to the justice and security sectors and promote conflict resolutions that address the most urgent human rights legacies of the conflict. The Commission aimed to support the work of the Sierra Leone Special Court and support capacity-building initiatives for the armed forces and the police. The Commission suggested broadening donor support for the justice sector development programme, support additional management training and capacity-building for mid-level management of the Sierra Leone Police and provide technical assistance in support of Sierra Leone courts and in support of the capacity-building of traditional courts.
- iii. **Consolidation of democracy and good governance:** the Commission proposed to support Sierra Leone's efforts to promote accountable democratic governance and the rule of law and support the work of the Human Rights Commission, the National Electoral Commission, the Political Parties Registration Commission and the National Commission for Democracy.
- iv. **Capacity-building:** the Commission proposed to provide support to Government programmes aimed at addressing the immediate socioeconomic needs of the population, in accordance with the PRSP (II) and the Millennium Development Goals. It suggested accomplishing this mainly through the development of basic services and infrastructure, which have been recognised as essential conditions for peace-building. The Commission is also committed to bolstering government efforts with respect to: the reform and capacity-building of the civil service, capacity-building initiatives for civil society (especially women's and youth

organizations) and the management of natural resources. These measures aim to contribute to peace consolidation, reconciliation and community-based socio-economic recovery in the country.

- v. **Energy:** at the request of the Government, the Commission added a fifth area of priority which focuses on the energy sector. Support for the implementation of a short-term emergency electricity generation and distribution, including the restructuring of the National Power Authority and other public institutions in that sector was to be carried out by the Commission.

In sum, these five areas are deemed critical to ensure that Sierra Leone does not slide back in to conflict. In line with prudential requirements, the Commission identified several challenges to the implementation and outcomes of the program, namely: political will, limited financial and human capacity of the Government, civil society organizations and the Parliament and, poor infrastructure - electricity, roads and water.

Joint EC/DFID Country Strategy for Sierra Leone

The EC and DFID developed a country strategy that dovetails the priorities of the Agenda for Change, that is, broad-based economic growth aimed at increasing employment, raising incomes, reducing inequality and increasing the Government's domestic revenue. The joint undertaking of these two institutions covers the period of 2007- 2012 for DFID and 2008-2013 for the EC. Together, the collaborative efforts of both institutions focus on good governance and institutional support, as well as the rehabilitation of priority infrastructure. The overall goal of the program is to contribute to the creation of an institutional framework that facilitates sustainable economic and social development, which, in turn, produces pro-poor sustainable growth for food security and job creation. More specifically, both

institutions aim to reinforce the Government's anti-corruption agenda by providing: support to the implementation of the *Public Budgeting and Accountability Act* and the establishment of internal audit units in all Ministries, Departments and Agencies, technical assistance geared towards building capacity in the Public Financial Management conditions and budget support. In addition, the EC and DFID propose to support all programmes under the security sector reform process – the rebuilding of the police and armed forces.

The risks to the successful implementation of the strategy were identified as follows:

- i. **Political:** elections that are not free and fair, the decline in political commitment to tackle corruption and reducing poverty, weak capacity within local councils and/or conflict with Chiefdom authorities leading to a deterioration in the quality of public service delivery and financial control.
- ii. **Security:** return to conflict in neighbouring countries, the continued sense of marginalization and discontent amongst the youth leading to anger and violence that threatens internal security and the politicization of the security sector.
- iii. **Fiduciary:** the ability of the Government of Sierra Leone to set up adequate financial controls on public resources and the lack of capacity within government to implement its reform agenda.

The World Bank (International Development Association and International Finance Corporation) and African Development Bank Joint Country Assistance Strategy for Sierra Leone (2010-2013)

The Joint Assistance Strategy for Sierra Leone (JAS) outlines planned lending and non-lending support and possible investment of the World Bank, the African Development Bank Group (AFDB) and the International Finance Corporation (IFC) in

Sierra Leone. The programmes being supported by these institutions were designed to complement the Government's effort in achieving the goals set out by the Agenda for Change. The policy also complements the work, interventions and strategies of other partners, such as the EC, DFID, the UN family and other government partners, notably Germany, various civil society groups and the private sector.

The JAS is organized around two pillars: growth and human development. The growth pillar provides financing for investment in agriculture, fisheries, energy, transport and the financial sector. The human development pillar focuses on investment to support the decentralized delivery in health, education, water supply, as well as dedicated support to primary education, reproductive and child health, to address child and maternal mortality. In addition, the JAS also features two cross-cutting themes: governance and private sector development. The JAS aims to provide support to strengthening governance and address governance issues, facilitate a governance dialogue with government, work on opportunities for private-sector-led growth and at the same time address gender issues across its portfolio. Since the JAS policy is a coordinated effort on the part of various institutions - AFDB, IDA, UN agencies and the World Bank, it also outlines the specific focus of these institutions.

It must be pointed out that under the JAS, AFDB aims to focus new resources on road network and on water and sanitation, while IDA focuses on human development improvement, notably through decentralized service delivery; youth employment skills; public sector reform, and energy sector investments.

The IFC proposes to focus on financial intermediation, agriculture, and tourism as likely areas for investments. More broadly, the World Bank Group, AFDB, DFID, and

the EC cooperate as providers of budget support to government but also as key partners in a policy dialogue related to governance and gender issues. In addition, IDA has developed close working relationships with the German Development Cooperation agency in the field of private and financial sector development and with the Japan International Cooperation Agency in the energy sector.

AFDB and the World Bank work closely with UN agencies, both individually and through coordinating the activities of the United Nations Integrated Peace-building Office in Sierra Leone (UNIPSIL) to ensure their efforts are harmonized with the Agenda for Change. Together, the collective goal of these institutions is to see improved results in basic service delivery in areas such as health, education and water.

In acknowledgment of the fact that the country remains in a fragile state, the JAS identifies several risks in the successful implementation of the program – in particular weak governance, accountability structures, limited capacity of the government to deliver services, manage public resources, youth unemployment and patrimonial clientelism. The JAS also highlights the fact that youth unemployment poses a serious threat to economic development and public order. Therefore, in collaboration with other Government international partners, the JAS provides budget support to all activities and programme initiative that will yield to both tangible and intangible results in tackling the issue.

5.2 Presentation of Interview Results

In this section, the findings from field research interviews are presented. The field interviews essentially served as a tool to assess the extent to which, in practice, ethno-depoliticization has been incorporated into the peace-building strategy for the country *vis-à-*

vis the targets for and the challenges to peace-consolidation outlined in the policy documents. That is, the discussion hereunder was shaped in line with the overall goals of highlighting any gaps with regard to the ethno-depoliticization processes in the country and recommending possible solutions that would be meaningful and useful to government stakeholders and the peace-building community in general.

5.2.1 Assessment of the Cognizance to Ethno-Politicization amongst Peace-Building Architects

The first phase of the interview discussions comprised of a general discussion of the respective organizations' priorities within the peace-building process and where ethno-depoliticization fit into these priorities.

All the respondents expressed great confidence in the appropriateness of the peace-building architecture and its sensitivity to the Sierra Leonean context. For the government representatives this sentiment was largely based on what they perceived to be the central role of the political leadership in feeding into and driving the process of constructing the framework in collaboration with international and local partners. Accordingly, the government representatives conveyed that the peace-building framework is rightly focused on tackling youth unemployment, promoting economic development and strengthening democratic and transparent governance. Amongst the local and multi-national NGO representatives (including UN personnel) there was a strong sense that the priorities of the peace-building framework were based on an extensive context and / or conflict analysis which effectively captured the dynamics which caused the conflict and which, in turn, is reflected in the peace-building priorities of their respective organizations. The interview respondents then outlined their peace-building priorities as follows:

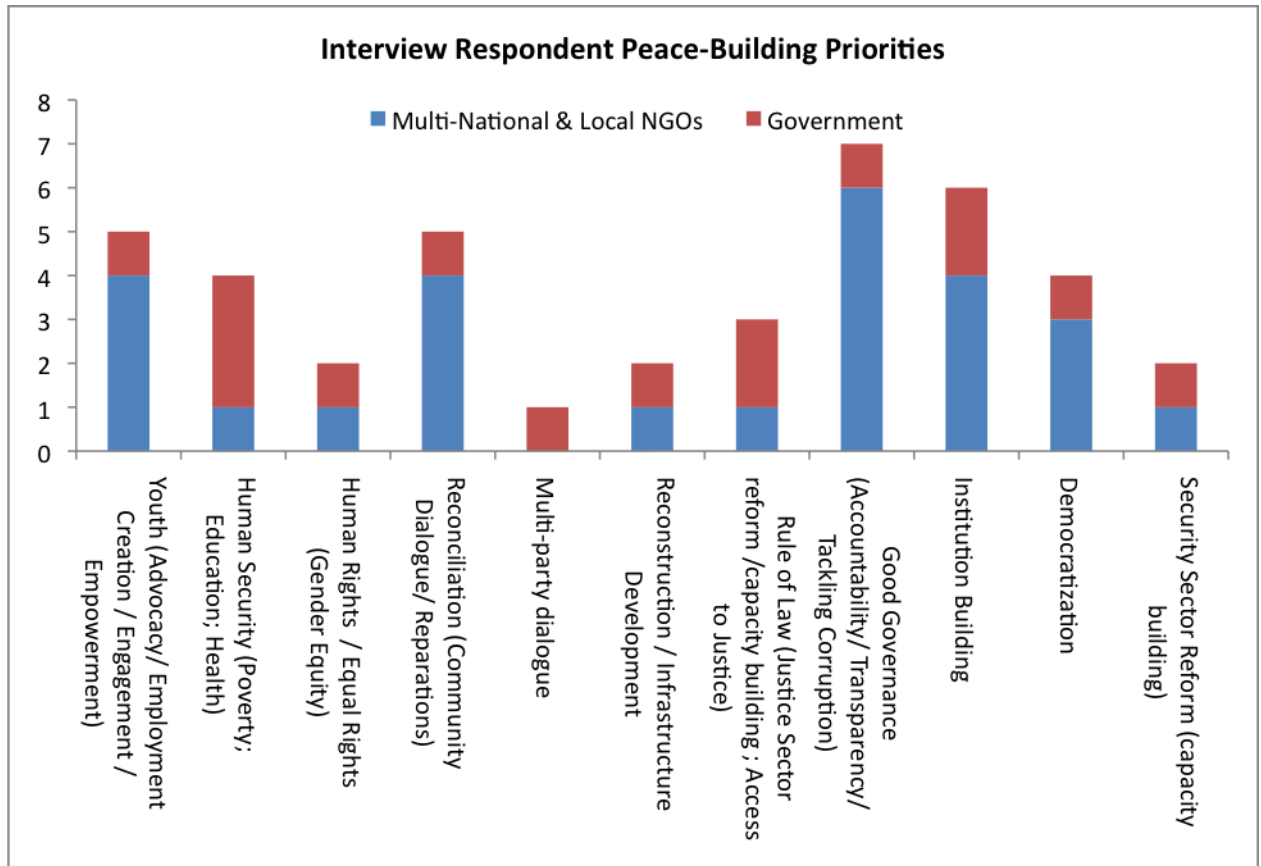


Figure 4: Interview Respondent Peace-Building Priorities

In terms of specific ethno-depoliticization strategies amongst the peace-building priorities, one of the government representatives made reference to the need for *multi-party / leader dialogue* as in the need “...for continuing party engagement for dialogue between the various political parties. For example, following the skirmishes in March 2009 between the SLPP and APC” (Kasey²²), as part of the process for “ensuring that stability returns” (Ibid.). Apart from that, the top five most frequently mentioned priorities were good governance, which in the view of the interviewees include initiatives that are geared towards the eradication of personal greed and corruption on the part of public servants, such as the establishment of the Anti-Corruption Commission; institution building; the need to pay

²² The names of participants / interviewees have been change in accordance with the limitations of the study, therefore the names identified herein as interviewees are pseudonym.

reparations to the victims of the conflict; tackling youth unemployment and human security needs. All the interview respondents stated that their peace-building priorities were central or key to securing lasting peace in the nation which seemed to indicate a sense amongst the stakeholders that their programs covered the most pressing peace-building needs of the nation.

The subsequent phase of questioning discussed the causes of the conflict. There was a general consensus amongst the interview respondents that the conflict was essentially an outpouring of the frustration and disgruntlement within the populace that was caused by bad governance, political repression, corruption and absence of the rule of law and low levels of human security (poverty and illiteracy) – see Figure 5 below.

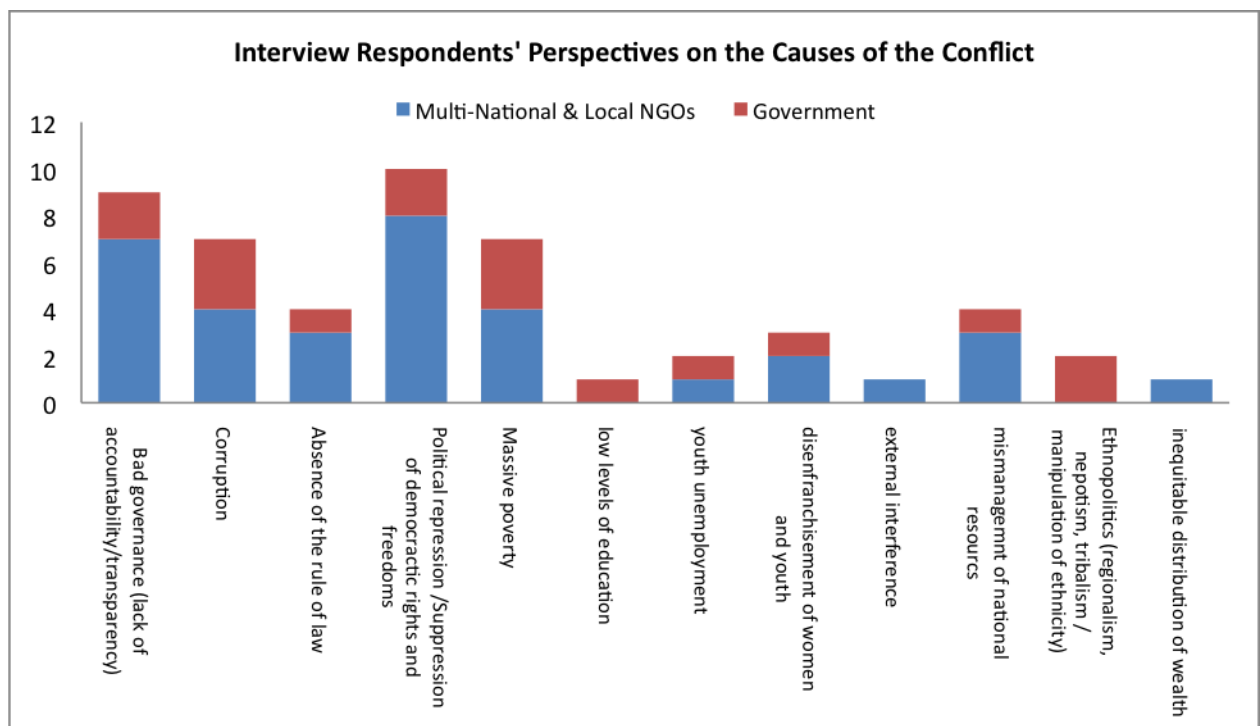


Figure 5: Interview Respondents' Perspectives on Causes of the Conflict

Ethno-politics was *explicitly* mentioned as a factor by only two out of the five respondents from the government representatives group. Specifically, Trent described a pre-

conflict conflict and Hope discussed how “... needs were overcome by political as well as scenario of “bad governance” in terms of “... a lot of nepotism, tribalism” as the main factor in the ethnic considerations” in the lead-up to the war but went on to state how those factors were secondary to the discontent and frustration fuelled by the dire socio- economic conditions prevailing in the country at the time. Hence, on the face of it, the implications of the discussion thus far would be that ethno-politics was not a major contributory factor to the outbreak of the conflict.

Specific discussion on ethno-politics was therefore introduced by asking the interviewees to define the term ethno-politics. All but one of the seventeen respondents provided a contextualized definition of ethno-politicization in Sierra Leone and even provided examples to clarify their points. For the most part, the definitions of ethno-politics proffered by the interview respondents centered mainly around two main themes that essentially fit into Fearon’s instrumentalist definition as demonstrated in Table 2 below.

	Theme / Fearon’s Definition	Relevant Quotation
1	Political coalitions are organized along ethnic lines and /or;	“People from a particular ethnic group supporting a particular political ... because most of the party leaders are from a particular region or ethnic group” (Frank)
2	Access to political and economic benefits of society primarily depends on ethnic affiliation	<p>“... the two main political parties have taken advantage of ethnicity, regional and tribal allegiance of the population in pursuing their political aims” (Barney)</p> <p>“... politics of interest in ethnic dimensions. In other words a high level of patronage and clientelism in relation to ethnicity”(Roger)</p>

Table 2: Interview Respondents' Definitions of Ethno-politics

Another point of interest in regard to the definition of ethno-politics is the fact that nine out of the seventeen respondents, articulated ethno-politics in Sierra Leone as being primarily driven by the fact that the support bases of the two major political parties in the

country are divided along ethnic / regional lines. That is, many chose to describe ethno-politics in Sierra Leone in terms of the fact that the support base of the SLPP is comprised of the South-Eastern regions of the country whilst the APC dominates in the North-West thereby indicating that over the past few decades since the founding of these political parties, ethnic divisions have been a notable feature in the nation's political landscape. One of the government representatives (Faith) even went as far as amending the question on the causes of the war by adding that the "ethnic divide" which "deprived [some] of the jobs they sought ... was the main reason why the war came".

Hence, having finally established an awareness of the phenomenon amongst key players within the peace-building architecture of Sierra Leone but at the same time noting a relative lack of preferential treatment framed explicitly in terms of ethno-depoliticization, the interview discussion then turned to trying to ascertain the perceived role if any, that ethno-politics may have played in the conflict.

5.2.2 Exploration of Interview Respondents Perceptions of Ethno-Politics as a factor in the war

Whilst there were differences in opinion between the majority view (*i.e.* ethnic politics was a significant factor in the war) and minority view (*i.e.* ethno-politics was not a factor in the war) within both stakeholder groups, the overall results as presented in figure 6²³ reveal that the majority of respondents accorded some level of significance, to ethno-politics as a factor in the war²⁴.

²³ The percentages were calculated as per the number of interview respondents within a specific category divided by the total number of interview respondents (17) multiplied by 100

²⁴ The term "majority" does not refer to the entire population of Sierra Leone. Rather it refers to the group of key players in the peacebuilding architecture in Sierra Leone.

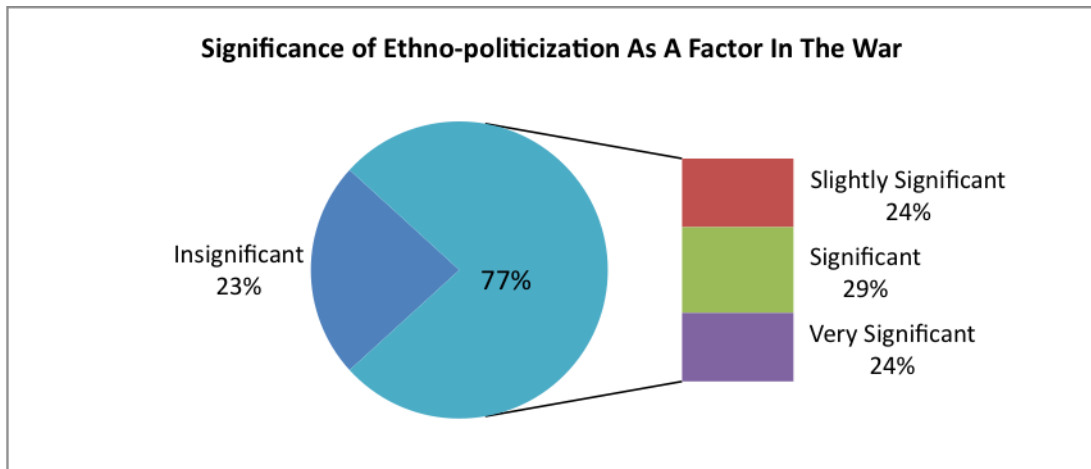


Figure 6: Significance of Ethno-politicization As A Factor in the War

The minority view that ethno-politics was an insignificant factor in the war was essentially an expression of the view that the conflict did not at any time take on an ethnic dimension because the rank and file of the different rebel groups was ethnically diverse and also the socio-economic hardships that afflicted the wider population had impacted *all* ethnicities indiscriminately. Interviewees expressing this minority view did in some instances refer indirectly to ethno-politicisation. For example, whilst Kasey acknowledged that there was some organization of the rebels along “regional” lines – he did not believe that it necessarily translated into clear-cut ethnic divisions. Ferguson even went as far as to acknowledge the pre-conflict government as “an exclusive *Limba* organization that had predominant power in the country” [*emphasis added*] but still was of the opinion that “there is no evidence that there was an ethnic element to the war”.

The category of “slightly significant” captured the sentiment that ethno-politics was essentially a trump card that was played by some unscrupulous political leaders in order to mobilize support in the face of widespread disillusionment with the failures and mismanagement of state institutions and as such was not a reflection of the general mood in

the country at the time. Thus, for the proponents of this view, the role of ethno-politics in the conflict was to a large extent, a spin-off of other factors.

In stark contrast, those who accorded ethno-politics a “significant” or “very significant” role in the conflict were extremely categorical in their view that it was the marginalization and disenfranchisement of some sectors of society due to ethnically biased bad governance practices which triggered the anger and frustration that translated into open violent conflict. This view was articulated best by Marshall who summed up the role of ethno-politics in the conflict as having brought about “...a divide and rule policy [which] led to people taking up arms because they were marginalized by one ethnic group”. The *marginalization*, is viewed by the respondents in this category as having occurred as a result of the control exercised by particular tribes over the country’s resources and, consequently, access to wealth (employment, jobs). That is, essentially the view that in the lead up to the war, government was effectively being run as a *family business* whereby as described by Barney, “... if I am a minister, I will ensure that the children and children of my brother’s children will benefit from me”. Several of the respondents in these categories expressed that the most critical evidence highlighting the significance of ethno-politics in the conflict is the fact that, whereas the government was dominated by North-Western based ethnicities, the conflict was initiated in areas to the South-East of the country namely Kailahun and Pujehun.

At this point, the interview survey was able to establish that the majority of interview respondents are of the view that ethno-politics played *a role* in the conflict and as such a causal factor in the conflict. Hence, this finding led into the exploration of the treatment of ethno-politics within the peace-building framework which began with a survey of the interviewees’ perceptions of the pervasiveness of ethno-politics in present day Sierra Leone.

5.2.3 Ethno-politics as a feature of the current political landscape of Sierra Leone

When asked about the prevalence of ethno-politics in present day Sierra Leone, the majority of interviewees which were spread between both stake-holder groups (twelve out of seventeen) responded affirmatively. Three out of the twelve respondents, all representing the NGO group, took the middle road and conceded that ethno-politics is a minor feature of the country's political landscape at present. The minority view (three out of twelve) like the majority view, was also spread across the different stakeholder groups (see Figure 7).

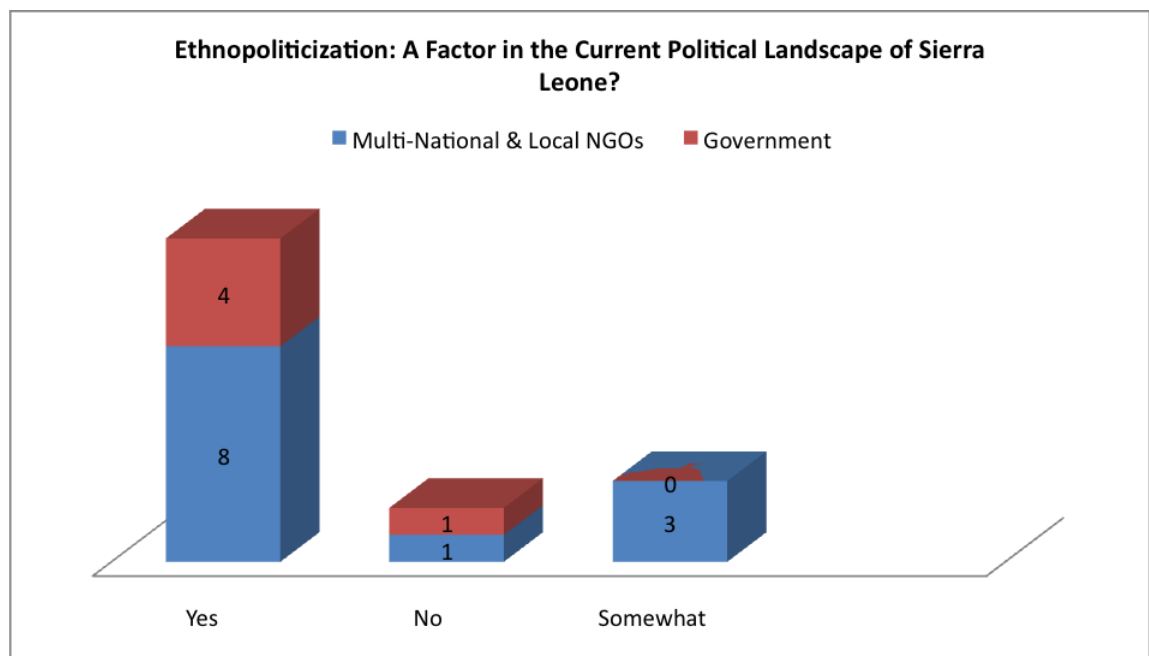


Figure 7: Ethno-politicization: A Factor in the Current Political Landscape of Sierra Leone

The minority view represents an outright, rejection of the fact that ethno-politics has been in the past, and still is at present, a feature of the country's political landscape. This view best articulated by Zara who stated that that ethno-politics, “wasn't part of the origin or the cause [and] so ... cannot be a part of the future”.

Interviewees whose responses were placed in the “somewhat” category represented the opinion that presently, ethno-politics is nothing more than a gimmick that is being used

by the opposition of the day to galvanize their supporters when they deem it politically expedient. The main problem however according to this view, lies in the fact that the support bases of the main political parties are regionally / ethnically based, hence there tends to be a hyper-sensitivity to ethnic bias in the actions of the opposing party's government. For example, Faith notes how the present government led by the based APC "is doing a lot of programs [and] projects in the South-Eastern region, but still people there are thinking that those were the projects and programs left by the SLPP". In the view of these respondents, there are however several developments that have taken root since the end of the conflict that are acting to counter the pervasiveness of ethno-politics. These interviewees noted that both governments that have been in power in the post-conflict era have made concerted efforts in attaining regional balance in key leadership or executive appointments as well as in the provision of public goods and services. Furthermore, the respondents who fell within this category also noted a relatively more permissive environment with regard to the freedom of expression that has created room for the media and members of the public to openly criticise the actions of government, particularly instances that are perceived as ethnically biased against, or unfair to particular sectors of society. Accordingly, in spite of the recognition that the regional base of the ruling party tends to be a strong determinant in the perceptions of government performance, these individuals still rendered a small role to ethno-politics in present-day Sierra Leone.

The majority view on this issue was unequivocal about a distinct shift within the country's political landscape over the past three to four years that has been marked by an intensification of ethno-politics or regionalism in the country. The majority view hinges primarily on the observation of a shift, in high-level political appointments and / key

strategic leadership positions, away from individuals who hail from the South-Eastern regions of the country in favour of those whose origins lie in the North-Western parts of the country. Specifically the tenure present government to date is described as being characterized by “a preponderance of regionalism and ethnicity” (Ferguson) and by accusations of having “removed people who are better qualified to do the jobs ... [and] have replaced them with their own ethnic people ... because they are from the same tribe and ... political party” (Ferguson). Ted notes how *people* are dissatisfied with “the present make-up of the cabinet [where] ninety-five percent of the ministers are from the North”. Another indication of the presence of ethno-politics as a problem in present-day Sierra Leone as put forward by the majority view can be found in results of the 2007 elections which reflected the prevalence of ethnic bias in the voting patterns with the SLPP having dominated in South Eastern regions of the country whilst the APC dominated in the north-western areas of the nation. The majority view was summed up neatly in the following quote by Kasey in answer to the question of the presence of ethno-politics in the current political landscape:

It was a significant factor that led to the war; some people were marginalized simply because of their tribal background. They were excluded as part of the process; they became disgruntled and became rebels...hmm... I think our war, on top of everything else, in terms of political denial etc. was based on ethnic, tribal divide ... I think it is a lethal weapon that would bring instability. The SLPP and APC ...notion of ethnic-politics, I tell you is a dangerous game... hmm... and I see it currently, I am not pointing fingers at anyone but there are still elements of ethno-politic playing in this county.

This difference in opinion amongst the stakeholder groups is indicative of the profound complexities surrounding the issue of ethno-politics in Sierra Leone. That being said however, the vast majority of the interviewees did acknowledge intensification in the

present manifestations of the practice of ethno-politicization in the country's post-conflict phase. Furthermore, eleven out of the twelve respondents from the NGO stakeholder group, went further to state that ethno-politics remains a threat to peace and stability of the nation. Only one out of the twelve respondents in the group maintained that ethno-politics had never been a prominent feature of the country's discourse. These results are outlined in Figure 8 below.

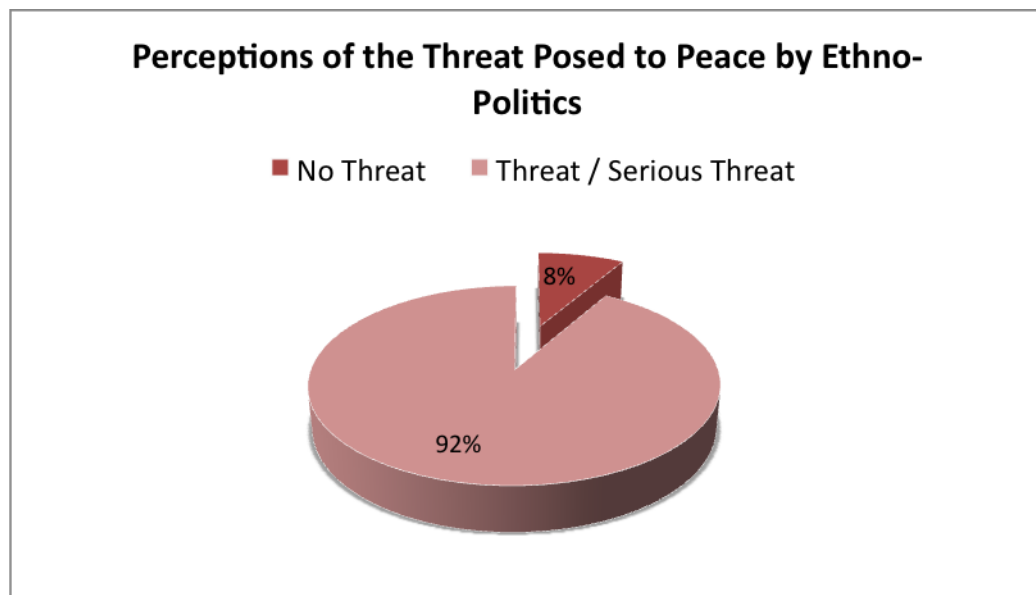


Figure 8: Perceptions of the Threat Posed to Peace by Ethno-Politics

Some individuals within the majority group identified several developments in the country's post-conflict era which, they believe target ethno-politics. Specifically, this group identified the following as counter-forces to the operation of ethno-politics in the country: (i) the creation of a multi-ethnic party (PMDC) by disgruntled members of the APC and SLPP; (ii) the strengthening of democratic institutions and the organization and mobilization of civil society and; (iii) some movement towards ethnic/regional diversity in the leadership and / or the support bases of the APC and SLPP. All in all, however, the main thrust of the majority view was that ethno-politics poses a real and on-going threat to peace and that in spite of the

identified *counter-measures*, the peace-building framework as it stands, is not adequately set up to deal with the issue. Thus for the majority of the interviewees, one of the greatest threats to peace and stability in the country lies in the poor management of ethno-depoliticization in the post-conflict era as articulated thus by Ferguson:

Are you not seeing it? You are in Freetown. If you talk to people from within and even outsiders most will confirm this. Maybe the President has been advised and that is why you have a semblance of some south-easterners in the lower decision making. But that is not what people are concerned about, if he likes he can put all of his cousins in his cabinet; but when the president begins to interfere with professional areas, by replacing the right men with party supporters and ethnic or regional biasness is a cause for concern. Look at the police and the army, the same is going on, erroneously, he thinks that is what is going to keep him in power. *The peace-building strategy failed in getting this right. A new peace-building approach is absolutely warranted.* [emphasis added]

Didier a senior staff at the PBF expressed the same sentiment. He stated that amongst other issues that were raised at the 2010 UN Security Council briefing, other actors highlighted the practice of ethno-politics as a pressing threat to the peace-building process and stated that developing new mechanisms that would improve the conditions against ethno-politicization is of paramount concern as current efforts are not producing the desired outcome.

Having established that there are concerns amongst the key-stakeholder groups within Sierra Leone's peace-building architecture with respect to the sustainability of peace in the country in the face of the prevalence of ethno-politics, the interview discussions then turned to a more in-depth analysis of the issue.

5.3 Mechanisms through which Ethno-Politics Poses a Threat to the Consolidation of Peace and Stability in Sierra Leone

With the peace-building architects having not set ethno-depoliticization as a priority within their various policies, the majority of respondents indicated that the peace-building framework was inadequate to deal with the threat of ethno-politics. When asked to elaborate on the areas that should be a priority within the Peace-Building framework in order to counter the phenomenon and avoid a relapse into war, the interviewees responded as follows:

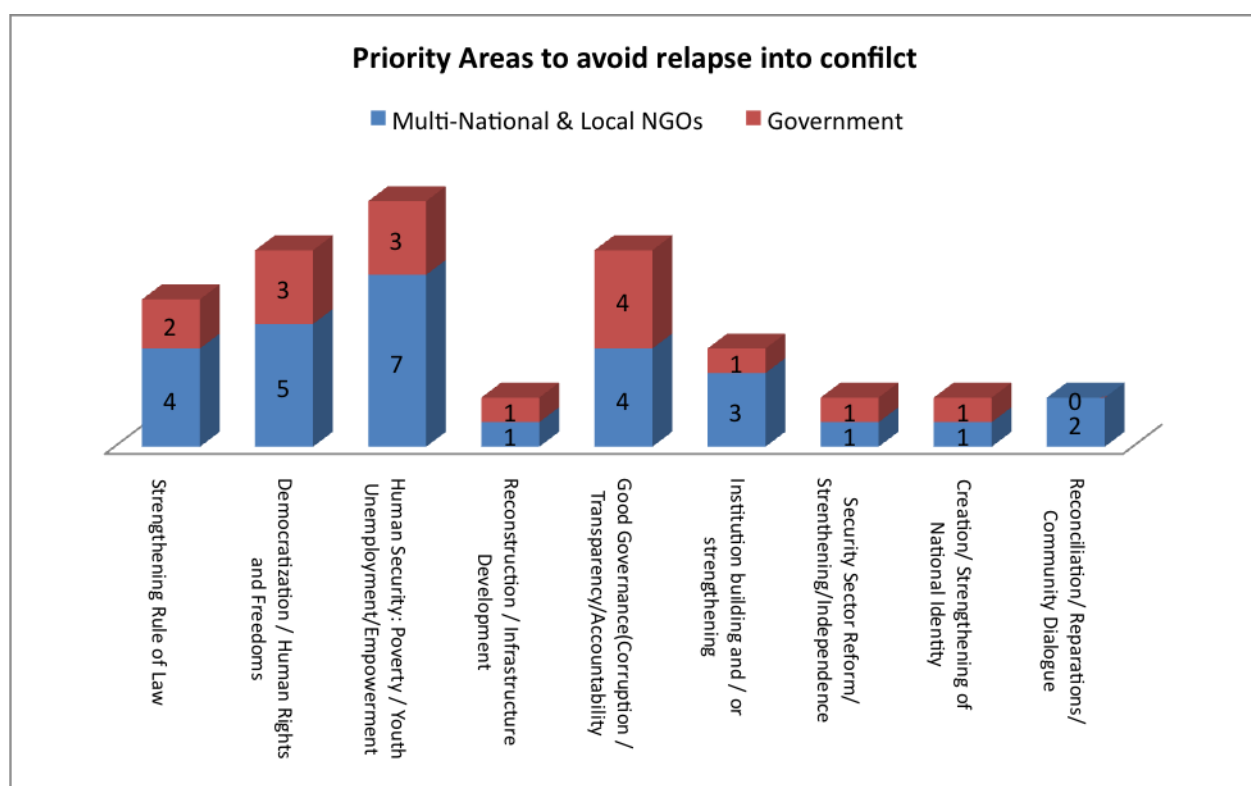


Figure 9: Priority Areas to avoid relapse into conflict

Whilst youth unemployment, poverty, democratization, good governance and rule of law took center stage amongst both stake-holder groups, only two out of the seventeen respondents (one from each of the stakeholder groups) made mention of an explicit strategy to counter ethno-politicization in the country, that is the creation and/or strengthening of a

national identity. Given the predominant view amongst the respondents that ethno-politics is a continuing threat to peace and stability in the country, the discussion around the priority areas to avoid relapse into war (as elaborated on in the following sections) revealed that there are two main elements that are intrinsically connected to the practice of ethno-politicization and the manifestation of its different components within the Sierra Leonean context. They are namely – corruption and youth unemployment.

5.3.1 Corruption

A vast majority of the respondents raised concern over the effectiveness of the treatment being given to corruption. They called for the strengthening of current mechanisms and the development and implementation of new strategies that would complement the work of the ACC. Many believe that the perpetuation of ethnic politics facilitates the prevalence of corruption within state institutions. They stated that the winner-take-all political structure in Sierra Leone does not favour the fight against state institutional corrupt practices. Most government representatives stated that corruption will be hard to manage because the ruling power has the majority of seats in parliament and therefore people appointed to positions of power and authority will only serve the interest of their ethnic political affiliations. Trent for example, articulated this phenomenon in terms of ethno-politics being the “*big brother* that covers the level of corruption that is going on” [emphasis added]. With regards to the current political context, Trent as did several others, expressed the general sentiment that under the present government leadership, which is dominated by Northern based tribes,

[t]he distribution of material and mineral wealth only benefits the north ... the managing director of national revenue agency was charged with 57 counts of corruption by the ACC, and at the end he was acquitted. Who is the head of the ACC and the supreme or high court, where are they from.... They are northerners. So you see so long as we continue to do these kinds

of things...mmm... having our tribes-men in position out of loyalty and not because of merits, ethnic politics will always be a supporting pillar for corruption.

The above quote which was an excerpt from a representative of an opposition party was reinforced by the representatives of grassroots/civil society organizations. Interviewees from this stakeholder group also pointed to the dominance of northern-based tribes within government and state institutions as well as the apparent failure of state institutions (most notably, the Anti-Corruption Commission) to hold high ranking officials from particular tribes to account on charges of corruption. As Allan put it, there is a general perception that “[t]he system is set up to work in the interests of a particular group”. In addition, many respondents expressed concern over the fact that few years ago the head of the ACC, a person deemed credible by most resigned without public explanation and believed political interference and corrupt judges were the reason. Overall therefore, most of the interviewees view that ethno-politics is inherently linked to corrupt practices on the part of the country’s political leadership.

5.3.2 Youth unemployment and empowerment

An overwhelming number of interviewees believe that the high level of youth unemployment presently being experienced in the nation is not associated with normal post-conflict unemployment trends. Rather they point to ethno-politicization as the cause. They believe the decentralization process does not favour conditions for employment creation in the eastern and southern parts of the country. In support of their position, the interviewees pointed to regional imbalances in the implementation of the decentralization scheme, whereby all the local councils in the north are up and running and there have been a lot of activities going on in that region and very little in other parts of the country. For the

respondents, the implications of this scenario are that, youth unemployment and as such poverty is being tackled more rigorously and on a much larger scale in the northern parts of the country, whereas the situation is grimmer in the South where the decentralization program is being rolled out at a much slower pace. Hence, as the respondents point out, the operation of ethnic-politics at high levels of government in the country is effectively setting the stage for intensification in regional disparities in income and unemployment levels between the North and South of the country. As Trent puts it, [t]he youth of the East and South are the most unemployed, if you do so much in the North; you have to do the same in the South, East and West. Then there will be no claims about unfair distribution”.

5.4 Tackling Ethno-politicization within Sierra Leone’s Peace Building Framework

Leading from the discussion above, the final phase of the interview survey explored how ethno-politics should be tackled within the country’s peace-building framework. When the respondents were asked to list and/ or identify ethno-depoliticization strategies within the existing peace-building framework, the results were as follows:

Ethno-depoliticization Strategies in Peace-Building Framework
Youth Commission
Attitudinal and Behavioral Change
Constitution / Electoral Laws
Preconditions (Agenda For Change)
Institution Strengthening, Building (e.g. PPRC NEC, Anti-Corruption)
Leadership Dialogue (Joint Communique, All Political Parties Association, Multi-National NGO Advocacy)
Sensitization Campaign
Open Government Initiative
UN Joint Vision
Civil Society (Organization and Mobilization)
Decentralization
Freedom of the Press

Table 3: Ethno-depoliticization Strategies in Peace-Building Framework

Most interviewees expressed concern over the apparent lack of urgency among the politicians in implementing and monitoring strategies and activities that can translate into ethno-depoliticization outcomes. For government stakeholders, however, when asked if there are specific strategies within the peace-building framework designed to address the issue, their responses suggested that the strategies set out by an Agenda for Change provide measures that are aimed at realizing ethno-depoliticization outcomes. They expressed that initiatives such as the decentralization process, the open government initiative, the UN sponsored inter-party dialogue and the adoption of the Joint Communiqué are specific and adequate measures taken in addressing the issue. In other words, government respondents believe that the strategies advanced within these policies can mitigate the manifestation of ethno-politicization. When probed further to see if there were any other measures developed to either directly or indirectly address the issues, government interviewees failed to discuss other initiatives than the ones listed above.

In addition, some government interviewees feared that if too much emphasis is placed on attaining ethnic equilibrium and that as groupings become more autonomous and powerful, it will pose a danger to stability. They fear that if all political and economic powers are given back to the local government or paramount Chiefs, this will create a sense of independence within individual communities or ethnic group. Therefore as some groupings or communities become self-reliant, government interviewees fear they might impose their dominance on the least developed groups and that will lead to instability.

The aforementioned analogy however does not reflect the opinions of international partners and grassroots/civil society organizations. Many stated that present mechanisms are not adequate. For them the applications of most of the mechanisms advanced within the peace-building architecture are not context specific to Sierra Leone's situation and as such

their implementation has failed. Many indicated that some of the major weaknesses in terms of applying the framework include lack of political neutrality – that is, interviewees believe government politicians are using the initiatives advanced within the peace-building architecture as a *trump card* to maintain and further their political ambitions. Moreover, most interviewees indicated that constant political interferences by members of the ACP impedes on the impact or program outcome or steps taken towards mitigating the occurrence of ethno-politicization.

As Lucas expressed in an interview, it was this form of meddling and “ethnic-based allegiance that prevented the northern based police force from putting a stop to the looting of the SLPP headquarters by the opposition during the 2007 elections” (Interviewed, February 24th, 2010). Many respondents indicated that in order for the country to move forward there has to be diversity in leadership that would ensure fairness in the creation of job opportunities and the fight against corruption. This is because job opportunities in the capital as well as in the major cities are principally being given to northerners. A major concern was also raised over the implementation and monitoring of the framework. As it appears, according to interviewees, to date the architects of the peace-building framework have yet to develop comprehensive or functioning monitoring tools that are guided by benchmarks and not political persuasions. In this regard, Didier provided an example of the fact that an important monitoring mechanism in the Agenda for Change program – that is, the cluster working groups whose role is to be the main channel of communication between the grassroots and policy makers – is currently not operational.

Many believe that there is a great need for hands-on engagement by the government, as well as the strengthening of current strategies. As Didier of the PBF explained, the Government’s Agenda for Change, which represents Sierra Leone’s national peace-building

framework, only focuses on normal development trend issues as opposed to more peace enhancing oriented strategies. This was also a view expressed by most respondents from the international and grass roots level spectrum. Moreover, some of the respondents expressed skepticism of the capacity of the Agenda for Change to achieve equitable regional balance in the country with respect to political authority and the distribution of resources due, in their view, to the absence of clear and specific mechanisms to achieve these goals within the document.

Though most organizations do not have a specific policy designed to address ethno-politicization, their activities however do reflect a regional balance. Most of the activities of these organizations encourage the acceptance of diversity of opinions, advocate for ethno-depoliticization of state institutions, by creating various abridged versions of laws and acts in order to educate the population about their rights and liberties. Other activities include skits that demonstrate ethno-depoliticization mechanisms outlined by the Joint Communiqué. As explained to me by Michelle, a member of one of Sierra Leone's well renowned civil society organization, CGG, the implementation of these activities are aimed at mitigating the effects of the manifestations of the "very high levels of regionalism that is showing its ugly head in the current political arena of the country". However, most respondents within the grass roots/civil society organization believe that the impact of their activities is minimal because they lack the buy-in of political actors, as well as adequate funding.

Many stated that the implementation of strategies such as the establishment of the ACC, youth and human rights commissions, without political influence would have strengthened the peace-building framework. As noted by Allan:

Once people feel that the processes are not transparent, access is skewed, then people do not believe in the system ... Many programmes are politically driven. For instance some people will say “oh the president was here and he gave us ten motor bikes”. What are ten motor bikes going to do for the people? Looking at the long term sustainability.

In another light, respondents expressed the fact that the current peace-building strategies are built on western ideologies and not local knowledge. For them emphasis being placed on the tangibles, the construction of roads, bridges or the provision of basic amenities such as electricity, would not bridge the current political ethnic divide. They would rather have a situation in which the intangible i.e. community reconciliation, nationwide education political dialogue et cetera, are given as much financial support in comparison to the tangibles.

Furthermore, respondents are strongly convinced that in order for Sierra Leone to maintain lasting peace, the peace-building framework should be locally contextualized and be strongly inclusive of mechanisms that eliminate ethnic political biases. Above all, interviewees expressed their desire to see national issues brought to the fore for national dialogue/discussion. These sentiments were by and large summed up in the following quote by Allan:

What is really needed in the first place is the process of generating discussion. This is paramount for the nation. We need to encourage diverse views and genuine conversations, we have to have a national peace-building and reconciliation conversation; and this has to be done openly, transparently and without malice, there has to be trust. Unless and until there is political will, the politicians and the government believes in this type of framework, then all of what is being done now is a waste of time. Because when we are in a situation where the government thinks everything they do is good and the opposition thinks is bad, this is not good for society. We need cooperation; we need collaboration if we are to succeed.

With the 2012 elections approaching, many remain pessimistic about Sierra Leone's ability to conduct an electoral process that is free of ethno-political rhetoric or tension. There was a perceived need amongst the interviews towards directing the political discourse away from ethnic politics and towards policy issues.

5.5 Summary of Interview Findings

Overall therefore, the interviews revealed the fact that there is a firm grasp or awareness of the ethno-politicization phenomenon within the peace-building community as it pertains to Sierra Leone. Within that, there is a general acknowledgement that ethno-politics was a factor in the conflict and the sense that there has been an intensification in ethno-politics in Sierra Leone's post-conflict era which constitutes a threat to the medium to long term stability of the nation. The interview survey also revealed that ethno-depoliticization is not being given adequate treatment within the framework and as such the interview respondents went further to state that current peace-building architecture requires some augmentation in order to effectively deal with the issue. Table 6 below is a summary of the interview findings which outlines respondents' perspectives on the strengths and weaknesses of the peace-building framework as well as where there is need for improvement in order to effectively undertake ethno-depoliticization and secure lasting peace in the nation.

Strengths of PBF	Weaknesses of PBF	Augmenting PBF
Youth engagement / empowerment	Lack of adequate financial resources for implementation and capacity building	Greater monitoring of NGOs
Democratic Governance	Absence of clear implementation strategies	Incorporating political and / ethnic tolerance
Fostering Tolerance	Absence of effective monitoring and evaluation mechanisms	Supporting the victims of the conflict
International Support	Social Justice - No reparations for victims	Rigorous implementation of strategies
National ownership of the Peace Building Fund	Ethno-Depoliticization: not adequately incorporated]	Increasing support for institutions
HR Commission	Infrastructure for mass communications not well developed	Mobilization and organization of civil society
Justice Sector Reform	Shift in emphasis away from youth unemployment	
Security Sector	non-implementation of TRC recommendations	
Democratization	Dependence on donor funding - need to generate revenue	
Civil society capacity building		
Stakeholder collaboration		

Table 4: Summary of Interview Findings

Chapter 6 Analysis

This chapter assesses the extent to which ethno-depoliticization is a feature in the peace-building architecture of Sierra Leone as per: (1) the policy documents reviewed in chapter 5 and (2) the results obtained from the interviews summarized within the same chapter. In the sections that follow, a detailed analysis of the treatment of each component of ethno-politicization as it relates to Sierra Leone will be addressed. The interviews confirm that reforms contained in the peace-building architecture, such as those advanced by the authors of the GoSL Agenda for Change document, international stakeholders and local organizations only indirectly address ethno-depoliticization. The exception, as explained by many of the interviewees, is the SLPP and APC 2009 *Joint Communiqué*, which directly address ethno-politicization to a limited extent, as explained below. It is found that, not only are some of the mechanisms enumerated within the various policies of the peace-building architecture not context specific, but their indirect and ineffective implementation will not likely result in much needed ethno-depoliticization outcomes. More importantly, if the mechanisms set out to indirectly treat ethno-politicization are not implemented in an ethical impartial and monitored in an effectively, the attainment of ethno-depoliticization will not be realized.

As has been demonstrated throughout the interview results section in chapter 5, the difference in opinion amongst the stakeholder groups on the issue is indicative of the profound complexities surrounding ethno-politicization in Sierra Leone. That is to say, a solution cannot easily be reached or found to affirmatively resolve the different layers that underpin ethno-politicization in Sierra Leone. As such, conditional language such as “may”, “should” “could” or “will likely” used within this this chapter should not in any way be

deemed as suggestive. Rather, it is a reflection of the idea that, in social sciences, prediction of outcomes based on certain situations is hardly certain.

Section 1: An overview of Ethno-Depoliticization treatment of the Peace-Building architecture

Based on an in-depth analysis of the peace-building architecture discussed in the previous chapter, there appears to be an indirect acknowledgement and recognition of Sierra Leone's culture of ethnic patronage, which is still pervasive within the present governing institutions. Indirect acknowledgement in this context means that there are no policy initiatives in the peace-building architecture that are primarily aimed at the attainment of ethno-depoliticization. With the result that ethno-depoliticization could only be achieved as a by-product of implementing some of the policy initiatives aimed at other policy objectives—such as tackling youth unemployment or personal level corruption on the part of public officials.

One explanation for the apparent unwillingness to tackle ethno-politicization head-on could be the result of denial of the issue on the part of the most important stakeholders responsible for Sierra Leone's peace-building architecture – the country's political leaders. These politicians, who make up a significant portion of the political establishment, appear to be reluctant to accept partial responsibility for creating the conflictive ethnic conditions that resulted in the outbreak of the conflict. The failure to accept responsibility is because they do not want to be seen as condemning their primary method of political mobilization during elections. In other words, criticizing ethno-politicization publicly, and then using it as a method of campaigning thereafter may be seen as hypocritical by the electorate. Moreover, the politicians that did not condemn ethno-politicization in the context of the peacebuilding

architecture may take political advantage of their opponents' hypocrisy during elections. In sum, among the political leaders, there is little incentive to tackle ethno-depolitization directly because it is the primary vehicle for maintaining their political and economic status. As well, if a group of politicians were to tackle the issue and thereafter, campaign along ethnic lines, they would be seen as hypocrites by the electorate and their opponents would capitalize on their hypocrisy.

In addition, the international stakeholders, such as UN, governmental organizations and NGOs, realizing the disincentive on the part of domestic politicians to tackle ethno-politicization directly, appear to be reluctant to tackle the issue directly as well. This is because if international partners were to tackle the issue directly, it will likely result in the deterioration of any good working relationship that exists between the government and these international partners. The disincentive on the part of international partners therefore stems from the fact that they do not want to be expelled from Sierra Leone on the grounds of political meddling. Such a result would undermine the peacebuilding progress made elsewhere, as in corruption, good governance and gender equality.

Moreover, to the extent that ethno-politicization was mentioned in the peace building efforts, it was mentioned in the context of the relatively short term goal of cessation of hostilities and not the long term peace that underlies the concept of peace-building. Thus, the treatment of ethno-politicization can therefore be seen as the proverbial *elephant* in the room in many of these documents.

In effect, there has been a general disregard for the importance of creating activities which reinforce community reconciliation and dialogue among the ethnic groups. This reluctance could also explain the marked absence of the implementation of the TRC

recommendations from *An Agenda for Change* and the half-hearted operationalization of pledges made in the *Joint Communiqué*.

The failure to tackle ethno-depoliticization directly within the peace-building architecture proposed by domestic and international peace-building stakeholders is the exclusive focus on individual greed in the context of the anti-corruption and good governance reforms. For example, the Anti-Corruption Commission and the Sierra Leone Justice System Reform documents emphasize corruption at the individual level in promoting good governance reforms. But there is no mentioning of the problem of ethnic group partiality in the functioning of these institutions. It might be argued that the reference to corruption at the individual level is large enough to capture ethnic group bias. In this connection, tackling corruption, ineffective justice and individuals' greed could have an indirect positive impact on ethno-depoliticization. However, the failure to incorporate ethno-depoliticization into these reforms, especially through the provision of certain incentives for public servants to perform their duties in an ethnically-inclusive and ethnically impartial manner will result in ethno-politicization undermining the progress made in other aspects of the peace-building framework.

Moreover, it should be noted that the political parties' *Joint Communiqué* outlines specific strategies aimed at directly tackling some aspects of ethno-politicization. Nevertheless, this exception was not a pre-emptive measure borne out of the acknowledgement of ethno-politicization's central role in the war. Rather, it was an emergency crisis management tool crafted in the aftermath of the eruption of ethnic political violence in the country's post-conflict phase. Thus, to the extent that ethno-politicization was directly addressed in the peace-building framework, the emphasis was focussed on the short

term cessation of ethnic conflict rather than long term peaceful coexistence among the ethnic groups.

However, as mentioned earlier, some of the policies contained within the peace building architecture though not openly focused on ethno-depoliticization indirectly affect how ethnicity plays into politics in Sierra Leone will either lead to, or augment the process of ethno-depoliticization. That is, the Government, in collaboration with other peace building stakeholders, appears to have developed policies and legislation – for example the Anti-Corruption Act of 2008, the Attitudinal and Behavioural Change initiative and the National Youth Commission Act of 2009 – which have the potential to produce ethno-depoliticization outcomes, as explained in section 3.

The implementation of some of the initiatives contained in these policies will p increase political tolerance that will in turn overcome existing ethnic tensions among political parties as well as within state institutions. Moreover, the application of these mechanisms is likely to produce the effect of weakening the ethno-political coalitions that tend to degenerate into institutional malpractices that manifest into corruption and massive youth unemployment.

Thus, the application of some of the mechanisms contained in the peace building framework would result in a nation that exhibits high tolerance among ethnic groups and that is driven towards equality of access to public goods and services for all of its citizens regardless of their ethnicity or political affiliation. To this end, there appears to have been an indirect acknowledgment by the government and other stakeholders of the fact that overcoming this barrier is necessary towards the successful implementation of its peace-building framework – an Agenda for Change.

Section 2: An overview of Ethno-depoliticization treatment as captured by the responses from the interviewees

As demonstrated in chapter 5, majority of the interview respondents considered ethno-politicization to have been a significant contributing factor to the war. Among these respondents, there were some who viewed ethno-politicization as slightly significant, while others considered ethno-politicization as significant. It is remarkable that the respondents who viewed ethno-politicization as slightly significant explained what they considered to be slightly significant in ways consistent with the instrumentalist theory of ethno-politicization. That is, it was essentially a trump card that was played by the ethnic elites or rebel leaders in order to mobilize support along ethnic lines, and as such, secondary to the real reasons for their grievances.

Furthermore, it is notable that some of the representatives from the main peace building stakeholders (*i.e.* the main political parties) that were interviewed took the minority view that not only did ethno-politicization play slightly significant role in the war, they also considered it not to be playing any significant role in Sierra Leone's political landscape.

With respect to the issue of the incorporation of ethno-depoliticization into the peace-building process, many of the interviewees who believe that ethno-politicization was a significant factor in the war expressed concern that there is an apparent lack of political motivation in tackling this problem directly. As explained above, the lack of political motivation stems from the fact that ethno-political appeal or mobilization is the vehicle through which politicians maintain their political and economic power.

It is therefore ironic that, despite the high-level awareness of ethno-politicization in the build-up to the war among the respondents, the political leaders as well as other local and

international stakeholders in the peace building project appeared to have deemed ethno-depoliticization as an insignificant feature of the peace-building project by the conspicuous omission of ethno-depoliticization as one of the central goals of the aforesaid project.

The interviewees, especially those within government, who bear the greatest responsibility for the peace-building architecture, consider policy initiatives such as youth unemployment, open governance initiative and Anticorruption Commission, advanced within this architecture, as effective because these policies will have an indirect positive impact on ethno-depoliticization. This is because on the face of it, the deep rooted seed that is ethno-politicization within the Sierra Leone context can be easily missed by international partners and other stakeholder groups. Since it is in the best interest of politicians to not directly confront the issue as this will impede on their political or economic gains, the indirect treatment therefore of ethno-politicization within the various policy initiatives will only result in a temporary control of the issue. Thus, in order for the mechanisms or policy initiatives contained in the peace-building architecture to effectively tackle and somehow produce ethno-depoliticization, it is important for stakeholders, more specifically international as well as local grassroots/ civil society organizations to dovetail ethno-depoliticization within the various policy initiatives. This is because, if these policy initiatives are not implemented in an ethnically balanced manner, with the aim of arriving at ethno-depoliticization then they would only serve to devalue the process of ethno-depoliticization.

Section 3: Application of the Analytical Framework

This section analyzes the results produced by the examination of the peace-building architecture and the interview answers using the subcomponents of the institutional instrumentalist-oriented analytical framework created in chapter 2.

Organization of Political Coalitions along Ethnic Lines

The first component of ethno-politicization involves political alliances that are structured along ethnic lines. Members belonging to political organization see people who do not identify with their ethnic groups as a threat. As such, there is an ethnic divide that exists between members of the different political groupings. Appeals for representation, and thus power, are deeply rooted in ethnic sentiments. Since political competitions in Sierra Leone favours the winner-take-all governing structure, more often than not, the losing opposition is rendered powerless and at the mercy of the ruling party. The powerlessness of the opposition in the face of the ruling party facilitates the ease of corrupt practices within state institutions.

However, the preconditions²⁵ set out by the GoSL - *An Agenda for Change* (p. 45), is a step in the right direction towards preventing organized ethno-political coalitions in Sierra Leone. This observation is subject to the proviso that they are effectively implemented and monitored. The enforcement of these mechanisms are intended to produce a situation in which people serving in different capacities within public institutions will not depend on their political affiliation to be recognised for their services, but rather merit will be given based on capability and expertise. Moreover, a stable economy with vibrant financial and private sectors in place, aimed to provide the youth with increased opportunity for, and greater access to, gainful employment which are aimed to reduce the potential for them to be

²⁵ An Agenda for Change – Preconditions: good governance, macroeconomic stability, financial & private sector development and managing natural resources.

used as political instruments. Furthermore, the implementation and effective monitoring of these mechanisms could improve conditions and opportunities for youth employment that is merit and not ethnic based. As such, ethnic groupings may no longer see each other as a threat; and the likelihood for ethnic loyalties to dominate political groupings would likely be reduced since the opportunity cost of not engaging in gainful formal employment will be increased.

Also, following the political violence that marred the 2007 elections, the government and the international community involved in peace-building in Sierra Leone recognized the importance of creating a space for multi-party dialogue. To this end, all necessary institutional and logistical facilities – mediations and political negotiation dialogue tools have been provided to ensure a continuous multi-party dialogue amongst political leaders. International peace-building partners have mediated and encouraged the promotion of multi-party dialogue in every province of the country. The promotion of political dialogue between political leaders will help change the populations' perception about political parties' ethnic-loyalty and enhance peaceful coexistence. This is because within the Sierra Leonean political context, high ranking officials serve as role models to the general population and as such, their behaviours and actions play a crucial role in setting the tone for the conduct of their respective groups of supporters / kinsmen. When this interparty dialogue is combined with the economic benefits of increased youth employment, ethnic followers of the leaders of the main political parties may see the benefits of having a stable economy and more civil political engagement in supporting their employment in the long term.

To add further, the declarations made by the two major political parties in the *Joint Communiqué* acknowledging i) that the people of Sierra Leone have the right to freely choose their government in free and fair elections ,ii) that transparency in choosing heads of

important independent democratic institutions by the president, can be maintained through consultation with the opposition parties before submission to parliament for confirmation, and iii) that parties should take strides towards maintaining an ethnic and regional balance in the membership and representation of their respective parties as well as within state institutions (points: 1, 6 and 8, of the APC – SLPP Communiqué of 2009) is a step in the right direction towards mitigating organized political coalitions. This is because, members of the population will be satisfied that their ethnic groups are well represented in the most influential state institutions. Accordingly, they would have an incentive not to violently oppose the political establishment, knowing that the members of their ethnic groups who sit on the board of these influential institutions will be looking out for their interests.

As well, if the practice of maintaining a regional balance in the membership and representation of the respective political parties is achieved, there would be less incentive or appeal towards the organization of political coalitions along ethnic lines. As highlighted in point eight²⁶ of the *Joint Communiqué*, each political party would be comprised of a sizable representation of all the dominant ethnic groups. Thus, in the medium to long term, the likelihood of a single or particular ethnic group claiming monopoly of allegiance to one party will diminish. As such, ethnic groups will cease to thrive on the idea that political coalitions should be rooted along ethnic sentiments.

The use of decentralized government systems (p. 78 -99, an Agenda for change) will ensure that the implementation of good governance institutions benefits every Sierra

²⁶ Both parties recognize the dangers that heightened regional and ethnic divisions could pose to the peace and stability in Sierra Leone and stress the need to function as truly national parties that embrace all aspects of Sierra Leone's rich and diverse social fabric, irrespective of the genesis of their evolution. Both sides will, therefore, strive to maintain regional balance in the membership and representation of their respective parties as well as within State institutions. Both parties agree to ensure unimpeded access to all affiliates of any party to all parts of the country, irrespective of political, geographical or ethnic considerations

Leonean and not just a particular ethnic group. This process gained momentum in 2004 wherein Sierra Leone witnessed its first local government elections in 32 years following the Paramount Chieftaincy²⁷ elections in 2003. The goal of the elections was to reactivate local government administration at the district level with the overall focus being the development of local capacity to manage all decentralized systems. If successful, the process would enhance the delivery of basic services in health, education, clean water and sanitation. To this end, the Government has enacted key legislation to support the gradual devolution of responsibility for the delivery of basic services to district councils. Important partners, such as the World Bank, the EU, UNDP, and DFID have pledged their support for the decentralization process. Hence, with provinces not only managing the delivery of basic services but also their financial budget, the decentralization process would create a sense of ownership and the feeling of equal resource benefits among all ethnic groups. In other words, this strategy are meant to provide a substantial degree of self-determination for each ethnic group and as such would reduce the incentive for tensions or conflicts that may arise due to the dominance of central government structures by any one of the country's ethno-political groups as has happened in the past.

Likewise, the Attitudinal Change program, for which the outcome is expected to be “greater tolerance of differences in opinions, party, political, ethnic and regional affiliation” (an Agenda for Change, p. 111), if effectively implemented, are intended to in the medium to long term reduce the risk of organised political parties along ethnic lines. With the support of its international peace-building partners, in July 2009, the Government launched the Attitudinal and Behavioural Change (ABC) initiative. The focus of this initiative is to get

²⁷ Paramount Chieftaincy is a traditional system of local government. A Paramount Chief is seen as the highest point of authority within traditional ruling societies and is regarded as the custodian of their people. Their tasks among others involves maintaining unity and community safety.

Sierra Leoneans to change their attitudes to enable them transform their country from a fragile state to a peaceful, progressive and united nation.

The Attitudinal Change Program, if properly implemented, will reinforce peaceful coexistence among members of the various ethnic groups. As well, this would enhance the productive and effective functioning of the major sectors of the economy, which in turn, could lead to further employment opportunities for youth, as the economy continues to grow in the long term. The long term increase in aggregate economic income are intended to serve as a disincentive for followers of ethnic entrepreneurs not to engage in conflict with other ethnic groups for access to the nations' expanded economic opportunities.

With this said, however, primary evidence obtained from the field, revealed that ethnicity based political coalitions are ever more present in Sierra Leone. Almost all respondents observed that ethnic-based politics is increasingly dividing the country from north to south. The incumbent government's cabinet is predominantly represented by northerners of the APC party while members of the opposition parties were awarded less significant positions. The attitudinal change program introduced by the current government only applies to the rest of the population, since the evidence points out the fact that government officials are not following their own prescription. Thus far, the peace-building strategy has not produced the desired effect. If instead of limiting the conditions favourable to the organization of ethno-political coalitions, there is a rise in the manifestation of this phenomenon, then that is a clear indication that the strategies being applied to eliminate the practice of ethno-politicization need to be re-examined.

More importantly, most respondents maintained that the political parties are not doing enough to welcome members from other ethnic-groups that were not previously associated with such parties. Furthermore during the current election period, there are

widespread reports of the increased frequency of ethnic-based political appeal – this poses a great danger to the stability of the country. Hence, even mechanisms such as the political party dialogue and the independent broadcasting corporation – mediums through which the repercussions of such practices can be discussed – are seemingly ineffective. Simply put, Sierra Leone has a long way to go before this barrier can be bridged.

To sum up, the evidence relating to the organization of political coalitions along ethnic lines demonstrate that some of the initiatives contained in the peace- building architecture, such as devolution and ethnically-impartial reduction of youth unemployment, would indirectly lead to ethno-depoliticization through the provision of incentives for ethno-depoliticization and disincentives from ethno-politicization. However, the interview responses reveal that the current ethnically biased practices among the political leaders are not reflective of the aforementioned initiatives. As such, the policy initiatives are not necessarily translating into practice and, hence, or are not producing intended ethno-depoliticization outcomes. Accordingly, whether or not initiatives such as devolution and ethnically-impartial reduction of youth unemployment will indirectly result in ethno-depoliticization depends on the effective implementation of these policies by domestic stakeholders and efficient monitoring by international stakeholders.

Access to political and economic benefits on the basis of ethnic affiliation

The operationalization of this component is highly dependent on the mobilization and dominance of ethnic-political forces. When a certain political group is in power, political coalitions that are ethnic-based become more powerful as access to economic benefits or basic services are attainable through ethnic-political affiliation. As a result, the mobilization of political support is encouraged through ethnic groupings.

The manifestation of this component has seen members of the two major political parties of Sierra Leone struggle to retain access to wealth or affluence strictly on ethno-political terms. Ownership of land or possessions of goods and services, have been predominantly driven by the Mende or Temne-Limba affiliations to the hegemonic political party. The aforementioned ethnic identification had resulted in a situation where access to state resources has taken on an ethno-political dimension. This is because at any point in time where the SLPP or APC party is in power, the country's scarce resources are largely shared among members of the ruling hegemony. When either of these political parties is in power, their affiliates benefit from a disproportionate amount of political affluence and economic stability.

The implementation of the policies set out by the peace-building architects in the Agenda for Change, such as the devolution of natural resources management to local authorities might improve the state's capacity to manage these resources both in terms of providing more inclusive access and, where applicable, distributing the funds resulting from the sale of these resources. Decentralization is therefore a vital step towards eliminating political ethnic-based access to goods and services. Together with the different complementing policies outlined by international partners, such as i) the economic and social integration of the youth; ii) the integration of the rural areas into the national economy and; iii) equitable and affordable access to health for all, regardless of ethnic or political affiliations by international partners, may mitigate the problems associated with ethnic-based access to national wealth and employment opportunities.

Furthermore, the re-establishment of local councils are aimed at limiting the effect of the notion that economic benefits from the national wealth are dependent on ethnic-political mobilization. This is because the decentralization of state institutions will serve as a vehicle

through which ownership and responsibility of central government function is in the hands of the locals. More importantly local counselors will ensure that community resources or wealth are not tied to ethno-political affiliation. Specifically the decentralization and self-management of basic services in all provinces, regardless of ethno-political affiliation or hegemony are intended to increase incentives for ethno-depoliticization. As such, the provision of goods and services will be carried out on equitable bases. When provinces become more self-sufficient, the potential for ethnic mobilization will diminish. Thus, if effectively enforced and implemented, the integration of the rural areas into the national economy and capacity building of the civil service institutions, as well as the creation of youth employment with the help of international partners, will likely level the playing field for all ethnic groups. Members of the various ethnic groups will be motivated to be part of the political and economic processes rather than opposing it.

Furthermore, the devolution of centrally managed systems to local government will also produce tangible results with respect to the treatment of youth unemployment and empowerment. As the situation presently stands, 53 percent of youths are uneducated and 70 percent are unemployed.²⁸ This is in part as a result of the civil war, which left a generation of young people, both male and female between the ages of 15 and 35, with very little or no schooling.²⁹ Many of them were uprooted from rural areas and sought refuge in cities, notably in Freetown. Creating youth employment is a key component in the success of the country's peace-building process.³⁰ In that regard, the devolution of power to the district level, and the subsequent employment creation thereof will discourage youths from engaging

²⁸ The Republic of Sierra Leone An Agenda for Change – PRSPII (2008-2012)

²⁹ The Sierra Leone National Youth Commission Act 2009 – defines youth as any Sierra Leonean (male or female) between the 15-35 age bracket.

³⁰ The politically motivated rioting that took place in March of 2009 in Freetown illustrates the risk that the large number of unemployed and underemployed youth can be mobilized for political purposes.

in militant political activities. In the same light, the *National Youth Commission Act*, created in 2009, which is aimed at providing youth with the opportunity to be active partners and participants in nation-building through programs that develop and harness their potential, thus enabling them to be of great service to their communities. Therefore, the successful implementation of the devolution process is meant to discourage politicians from politicizing the provision of youth employment. Simply put, the implementation of the devolution mechanism is intended to discourage ethno-regional competition for central government's attention as provinces will all have equal opportunity to develop their communities since the management of important systems and resources will be at the local level.

Notably, however, the responses from most of the interviewees reveal that the implementation of the aforementioned strategies has produced minimal results in terms of mitigating the problems of ethnic-based access to the national wealth and youth employment opportunities. For instance, employment opportunities in the mining sector that was created to benefit youths from all regions has mainly benefitted the youth from Northern regions of the country. Furthermore, many of the available civil servant positions are being awarded to people associated with the ruling APC party.

Responses from the interviewees reveal that even the devolution of central government functions that would have paved the way for non-discriminatory employment opportunities for the youths is being politicized. As such, the political ethnic divide that is currently observed amongst Sierra Leone's youth stems from the promotion of government youth program that seeks favors with chiefdoms that support the present political hegemony. Thus the provision of employment opportunities is increasingly being tied to political ethnic-based affiliation. Youth are being forced to renounce any ties to the opposition party and associate themselves with the ruling party in exchange for gainful employment. Ethnic

discrimination, as demonstrated above, has led to the return of politicized youth mobilizations such as the northern-aligned APC and the southern-aligned SLPP youth wings. With very little attention being paid to the plight of unemployed youths, especially in the south-eastern districts, where the conflict emerged, there is cause for concern.

In sum, the devolution and youth employment initiatives contained in the peace-building framework hold promise for encouraging ethnically inclusive access to economic resources, and hence, would indirectly result in ethno-depoliticization. However, the interview responses reveal that the leaders of the main political parties, especially the government, is still practicing regional allocation of resources and the granting of youth employment along ethnic lines. Accordingly, the changing of the status quo so as to bring about ethno-depoliticization requires the effective implementation of ethnically inclusive and impartial devolution and youth employment initiatives by domestic stakeholders. As well, the efficient monitoring by international stakeholders could also enhance the effectiveness of the implementation.

Use of force by ethnic groups to maintain or gain access to economic resources and to prevent other ethnic groups from doing the same

Since politics is largely conducted on ethnic basis, members of opposing ethno-political groupings usually resort to the use of force or violence in order to intimidate the opposing groups that are trying to compete with them for access to political power and economic resources. Sometimes these forms of manipulative tactics are covertly applied within state institutions dealing with the monopolization of force, such as the military and the police. In Sierra Leone, the leaders of the dominant ethnic groups use officers in the police and military to help access economic or political opportunities to the exclusion of their opponents. Senior military and police officers also illegally traffic ammunition and weaponry

to political leaders that belong to the same ethnic group as these officers. Political leaders in turn use the illegally-acquired weapon to arm the youth militant wings of the major political parties especially during the election periods. As a result, most members of the less dominant political groups are disadvantaged or excluded from access to the national wealth because they are unable to withstand the violence exerted by members of the more powerful groups.

The policy initiative of the demilitarization of the youth wings of the political parties, which is contained in the *Joint Communiqué*, would deter the practice of political militancy by young supporters of the main political parties from intimidating their opponents. This is because the use of force by these young militants is highly facilitated by the ease of access to weaponry, provided by top-level politicians. Demilitarization, coupled with prohibition on political leaders arming party youth, would reduce or minimize the occurrence of the use of force in settling political disputes. Hence, the demilitarization of the youth wings of the major political parties is intended to deter political leaders from inciting their youth's members to settle political or economic disputes through violent means.

In addition, the quick-impact public works programs developed within the peace building framework which are aimed at employing large numbers of youth, would prevent the youth from being used as intimidation tools by political leaders by removing the monetary incentive provided by membership in the youth or militant task forces. This is because gainful employment in the formal sector is meant to serve as an incentive for these youths not to engage in violent public disorder that would risk putting them in jail and, by implication, out of work.

Moreover, if the capacity building and professional development programs advanced by the UN Family Joint Vision, the PBF's Priority Plan, and the Joint EC/DFID Country are effectively implemented and enforced, they will likely result in a system in which access to

state institutions is based on merit rather than ethno-political affiliation. This is because the value in awarding promotional and career development opportunities to deserving workers or officers will likely be acceptable to many citizens as being fair. This perception of fairness and meritocracy might incentivise them to work hard in order to be upwardly mobile rather than use force to illegally increase their economic and social status. As such, the value or pre-eminence of ethnicity in determining an individual's success together with the violence involved in this process will likely decrease and give way to education and training.

Similarly, the DFID support to programmes under the security sector reform process of the police and the armed forces in terms of improving their capacity to better understand their roles and responsibilities in executing their duties could result in ethno-depoliticization outcomes for the defence and police forces. More specifically, these programs could enhance the capacity of the defence and policing institutions to effectively address public disorder issues, investigate and manage crimes, as well as efficiently gather and analyse intelligence information in an ethnically impartial manner.

Through the effective implementation of these programs, civil servants in these sectors will be discouraged from engaging or inciting ethnic violence. This is because the perpetrators of such activities will be prosecuted. As such, these initiatives are intended to produce a greater disincentive from inciting violent public disorder or undermining public security. The police and military institutions could be transformed to an effective civil service that centers and thrives on national cohesion as opposed to one that incites and enables ethnic violence.

With respect to the interviews, many of the respondents were of the view that political youth militancy persists despite the cessation of hostilities at the end of the war. This is more prevalent in the capital city and other large cities. During election periods the

militants are still active in creating conditions that make it difficult for supporters of other political parties to vote. They normally use weapons to threaten or intimidate perceived supporters of opposing parties. Concern was also raised that funding for programs from international donors that are aimed at benefiting many of the youths are being distributed along ethnic or political lines so as to encourage party youths to militantly defend their political masters. In addition, the rise of youth militancy was mainly facilitated by appeals from politicians using employment opportunities provided within the GoSL's *An Agenda for Change*, as leverage in acquiring political support from Paramount Chiefs. In exchange for gaining the political support of a Paramount Chief, which in turn means that of the local people, youth from that chiefdom are given employment opportunity preference.

Thus, initiatives such as demilitarization of ethno-political militants, capacity building of the defence and police institutions as well as funding for youth economic empowerment will provide disincentives against ethno-politicization. However, the concern expressed by the respondents reveal that some of these initiatives such as funding for youth empowerment are being used to prolong the status quo of ethno-politicization and perpetuate existing power structures in ways that encourage political youth militancy.

The construction of conflictive or violent ethnic group rhetoric

This ethno-political divide is often compounded by political statements of the “us” vs. “them” dichotomy expressed by leaders of opposing ethnic groups in order to bolster or maintain their economic and political status. In many cases, force is not only exerted on the struggling groups, but rather maintained through the creation of disharmony between the ethnic group in power and other groups. It will be recalled that in section 2 above, it was noted that the interview respondents who view ethno-politicization as a slightly significant in causing the war, explained what they considered as “slightly significant” in ways consistent

with the instrumentalist theory of ethno-politicization. That is to say, it was essentially a trump card that was played by the ethnic elites or political leaders in order to mobilize supports along ethnic lines and as such secondary to the real reasons for their grievances: *i.e.* the exclusion from the national wealth and political power. Political leaders normally try to demonize the other groups in order to consolidate or increase their political and economic status. Demonization is done through propaganda, by portraying the other ethnic groups' effectors as self-centered/ethno-centric manipulations that is aimed at monopolizing the country's resources to their own ends. In contrast, they portray their own ethnic group as the virtuoso one whose interest is that of the nation.

As well, political rhetoric is used by leaders to emphasize ethnic differences in order to achieve their goals. Members of the ruling ethnic group in turn assert their dominance through hatred and stereotyping which in most cases ultimately turns into ethnic-political confrontations. These alleged differences are used by political leaders and senior party members mainly as a tool for increasing their political and economic status.

The UN Family Joint Vision and the Priority Plan of the PBF aim to address this problem by supporting programs that provide employment that empowers the youth. These provisions for youth employment in the areas of energy, agriculture and transportation sectors, as proposed by the GoSL priority plan, are aimed at diminishing the likelihood of politically motivated youth militancy. This will likely prevent political leaders from inciting ethnic tension as youths would be more proactively engaged in carving their future. This is because the youth will likely view the alternative (*i.e.* less risky and gainful formal employment) as extremely valuable in comparison to ethnic militancy.

More importantly, the promotion of ethnic tolerance, national cohesion, as well as the multiparty dialogue initiative as enumerated by the UN Family Joint Vision (p. 51), will

likely eradicate conflictive ethnic group rhetoric that may, in turn, lead to a state of disharmony. This is because multiparty dialogue will be used as a forum for bringing the economically detrimental effects of conflictive ethnic group rhetoric to the fore of national discussions that will likely serve to deter politicians from using these rhetorical tactics.

Also, support by the international partners for an independent or nationally owned media will likely prevent ethnic groups from attacking their opponents through propaganda, thereby deepening ethnic divisions and tensions. The desired outcome of the strategies proposed by peace-building actors in Sierra Leone is a nation where national cohesion trumps ethnic political allegiance. This is reflective in mechanisms such as good governance, decentralization of authority, equitable provision of public goods and services, the attitudinal change program, social and economic integration of youth and the multi-party dialogue.

However, as most interviewees observed, the rise in ethno-political rhetoric has only deepened pre-existing ethnic tensions, and as such has created a rise in party and ethnic identification. People no longer see themselves as Sierra Leoneans but continues to identify themselves as an APC or SLPP affiliate or a Mende or Temne. The increased manifestation of this form of practice only goes to show that the peace-building efforts such as the political party dialogue or the Joint Communiqué have thus far failed to mitigate some of the negative elements of conflictive ethnic group rhetoric. The intensity of the blame game and constant finger pointing is inescapable as it has permeated throughout the media.

The multiparty dialogue initiative contained in the UN Family Joint Vision will likely provide a forum for publicly discouraging politicians from using conflictive ethnic group rhetoric in mobilizing and maintaining support for their ethno-political interests.

However, many of the interviewees observed that conflictive ethnic group rhetoric has persisted into the post conflict phase. Accordingly, even though the multi-party dialogue is

being implemented, it does not appear to be having the desired effect of reducing conflictive ethnic group rhetoric.

Absence of strong and effective social democratic institutions

Since political competition is polarized along ethnic lines, there is no incentive for political leaders to reach a compromise and collaborate on issues that are of socio-economic importance. Thus the lack of strong democratic institutions impedes the ability of opposing ethnic political factions within the country to form an internal coalition that would deter external political and economic actors from manipulating these divisions for their own benefit, which subsequently, weakens the nation.

The policies outlined by the international partners demonstrate a clear commitment to supporting the implementation of the Sierra Leone Peace-building architecture. This is a step in the right direction from the pre-conflict and conflict eras, in which the involvement of major international actors were, in most cases, viewed as contributing to the occurrence of violent ethno-politics in Sierra Leone. The emphasis on an all-inclusive and tolerant peace-building process by the drafters of the various peace-building policies from the international community, if effectively implemented, will likely foster ethno-depolitization in post-conflict Sierra Leone. To be specific, the involvement of international partners in capacity building of the GoSL to manage its natural resources is a positive step towards limiting negative external influences. This is because in the pre-conflict era such resources were managed and exploited by international interest groups.

As enumerated in the GoSL preconditions of an Agenda for Change (p. 47), the effective management of the country's natural resources is meant to translate to national benefits. As well, the involvement of the international partners in negotiating differences between competing political parties, such as witnessing the creation and adoption of the *Joint*

Communiqué, or the multi-party dialogue demonstrates their priority towards the establishment of lasting peace. In addition, given that Sierra Leone's neighbors are no longer in strife and are also working on building democratic state institutions, the probability for ethno-politicization tendencies to be reinforced through cross-border ethnic militant allegiance is less likely.

Historically, contrary to stated policy, revenues acquired from the sales of minerals were not distributed equitably among the different regions and only benefitted close affiliates of those in power. This illicit practice contributed in fuelling the flames of division amongst regions. Hence, building GoSL's capacity to effectively manage and ensure a fair distribution of revenue gained from natural resources will go a long way in improving the conditions for ethno-depoliticization. This is because every region will be provided with an equal opportunity to determine their destiny.

Another notable policy is the Open Government Initiative. The focus of this initiative is aimed at increasing accountability within the three branches of government: executive, parliament and judiciary. The implementation of this mechanism could enhance open governance dialogue between the government and the people. This initiative also aims to hold appointed officials accountable for their governmental actions. It will also empower and encourage members of the public to demand answers from elected officials. This is especially relevant in cases where citizens believe governmental officials are using states institutions in ways that would further their ethically-biased aims rather than benefiting the population in general.

The successes made in maintaining peace in Sierra Leone to date, however, should largely be attributed to the forces of citizens, local grassroots/civil society organizations and the international community. This is because as expressed by an overwhelming number of

interviewees the current political party is not one that encourages differences of opinion and as such carries out an open disregard of any idea that will benefit the nation which emanates from the opposing camp.

More importantly, the respondents are concerned that the return of the two major political party youth wings is indicative of the fact that both parties are incapable of reaching viable compromises. This is because they depend on political manipulation and intimidation of the opposing group to achieve their goals. The fact that the GoSL's an Agenda for Change clearly failed to demonstrate specific mechanisms that would produce ethnic/regional balance in the implementation of the peace-building programs is a clear indication that the document will be used for political leverage. This is due to the lack of clarity and more specific provisions within the policy documents to ensure regional balance. This leaves the implementation of the mechanisms open to interpretation and thus possible abuse by the ethno-political group in power. As such, more concentration in terms of international partners support should be given to activities or policies that when efficiently implemented and monitored is meant to produce ethno-depoliticization outcomes. Moreover, if these activities receive the same form of support as those considered as development initiatives, such as the construction of roads and bridges, building of infrastructure, provision of energy and transportation by international partners, then the potential for ethno-depoliticization will be augmented.

Further, the responses from the interviewees also revealed a strong perception that the attention of the current government is centred on one "tribe", the northerners. Many of the interviewees cited the Diamond Area Development Fund (DACDF) -- a diamond reform program initiative aimed at promoting a fair distribution of diamond revenues to mining chieftdom -- has fallen prey to the ethnically-partial distribution of these resources.

Furthermore, the sentiments expressed by the interviewees is essentially that the winner-take-all political structure of Sierra Leone has not favoured the effectiveness of mechanisms such as the ACC, which is meant to limit the permeation of economic access purely based on ethnic-political affiliations. The ACC was established as a mechanism that will prevent the zero-sum practices of a ruling party that negatively impact national economic progress. To this end, the granting of full prosecutorial powers to the commission was seen as a mechanism that was aimed to eliminate the application of ethnic biases in the adjudication process. However, the fact that the ACC is yet to successfully convict top-level officials for state malpractice, despite overwhelming evidence of such malpractices as public servants carrying the adjudication functions in an ethnically biased manner suggests the ACC is ineffective in tackling ethno-politicization-based corruption.

Accordingly, public servants in public institutions have failed to meet the objective of exercising their functions impartially. This is because these institutions have not yet successfully ingrain the culture of performing their functions in an ethnically impartial and ethically unbiased manner. Put another way, the President's pledge of no "sacred cows" in terms of rooting out corruption within state institutions, as well as promoting democratic politics is very absent within present day Sierra Leone.

Chapter 7 Conclusion and Recommendations

The conclusion (first) section of this chapter provides a summary of the issues discussed within this thesis as it relates to ethno-depoliticization in Sierra Leone. In the recommendations (second) section of this chapter, some policy recommendations that will further increase the potential for ethno-depoliticization in Sierra Leone are presented. The policy recommendations are primarily based on ethno-depoliticization shortfalls observed from reviewed policy documents and results from interviews.

7.1 Conclusion

The main goal of post-conflict peace-building is to prevent a relapse into conflict and create an environment for sustainable peace. This consists of “actions undertaken by national actors, with the support of international actors, to institutionalize peace” (peace-building initiative, Nov, 10, 2011). As consistently demonstrated in this thesis, ethno-politicization is a pervasive feature in Sierra Leone’s political structure which to a great extent is being treated on a superficial level within the peace-building architecture. That is, whilst the interventions or mechanisms enumerated by the policies discussed herein possess the potential to produce the aforementioned outcomes of reducing the likelihood of recidivism into conflict, the lack of effective implementation of these mechanisms has thus far resulted in their failure in Sierra Leone.

This apparent failure is partially attributable to the fact that the strategies advanced within the different policies of the Sierra Leone peace-building architects are based on liberal internationalism. More specifically, the strategies advanced within the Sierra Leone peace-building architecture are those “ supported... and promoted by leading states, leading

international organizations and international financial institutions” (Mac Ginty, 2010, p. 393). As a result, instead of developing and implementing context-specific strategies that would treat the root causes of the conflict, such as ethno-politicization, actors “have developed and have implemented programs that will benefit their interest and political agendas” (Iro, 2009, p. 73). This could be attributed to the fact that liberal internationals, mainly constituting of the wealthiest countries ascribe to the notion that a “movement towards democracy, markets and the rule of law, is the best way to develop positive peace in the poor one” (Barnett et, al, 2007); thus greater emphasis are being placed “on the kind of state being built rather than the degree” (Barnett et. al, 2007, and Mac Ginty, 2010). For instance, the lack of a clearly defined and agreed understanding of peace-building interventions by international financial institutions has instituted a system of peace-building activities within these institutions that only fulfill their interests. For example, this means that though the need for community dialogue, reconciliation and democratic state institutional capacity building may be greater, in the context of Sierra Leone, because of the World Bank’s conceptualization of peace-building, interventions which are primarily focused on post-conflict reconstruction and post-conflict recovery; all efforts are centered on those programs that fulfill or fit this mandate (Barnett et. al, 2007). Though beneficial, however, those programs do not directly cater to the most pressing needs of this specific context – ethno-depoliticization.

To this end, the general consensus amongst peace-building practitioners and liberal internationals is that development will ultimately translate into peace. While this is true in certain context, there must not be a *blanket application* of this mechanism to the exclusion of local knowledge (Iro, 2009; Mac Ginty, 2010; and Barnett et. al, 2007). Thus, the many failures of the implementation of the policies enumerated within Sierra Leone’s peace-

building architecture only solidify the point that “there is no blueprint to peace-building” (Iro, p.73). Because there are different historical and political contexts within which civil strife occurs, “different local context merits different approaches” (Iro, p.76).

While some of the strategies outlined within the Sierra Leone peace-building architecture will likely improve certain elements of ethno-depoliticization, others- infrastructural development, energy, agriculture and transportation sectors to the neglect of a much needed community dialogue and reconciliation or the unbiased provision of youth employment that are not politically centered as demonstrated, will simply not produce the much needed ethno-depoliticization outcomes. Many of the mechanisms advanced by the peace-building architects of Sierra Leone have the potential of indirectly producing incentives for ethno-depoliticization through effective implementation and consistent monitoring.

As demonstrated in the previous chapter, there are gaps that exist within some of the mechanisms in terms of an effective implementation of policies and monitoring mechanisms. Even if the policy initiatives contained in the peace-building architecture are effectively implemented and monitored, a desired level of ethno-depoliticization will likely not result. In order to make up for this inadequacy, more context-specific peace-building initiatives that directly tackle ethno-politicization should be addressed.

A possible explanation for this oversight is that the quantitative aspects of peace-building (*i.e.*: provision of energy, construction of roads and bridges, etc) are much more easily negotiable, as they are visible, whereas the qualitative aspects which in this case normally includes initiatives that lead to ethno-depoliticization are much more difficult to assess.

Put another way, it is very easy to demonstrate and for people to see that for instance a certain number of roads have been constructed, this many youth have been provided with employment or energy is being distributed in this many provinces. As such, international support is readily available or accessible. This is because these forms of activities are easily verified or acknowledged. However, when it comes to issues that are intangible, such as community dialogue or reconciliation the outcomes or results are much more difficult to assess. More importantly, the impact of such endeavours only manifest over a long period of time and does require a lot of time, political buy-in and prolonged negotiations. Given the nature and time frame of international engagement, there is little incentive to galvanize support from all the stakeholders to tackle intangible issues like ethno-politicization whose benefits are not obvious in the short term period of cessation of hostility.

However, the Sierra Leone peace-building architects must remember that while national development is a vital component of the liberal peace in other contexts, the case of Sierra Leone is different, and as such merits a different approach. This is not to down-play the importance of development activities in the peace-building architecture. Moreover, inasmuch as the development aspect of the country is important, maintaining the status quo on the problems of ethno-politicization will in the long run jeopardize the ultimate goal of creating lasting peace and economic stability in Sierra Leone. Hence, the ideal outcome of the Sierra Leone peace-building process is an environment wherein all the underlying causes of conflict within the society are paid adequate attention and appropriate tools for their treatment are developed and implemented. At present, the relative inadequacy of existing ethno-depoliticization strategies and the lackluster implementation thereof, within the peace-building framework should be a great cause for concern for the peace-building architects,

given the central role of ethno-politics in violent conflict over the course of the nation's post-independence history to date.

Accordingly, this thesis concludes that, ethno-depoliticization will only be realized in Sierra Leone if there are effective public institutions that offer i) strong incentives for political leaders to perform their functions in an ethnically unbiased manner and ii) strong disincentives that deter political leaders from practicing political mobilization and offering states benefits along ethnic lines. More importantly, a multi-dimensional approach must be utilized for this objective to be met. In order to treat or mitigate the practice of ethno-politicization in Sierra Leone, some aspects of governance will have to be restructured and legislated, while others will need the support, expertise and monitoring of International NGOs, as well as local grassroots/civil society organizations.

7.2 Recommendations

The recommendations below are primarily based on the ethno-depoliticization related shortfalls observed in both the documents reviewed and results obtained from the interviews.

i. Organization of Political Coalitions along Ethnic Lines

It is clear that the adaptation or implementation of some of the mechanisms advanced within various peace-building strategies have produced limited results in terms of curbing the practice of organized ethnic political coalitions. Since compromise is not easily reached in such situations, it is proposed therefore that the constitution be amended in order to make provision for ethnic quotas. More specifically, each political party should have at least 20 percent of its executive Members and parliamentary candidates coming from other major ethnic groups. This will limit the traditional dominance of the major political parties by the major ethnic groups.

Furthermore, It should be noted that, pursuant to subsection 6 (2) of the *Constitution of Sierra Leone 1991*, the “[s]tate shall promote national integration and unity and discourage discrimination on the grounds of place of origin, circumstance of birth, sex, religion, status, *ethnic* or linguistic association or ties” (emphasis added). However, section 14 of the *Constitution of Sierra Leone 1991* makes subsection 6 (2) unjusticiable in providing that the set of provisions in the chapter in which subsection 6(2) is contained does not confer substantive legal rights that are “enforceable in any court of law”, they are merely fundamental principles of governance. Thus, in order for the recommendation regarding quotas for political parties to be effective, it should not be subjected to the unjusticiable clause contained in section 14.

ii. Access to political and economic benefits on the basis of ethnic affiliation

If any meaningful gains are to be realized in this area, it will have to involve the effective monitoring by both international NGOs and local grassroots civil society organizations. The international partners of the Sierra Leone peace-building architecture can make a difference in the area of ethnic-based access to the national wealth. Since they are the providers of grants and resources needed for the implementation of most programs, they should take effective actions by exerting stringent control over the disbursement, allocation and application of funds. This will ensure that provided resources are benefiting all areas of the nation and not just one ethnic group.

Furthermore, government spending must be open to the public – the right of citizens to access government held information is essential in order to hold elected and appointed officials accountable to the people they serve. A review of checks and balances should be conducted by both international NGOs and local grassroots organizations. It is further

suggested that government engages international as well as local expertise in the area of relevant skills training for youth employment. This coupled with ethnic diversity in public sector employment, and main industries such as in the mining area should limit ethnic-based access of the national wealth.

iii. Use of force by ethnic groups to maintain or gain access to economic resources and to prevent other ethnic groups from doing the same

In order to reduce the rise of ethno-politically aligned youth militancy, it is recommended that civil service institutions such as the police force be independent and that their actions be reviewed by the judiciary. However, for this to be effective the judiciary should act as an independent and neutral body. By this, I mean the judiciary should be given the space to do its work without political interference. An independent and neutral judiciary will serve as disincentive against the application of political intimidation and violence committed by the ethno-political militants. As such, it is further suggest that the government engages the expertise of donor partners such as the EC and DFID to train civil service employees on how to effectively carry out their duties while staying politically neutral. Also local grassroots/civil society organizations should be trained and equipped with tools that will facilitate the monitoring of police actions and of the judiciary system. Such tools include open court hearings in cases involving political crimes as well as confidential hotlines for reporting any threats or actual violence.

iv. The construction of conflictive or violent ethnic group rhetoric

In order to effectively eliminate or eradicate the practice of conflictive ethnic group rhetoric within state and civil service institutions in Sierra Leone, like most respondents suggested, there has to be a national discussion about the negative effects of rhetoric that denigrate other ethnic groups or incite political conflict among the ethnic groups. As such

a national reconciliation that not only involves political leaders but members of the public will foster, encourage and promote the gains of politics to be played on policy-oriented rather than ethnic oriented manner. In order to achieve this goal the process has to be open, transparent, genuine and without malice. This means that all Sierra Leoneans should be involved in the process and that the current state of reconciliation activities be taken to the next level – that is all aspects of the TRC recommendations should be implemented with the goal of working towards a new reconciliation effort. Furthermore, government and international partners should dedicate adequate funds for the effective implementation of a public education campaign about the dangers of conflictive ethnic group rhetoric. To achieve this end the knowledge of local civil society organizations must be used. As well, the funding from international stakeholders should be done in a gradual manner depending on the actual implementation of the national discussion or dialogue in an ethnically impartial and inclusive manner.

v. Absence of strong and effective social democratic institutions

The continued existence of the winner-take-all political system in post-conflict Sierra Leone does not allow opposing internal factions to reach a viable compromise on issues that affect the effective functioning of the state. This inability in turn has prohibited the state from nurturing strong and effective social democratic institutions. If lasting peace is to be realized in Sierra Leone, political parties should nurture the ability to collaborate and compromise on important issues that are pertinent to the effective running of the nation.

Therefore, instead of developing new complementing strategies, the focus should be on encouraging the government's commitment to implement some of the most challenging reforms put forward in the TRC recommendation. To this end, international

partners should facilitate a national dialogue between the government and citizens regarding some of the bottleneck issues that have prevented the implementation and subsequent interventions of strategies that were targeted to the root causes of the conflict. Moreover, international stakeholders should also develop strong monitoring systems in connection with the minimization of ethnic driven nepotism in the public sector.

Publicizing good practice on how to address specific instances of ethno-politicization is important to demonstrate that compliance with ethno-depoliticization practices in an ethnically polarized context is not only possible, but in many cases serves stake-holders' long term interests in terms of achieving peace. Publicity can also have a major role in helping to improving transparency in the hiring and promotion practices within the public sector. The publishing of annual reports of the ethno-depoliticization efforts of each government institution will serve as a disincentive for senior public servants to refrain from ethno-politicization practices, as such practices will be exposed. Moreover, the promotion and remuneration of senior public servants should also be linked to their ethno-depoliticization performance. That is to say, the extent to which senior public servants foster an inclusive ethnic environment through their hiring practices, among others, should be taken into account in promoting and compensating these senior public officials.

Appendices

Appendix A: Interviewee List

Sierra Leone Government Representative Interviewee			
Name	Role	Institution	
Faith	Member of parliament (APC party)	Government	
Trent	Member of parliament (SLPP party)	Government	
Frank	Member of Parliament (PMDC party)	Government	
Hope	Anti-Corruption Sierra Leone	Government	
Kasey	Ministry of Foreign Affairs	Government	
Multi/International Peace-building & / NGO Representative Interviewee			
Name	Name of Organization	Institution	Area of intervention
Hillary	L.A.W.Y.E.R.S	Local non-governmental organization	Restoration of state institutions and personal reconciliation
Barney	Sierra Leone Bar Association	Local non-governmental organization	Stability creation, restoration of state institutions and personal reconciliation
Ferguson	Center for Democratic Action	Local non-governmental organization	Stability creation
Michelle	Campaign for Good Governance	Local non-governmental organization	Restoration of state institution
Marshall	Conflict Management and Development Sierra Leone	Grassroots/civil society organization	Personal reconciliation

Allan	Search for Common Ground Sierra Leone	International non-governmental organization	Stability creation and restoration of state institutions
Didier	United Nations Peace-Building Funds	International multilateral donor	Stability Creation and Restoration of state institution
Ted	West African Youth Network	International non-governmental organization	Stability creation and Personal reconciliation
Lucas	Accountability Alert – Sierra Leone	Local non-governmental organization	Stability creation
Roger	Center for Coordination of Youth Activities	Local non-governmental organization	Stability creation and Personal reconciliation
Delmoto	Che Programme Sierra Leone	Local non-governmental organization	Stability creation and Personal reconciliation
Zara	Sierra Leone Association of Non-Governmental Organization	Local non-governmental organization and International non-governmental organization	Stability creation, Restoration of state institutions and Personal reconciliation

Appendix B: Invitation letter to Organization

Dear Sir/ Madam,

My name is Matilda Cole, a master's Degree student, Globalization and International Development, University of Ottawa. I am conducting a research study as part of the requirement of my degree in the area of peace-building policies and I would like to invite your organization to participate.

I am studying peace-building policies and program initiatives in post-conflict Sierra Leone. The purpose of this study is to analyse peace-building policy documents and recommendations that are currently being implemented in Sierra Leone in order to determine the extent to which ethno-depoliticization strategies have been included in the process. The reason for the study of this phenomenon within Sierra Leone's peace-building context is important as the majority of peace-building literatures recognised ethno-politicization as a contributing factor to the conflict that took place in Sierra Leone. However within this literature there is very little discussion on the importance of incorporating ethno-depoliticization strategies and programs into Sierra Leone's post-conflict peace-building policies. If your organization/government institution decides to participate, a representative of your organization/government institution will meet with me for an interview. In particular your organizations'/government institution representative will be asked questions that will help analyse the inclusion of ethno-depoliticization within your organizations'/government institutions peace-building policies and program initiatives in Sierra Leone. The interview is scheduled to last about 1 hour and will be held in a location that is convenient and secure for your organizations'/government institution representative. Provided you agree, the interviews will be recorded so that I can accurately reflect on what is discussed and I will take notes for myself. All recorded information provided by your organizations'/government institution representative during the interview will be reviewed by me for the purposes of transcription and analyses. They will then be destroyed after 5 years.

Your organization/institution participation in this research will contribute to enriching the literature on peace-building policies in Sierra Lone as well as add to the knowledge of the design and implementation of policies and peace-building program initiatives of your organization/institution.

If your organization/institution agrees to participate in this study, I will ask your representative to sign and a consent form. Any information you provide to me for the purpose of my thesis will be confidential and will respect the criteria of anonymity mentioned in the consent form. I will use fake names when referring to your organization / institution in my study, and in any presentation, written and oral, that I might make about this project in order to avoid any identification of the organizations/institution.

At all times, you have the right to answer questions; stop the interview, or withdraw from the study. If you decide to abandon the study, I will only use the information you have given us with the permission of the organization / institution interviewed representative. If your organization does not wish of us to use the collected information, we will destroy it or return it to the organization / institution interviewed representative. Please do not hesitate to ask questions about this study.

We will be happy to answer any questions your organization / institution may have about the study.

Dr. Marie-Eve Desrosiers, Assistant Professor, School of Global Studies and International Development at the University of Ottawa. If you have questions or issues concerning this study, you may contact the Protocol Officer of Ethics Research at the University of Ottawa.

Thank you very much for your consideration. If your organization or institution would like to participate in this study, please contact:

Matilda Josephine Cole
MA Candidate, Globalization and International Development
School of International Development & Global Studies
University of Ottawa, Ottawa, ON

Protocol Officer of Ethics Research
University of Ottawa

Appendix C: Project outline

Investigating the effectiveness of peace-building policies in post-conflict Sierra Leone

The purpose of this study is to analyse peace-building policy documents and recommendations that are currently being implemented in Sierra Leone in order to determine the extent to which ethno-depoliticization strategies have been included in the process. The reason for the study of this phenomenon within Sierra Leone's peace-building context is important as the majority of peace-building literatures recognised ethno-politicization as a contributing factor to the conflict that took place in Sierra Leone (1999-2000), however within this literature there is very little discussion on the importance of incorporating ethno-depoliticization strategies and programs into Sierra Leone's post-conflict peace-building policies. Hence this research will contribute to enriching the literature on peace-building policies in Sierra Leone.

With the use of some strategic peace-building tool designed to analyse peace-building policy documents, this research project will assess the extent to which ethno-depoliticization has been incorporated in to peace-building efforts in Sierra Leone and to what extent this implementation has translated into state politics in terms of state institution building. I am therefore, interested in talking to government officials, mid-senior levels international non-governmental organization staffs and members of grassroots or civil society organizations who are involve in peace-building initiatives or programs in Sierra Leone.

The field work of this study will be conducted in the form of individual interviews. I will ask you questions about peace-building in order to determine what area of intervention your organizations is specialized. I hope you will share your organizations strategies, areas of expertise of peace-building initiatives and ways in which your organization through its programs is aiding to create lasting peace in Sierra Leone. Your participation in this study will take about 1 hour. The individual interview will be held in a location that is convenient and secure for you. Provided you agree, the interviews will be recorded and I will take notes for myself.

If you agree to participate in this study, I will ask you to sign a consent form. Any information you provide us will be confidential and will respect the criteria of anonymity mentioned in the consent form. I will use fake names when referring to the participants in this research, and in any presentation, written and oral, that I might make about this project in order to avoid any identification of the participants or organizations.

At all times, you have the right to answer questions; stop the interview, or withdraw from the study. If you decide to abandon the study, I will only use the information you have given us with your permission. If you do not wish for us to use the collected formation, we will destroy it or return it to you. Please do not hesitate to ask questions about this study.

To participate in this study or learn more about it, please contact:

Matilda Cole

School of Global Studies and International Development

Appendix D: Interview Questions - Multi/International Peace-building & NGO Representative

Multi/International Peace-building & / NGO Representative

Interview Questions

1. As a key player in the process, what would you say are the key or priority areas of focus of your organization in Sierra Leone's peace-building efforts?
2. To what extent was the specific context of Sierra Leone a factor in the design of your organization's peace-building projects and initiatives in the country?
3. What level of importance would you assign to the key areas of focus of your organization to the current and future stability and sustainability of the country?
4. In your opinion, what do you think were the factors that led to the war?
 - 4.1 How would you define ethno-politics?
5. Do you consider ethno-politics a significant or insignificant factor in the outbreak of the war in Sierra Leone?
 - 5.1. Why? / Why Not?
6. In your opinion, is ethno-politics a feature in the current post-conflict phase of the country's political landscape?
7. How much of a threat, if any, do you believe that ethno-politics poses to the future stability of the nation? Why/Why Not?
8. Are there any measures or strategies within the programs and initiatives of your organization that were designed to address the issue of ethno-politics?
9. Can you identify any measures or strategies within Sierra-Leone's general peace building framework that you consider to be either implicitly or explicitly tackling the issue of ethno-politicization?
10. Do you believe that the current level of treatment accorded to ethno-politics within the current peace-building framework is adequate?
11. What factors do you consider as the strengths of the peace-building framework currently under implementation in the country?

12. What issues do you believe need to be addressed in the post-conflict scenario of the country in order to lessen the probability of relapse into war?
13. Are all the issues you consider vital to the sustenance of peace in the country being adequately addressed within the current peace-building framework?
14. Are there any aspects of the current peace-building framework that you would consider to be weaknesses?
15. In what ways, if any, do you think Sierra Leone's peace-building process can be strengthened?
16. What is your overall level of confidence in the ability of Sierra Leone's peace-building process to build a strong foundation for lasting peace?

Appendix E: Interview Questions – Government Representative

Government Representative Interview Questions

1. How central was government’s role in the development of Sierra Leone’s peace-building framework?
2. In your opinion, how reflective is the peace-building framework of the specific needs and aspirations of the Sierra Leonean people?
3. What would you say the government views are in prioritizing peace-building efforts in Sierra Leone?
4. What factors do you consider to be the major determinants of the provision of goods and services by the government in present day Sierra-Leone?
5. What factors do you think determined the provision of goods and services in Sierra Leone prior to the outbreak of war?
 - 5.1 In your opinion, what do you think were the factors that led to the war?
6. How would you define ethno-politics?
7. Do you consider ethno-politics a significant or insignificant factor in the outbreak of war?
 - 7.1 Why? / Why Not?
8. In your opinion, is ethno-politics a feature in the current post-conflict phase of the country’s political landscape?
9. Are there any specific measures or strategies within the peace-building programs and initiatives of government designed to address the issue of ethno-politics?
10. Can you identify any measures or strategies within Sierra-Leone’s general peace building framework that you consider to be either implicitly or explicitly tackling the issue of ethno-politicization?
11. Do you believe that the current level of treatment accorded to ethno-politics within the peace-building framework is adequate?
12. What factors do you consider as the strengths of the peace-building framework currently under implementation in the country?

13. What issues do you believe need to be addressed in the post-conflict scenario of the country in order to lessen the probability of relapse into war?
14. Are all the issues you consider vital to the sustenance of peace in the country being adequately addressed within current peace-building framework?
15. Are there any aspects of the Sierra Leone's peace-building framework that you would consider to be weaknesses?
16. In your own assessment, do you believe that the level of resources currently being devoted to the peace-building, in the country, is sufficient to ensure that the goals and objectives of the process are met?
17. What is your overall level of confidence in the ability of Sierra Leone's peace-building process to a strong foundation for lasting peace?

Appendix F: Demographic Questionnaire

Demographic Questionnaire for the Participants

Date:

Full name of the participant:

Telephone number:

E-mail address:

Would your organization like to receive a copy of my findings?

Yes No

Pseudonym: _____

Please select under which category this organization can be identified.

- Local non-governmental organization
- International non-governmental organization
- International multilateral donor
- Government institutions
- Grassroots/civil society organization

How long has your organization been involved with peace-building programs in Sierra Leone?

- 5 years
- 10 years
- 15 years
- 20 years
- Others: _____

Please indicate the area of peace-building intervention of this organization in Sierra Leone.

- Stability creation
- Restoration of states institutions
- Personal reconciliation

Is your organization familiar with the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and the Sierra Leone peace-building framework - An Agenda for Change documents?

- Yes
- No

Appendix G: Consent Form

Investigating the effectiveness of peace-building policies in post-conflict Sierra Leone

Student Investigator: Matilda Cole, Master's Degree student, Globalization and International Development, University of Ottawa.

Principal Investigator/Student Supervisor: Dr. Marie-Eve Desrosiers, Assistant Professor, School of International Development and Global Studies, University of Ottawa.

I invite you to participate in a master's thesis project entitled "Investigating the effectiveness of peace-building policies in post-conflict Sierra Leone". This project is supervised by Marie-Eve Desrosiers, Assistant professor at the School of International Development and Global Studies. This study will be conducted in the form of individual interviews. The primary target for this study are mid-senior level officials of the Sierra Leone government, international non-governmental organizations and grassroots or civil society organizations involved in peace-building initiatives in Sierra Leone. There are no right or wrong answers; there are only your viewpoints and opinions.

Your participation in the study will involve about 1 hour. The individual interview will be held in a location that is convenient and secure for you. Provided you agree, the interviews will be recorded and I will take notes for myself. Following the question guide, I will ask you about your personal thoughts about your organization's peace-building projects and their contribution to the achievement of lasting peace in Sierra Leone.

I would like to emphasize that the information collected during the interview will remain confidential preserving the anonymity of the participants. The principal investigator and the student researcher are the only person who will have access to these recordings. I will also ask you to complete a demographic survey and an address form. The recordings, transcripts

and other data will be kept in a locked cabinet in Professor Marie-Eve Desrosiers's research lab located at the University of Ottawa. The data will be conserved for a minimum of 5 years.

All information that can identify you or your organization will be removed from the collected data and I will use a coding scheme to identify respondents. I will use fake names when referring to the participants in my thesis and in any presentation, written or oral, that I might make about this project in order to avoid any identification of the participants. The diffusion of the collected information will respect the anonymity of your views and opinions as well as that of your organization in order not to proclaim your identity in a public setting such as conferences or in the case of the research publication.

If you or your organization/institution is interested to know the results of the study, copies of the study will be made available to you. I will either send you a copy of the study by e-mail or post it to your organization's office address in Sierra Leone.

The advantages of your organization's participation in this study will help inform peace-building policy makers and practitioners about the gap that may exist within current policies and programs in Sierra Leone.

If at any point you decide not to answer a question, you are free to do so. Should this occur, we can stop the interview, change topics, continue our conversation or take a break – the decision is yours.

At all times, you have the right to:

1. Refuse to answer questions.
2. Stop the interview at any point.
3. Withdraw from the study at any time, in this case we will only use the information you have given us with your permission. If you do not wish that we use this information, we will destroy it or give it back to you.

4. Ask any question regarding the study.
5. Demand to see the interview transcript

If you have any further questions or concerns please contact:

Dr. Marie-Eve Desrosiers
Assistant Professor, School of Global Studies and International Development

If you have any questions about the ethical conduct of this study, please contact:
Protocol Officer of Ethics Research
University of Ottawa

I, _____, voluntary agree to participate in this study.

(Print Participants Name)

(Participants Signature)

Date

(Researcher's Signature)

Date

Please return one copy and retain one for yourself

Appendix H: Donor Co-ordination in Sierra Leone

xx – Lead Donors

Delegated Sector { }

Partner	Sector/thematic areas																
	Private sector/trade	Financial sector	Infrastructure/transport	Energy	Mining	Agriculture and rural development	Fishing	Health	Education	Environment	Water and sanitation	Social protection	Public Sector	Judicial and Legal Reform	Capacity Building/Decentralization	Security and Stability	Gender
European Commission	X		XX	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			X	X	X		
AfDB			X	X		X	X	X	X		X	X	X		X		X
Islamic Development Bank			X					X	X		X			X			
Irish Aid								X	X								
Japan			X	X		X		X	X		X				X		
United Kingdom/DfID	X			X	X			XX	X		X		XX	X	X	X	XX
UNDP	X						X	X	X		X				X		
UNICEF								X	X		XX	X		X	X		X
FAO						XX	X										
UN (Other)		X				X		X		X		X			X	XX	X
United States			X				X	X		X				X	X		
IFC	X	X															
World Bank	X	X	X	XX	XX	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X		X
IMF		X											X				
Germany	X	X	X			X		X						X		X	
China				X							X						

Table 5: Donor Co-ordination in Sierra Leone (source: JAS March 4th, 2010)

Appendix I: Activity Budget Allocations of Peace-Building Actors

		ACTORS AND AGENCY				
		GOVERNMENT OF SIERRA LEONE		INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY		
		Document Name: PRSP II / Agenda for Change (2008 - 2012)		UN FRAMEWORK: UNIPSIL * WB * AFDB Document Name: Joint Vision for Sierra Leone of the United Nations Family (2009 - 2012)		
DIMENSION I STABILITY CREATION: THE DESIRE TO REINFORCE STABILITY AND DISCOURAGE THE COMBATANT FROM RETURNING TO WAR	SECURITY SECTOR REFORM	SECURITY	SLL	110,000.00	SECURITY SECTOR REFORM	\$ 9,000,000.00
	DDR					
	DEMINEING					
	SECURITY & STABILIZATION				MITIGATING EXTERNAL THREATS	\$ 12,000,000.00
	CONFLICT ASSESMENT/EARLY WARNING SMALL ARMS AND FIGHT WEAPONS PEACE AGREEMENT/MEDIATION MEDIA SUPPORT DEFENSE DIPLOMACY					
	TOTAL		SLL	110,000.00		\$ 21,000,000.00
DIMENSION II RECONCILIATION OF STATE INSTUTION: HELPING TO BUILD OR RESTORE KEY STATE FUNCTIONS THAT HAVE THE CAPACITY TO GENERATE BASIC PUBLIC GOODS AND POSSES A MODICUM OF LEGITIMACY	RULE OF LAW	AFFORDABLE JUSTICE & HUMAN RIGHTS	SLL	31,000.00		
	GOOD GOVERNANCE	FIGHTING CORRUPTION	SLL	11,800.00		
		STRENGTHENING PARLIAMENTARY & CIVIC OVERSIGHT	SLL	20,000.00		
	INSTITUTION BUILDING	PUBLIC FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT	SLL	47,000.00	PUBLIC SECTOR REFORM	\$ 19,000,000.00
		BUILDING & SUSTAINING A RESPONSIBLE FINANCIAL SECT	SLL	5,000.00	ACCESS TO JUSTICE & HUMAN RIGHTS	\$ 11,000,000.00
		BUILDING PUBLIC SECTOR CAPACITY	SLL	107,000.00		
	DEMOCRATIZATION				YOUTH DEVELOPMENT & EMPOWERMENT	\$ 13,000,000.00
					RURAL COMMUNITY EMPOWERMENT	\$ 10,000,000.00
	FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE	SUPPORT TO FINANCIAL GOVERNANCE	SLL	150,000,000.00	SUPPORT TO DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS	\$ 10,000,000.00
					FINANCE FOR DEVELOPMENT	\$ 7,000,000.00
	ELECTION ASSISTANCE POLICY OR TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE				DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS	\$ 21,000,000.00
					ENVIRONMENT COOPERATION FOR PEACE-BUILDING	\$ 5,000,000.00
DECENTRALIZATION	DECENTRALIZATION	SLL	35,000,000.00	LOCAL GOV'T & DECENTRALIZATION	\$ 7,000,000.00	
TOTAL		SLL	185,221,800.00		\$ 103,000,000.00	
DIMENSION III SOCIO-ECONOMIC RECOVERY: THE ATTEMPT TO BUILD NOT ONLY THE STATE'S BUT ALSO SOCIETY'S ABILITY TO MANAGE CONFLICT PEACEFULLY AND DEVELOP THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC INFRASTRUCTURE NECESSARY TO UNDERPIN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT	INFRASTRUCTURE	INFORMATION & COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGY	SLL	4,142,500.00	NATIONAL HEALTH SYSTEMS	\$ 9,000,000.00
		ENHANCING NATIONAL ELECTRICITY	SLL	25,700,000.00	DATA COLLECTION ASSESMENTS & PLANNING	\$ 8,000,000.00
		DEVELOPING NATIONAL TRANSPORTATION	SLL	444,000.00		
		WATER & SANITATION	SLL	48,500,000.00		
	ECONOMIC RECOVERY	REMOVAL OF CONSTRAINTS FOR PVT SECTOR ACTIVITY	SLL	15,000,000.00	RURAL INDUSTRIAL GROWTH	\$ 7,000,000.00
		PROMOTING EMPLOYMENT	SLL	24,000,000.00		
		EFFECTIVE MANAGEMENT OF NATURAL RESOURCES (TOU	SLL	4,290,000.00		
	RECONSTRUCTION					
	HEALTH AND EDUCATION	HEALTH	SLL	15,520,000.00	HIV/AIDS AND MALARIA	\$ 14,000,000.00
		EDUCATION	SLL	15,517,000.00	SCHOOL FEEDING	\$ 43,000,000.00
					REPRODUCTION, CHILD HEALTH AND NUTRITION	\$ 68,000,000.00
	NGO CAPACITY BUILDING					
	HUMAN RIGHTS	GENDER	SLL	3,150,000.00	GENDER, EQUALITY & WOMANS RIGHT	\$ 7,000,000.00
		SOCIAL PROTECTION	SLL	6,100,000.00	CHILD PROTECTION	\$ 4,000,000.00
	FOOD/AGRICULTURAL SUPPORT	ENHANCING PRODUCTIVITY IN AGRICULTURE & FISHERIES	SLL	19,500,000.00	NATIONAL AGRICULTURAL RESPONSE	\$ 50,000,000.00
	TRUTH & RECONCILIATION				REPARATION TO WAR VICTIMS	\$ 11,000,000.00
	COMMUNITY DIALOGUE					
BRIDGE BUILDING						
TRAUMA RECONCILING						
LEADER DIALOGUE						
TOTAL		SLL	181,863,500.00		\$ 221,000,000.00	
GRAND TOTAL			SLL	367,195,300.00		\$ 345,000,000.00

		ACTORS AND AGENCY				
UNITED NATIONS PEACE-BUILDING COMMISSION OR PEACE-BUILDING FUND PROJECTS & ACTIVITIES (2007 - 2011)		EUROPEAN COMMISSION (EC)		DEPARTMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT (DFID)		
		Sierra Leone-European Community Strategy paper and National Indicative Programme (2008 - 2013)		Activities covered by DFID in Sierra Leone (2007 - 2012) as indicative of the Joint Country Strategy (JCS)		
DIMENSION I STABILITY CREATION: THE DESIRE TO REINFORCE STABILITY AND DISCOURAGE THE COMBATANT FROM RETURNING TO WAR	SECURITY SECTOR REFORM			STRATEGIC SUPPORT TO THE SL SECURITY SECTOR	€ 2,049.71	
	DDR DEMINEING SECURITY & STABILIZATION			SL SECURITY SECTOR	€ 1,134.76	
	CONFLICT ASSESSMENT/EARLY WARNING SMALL ARMS AND FIGHT WEAPONS PEACE AGREEMENT/MEDIATION MEDIA SUPPORT DEFENSE DIPLOMACY TOTAL				€ 3,184.47	
DIMENSION II RECONCILIATION OF STATE INSTITUTION: HELPING TO BUILD OR RESTORE KEY STATE FUNCTIONS THAT HAVE THE CAPACITY TO GENERATE BASIC PUBLIC GOODS AND POSSESS A MODICUM OF LEGITIMACY	RULE OF LAW			IMPROVING TRANSPERANCY & EFFICIENCY OF THE RSLAF	€ 460,299.00	
	GOOD GOVERNANCE			GOOD GOVERNANCE AND DEMOCRATIZATION	€ 53,817.00	
	INSTITUTION BUILDING	SUPPORT FOR A COMPREHENSIVE REFORM OF THE CIVIL SERVICE	€ 10,000,000.00		CIVIL SERVICE REFORM	€ 3,089,130.00
		CAPACITY BUILDING OF THE NATIONAL AUTHORIZING OFFICE (NAO)	€ 5,000,000.00		SUPPORT TO THE NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR PRIVATIZATION	€ 1,301,481.00
		INSTITUTION SUPPORT FOR SLRA/MINISTRY OF TRANSPORT	€ 3,000,000.00		SL OVERSEAS DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTION FELLOWSHIP SCHEME	€ 235,313.00
	DEMOCRATIZATION	CONTRIBUTIONS TO REGIONAL PROGRAMMES	€ 2,000,000.00		PARLIAMENT STRENGTH	€ 194,741.00
					BUILDING TRADE UNION TO PROMOTE WORKERS CSCF398	€ 317,738.00
	FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE	TRADE/EPA ASSISTANCE	€ 3,000,000.00		PRBS PROGRAMME (GOVERNMENT SUPPORT)	€ 2,215,000.00
		GENERAL BUDGET SUPPORT	€ 90,000,000.00		POVERTY REDUCTION & BUDGET SUPPORT FACILITATION	€ 15,000,000.00
	ELECTION ASSISTANCE POLICY OR TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE	ELECTION SUPPORT	€ 8,000,000.00		ODI FLOWS, FINANCE AGRICULTURE	€ 220,814.00
		TECHNICAL COOPERATION AND FACILITY	€ 2,500,000.00		SUPPORT FOR CONSULTATIVE GROUP MEETING	€ 249,814.00
DECENTRALIZATION	ENVIRONMENTAL GOVERNANCE & MAINSTREAMING	€ 4,000,000.00		SUPPORT TO GOVERNMENT TEACHER PAYROLL MANAGEMENT	€ 76,780,000.00	
	SUPPORT FOR DECENTRALIZATION	€ 9,000,000.00		DECENTRALIZATION RESEARCH	€ 76,000,000.00	
TOTAL		€ 136,500,000.00			€ 176,118,147.00	
DIMENSION III SOCIO-ECONOMIC RECOVERY: THE ATTEMPT TO BUILD NOT ONLY THE STATE'S BUT ALSO SOCIETY'S ABILITY TO MANAGE CONFLICT PEACEFULLY AND DEVELOP THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC INFRASTRUCTURE NECESSARY TO UNDERPIN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT	INFRASTRUCTURE	ENERGY SECTOR SUPPORT PROGRAMME	€ 12,000,000.00	WATER & SANITATION IN FREETOWN	€ 4,877,016.00	
		MASTER PLAN OR URBAN ROADS PROGRAMME FOR FREETOWN	€ 8,000,000.00	ADVISORY SUPPORT TO GOVERNMENT OF SL NATIONAL WATER & SANITATION	€ 100,400,000.00	
		MAGBELE BRIDGE CONSTRUCTION	€ 7,000,000.00			
	ECONOMIC RECOVERY	OVERFLOW SONGO TO MOYAMBA JUNCTION	€ 15,000,000.00			
		SUPPORT FOR RIVER TRANSPORT	€ 2,000,000.00			
	RECONSTRUCTION HEALTH AND EDUCATION	MAIN & FEEDER ROADS PROGRAMME	€ 48,000,000.00		MEDICINES & MEDICAL SUPPLIES FOR FREE HEALTH CARE	€ 850,000.00
					SUPPORT TO GOVERNMENT MALARIA BED FOR UNIVERSAL COVERAGE	€ 4,900,000.00
	NGO CAPACITY BUILDING HUMAN RIGHTS	STRENGTHENING CIVIL SOCIETY	€ 1,000,000.00		YOUTH REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH PROGRAMME	€ 3,988,945.00
					INCREASING PRIMARY COMPLETION THROUGH SCHOOL FEEDING	€ 950,000.00
					SUPPORT FOR THE DELIVERY OF FAMILY PLANNING PILOT	€ 888,825.00
	FOOD/AGRICULTURAL SUPPORT TRUTH & RECONCILIATION COMMUNITY DIALOGUE BRIDGE BUILDING	AGRICULTURE	€ 12,000,000.00		SUPPORT FOR BASIC EDUCATION	€ 774,500.00
					GENDER EQUALITY ACTION PLAN IMPLEMENTATION	€ 672,857.00
	TRAUMA RECONCILING LEADER DIALOGUE					
TOTAL		€ 105,000,000.00			€ 118,302,143.00	
GRAND TOTAL			€ 242,000,000.00		€ 294,423,474.47	

Table 6: Adopted from Barnett et al, "Peacebuilding: What is in a Name? (2007)"

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