Decentralisation and Rural Development in Sierra Leone:

Changing Perspectives for National and District Government

By

YAJAH, Christian Fayia

February 2014

ID: 51212001

Thesis Presented to the Higher Degree Committee

Of

Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University

in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements

for the Degree of

Master's of Science in International Cooperation Policy

DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I, YAJAH, Christian Fayia, declare that this thesis is submitted for the degree of Master's of Science in International Cooperation Policy. Apart from the authors cited, the main argument is my own work and has not been submitted in any form for other degree or diploma at any university or institute of tertiary education. Information derived from the published and unpublished work of other has been acknowledged and referenced appropriately.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This research has been conducted under the close supervision, developed with the strong support and advice of Professor Koichi Miyoshi of the Graduate School of Asia Pacific Studies, Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University (APU). Professor Miyoshi needs to be commended for his patience, pragmatic leadership style of supervision (Learning) as well as allowing the aspect leaving the student at the initial stage to "wallow in the pool of nowhere". I was led in the general direction of where I needed to go, however I feel satisfied in that I was allowed to make my own path and learn much independently along the way. I also express my gratitude, thanks and appreciation to the other examiners of the first submission that gave me such wonderful direction and advice that shaped my writing and analysis skills which at the end brings smile on my face.

But first, I must acknowledge and appreciate God for given me the life and good health wisdom and understanding to be able to go through this process.

My study in Japan has only been possible due to the financial support of the Japanese International cooperation Agency (JICA). I express a big thank you to the Government and People of Japan for this support. More specifically, I much acknowledge the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development in particular the Permanent Secretary Mr. K.O Bah, staff of the JICA Sierra Leone Office in particular, the Community Capacity and Community Development (CDCD) Project Leader, Hira Bayashi under whose leadership I was awarded the scholarship to pursue the long term study Program. I thank you for the leading role you played to ensure that all was well with me to undertake the study.

My study would not have been successful without the support of all my lecturers that impacted new ideas in me to be able to obtain the required credits. I thank you all sirs for preparing me to face the challenges of life and for my future career. To all the staff of the academic office especially Emilia, you all deserves to be thanked because of the important role you played for me to reach so far in my study. At the initial stage, the study environment was difficult for me with reference to the online course registration and other related issue to my course work. I thank you for the patient and time you spent to educate me understanding the system. In the same vein, the library department, the student department, the cafeteria, the security, the cleaners and others that I have not mention, thank you all for your services you provided in diverse ways that made the learning environment so convenient.

I also acknowledge all the officers that went to the field to collect the research primary data under my direction. Your courage to leave your comfort zones to such a rural community with different life style is commendable. Your efforts were very key in the presentation of this document. I thank you all.

To all members of the Miyoshi seminar group from 2012 spring to 2013 fall, I thank you for the good, harmonious and brotherly relationship we enjoyed in and outside seminar class (enjoying Nordic Walking). This interaction helped me in shaping my own world and extended my network through those colleagues from different parts of the world. To you my two colleagues that came under this program- Ivonne and Zia. I thank you for the cooperation and symbiosis relation we lived during the process of this race which greatly enhanced my computer skills and understanding of different cultures.

I also would like to thank my family especially my wife Juliana, Yajah commonly called Mummy, my brothers Samuel and Milton and my sister Juliet and other family members for their contribution in facilitating the data collection process and the encouragement they provided for me during trial times of the study.

My thanks go to Pastor Yoshida and Mari Yoshida and family, Uncle Jun and Auntie Nectar, FFF family, sister Satoe, the Sumida family and the entire membership of Beppu

iv

International Baptist Church (BIBC) for making me fell like home. The physical and spiritual food we shared together and guidance you provided took me a long way in given me the strength and courage to study with focus to be able to reach this far.

Finally, I thank our training coordinators - Ms Nishida (Former) and Ms Akiko who used to monitor us on our progress and ensure that we are always in good shape health wise and ready to take action to make us live a happy life at APU and in Beppu city as a whole.

TABLE OF CONTENT

Declaration of originality	ii
Acknowledgementii	i
Tables of Contents	'i
List of tables	X
List of Figures	ĸi
List of Imagesx	ii
List of Acronymsxi	ii
Abstractxv	vi
Chapter 1 Introduction	.1
1.1Background	1
1.2 Research Questions	3
1.3 Research Objectives	4
1.4 Significance of the study	5
1.5 Scope and Limitations of the Research	5
1.6 Structure of the Thesis	6
2.12 Summary	7
Chapter 2 Literature Review	.8
2.1 Literature Review	8
2.2 Public Administration and Governance	8
2.3 Governance	0
2.4 The Concept of decentralization	2
2.5 Why was there need for decentralization in modern governance?1	5
2.6 Growing trend towards Decentralisation in Sub Saharan Africa1	7

2.7	Decentralization in the context of Sierra Leone	18
2.8	Local governance	22
2.9	Localisation/ Localism	23
2.10	Rural Development	26
2.11	Community Capacity	27
2.12	Summary	30
Cha	pter 3 Methodology	31
3.1	Methodology	31
3.2	Research Paradigm	31
3.3	Methodological Philosophy and Strategy of Enquiry	32
3.4	Research schedule	32
3.5	Study site	33
3.6	Data Collection	34
3.7 I	Difficulties and challenges in data collection	35
3.6	Summary	36
Cha	pter 4 Decentralization policy in Sierra Leone	37
4.1	The implementation of the decentralization policy in Sierra Leone	37
4.2	Legal Framework and Constitutional Provisions of the Decentralization	
2.3 1	National Decentralisation Policy	40
4.4	The policy objectives	41
4.51	How the decentralization policy is implemented	42
4.61	Intergovernmental Relationships under Decentralization	43
4.7]	Rural development policy and its implementation within the context of National	
	Decentralization strategy	44
4.81	Poverty profile at national level	47

4.9 District Level Poverty	48
4.10 Changes in the implementation from the Central Level perspective	50
4.11 Summary	56
Chapter 5 Changes from the District Perspective	57
5.1 Changes in the implementation from the Central Level perspective	57
5. 2 Main actors at the district/Rural level Local councils	59
5.3 Main actors at the chiefdom implementation level	61
5.4 Preparation of the Medium Term District Plan	63
5.5 The appointment of the Local Technical Planning Committee (LTPC)	64
5.6 Process of Formulating District Development Plans	65
5.7 Implementation of the District Development Plan	66
5.8 Composition of District Development Coordination Forum	66
5.9 Local Council Management Team	66
5.10 The composition of the Management Team	66
5.11 Coordination from the policy to the implementation levels	68
5.12 Major Changes from the district perspective	69
5.13 Summary	76
Chapter 6 Case study of Luawa Chiefdom, Kailahun District	77
6.1 Rural development and rural populations: Case study Luawa chiefdom, Kailahun	
District	77
6.2 The location of Kailahun District	79
6.3 Population and Economic activities of Kailahun district	81
6.4 Demographic characteristics of Kailahun district in relation to its chiefdom	81
6.5 Poverty Profile of Kailahun District	83
6.6 District Administration of Kailahun district	83

6.7 Chiefdom Administration in Kailahun district	87
6.8 The current Situation in Luawa Chiefdom	89
6.9 The perception on the changes in the Chiefdom brought by Decentralization	95
6.10 Summary	104
Chapter 7 Conclusion	106
7.1 Conclusion	106
7.2 Summary of the research	108
7.3 Summary of major changes by decentralization in Sierra Leone	110
7.4 Implications for Policy	112
7.5 Recommendation and prospect for future Research	112
Bibliography	115

LIST OF TABLES

Table2.1 Sierra Leone GDP Growth Rate (%) since Independent- From 1961-2009					
Table 2.2 examples of the Policy structure model	25				
Table 3.1 Research Schedule	32				
Table4.1 Summary of Description/Characteristics of the Poor in Sierra Leone	46				
Table 4.2 Trend of poverty at National level	48				
Table 4.3 poverty by district	49				
	02				
Table 6.1 Demographic characteristics of Kailahun district in relation to its chiefdom	82				
Table 6.2 Community development policy structure	94				
Table 0.2 Community development poncy structure	74				
Table 7.1 Summary of major changes by decentralization in Sierra Leon	109				

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 2.1 A simple model of governance	12				
Figure 2.2 Localizations of policy structure					
Figure: 2.3 Community Capacity Developments and Community Policy Structure Model	29				
Figure 4.1 Intergovernmental Relationships under Decentralization	44				
Figure 5.1 shows the formal interconnections of the actors from the centre to the very local level	59				
Figure 5.2 Project Implementation Structure at District Level	67				
Figure 6.1 Organizational structures for district and rural development Plan	87				
Figure 6.2 below stakeholder map of PC M.S.K Banya IV agricultural strategy.	93				

LIST OF IMAGES

Image 6.1 Map of Sierra Leone indicating Kailahun District					
Image 6.2 welcoming the Researcher Kailahun district with motto: "the soil is our Bank".	81				
Image 6.3. Research Team arrived at the Kailahun District council.	85				
Image 6.4 Map showing the 14 chiefdoms in Kailahun district	88				
Image 6.5 showing PC Mohamed Sama Kailondo Banya IV of Luawa					
Image 6.6 Showing Kailahun town Luawa Chiefdom	91				
Image 6.7 focus group discussion was conducted by the field research team					
Image 6.8 Meeting with "Amuloma Luawa Woman Group					
Image 6.9. MSSK rehabilitated by the International Rescue Committee (IRC)	102				

LIST OF ACRONYMS

ABCs:	Agricultural Business Centres
AfDB:	African Development Bank
AWP:	Annual Works Plan.
CA:	Chief Administrator
CARD:	Coalition for African Rice Development
CBOs:	Community Based Organizations,
CEC:	Community Education Centres
CSO:	Civil Society Organization
DACO:	Development Assistance Co-ordination Office
DC:	District Chairman
DD:	District Director
DDA:	District Director of Agriculture
DDCF:	District Development Coordination Forum
DDP:	District Development Plan
DEPAC:	Development Partnership Committee
DO:	District Officer
EFA:	Education for All
EFA:	Education for All, Action Plan
EU:	European Union
FBOs:	Farmer-Based Organisations
FO:	Finance Officer,
DPO:	Development Planning Officer
HIPC:	Highly Indebted Poor Countries initiative
IMC:	Inter-Ministerial Committee
IMF:	International Monetary Fund

IPRSP:	Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
JSS:	Junior Secondary School
LCs:	Local Communities
LED:	Local Economic Development
LGSC:	The Local Government Service Commission
MDA:	Ministry, Departments and Agencies
MICS:	Multi Cluster Indicator Survey
MLGRD:	Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development
MTDP:	Medium Term District Plan.
NACCORD:	National Coordinating Committee for Rural Development
NPA:	National Plan of Action
NPM:	New Public Management
NRDS:	National Rice Development Strategy
NTPC:	National Technical Planning committee
PA:	Public Administration
PASCO:	Poverty Alleviation Strategy Coordinating Office
PC:	Paramount chief
PCC:	The Provincial Coordinating Committee
PR:	Parliamentary Representatives
PRSC:	Poverty Reduction Steering Committee
PRSP:	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
PS:	Provincial Secretary
SLDHS:	Sierra Leone Demographic Health Survey
SLIHS:	Sierra Leone Integrated Household Survey
SL:	Sierra Leone
SSS:	Senior Secondary School
TRC:	Truth and Reconciliation Commission

- TVC: Technical /Vocational Centre
- TVI: Technical/Vocational Institutes
- UK-DFID: United Kingdom Department for Foreign and International Development.
- UNDP: United Nations Development Program
- VDC: Village Development Committees
- VDCs: Village Development Committees
- WC: Ward committee.

ABSTRACT

For nearly thirty years, Sierra Leone's governmental system was characterized by over centralization. This means that the country's central government, located in the capital city of Freetown, had the sole mandate over all government institutions as well as all the decisions that affected the lives of its citizens. However, after constitutional rule was restored in 2002, the Sierra Leon Peoples Party-led government embarked on a National Institutional and Structural Reform Program that paved the way for the country's current decentralization program.

This study was undertaken to analyse the major changes that resulted from the government's reformation and suggest possible ways to deepen the process. The main research question posed for this study was articulated as: What are the major changes brought about by decentralization following the enactment of Sierra Leone's institutional and structural reform program? In particular, the study (1) analyses the reasons why there was a need to reform the governance system, (2) describes how decentralization was implemented and how it was adopted given the country's current context (political administrative, functional and fiscal devolution). Ultimately, this study aims to make recommendations for the further improvement of Sierra Leone's decentralization process.

This is a case study research that made use of not only the author's experience but also, a variety of secondary data sources such as government documents ministry studies and field research data collection conducted from a distance.

Key Words

Decentralization, Governance, Reformation, PRSP, Central Government, District Council, Poverty, Rural development, Community Capacity, Localization, Chiefdom Administration.

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Background

The Republic of Sierra Leone is located in West Africa. It is bordered by Guinea in the north and east, Liberia in the southeast, and the Atlantic Ocean in the West and Southwest. The country covers a total area of 71,740 square kilometres (27,699 square miles) and has an estimated population of 5.7 million (World Bank, 2009).

Sierra Leone is divided into four geographical regions: the Northern Province, Eastern Province, Southern Province and the Western Area. These four geographical regions are subsequently subdivided to fourteen districts. Each district has a directly elected local government known as the district council.

After its independence, Sierra Leone's economy was performing relatively well in contrast to countries categorized as East Asian miracles. According to the World Bank, Sierra Leone's GDP per capita in 1965 were at USD151. Most Sierra Leoneans perceived that this trend would continue. However, in 2004 the country's economy only marginally increased by 1.4 folds (Mingiestu, 2009).

Mining, especially that of diamonds has been the country's major industry. Its economic base and mineral exports especially that of diamonds, remain the Sierra Leone's main foreign currency earner. In fact, the country has one of the world's largest deposits of rutile. But despite this natural wealth, 70% of its people live in poverty (PRSP, 2005).

The economy immediately after independent was relatively performing well when compared with most East Asian miracle countries today. According to the World Bank data, it indicated that Sierra Leone's GDP per capita in 1965 was US\$151. It was perceived by most Sierra Leoneans that this trend will continue. Unfortunately though, by 2004, Sierra Leone did not do well; it only marginally increased by 1.4 fold (Mingiestu, 2009).

Sierra Leone is divided into four geographical regions: the Northern Province, Eastern Province, Southern Province and the Western Area; which are subdivided into fourteen districts. The districts have their own directly elected local government known as district council.

The country has relied on mining; especially diamonds, for its economic base and mineral exports remain the main foreign currency earner. The country has one of the world's largest deposits of rutile. Despite this natural wealth, 70% of its people live in poverty (PRSP 2005).

On Sierra Leone's Government System

For nearly thirty years, Sierra Leone's government system was characterized by over centralization. This means that all government institutions and their decisions came from the sole mandate of its central government. This period was characterized by (1) weak state institutions, (2) poor provision of basic services in the district level, (3) weak public sector management, (4) high rate of poverty, (5) high cost of living, (6) rice shortage due to disappointing agricultural policies, (7) marginalization, and (8) and low literacy rate.

The situation only became worse when the 10-year civil war broke out. In fact, most Sierra Leonean perceived that civil war may have been caused by over centralization. As the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) report (2004) states, "[g]overnance was clearly over-centralized during the regime of Siaka Stevens. Provincial and rural areas were left to their own devices and their inhabitants became disenchanted with the political system. The rural communities were hit hard with difficult times as there was food shortage as agriculture being the mainstay of the rural resident were abandoned and fled to neighboring countries. [As a result] many people died as a result of hunger and diseases like malaria, others were brutally killed, children were abducted and many houses and millions worth of properties were destroyed" (p. 50). By the time the civil war ended in 2002, Sierra Leone was already regarded as the poorest country in the world (UNDP HDI, 2010).

After constitutional rule was restored, the Sierra Leone Peoples Party-led government enacted a National Institutional and Structural Reform Program that paved the way for the implementation of the country's decentralization program. It was expected that decentralization, through devolution, would serve as a peace-building tool; help rebuild service delivery and improve quality of life of the rural communities; improve resource allocation, by moving resources to the service delivery level; ensure greater citizen engagement in the processes of government; and involve the community in its own development by enhancing citizens' participation in the planning and implementation of development strategies and the setting of priorities from their own perspective (NRDP, 2011). It is from this perspective that the study is undertaken. This paper aims to (1) analyse the major changes that resulted from the reformation of Sierra Leone's government system and (2) suggest possible ways to deepen the process.

1.2 Research Questions

A number of research questions have been formulated in order to critically analyze the major changes that have taken place in Sierra Leone since the national reform program. These include the main research question and other sub or supporting questions. This study's main research question is articulated as: What are the major changes brought about by decentralization following the enactment of Sierra Leone's institutional and structural reform program?

Furthermore, several supporting or sub questions were formulated to aid in responding to the main research question. These include:

- 1. Why was there a need to reform the governance system?
- How were the National Decentralization and Rural Development policies implemented at both national/central and district levels? (Policy and Implementing Levels)
- 3. What were the major changes that resulted from the country's institutional and structural reform program?
- **4.** What recommendations could be made to improve reforms accomplished under the decentralization program?

1.3 Research Objectives

This study aims to accomplish the following objectives:

1. To analyze the reasons why government decided to reform.

2. To examine how the decentralization and rural development policies have been implemented at both central and district level.

3. To describe from the perspective of the community, the changes brought about by these reforms.

4. To make recommendations that would improve rural development through decentralization.

1.4 Significance of the study

Most development issues are often perceived at higher and at strategic level of community (national or international). In the same manner, policies have been designed and implemented using top-down approach. As such, the significance of this research comes from its ability to present development from the people's perspective, in a manner that is decentralized, benefits rural areas and its resident.

Another significance of this study is that it supplements the existing literature on the topic providing additional sources of information on decentralization on Sierra Leone from the administrative, political and economic viewpoints. In addition, the recommendations from this research could be used as a reference point or guide for designing new policy structure through human resources management, policy development, planning, monitoring and evaluation for the deepening of the decentralization process in Sierra Leone.

Finally, this study, in relating the concept and practice of decentralization in Sierra Leone will certainly highlight new ideas that would contribute to knowledge of development in developing countries.

1.5 Scope and Limitations of the Research

This research focuses on decentralization and how it affected governance in Sierra Leone through a case study of Luawa Chiefdom, Kailahun district, Sierra Leone.

In undertaking the study, the researcher faced some limitations. First, the research had to deal with a limitation in time to do field research. Typically, case study research of this nature, requires the research to spend ample time at the research field especially if it intends to convene a report from the community's perspective. As such, data collection had to be conducted by a team of researchers in the field under the author's supervision. Even though much data was generated or collected, there may still be some shortcomings or lapses which would not have occurred if the process was physically conducted by the researcher himself.

Due to the above limitations, the research perhaps may have left other relevant aspect not considered. This means that there is a need for further research on the thesis topic.

1.6 Structure of the Thesis

This thesis consists of seven chapters. Chapter 1 begins with a research problem, question objective and its relevance. Chapter 2 reviews the related literature on the topic and looks at concepts related to general administration, governance issues and the concept of decentralization.

The methodology of the research is described in Chapter 3. First, the research enquiry and the research paradigm are provided. Second, the methodological philosophy and strategy of enquiry are described. Then all data collection details and challenges are described.

Chapter 4 discusses the implementation of the decentralization policy in the context of rural development in Sierra Leone. It will highlight the characteristics of poverty in Sierra Leone using the PRSP framework. It will also look at the PRSP process at national level. The development of relevant policies on rural development and its implementation and the major changes from national perspective will also be discussed. Meanwhile, Chapter 5 will describe the implementation of the national decentralization policy at district level. It will first attempt to discuss how the PRSP preparation process is conducted at the District level. It also describes the Preparation of the Medium Term District Plan (MTDP) and some major changes brought about by this strategy.

Chapter 6 will then present the discussion and analysis of the case study on Kailahun district and the changes in the community brought about by the localization of the decentralization policy under the current institutional and structural reform program.

6

Finally, Chapter 7 will summarize the findings of the research; discuss possible policy implications and prospects for further studies.

1.7 Summary

This chapter presented the research problem, research questions and objectives. It also enumerates the significance of the research, its scope and limitations as well as its structure.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

2.1 Literature Review

This chapter clarifies and describes the key concepts utilized in the case analysis and discussion of this research as well as the relevance of the study to the wider field of public administration, governance and other related fields. In particular, this chapter will enumerate the reasons for the reform, discuss the concept and growing trend of decentralization in sub-Saharan Africa and describe the concept of decentralization by devolution in the Sierra Leonean context.

2.2 Public Administration and Governance

For far too long, Public Administration (PA) perceived function only was "to implement and communicate political decisions to society" (Peters and Pierre 2001, p.3). But in the past decades, there have been fundamental shifts in the practice and theory of PA. In fact, the new concept of PA has grown substantially that it now involves a wider coverage of issues, many of which may be classified as interdisciplinary. These issues are illustrated as the triangular relationship between politics, administration and society through which government institutions and society can be changed for the better. (Peters and Pierre2001, p.3).

Similarly, the central role of the state has gradually diminished to the extent that it is now seen as a hollow state. This means that the state is no longer an autonomous player and that may depend on other third parties such as the private sector and non-profit organizations to provide some of its services (Frederickson & Smith, 2003, p. 208; Peters & Pierre, 2007, p. 4; Rhodes, 1997, p. 53). Now, PA could also include collaborations with a variety of institutions and organizations that are traditionally considered outside the realm of the government. Various reforms in PA seen around the world in the twentieth century increasingly recognized that governments were not the only players in public administration, policy formulation, and service delivery. From the 1990s, a partially new model of government emerged that redefined not only the role of governments in society but also reformulating how programs and projects should be implemented and increasingly following market ideals (Pierre & Peters, 2000, p. 3).

In addition, there is a global trend pushing for decentralization. As such, the central government is forced to work more closely with sub-national governments (Peters & Pierre, 2007). The reason for this shift is the result of the increase in demand of citizens that their government perform (produce outcomes swiftly and accurately). Governments (and political parties) around the world have responded to these demands for efficient and effective governance by implementing reform programs that particularly emphasizes on the delegation of governmental authorities. This is done through the introduction of structural and procedural changes based on concepts like decentralisation, market utilisation, flexibility and participation or politic of inclusion. In particular, governments in most developing countries now refocus their political and economic policies to be more conducive to the inclusion in the global market economy (Sachs, 2005, p. 81).

The principles of New Public Management (NPM) reform were first successfully implemented in Australia and New Zealand. These reforms, which constitute global trends in administration, have been implemented in both developed and developing countries based on a presumption that the delegated institutions have sufficient capacity to cope with implementing change.

2.3 Governance

In the past, discussions on public policy focused mainly on what the government could and should do. Government was traditionally seen as being concerned only with the formation and application of law through public institutions (Peters, 2005, pp. 5-6). Government now seeks partnerships and coordinates its programs of action across all levels of government (O'Riordan & Church, 2001, p. 22). Without such coordination and consideration, communities can become disaffected. Disaffected communities tend to distrust the government (Pavey et el., 2007, p. 99). Contempt and distrust for government leads to issues with policy implementation and maintenance, as well as diminished quality of life in the community.

In order to address the changing needs of the state, current governance perspectives adopts a more consensual and cooperative approach that advocates for more creative ways to avoid blockages (Pierre & Peters, 2000, p. 31). As such, governance considers the current political, administrative and legislative situation (Pierre & Peters, 2000, p. 24). In this context, governance could be viewed as "the process and institutions through which authority in a country is exercised" (Kaufmann, Recanatini, & Biletsky, 2002, p. 7). At the same time, governance can specifically be considered as "the process by which governments are elected, held accountable, monitored and replaced; the capacity of government to manage resources efficiently, and to formulate, implement, and enforce sound policies and regulations; the respect for the institutions that govern economic and social interactions among them" (Kaufmann et al., 2002, p. 7). Governance links political systems with their environment and makes political science more policy-relevant (Pierre & Peters, 2000, p. 1). The ultimate point of governance is to steer the economy and society to reach collective goals (Pierre & Peters, 2000, p. 1)

Rhodes (1997) states "governance is the result of interactive social-political forms of governing (goal-directed interventions) (p. 51)." He goes goes on and to enumerate four characteristics of governance that include:

- Interdependence between organizations;
- Continuing interactions between network members, caused by the need to exchange resources and negotiate shared purposes;
- Game-like interactions rooted in trust and regulated by rules of the game negotiated and agreed by network participants; and
- A significant degree of autonomy from the state. (p. 53).

These characteristics of governance demonstrate the expansion of thought on the role of government and other actors in the provision of public goods and services.

In addition, the Rhodes also identified the three strands of good governance. They are:

- Systematic: broader than government covering internal and external political and economic power;
- Political: legitimacy and authority derived from a democratic mandate; and
- Administrative: efficient, open, accountable, and audited public service with bureaucratic competence to design and implement appropriate policies and manage the public sector (Rhodes, 1997, p. 49).

Accordingly, UNDP (1997) identifies good governance as policies and programs that are responsive, participatory, transparent, equitable, accountable, consensus-oriented, effective, efficient, and strategic (pp. 9-10). Meanwhile, Putnam (1993) presents a Simple Model of Governance that demonstrates how the relationship between people and state institutions lead to collective outcomes. It (Figure 2.1) illustrates how societal demands could lead to political interaction between citizens and officials, the creation of government

11

institutions that make policy choices and the implementation of those policies (Putnam, 1993, p. 9).

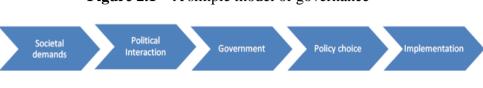


Figure 2.1 A simple model of governance

Source: Based on Putnam, 1993, p. 9

However, the role that the state plays in governance depends on historical factors, the institutional interest in maintaining control, the required degree of political and legal authority, and the strength of civil society organizations and networks (Pierre & Peters, 2000, p. 26). Civil society plays a key role in governance (Putnam, 1993, p. 175) through its horizontal networks of civic engagement that promote cooperation and solutions to collective issues.

In addition, Fukuyama (2004) asserts that having problems with governance is a core issue in development. As such, better development outcomes result from finding solutions to governance issues (Fukuyama, 2004, p. 3). This assertion demonstrates the relationship between development and governance. Governance is the primary mechanism through which development can occur and human conditions can be improved. Well-functioning governance structures are not only necessary for successful policy formulation (Cling, Razafindrakoto, & Roubaud, 2002b, p. 156) but development's overall sustainability is partly built through the willingness of formal governance systems to open opportunities to connect with its informal counterparts (O'Riordan & Church, 2001, p. 22).

2.4 The concept of Decentralization

The term *decentralization* is so broad that it will be difficult to come up with just one simple definition. The term involves different ideas and concepts that are put together.

Decentralization in practice is so complex that it has several dimensions and interpretations at different levels and by different people. However, all these definitions of decentralization share one fundamental idea, which is the giving or shedding off of some power. For the purpose of this research, the researcher shall consider as the definition given by Mawhood, (1983) and Rondinelli (1981).

Mawhood (1983) referred to decentralisation as "[*a*]*ny act in which a central* government formally cedes powers to actors and institutions at lower levels in a politicaladministrative and territorial hierarchy."

Meanwhile, Rondinelli (1981) on the hand described decentralisation as "[t]he transfer of authority and responsibility for planning, management, and resource-raising and allocation from the central government and its agencies to field units of central government ministries or agencies, subordinate units or levels of government, semi-autonomous public authorities or corporations, area-wide regional or functional authorities, or nongovernmental private or voluntary organizations"

Other perspectives attempt to describe the different aspects involved in the general pattern of decentralisation. For instance, Bennett (1990) described the concept of intergovernmental decentralization and market-based decentralization. He explains:

"Intergovernmental decentralisation involves the transfer of power and resources downward among levels of government (federal/central to state/local as the case may be) and market-based decentralisation a situation where power and resources are transferred from governments to the market and non-governmental organizations (NGOs)" (p.1).

On the other hand, Wolman (1990) identified three elements of decentralisation. These elements are relevant in situations where an attempt is made to evaluate the

13

significance of decentralisation. These include: political decentralization, administrative decentralisation, and economic (market) decentralisation.

For Wolman, political decentralization involves the devolution of some power to subnational institutions to elect their own representatives and make decisions within their locality. This concept is also known as decentralization by democratization. Meanwhile, administrative decentralisation involves the transfer of responsibility for planning, financing and management of certain public functions from the central government and its agencies to subordinate units or levels of government. There are three components involved in describing administrative decentralization, each having its own characteristic. They are:

- *Deconcentration*: involves the redistribution of decision-making and financial management responsibilities from the central government to those working in the regions, provinces or districts. They still work, however, under the supervision of central government ministries.
- **Delegation**: refers to the situation where the central government transfer the responsibility for decision-making and administration of public functions to semi-autonomous organizations that are not wholly controlled by the central government but are directly accountable to it. Litvack et el, (1998, p. 6) describe delegation simply as a "principal-agent relationship" between the central government and the semi-autonomous agencies.
- *Devolution:* Happens in situations where the central government devolves some of its functions, authority for decision-making, finance, and management to the local government units. In this case, the local or sub-national units are responsible for providing services through their elected Mayor/Chairmen and councillors, raising their own revenues, and making investment decisions. In a devolved system, local governments have clear and legally recognized

geographical boundaries over which they are able to exercise authority and perform public functions.

Meanwhile, Wolman's third element of decentralization, economic (market) decentralisation involves the localization of economic decisions and market mechanisms.

In reference to the different perspectives and definitions of decentralization, it is important to align them to be able to develop a definition that could be best suitable for analysing decentralisation in Sierra Leone. For the purposes of this study, decentralization is defined as:

A movement from a higher concentration of power towards a lower concentration (from central to city/district level) of authority and responsibility including the resources, personnel and logistics associated with them. The process of decentralization consists of three aspects that seem to be different but are in fact interrelated and difficult to differentiate. Also, there are three types of decentralisation: political decentralisation, administrative decentralisation (including both deconcentration and devolution) and fiscal decentralisation.

2.5 Why was there need for decentralization in modern governance?

Many countries around the world have adopted some form of decentralization. Many of these countries are decentralizing because they believe it can help stimulate economic growth or reduce rural poverty especially since most centralized governments, for a long time, was not able to provide effective service delivery and facilitate economic development.

Arguments for decentralization are built around the assumption that greater participation in public decision-making can improve efficiency, equity, and development as well as increase public-sector accountability and resource management. Similarly, decentralization is seen as a viable strategy to reforming political governance such that it gives everyone the chance to have a say in his or her own affairs. Ribot, (2004) explains that decentralization is a strategy of governance that facilitate transfers of power closer to those who are most affected by the exercise of power. Furthermore, Tendler, (2000) believed that decentralization is able to improve service delivery because other institutions are able to complement the central government's inefficiency with regard to the matter. It is also presumed that if the entire arrangement is built on trust and structured well; decentralization through its participatory approach could improve procedure and distribution equally. (Hadenius, 2003; Johnson, 2001).

However, a review of the African experiences on decentralization reveals "there is little evidence that decentralization are improving procedures and institutions for representative, accountable and empowered forms of local governance" (Ribot, 2001). Schou and Haug (2005) also argued that although there is evidence of immediate benefits resulting from decentralization, there is also ample evidence that demonstrate how decentralization tends to work against poverty reduction within local governments because of elite capture and co-optation. Crook (2003) and Johnson (2001) compares decentralization efforts to the act of *putting a new wine into old wine* because it is often used by some national political elites as an opportunity to expand their control. They do this by developing new local institutions or restructuring existing ones.

Meanwhile, Schou & Haug's recent comparative studies on decentralization reveal that while it has contributed towards enhancing popular participation, it still has difficulty in engaging the majority, especially those who live in poverty, beyond the election.

In spite of all the arguments and counter arguments for and against decentralization, policy makers seem to be willing to push it forward in many countries (Smoke, 2003). Dumbuya (2005) explains, "[d]decentralisation of governance is in itself an empowerment of

16

civil society. The more decentralized the government, the stronger the local governance capacity and the greater the opportunities for grassroots participation in government."

2.6 Growing trend towards Decentralisation in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Since the colonial period, many African countries adopted highly centralized governance systems that caused many social ills. In recent times, however, diverse attempts have been made by many African countries to decentralize their state structures. Following the economic crisis of the 1970s, the implementation of structural adjustments and political reforms in the 1980s and 1990s led to new initiatives in decentralization that were designed to improve state systems that were widely regarded to have failed or collapsed.

In recent years, the growing trend towards decentralization in sub-Saharan Africa has been strongly advocated by many African countries (Kauzya, 2007) as one way of addressing the social inequality and the imbalance in power relations that have become common in many parts of the continent. In response to structural adjustment policies, accountability, democracy and local participation, decentralization initiatives are now emphasized. Leading institutions such as the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) now recognize the significant role of local government or sub national institutions in poverty eradication effort (World Bank, 2000a). At the same time, many authors have promoted decentralization as a reaction to the failures of 'over-centralized' states (Wunsch and Olowu, 1995; Mawhood, 1983).

By expanding the political space, decentralization is expected to allow greater government accountability and citizen participation to public affairs. Thereby also strengthening state legitimacy (Bardhan and Mookherjee, 2006).

Also, a decentralized approach enhances forms of downwards accountability that promotes good governance (Conyers, 2001; Tendler, 2000; Wunch and Olowu, 1995). This is

17

especially significant because many people in Sub-Saharan Africa perceive centralized government systems as being corrupt.

2.7 Decentralization in the context of Sierra Leone.

To develop a better understanding of Sierra Leone's development strategy the author conveniently divided its history into four stages. These are:

- The post independent era 1961-1990
- The period of the civil war 1991-1999
- The period of post conflict reconstruction 2000-2004
- The period of our stride to development and poverty reduction 2005 to present.

It is believed by many Sierra Leonean that since its independence the development of Sierra Leone has faced many challenges. Braima (2004) asserted that *"the development strategy of Sierra Leone has been rugged with more "dawns and ups"* (P.70)

From 1961-1972, Sierra Leone's economy was said to have grown by an average of 4 percent. Even with the first oil shock in 1973, its economic growth exceeded 3 percent a year up to 1975. However, the country's growth rate started slowing down to about 1 percent a year between 1975 and 1980. Its per capita income also declined in both real and absolute terms between 1985 and 1990. Although external development (e.g. low pricing of agricultural export and oil shock) certainly contributed to this downward trend, other major reasons that were identified included the inappropriate implementation of government policies and poor governance.

In addition, the period of the civil conflict (1991-1999) caused considerable destruction to the country's economy and infrastructure. For instance, it cause the stoppage of major official mining activities and the total collapse of public service delivery, particularly in health and education.

The Period 2000-2004 is considered as the post conflict reconstruction time. Emergency relief, rehabilitation, reconstruction and resettlement became the government's main development policy. It hoped to, once again, allow its people to live as decent and peaceful citizen of the world.

From 2005 to the present, the people of Sierra Leone have been working towards the country's development through poverty reduction strategies. For instance, the government tried to incorporate popular, collective participatory processes in the development and implementation of its development policies (Braima, 2004).

Today, Sierra Leone's post conflict economic performance has been encouraging because of some improvements in the areas agriculture and mining. With a real GDP growth of 6.3 percent in 2002, Sierra Leone's recovery continues into 2003 and 2004 when real GDP grew by an estimated 9.3 percent and 7.3, respectively (table 2.1).

Table 2.1 Shows Sierra Leone GDP Growth Rate (%) since Independent (1961-2009).

Year	1961	1981	1991	2000	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
GDP	4.3	0.7	-5	3.8	6.3	6.5	7.4	7.2	7.4	7.4	6.4	5.5
Growth												
Rate (%)												

Source: JICA; Development Policy and Strategy in Sierra Leone (2007) and ADB; Sierra Leone Country Strategy Paper

After independence, the local administration retained many of the features of the British colonial indirect rule system. During this time, local councils were still allowed to function. However, in 1972, local administrations were abolished and their responsibilities were moved to the central government (Fanthorpe 2006). For towns, management committees were appointed to take over the town councils. These management committees focused largely on the collection of market dues. In time, they became grossly overstaffed.

Employment was provided as a reward for political support, and accountability for service delivery was undermined. Traditional authorities became the only form of governance in the provinces. Although Chiefs were tasked to collect revenues on behalf of the central state, they had no service delivery or development functions.

This reliance on Chiefs, who were often repressive and lack of formal state structures, led the central government to start considering decentralization. In addition, the political situation in the country was changing during this time, making the need for decentralized form of government even more necessary.

Following multiparty elections in 1996, the newly elected government prepared a national document entitled the "Good Governance and Public Sector Reform Strategy". The document prescribed decentralization as a major instrument for reform especially in impoverished rural areas. It explained how decentralization could help rebuild service delivery and improve quality of live; improve resource allocation by moving the resources to the service delivery level; ensure greater citizen engagement in the processes of government; and involve the community in its own development by enhancing citizens' participation. The process itself was designed around two major components: (1) the re-creation of the local councils that had been abolished in 1972 and (2) the attempt to re-create and re-legitimize the *chieftaincy*, an institution that had suffered greatly during the period of one-party rule and the civil war (Vivex, 2008).

Since the 1950s, Sierra Leone exercised the election of local council administration. However, the system was formally abolished in 1972 by the Steven-led APC government. The responsibilities of the local council administration were then moved to the central government (Fanthorpe and others 2006). Among the reasons given for the local council administration's abolition include (1) corruption in fiscal administration, and (2) the practice of political patronage and regionalism. In towns, the central government appointed Committees of Management took over the seat vacated by the Local Council Administration. For nearly thirty years since then, Sierra Leone's Governmental system was characterized by over centralization. During this period, traditional authorities were the only form of governance in the provinces (Vivek and Marco 2008). However, these village chiefs were often repressive and their leadership lacking in formal state structures.

The situation of centralization did not support nor encourage participatory governance within the local communities. This led to an accumulation of grievances and dissatisfaction. There was also high poverty rate and other social problems. The extreme centralization of political and administrative machinery for nearly three decades systematically resulted to the near state of paralysis or non-functioning of administrative activities at the national and local (UNDP Aid Memoir 1994).

In 2002, the government embarked on a nationwide institutional and structural reform program that aimed to address some of the root causes of civil war as well as improve the delivery of basic services especially in deprived rural areas. By 2004, the SLPP government introduced major legislative reforms through the Local Government Act of 2004.

The decentralization program and the move to re-establish the district council resulted to the creating of a two-level local administration in Sierra Leone: (1) the Chiefdom Administration that composed of 147 Chiefdoms and (2) the District Council Administration that consists of 19 local councils including six city councils and thirteen District Councils. Both the district and chiefdom councils play important roles in local administration of Sierra Leone.

The District council is the highest political authority within the areas under its jurisdiction. Meanwhile, CTAP (2011) described chiefdom as the basic unit of administration that is responsible, among other things, for the maintenance of law and order.

The people rely heavily on their chiefs for leadership. It is this respect for cultural and traditional values that hold the community together. The mutual trust between the chiefs and their people is essential for social cohesion.

The CTAP (2011) document further indicates that the government is aware that the success of the local councils will, to an extent, depend largely on the relationship between the local council and the chiefdoms. This is because a well-governed, peaceful and successful chiefdom does not only promote efficiency and effectiveness in the local councils but it also facilitates the development of rural areas through effective service delivery.

2.8 Local governance

Local governance is generally defined as the administrative environment where demarcated geographical areas are divided into smaller units that are closer to the local communities. There are two main components of a local government system:

- a) Discretion: allows to the local government to perform fundamental functions that authorize them to represent the preferences of the citizens in the decision-making process, and
- b) Mechanisms that hold the local government accountable for appropriate use of this discretion (World Bank Data).

The aim of development policy in any given society is to bring about improvements in the well-being of its people in a sustainable manner. Therefore, for the community to effectively perform its function, there is a need to exercise participatory governance. Local governance emphasizes locality, accountability to local people, and the provision of regulatory economic and social services (Olowu, 1989, p. 205). The participation of local people, in terms of direction and control of community affairs is important in local governance. It contributes to democracy by (1) building political and organizational capacity,

22

(2) developing local leaders, and (3) directly providing a check on higher administrative levels to ensure transparency and accountability (Olowu, 1989, p. 205). Any reform program on local governance should be successfully aligned with the needs of the community, particularly structural inequalities (Hickey & Mohan, 2005, p. 244). Donor countries and major development partners put a premium on local governance because of its proven significance to development and poverty alleviation as well, of course, towards the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

2.9 Localization/Localism

Localization and localism are important concepts in governance. Although, both terms are sometimes used interchangeably, they actually refer to different things. The focus here however, is on Localism which is "a strategy aimed at devolving power and resources away from central control and towards front line managers, local democratic structures and local consumers and communities, within an agreed framework of national minimum standards and policy priorities" (Stoker, 2007). It may also refer to "a means of improving democratic accountability, providing a local mandate, and producing inter-agency approaches to localities" (Morphed, 2004, p. 292). From this perspective, localism can be seen primarily as being concerned with governance. It is the movement, the adaptation from higher concentration to lower concentration of governance structures. Hence, the concept of localization should be considered in cases where the performance of a policy formulated at the national level must be aggregated to the local level. In other words, a policy formulated at the national level can only be implemented after the relevant policy structure that is established at the national level is localized to the district level.

Devolving power and resources away from central control towards more democratic local structures is the foundation for sustainable decentralization (Cheema & Rondinelli,

23

2007, p. 9). This is because, the devolution of authority to local levels offers communities the opportunity to better plan and achieve their desired outcomes by allowing them to tailor fit regulations and programs based on their local context (Pavey et al., 2007, p. 91).

Miyoshi and Banyai (2010) shed light on the relevance of localisation in terms of project, program and policy outcomes at different levels within a the community. In their perspective, policies designed from a particular level of government require outcomes and prescribe actions from a macro-perspective. For instance, the central government tend to discuss programs and outcomes from the national perspective or level. So does programs on the regional and district levels. The need to localized policies and programs enable communities to formulate and achieve goals based on their own capacities. Miyoshi's Localization of Policy Structure (2012) illustrates how policies formulated at the national level must be reviewed and adapted by those at the local level. This further establishes that national end outcomes may not be achieved without localizing the inputs, activities, outputs or intermediate outcomes.

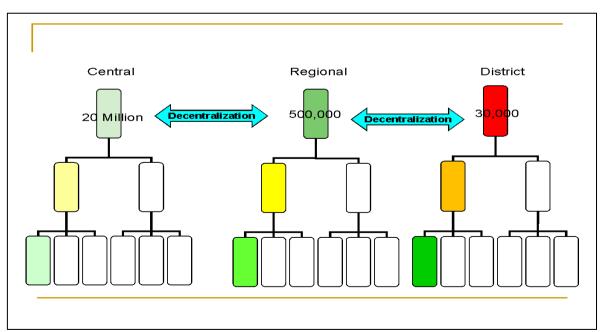


Figure 2.2 Localizations of policy structure

Source: K. Miyoshi 2012

Meanwhile, Table 2.1 (Miyoshi, 2012, p. 105) provides an example of an actual localized policy structure. In the illustration, a national policy was drafted with the aimed of improving the health conditions of 5 million people. Under the localized policies, the region was able to identify the specific course of action, activities and resources that are accessible to them and would help them improve the health conditions of the population within their scope of authority.

End Outcome	Intermediate Outcome	Output	Activity	Input
Nation-wide: EOC- e.g. Improvement of health condition of 5 million people	IOC	<u>OP</u>	A	Ī
Region I: EOC-e.g.	IOC-e.g.	OP-e.g.	<u>A</u>	Ī
Improvement of health condition	Medical services	Medical	To carry out	-Trainers
of 300,000 million people	are improved	staffs are	training	-Training
	-	re-trained	courses	facilities
Region II: EOC-e.g.	IOC-e.g.	OP-e.g.	A	I
Improvement of health condition	Nutritious status of	People's	-	-
of 200,000 million people	mothers and	awareness		
	children are	campaigns		
		1.0	1	
	improved	are		

Table 2.2Examples of the Policy structure model

Source: Miyoshi, K.2012

In particular, the table presents the different programs and projects the two regions will implement to achieve their respective goals. These programs and projects take on different forms. For example, Region I's action plan called for the holding of periodic health examinations while region II's project focused on improving the nutritional state of its people. This example shows that given the same goal, localization would allow communities to chose their tools and course of action depending on their circumstances. Local programs and projects should be positively correlated to national policies. It is only when local agencies/institutions are adequately involved in the formulation of the national policies or only when they are given the authority to localize national policies that they will be able effect the changes that they envision.

2.10 Rural Development

The term rural development is used in vastly divergent contexts. Generally, it refers to the process of improving the quality of life and economic well-being of people living in relatively isolated and sparsely populated areas. It is about helping rural people set priorities within their communities through effective and democratic bodies, the utilization of local capacities, and investments in basic infrastructure and social services (Chambers, 1995).

Chambers (1995) describes rural development as a strategy that enable a specific group of people to gain for themselves and their children more of what they want and need. IFAD (2001) estimates that over one billion people in the world live in poverty and most of these impoverished people reside in rural communities (p. 2). The group includes small scale farmers, tenants and the landless. As such, rural communities are prioritized in order to achieve the world's development and poverty alleviation goals (Cling, 2002). Collier (2007) suggests:

"Policies for rural development should receive higher priority than in other economies. Whereas the policies needed for industrial exports around the world, policies for rural development should be adapted to local circumstance and this requires much large investment in local knowledge" (p.62).

Miyoshi (2012) adds:

"Social, environmental and political, and at times, informal perspectives are also needed. Discussions that treat all results of development activities simply as economic benefits must be strictly avoided". Likewise, life and development should be conducted based on the criteria of that particular area people live. People in rural areas should conduct development based on the values, visions and norms of the rural area and community they belong to. This results in truly rich and sustainable rural development (p. 47).

2.11 Community Capacity

Community Capacity is an important strategy for rural development. It is a broad area of study where the meaning of the concept is interpreted differently by different people. To enhance the general understanding of the concept, it is but necessary to first define what a community is. Community (Miyoshi, 2012) in the context of an alternative strategy for rural development refers to the "relative aggregation constructed by individuals, groups and organizations, acknowledged by a specific area, generally defined by administrative boundaries, and within this boundary, these individuals, groups and organizations recognize themselves as being member of the community" (p. 48).

On the other hand, Chaskin et al. (2001) describes community as a group of people residing in a relatively small area within a town or a city, or a specific district or area where local people reside (neighbourhood). Miyoshi (2012) broadens the scope of community to include not only people living in specific areas, but also administrative bodies, civil society organizations, NGOs/NPOs, private enterprises and educational institutions (p. 48). Organizations are included because they act as stakeholders and often play important roles within the community.

Consequently, community capacity is the basic element that enables a community to function. It also refers to their ability to achieve the shared goals as well as to promote and maintain the richness of the community through the collective efforts of individuals and organizations within a community, utilizing the human, organizational and social resources available (Miyoshi et al, 2010). Community capacity is built through the deepening of mutual relationships between individuals and organizations in the community. It is the result of the community members' efforts enabling formal and informal economic, social, environmental, political, and cultural activities to take place. It is an intrinsic ability retained by individuals and organizations belonging to the community; therefore, as a basic rule, it is something that community members must be aware of and make conscious efforts to improve. An alternative approach for rural development is presented in the Community Capacity Development and Policy Structure Model.

Figure 2.3 illustrates the Community Capacity Development and Community Policy Structure model. Put simply, community capacity development involves the interaction and synergies between the community's capacity and their policy structure in order to facilitate the formation of more complex and sophisticated community policy structures. The two are the pillars of this alternative development model that is characterized by the interaction between three basic elements: (1) strategic components, (2) characteristics of community capacity, and (3) functions of the community. The model adapts key concepts from Chaskin *et al* who define community capacity as 'the interaction of human capital, organizational resources, and social capital existing within given community that can be leveraged to solve collective problems and improve or maintain the well-being of that community. Chaskin *et al* also described community capacity as operating "through informal processes and/or organized efforts by individuals, organizations and social networks that exist among and between them and the larger systems of which the community its part of" (2001, p.7).

The characteristics of community capacity presented by Chaskin *et al* study include: sense of community, commitment, problem-solving ability, and access to resources (2001, p.13). The model presented in the figure includes the characteristics of community capacity.

Moreover, the policy structure shows the conceptualized causal relationship between ends and means as end outcomes (effects of which are manifested as change in society), intermediate outcomes (manifest as change in target groups, including both individuals and organizations), outputs (referring to the goods and services generated by the activities), activities (action taken in order to apply inputs to the generation of outputs), and inputs (human and material resources, operating funds, facilities, capital, expertise, time, etc.) (Miyoshi, 2008; 2010).

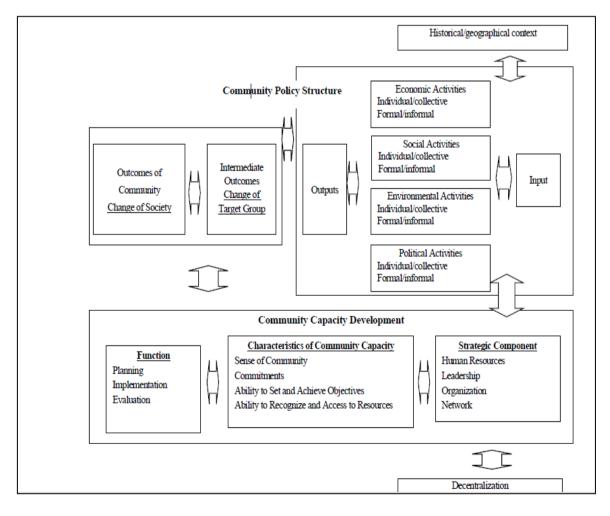


Figure: 2.3 Community Capacity Developments and Community Policy Structure Model

Source: Based on Chaskin et al. (2001), Friedman (1992), and Miyoshi et al. (2003).

2.12 Summary.

In summary, this chapter described the core concepts and theories discussing governance, decentralisation, public administration, localisation and community capacity. As well as governance issues that are fundamental to most developing countries especially at the local level. The issue of decentralization is equally relevant in terms of district/local level administration and of course, public administration in terms of decision-making and localization of government policies.

Chapter 3

Methodology

3.1 Methodology

This chapter highlights the steps and stages that were taken in the conduct of this study. The first part of this chapter shall clarify the research paradigm from which this study was approached. Later on, the author will go into the details of this study's methodology and strategy of enquiry. Methods of Data collection, research schedule and limitations will also be enumerated.

3.2 Research Paradigm

The study was designed as a qualitative case study. The qualitative approach was used because it creates an opportunity for the researcher to present in narrative a given situation/circumstance, within a certain period and place, given a significant amount of detailed information. Similarly, it allows for an appreciation of people and events within their own context (Weiss, 1998, p. 252). Creswell (2008) identifies four research paradigms (philosophical worldviews): post-positivism, social constructivism, advocacy/participatory, and pragmatism. In order to make research explicit it is necessary to identify which of the larger philosophical ideas guide the research (Creswell, 2008, P. 7).

3.3 Methodological Philosophy and Strategy of Enquiry

Creswell (2008) explains that "qualitative research is a means for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups assign to a social or human problem".

The flexible nature of qualitative research allows for exploration using ordinary language that is accessible to any audience (an important part of action research) as well as the use of non-traditional mediums of expression including photography and video (Lincoln & Denzin 2003, p. 4).

On the other hand, case study research strategy was used because of the originality of the study in field. Case studies are able to support existing theories and models. Case studies show clear evidence of the boundaries between phenomenon and context (Yin, 2003).

3.4 Research Schedule

Table 3.1 details the schedule of activities given the time frame over eight months:

Date/Time	Main Activities
April – June 15,2013	Still figuring out the thesis research area. During this period communicated with stakeholders at the central district as well as chiefdoms.
20 th June 2013	Identify the research topic and research case study area.
June 20- July 20, 2013	Reading of the literature reviews Listing up necessary government and related documents identified the interest area of the study Developed research design and activity plan Developed questionnaires as the researcher is familiar with the research area. Purchasing of the research instrument. Hiring of enumerator and testing of research question

 Table 3.1: the Research Schedule

Data collection exercise in the field by research team
directed through telephone calls and Skype interviews from
Japan, classification and analysis of raw data.
Data processing
Draft of data chapter ready for submission to Professor
Miyoshi for his comment
First draft of thesis to be ready and perused by other
academia for necessary correction.
Final Draft of thesis to be submitted to Professor Miyoshi.
Correction through reading thesis over and again.
Printing of three hard copies
Submission of second draft of thesis to the thesis
committee, both hard and soft copies while waiting for
their comment.

3.5 Study site

The research was conducted in Sierra Leone. Specifically, in Luawa Chiefdom located in the Kailahun district in the eastern part of Sierra Leone. Luawa chiefdom is considered one of the poorest in the country. It was under rebel control for almost eleven years and was seriously affected by the ten year civil war in Sierra Leone. The district is approximately 400 kilometres away from the capital city of Freetown. However, post-war recovery in the district

has been encouraging. The population of the Chiefdom consists of individuals and families from various ethnic backgrounds and of diverse age groups.

3.6 Data Collection

This is a case study research that is largely dependent on both secondary data collection and the results of research team's field work organized and supervised by the author, and analysis. Two strategies were used to collect the data of government documents and that included: visit of research team in the research area.

The first component of the study's data collection was through author's experience as a senior government officer. The author collected government documents and utilized them for this research. The author of the research also served as a key informant in the research process. As a senior government officer connected to the local Government sector at the policy level, the researcher was involved in the drafting and implementation of government policies. Similarly, as a staff in the local and rural development ministry, the author had previously visited all 12 districts and 149 chiefdoms in the country. The researcher's experiences in policy discussions and implementation activities and through his observation and participation during his personal visits to these rural communities have given him vast knowledge about the study area.

The second component of the study's data collection was conducted through research officers from the author's Ministry that went to the field under the author's close supervision, close communication and instruction from Japan. The author utilized the result of this field work as data for this research. The research team interacted positively with the community in order to collect the primary data from the research study area. Discussions and interviews were conducted through focused group discussions and individual interviews. The author conducted interviews with key players/ stakeholders in the community through international phone calls, through Facebook and Skype discussions, internet and personal communication.

The field visit and data collection was conducted during the end of the first quarter of the year 2013. Before this however, effective modalities were put in place in terms of logistics and the development of an operational plan or research schedule because of time constraints.

In addition, textbooks, journal articles, newspaper articles, the JICA Training program on Rural Development and reference materials from other agencies involved in community development activities were also used as sources of the study's secondary data.

3.7 Difficulties and challenges in data collection.

Conducting a research of such nature, from a distance, initially presented some challenges. But did not prevent the researchers from undertaking the project and completing the whole exercise.

The first challenge was finding a counterpart in Sierra Leone who shared the same interest and willing to assist in collecting the study's primary data on behalf of the researcher. This hurdle was overcome when the researcher's ministry constituted a field research team that consists of both ministry and council staff. The researcher has been in close contact with the abovementioned team since their endorsement.

Another difficulty the researcher faced was accessing some of the communities in the research area due to the bad condition of the road. Because regular passenger vehicles could not be used for travel, the research team took the risk of using motor bikes in order to travel to the targeted communities of this research.

In remotely conducting some of the interviews, the researcher also encountered problems getting some of his respondent on the phone. The researcher would just then persistently call his interviewee over and over again. There were also instances when respondents would not respond actively to the questions. However, when asked to make a follow up call, the researcher would persist and get the information he needed.

Sending the images collected from field work also proved to be a challenge. For one, the community had poor internet facilities and no electricity or power supply. The staff had to travel eighty kilometres from the research area to send some relevant images.

After the field work, the resulting data was collected and compiled into one document as raw data in my ministry in Sierra Leone. This was eventually sent to the researcher as an attachment in an email for analysis.

3.7 Summary

In summary, the discussion presented above highlights the steps and stages that were involved in undertaking this study from the time the research started to its final submission. The next chapter will now discuss the implementation of the decentralization policy in the context of rural development in Sierra Leone.

Chapter 4

Decentralization Policy in Sierra Leone

4.1 The implementation of the decentralization policy in Sierra Leone.

This chapter discusses the decentralization policy in the context of rural development in Sierra Leone. It will discuss the preparations for and implementation of both the national decentralization and rural development policy. It hopes to highlight the characteristics of poverty in Sierra Leone using the PRSP framework and as well as enumerate the major changes that have taken place from national perspective.

After restoring constitutional rule in 2002, the Sierra Leone Peoples Party-led government embarked on a National Institutional and Structural Reform Program. One of the programs from this initiative was the decentralisation program by devolution that was introduced in 2004. The passing into law of the Local Government Act of Sierra Leone (LGA 04 SL) by the Sierra Leone Parliament reinstated the nineteen democratically elected Local Councils (LCs) or sub-national institutions. It was perceived that decentralization through devolution will serve not only as a peace building tool but would also help rebuild service delivery and improve quality of life of the rural communities, improve resource allocation, ensure greater citizen engagement in the processes of government, and involve the community in its own development by enhancing citizens' participation in the planning and implementation of development strategies and the setting of priorities from their own perspective (*NRDP*, 2011).

The prospect was that the implementation of the decentralization strategy and other rural development policies will positively improve governance and result to other benefits. However, it is still unclear if these benefits have materialised and if the program was able to bring about the desired changes in the rural communities of Sierra Leone. This research will review the changes at the policy as well as the implementing levels (district and Chiefdom).

4.2 Legal Framework and Constitutional Provisions of the Decentralization

The current program of decentralization in Sierra Leone has the full blessing of the 1991 constitution. It was initiated after the democratic transition in 1996 by Sierra Leone Peoples Party (SLPP) led government of Dr. Ahmed T. Kabbah. In 2004, the SLPP government introduced major legislative reforms by enacting the Local Government Act of 2004. This landmark legislation provides the legal framework through which the entire national decentralization process is based. It is a very comprehensive legislation which includes the following:

(1) Political decentralization or devolution:

The LGA 04 SL identifies LCs as the highest political and development agents or authority in their area of jurisdiction. The legislation sets out the details of the political framework with respect to the election and composition of councils, the qualifications of councillors, procedures for the election of mayors (for the urban councils) and chairpersons (in the District councils), powers to make and implement by-laws, the role and responsibilities of the various structures within the council (for instance, the ward committees) and provision for citizen participation, transparency and accountability. Because of these, the Act created 19 local council areas (5 urban councils, 1 city council, 1 rural council and 12 district councils). It also prescribed the composition of local councils, with the limit and extent of authority clearly spelt out.

(11) Administrative decentralization or Devolution :

Management arrangements are made clearly. Focusing on the Council in session and the various councils and other sectoral committees.

(111) Fiscal Decentralization /Devolution:

The Local Government Act provides a framework for fiscal decentralization to the LCs. Basically, there are three main sources of financing for local governments in Sierra Leone. These are (1) central government transfers for devolved functions and administrative expenses; (2) local councils' own sources of revenues (taxes, fees, licenses, royalties, mining revenues, etc.); and (3) loans and grants from other sources. The LGA 04 SL recognized that in the short term, they need to have their own sources of revenues that would eventually finance the functions devolved to these sub national institutions. It therefore provides a system of intergovernmental transfers to fill the gap. There are comprehensive provisions to ensure and assure prudent financial management.

(IV) Transparency, Accountability and Participation:

The Act indicated good and transparent management on how to ensure compliance. The document also stipulates the terms and conditions which will enhance both fiscal and political accountability.

(V) Functional Decentralisation/Devolution:

The third schedule of the Local Government Act of 2004 clearly enumerated the functions that are to be devolved to the local councils.

The multi-party 1991 Constitution of Sierra Leone, which marked the transition to multi-party democracy at the national level, endorsed the 1996 reforms. It made provisions for decentralization within the overall context of a liberal democratic constitution. The objective of the decentralization process was laid out in the local government Act of 2004 which state that: "being an act to consolidate with amendment, the law on local Government, and to provide for the decentralization and devolution of functions, power and services to local councils and for other matters connected therewith" was enacted by the President and Members of Parliament in the House of Representatives on the 1st March 2004 (LGA. 04)

4.3 National Decentralisation Policy

It is important to note that the government passed the LGA 04 SL into law and the process of decentralization without any national policies on decentralization in place. Before this period MDAs only had sector policies that guide their operations in the districts. As a best practice, it was important to develop a national policy document on decentralization before making the Act. The policy would have informed the contents of the Act and help minimize the many contradictions and lapses currently found in the Local Government Act. In this circumstance, the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development took the bold initiative to prepare and launch the National Decentralization and Rural Development Policies first in 2010, then in 2011 with the support of UNDP, DFID and WD. At the same time, the MLGRD had inter alia prepare other policies or legislation namely:

- The Paramount Chieftaincy Act 2009,
- The Rural Development Policy
- The Chiefdom Governance and Tribal Administration Act.

The current Act has also been reviewed by the MLGRD for necessary amendments.

Ultimately, the framework and goals of all these policies aim to reduce poverty through the provision of effective service delivery in areas that for long time has been marginalized. As such, it would be very difficult to discuss rural development without making reference to the Decentralisation Policy. The decentralisation policy actually set in motion the preparations for the rural development Policy and other subsequent legislations, complementing each other in order to reinforce and deepen the decentralisation process.

The goal of Sierra Leone's decentralisation is to ensure that the local people and their communities are empowered and fully involved in the political and socio-economic development processes. This is so they could actually formulate and implement their own development plans while the government works in collaboration with the private sector and civil society to provide the enabling environment and effective management of national and local development.

4.4 The policy objectives

To achieve the abovementioned goals, the following objectives are to be pursued:

- a) To firmly establish the legal and regulatory framework for embedding the policy of decentralisation by devolution while defining roles, responsibilities and functional relationships therein;
- b) To improve local governance by shifting political, administrative and fiscal responsibilities closest to the areas where services are delivered;
- c) To devolve service delivery functions to local councils systematically and in a coordinated fashion together with the MDAs;
- d) To strengthen capacities of key stakeholders involved in the decentralisation process, especially the local councils, to be able to carry out their mandates effectively and efficiently;
- e) To build local ownership and operational efficiency of the decentralisation process through effective development planning and budgeting, financial management, monitoring and evaluation, and other managerial functions, and to provide an effective link between national development priorities and local level development initiatives;
- f) To strengthen local councils to effectively harness local revenue potentials to complement other revenue sources, including inter-governmental fiscal transfers, for the funding of their development and administrative program;

- g) To mainstream gender perspectives in the entire decentralisation process especially in the operations of the local councils and to promote inclusiveness for all societal groups;
- h) To effectively sensitize the citizenry about decentralisation, mobilising solid support for its growth and emphasising good stewardship;
- To promote transparency and accountability in local governance by making local councils directly accountable for their actions to their citizens and nationally, while adhering to the best practices of open government;
- j) To devolve local economic development promotion functions and their related resources to local councils in a systematic and coordinated manner with the MDAs;
- k) To devolve the required functions and resources to enable local councils to explore all opportunities to promote equitable local economic growth and service delivery through the mobilisation of local resources in tandem with the private sector and civil society; and
- To harmonize donor support towards strengthening the decentralisation process avoiding unnecessary duplications and overlaps.

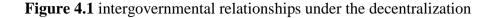
4.5 How the decentralization policy is implemented.

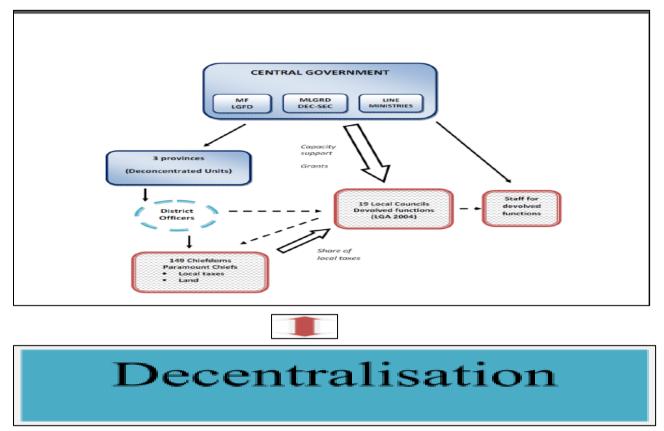
The framework through which decentralization policy is implemented is presented in Figure 4.1. Various institutions and structures have been established within the framework for the implementation of the policy. MDAs retain responsibility for strategic planning, setting of standards, quality control, monitoring, as well as procurement of certain priority commodities (such as textbooks and drugs). The central government also retains administrative control over the staff responsible for performing devolved functions. Each local council has a political head (mayor and deputy) and administrative head (Chief Administrator). The chief

administrator is responsible for management and all administrative and technical matters. In addition, each of the local councils would now have a core technical staff under the supervision of the chief administrator. However, staff for devolved functions remains under the administrative control of the central MDAs.

4.6 Intergovernmental Relationships under Decentralization

Figure 4.1 describes the intergovernmental relationship under the decentralization. The shaded boxes identify central government institutions and deconcentrated units (provinces, district officers). The dashed boxes identify the key actors of decentralized administration. The solid arrows indicate a clear relationship of authority across levels of government. The dotted arrows denote the lack of clarity in defining relationships between government institutions, including: district officers and local councils; local councils and chiefdoms; and local councils and local staff, who are formally accountable to the local councils but appointed by the central administration. The hollow downward-slanting arrow indicates the flows of resources from the central government to local councils (resources come from capacity support from the Ministry of Local Governance and grants from the Ministry of Finance). The hollow upward-slanting arrow indicates the flows of resources (share of local taxes) from chiefdoms to local councils. With this interaction within the context of a decentralized system of administration, the welfare of the rural areas will be improved through service delivery.





Source: By the author

4.7 Rural development policy and its implementation within the context of National Decentralization strategy.

The aim of the Rural Development Policy is to outline the strategy, goals and aspirations for rural community development that are in line with the decentralisation process and the PRSP1, PRSP II (Agenda for Change) and PRSPIII (Agenda for Prosperity). It sets out systems, structures and framework to support the empowerment of local people to improve their livelihood and their communities in collaboration with appropriate rural development partners (NRDP 2012).

The first Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) called Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper IPRSP–SL) was introduced 2001. This indicates that for the first time the issue of poverty was taken seriously and prioritized by the government. Due to the focus given to poverty, the government was able to conduct a national survey and come up with a true description of poverty in the national, regional and district levels.

With this important national document in place, an enhanced action plan, oriented towards poverty reduction, not only within Sierra Leone but also among the development partners - notably the World Bank, IMF, AfDB, UNDP, EU and UK-DFID, was also realized. In the plan, they noted that there was need for a fresh approach to the post-conflict development agenda. It mapped out the categories and trends of poverty at both the national and district. With this broad description in mind, the government was in a better standing to initiate strategies to reduce poverty in close collaboration with national and development partners. This marked the beginning of an era, PRSP- a national development framework that have a detailed country's plan to promote grow 00th and reduce poverty through implementation of specific economic, social and structural policies over a period of three years or longer.

Most developing countries have now been asked to develop a national development framework in a form of PRSP as requirement by the Bretton Wood institutions (World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) with other bilateral and multi laterals organizations for debt relief through the Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) initiative. They say that it is important to always have a detailed country plan to promote growth and reduce poverty. In the case of Sierra Leone, the PRSP served as a master plan from which national strategic policies and guidelines are developed. The PRSP, in short, served as the basis for the rural development policy in Sierra Leone.

Despite signs of economic growth, the issue of poverty, social welfare and effective services delivery in rural communities remain a huge challenge in Sierra Leone. It is estimated that 52.9 percent of the population is poor compared to 66.4 percent in 2003. Even

45

though rural poverty has declined from 78.7% to 66.1%, it remains high relative to urban poverty over the same period (SLHIS Report, 2011). Hence, poverty continued or has remained a concern at the national level. As such, the national poverty reduction strategy focuses, to a larger, extent on improving rural welfare.

Table 4.1 describes in detail the different categories of the poverty situation in Sierra Leone as narrated by the SL-PRSP 2005.

Categories	Description/Characteristics
The poorest (Popolipo)	Those who cannot meet immediate needs (food, shelter, and clothing); cannot invest for the future; and have exhausted the charity and goodwill of others; they have dirty/torn clothes and completely isolated; cannot meet medical expenses when they fall ill; they are physically challenged. Those without husbands/wives and children to care for them
	also fall into this category
The poorer (po-pas-po)	They have some ability to meet some basic needs but not always. They are unable to invest for the future through education and savings. Their credit is limited, and this gets eroded with their inability to repay. They have no houses and thus live with other people. They cannot afford decent clothes and strive hard to survive on a daily basis. Often, they do not have enough to support a family. They highly depend on others for both work and general support

 Table 4.1: Summary of Description/Characteristics of the Poor in Sierra Leone.

They can meet some of their daily needs including a meal
per day though may not be nutritious. They can barely afford
to send their children to school and have no savings. They
can hardly afford the cost of medical care.
They tend to see well-being in terms of their ability to
provide the essentials of life for themselves and their
families. They can provide good food, shelter, education,
clothes and medical facilities for their families; and are
gainfully employed and physically fit.

Source: Sierra Leone Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (SL-PRSP) 2005

4.8 **Poverty Profile at national level.**

Table 4.2 illustrates poverty at the national level. Based on the report, about 26 percent (1.5 million) of Sierra Leoneans cannot afford adequate daily food intake. When non-food basic needs are added, the percentage jumps up to 70 percent. Rural areas contribute about 73 percent of all poverty in Sierra Leone, while other urban areas contribute 25 percent, leaving Freetown with 2.2 percent (Sierra Leone Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper, 2005).

Strata	Sample Share (percent)	Food Poor (percent)	Total Poor (Percent)	Poverty Gap Index P ₁ (percent)	Poverty Severity Index P ₂ (percent)	Contribut ion to Poverty C ₀ (percent)	Income Gap Ratio (P ₁ /P ₀)
Freetown	10.4	2.0	15.0	4.0	4.0	2.2	27.0
Rural Areas	64.4	33.0	79.0	34.0	19.0	72.8	43.0
Other Urban Areas	25.1	20.0	70.0	26.0	14.0	25.1	37.0
National	100.0	26.0	70.0	29.0	16.0	100.0	41.0

 Table 4.2: Trend of poverty at National level

Source: Sierra Leone Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (SL-PRSP) 2005

4.9 District Level Poverty.

Table 4.3 demonstrates the incidence, depth and severity of poverty by district. It shows that the poorest districts (in order of the incidence of poverty) are Kailahun, Bombali, Kenema, Bonthe and Tonkolili. In fact, 8 out of 10 people in these districts live in poverty. It is estimated that 4 out of 10 people in Kailahun and 6 out of 10 people in Bombali district live in extreme poverty. The poor in Bombali district in particular cannot meet half of their basic needs while those in Kailahun, Kenema, and Bonthe and Tonkolili districts can meet only about two-thirds of their basic needs. Poverty is also relatively more severe in Bombali and Kailahun districts with severity indices of 30.4 and 21.5 percent respectively (PRSP 2005).

District	Sample	Food Poor	Total Poor	Gap	Severity	Contribution	Income
	Share	(percent)	(percent)	Index	Index	to Poverty	Gap
	(percent)			P ₁	P ₂	C ₀	Ratio
				(percent)	(percent)	(percent)	(P_1/P_0)
Во	8.8	25.0	64.0	27.0	16.0	8.1	42.0
Bonthe	5.6	35.0	85.0	37.0	20.0	6.8	44.0
Moyamba	7.8	16.0	68.0	24.0	13.0	7.6	35.0
Pujehun	4.2	14.0	59.0	18.0	9.0	3.6	31.0
Kailahun	6.4	45.0	92.0	42.0	23.0	8.5	46.0
Kenema	8.9	38.0	88.0	38.0	21.0	11.1	43.0
Kono	9.6	22.0	66.0	25.0	15.0	9.1	38.0
Bombali	7.6	63.0	89.0	50.0	32.0	9.7	56.0
Kambia	5.8	9.0	69.0	21.0	9.0	5.7	30.0
Koinadugu	7.3	29.0	77.0	33.0	19.0	8.0	43.0
Port Loko	9.8	20.0	82.0	31.0	15.0	11.5	38.0
Tonkolili	5.8	32.0	84.0	35.0	20.0	7.0	42.0
Western Urban	10.8	2.0	15.0	4.0	4.0	2.2	27.0
Western Rural	1.9	15.0	45.0	16.0	9.0	1.2	36.0

 Table 4.3: Poverty by district.

Source: SLIHS, 2003/04

With the development and national plan of action in place, the government then initiated the Governance Reform Program. The relevance of this reform initiative resulted to the changing or reformation of some of the country's national institutions and structure. This reform also created new institutions that would enhance the implementation of the national development plan as contained in the PRSP SL.

As mentioned in the earlier chapters, there was never in existence a codified national document on decentralization, rural development or Chiefdom and Tribal Administration. The MLGRD is considered as an important government sector because it directly relates with the vast majority of the poor. But before this time the sector has not been able to assert itself clearly and strongly in its function as the Principal Coordinator of all the aspects of rural development in the country. It was against this background that the government took the initiative to further develop specific national policies that would not only aid in the

development of the rural communities but also deepens the decentralization process. These policies mapped out the specific roles and responsibilities of all relevant players in rural development, and their relationships. It set out the principles where the social and economic livelihood of our rural communities will be enhanced through effective coordination. The policy focuses on issues of grassroots development in rural areas where over 60% of the population reside and where poverty is entrenched. It also supports the government's commitment to improving the standard of living and welfare of the rural residents. The document served as a reference point for the government, development partners and all stakeholders to enhance the coordination that would lead to sustainable improvements in service delivery, local economic development and good governance

Rural development through decentralized structures is vital to community well-being, poverty alleviation and national growth. These policies provided an overarching framework within which all the program and initiatives that aim to contribute to the development of our rural communities and economies could now be coordinated. The policies are aligned with government policy on poverty reduction, women and youth development and post war development for sustainable peace. These form an integral part of the first, second and third generation of the PRSP. This showcase of Sierra Leone's 'turning over a new page' also committed to pursue development in line with the Millennium Development Goals.

4.10 **Changes as a result of the implementation from the Central Level perspective.**

As indicated in earlier discussions, before the government decided to undertake the reform program, the government system was characterized by over centralization. Because of this, all government institutions and decisions that affects all the four regions, 12 districts and 194 chiefdoms were placed and determined by the central government which holds office at the capital of Freetown. This system did not support nor encourage participatory governance.

But following the enactment of decentralization and the creation of the sub-national institutions or the district councils, the situation has changed. The current system now encourages and support participatory governance system. The decentralized form of governance is now perceived and in style. In short, in the past, decentralization was not considered as relevant but now it has become "fashionable".

Similarly, *the political landscape has changed*. Before decentralisation, the political system and environment that existed under the centralized system was considered more or less a one party rule and authoritarian in nature. During this period, there was no multi party election as the opposition parties and leaders were suppressed or sometimes threatened to death. Elections were rigged and marked with violence. The only party that existed was the ruling government party. There was no press freedom. This accumulated a lot of grievances and dissatisfaction among the citizens, a situation that contributed to the high rate of poverty and other social problems (like robbery in broad day light).

Under the current order, the political landscape has changed to a more tolerant and multi-party democracy. This has encouraged increased political participation. As such, many political parties are now registered including the rebel RUF party. The opposition now exists side by side with ruling party. In short, the politics of exclusion that was practiced in the past has changed to politics of inclusion under the current system.

In the past, there has never been a policy on decentralization and other district-rural development policies. All development policies came from the central government. There were a lot of overlapping and duplication among sectors, NGOs and development partners. This resulted to the waste of a lot of time and resources. In the end, those that were supposed to benefit from their programs, especially those living in the rural areas were neglected.

Under the current regime there are not only national *policies that reinforce decentralization* but there are also other relevant rural development policies in line with the

51

PRSP as well as localized district-rural policies in the form of by-laws by district and chiefdom council. These policies now identify key stakeholders (both internal and external), define their roles, responsibilities and functional relationships. This has encouraged and improved consultations and coordination among sectors and development partners as well.

Before, major *decisions* that affect the whole nation were developed and implemented by the central government. The citizen's only responsibility was to obey. In other words, the decision-making process was heavily top-to-bottom oriented. As such, most of their decisions did not reflect the actual situation of the people. In the end, most of the development projects and programs that were proposed ended up as white elephant projects. However, under the current dispensation, local governments are provided with guidelines so they can implement activities in line with the national government's priorities.. The approach with regard to the decision-making process has become, more or less, bottom-to-top in nature.

Before the governance reform program, planning for development initiatives were centrally done by the National Technical Planning Committee (NTPC). This was known as the Central Development Planning. During that time, there were no national consultations to get the input and feedback of the people. In the end, the report of the NTPC, that constituted only few people, will be implemented through MDAs from the central government. As mentioned in the preceding chapters, these plans are centrally designed and centrally implemented. And unfortunately, the outcome is often not achieved.

The NTPC system was replaced by the current system of planning, the PRSP system. The PRSP is now the main national document that sets the national development framework and agenda. The entire national development plan is contained in this document. The implementation of these plans are now time bound and measurable. The preparation process is participatory, and is done through national consultative meetings. Hence, all views and opinions from every corner of society is heard. In the past, recruitment of staff was done

52

centrally and would just be assigned to the different districts offices. This system sometimes encouraged patronage during the recruitment process. As such, staff members were often recruited without the necessary qualification. Most personnel who were employed under such circumstances could not effectively and efficiently perform. Following the reform however, recruitment is now done at the national and district level for the various posts, even for important offices. The district council, for example, only recruit staff that is well aware of the issues in their communities. These new recruitment standards have since enhanced performance and trust.

Just as planning was centrally done, so was the *budgeting*. Because of this, there was often a mismatch between the planned budget and disbursement. This discrepancy accounts for the non-completion of huge development projects. Under the current regime, the central government's MDA budget and the district councils' budget are integrated.

Reforming the MDAs of the sectors also changed under the new system. For instance, the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development (MLGRD) was created to be responsive for supervising and coordinating the implementation of the entire decentralisation process, including fiscal decentralisation. This means that the Ministry will monitor all local councils and other local authorities when they carry out their functions and responsibilities. The Ministry shall continue to perform all functions as provided for in the LGA 2004 and other related legislation. With the district offices revived, the District Officer became the Ministry's principal representative in each of the twelve districts (excluding the Western Area). The ministry responsible for local government in collaboration with the ministry responsible for finance shall be responsible for the fiscal decentralisation of the overall decentralisation process.

Prior to the reform program, MDAs never shared or devolved their functions to other organizations/groups because of the centralized nature of the governance system. As such,

even the sharing of information with regard to important government issues was also difficult because it was generally a *closed* system. Information was one sided and was biased to the central government.

Under the new governance system, specific *MDAs are required by law to devolve functions* to local councils. However, MDAs still continue to be responsible for sectoral policy matters as well as the technical guidance and monitoring of the performance of relevant functions devolved to the local councils.

Before decentralization there were no structures like The Inter-Ministerial Committee on Decentralisation (IMC) because every aspect of governance was centralized. The decentralization strategy created *new organizations and structures* for effective implementation. Other institutions similar to IMC include: (1) the Provincial Coordinating Committee (PCC), (2) the Local Government Finance committee (LGFD), and (3) the Local Government Service Commission (LGSC) to name but a few. IMC served as the highest body within the decentralisation process. It oversees and ensures that decentralization is progressing as scheduled. With these structures in place the entire process of decentralization proved to be successful.

Similarly, CSOs were very week and voiceless before the reform program because of fear of intimidation and harassment due to the authoritarian nature of that regime. However, following the governance reform program, the situation changed dramatically. The present situation allowed *CSOs to play a leading role* in the process. CSOs can now be seen on television and the radio engaging the government in critical policies they consider of interest to the nation. They are now considered as the *mouthpiece* of the people. They try make leaders accountable with the ideal of building trust at both the national and the local level. This has contributed in building democratic good governance.

Finally, one historic change relates to all players. This is the Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) of the medium-term program of the PRSP. This forms part of the larger holistic M&E framework. In the past, this was not in place and as such effectiveness and efficiency were questionable and weak. Under the current system, the PRSP targets are outlined in the Results Framework and are part of a comprehensive monitoring system led by GoSL across the country. It is designed to improve the current program, increase efficiency and ensure effectiveness among MDAs. Their focus is on results. Ministers and government employees including the Head of State (President) sign performance contracts. The Results Framework will be the basis for the Performance Contracts between the President and MDAs. This includes detailed in-year targets for quarterly reporting. These targets are reflected downwards to the district level, where most of the collection and reporting of information takes place. This ensures that targets at all levels are clearly focused on achieving PRSP priorities. (SLPRSP 2008).

A number of institutions are involved in the implementation of the program in the PRSP at the national, district, chiefdom and ward levels. This is done in order to properly represent the diversity of interests during the participatory phase of the process. Each district has a working group (DWGs) comprised of representatives from the District Council, the Paramount Chiefs, local MDA branches, CSOs, SSL, the Decentralization Secretariat and other selected parties. The DWGs are required to tangibly impact the local delivery of policy objectives. The group meet to debate local cross-sector issues on monthly bases to achieve these objectives. Local monitoring and evaluation of the PRSP is integrated in the Results Framework. This will empower districts to influence local delivery and provide transparency on the progress towards poverty reduction for both local and national decision-makers.

4.11 Summary

The above discussion presented a clear picture of the nature of decentralization policy that is currently practiced in Sierra Leone. It highlighted the preparation and implementation of both the national decentralization and rural development policy from the policy level and implementation level. Through the PRSP, the issue of poverty was taken seriously and for the first time the government took the initiative and classified poverty in Sierra Leone into various categories. With such information, the government was able to map out strategies through which decentralization can reduce the incidence of poverty.

The changes that have occurred following the implementation of the reform program form a significant part of this chapter. The next chapter with attempt to describe some of the major changes that have occurred as described from the implementing level's perspective.

Chapter 5

Changes from the District Perspective

5.1 Changes from the Districts perspectives in the implementation

This chapter describes the implementation of the National Decentralization Policy at the district level. First, it will discuss how the PRSP preparation process made use of the participatory approach at the district level. It also describes the Preparation of the Medium Term District Plan (MTDP) and some major changes brought about by this strategy.

Put simply, this chapter will present an example of policy localization at the district level. Each district is required to have its own District Development Plan for implementation. These plans are made in order to localize the National Plan of Action (NPA) for the implementation of national policy in line with the PRSP.

The government often holds a nationwide development consultative meeting both at the regional and district levels to map out strategies for the future of the country. Since the district fall within the boundary of the provinces, the consultative meeting is organized at the provincial or regional level wherein all stakeholders, the local council and Chiefdom council administration (the traditional leaders, s devolved sector heads, CSO including women organisations the media, Community Based Organisation (CBOs) NGO, Religious organisations, the private sector, development partners, and primary, secondary and tertiary institutions are invited.

This process was meant not only to ensure national ownership of the development agenda but also to strengthen the newly planted democratic culture and support a more participatory development management process. The participatory and strategic nature of the exercise also provided an opportunity for the government to change the minds and hearts of the citizens toward the new political and governance system. It also provided opportunities to identify prospects and constraints and the peculiarities that exist within the various regions. As well as gather suggestions on how to best address issues and create better outcomes.

Equally, the process enriched the spirit of democratisation prevailing in the country by allowing people of different opinions to freely discuss the future of the country. Furthermore, it also set the stage within which future medium and short-term policies could be formulated and where strategies for major development programs could be designed (S.L. Vision 2025). Hence, the development challenge of all the districts are documented and factored into the National Development plan to form the PRSP.

It is important also to note that following the reestablishment of the LCs, two levels of local administration were automatically created: the district and the chiefdom administration. Figure 5.1 shows the formal interconnections of the actors from the central government to the local level in the implementation of the rural development policies under the decentralization programme. The line ministers, provincial and district officers that represent the central government are shaded in grey. The local government Act 2004 of SL through decentralization created the Local councils or City/ District councils. The two-tier district administration, the district and chiefdom administration are represented by the light blue and light orange boxes, respectively. Councils are headed by city/district Mayor/Chairman and heads of the political wing. Meanwhile, the Chief Administration heads the administration or wing. The Paramount chief is the head of chiefdom administration. Their responsibilities will be discussed later.

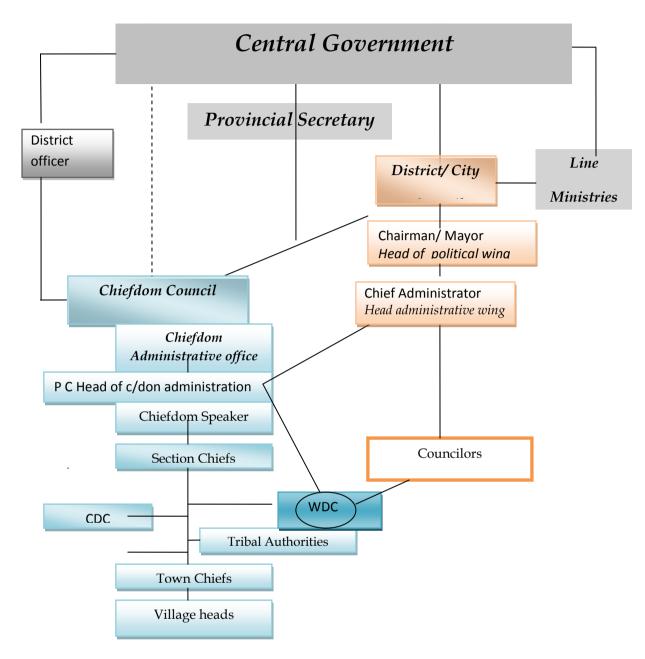


Figure 5.1 Interconnections of the actors from the Central to the Local government

Source: by the author.

5. 2 Main actors at the district/Rural level Local council's administration.

The local council is the highest development and service delivery authority in the locality. As indicated in the LGA 04 SL, the LC is a corporate body, with legislative and executive powers that are exercised in accordance with the LGA 2004 or any other enactment. They are responsible for promoting the development of the locality, the welfare of the people and the

resources at their disposal. Local councils will continue to perform all the functions stated in Section 20 of the LGA 2004 as well as the functions related to Local Economic Development (LED) promotion.

Ward Committee (WDC)

The mobilization of the residents of the ward during the implementation of self-help and development projects provides a focal point for the discussion of local problems and needs. It also allows them to take remedial action where necessary or make recommendations to the local council accordingly. The ward committee, chaired by a PC, serves as the liaison between local communities, village development committees, chiefdom councils, the local council and parliamentary representatives

Village Development Committee (VDC)

Spearheads development efforts, coordinates and evaluates planned activities, and communicates at the village level with development actors. Village development committees (VDCs) do not have legal recognition, but are important structures for organizing development and anchoring decentralisation at the village level.

Traditional authorities

Traditional authorities, spearheaded by chiefs, are among the key actors in rural development, especially at the town and village level. They also serve as custodians of the land, providing leadership in governance and development at the grassroots. They also cooperate with the local councils for the development of their areas.

Civil society organizations

Civil society organizations (CSOs) serve as mouthpiece for community people in the rural areas. They also help the people learn about the development of their areas. Including managing and carrying out projects. CSOs liaise with local governments, voice out peoples' concerns and ensure that their views are factored into the decisions. They play a valuable role in project monitoring, scrutinizing community leaders' accountability, and building trust between local people and government.

The community residents.

The residents of rural communities are always considered the main stakeholders especially in sovereign states. They are expected to cooperate and operate with all other stakeholders within the law that governs them in their community. This will ensure social harmony, peace and stability that is essential for furthering local development.

5.3 Main actors at the chiefdom implementation level.

Paramount Chief with his Chiefdom Speaker.

Chiefdom administration is strongly associated with the Paramount chieftaincy. The PC is the traditional and administrative head of the chiefdom and serves as the Chair of the Chiefdom Council. The PC is the custodian of the history, customs and traditions of their chiefdoms The PC supervise the election of other sub-chiefs and serve as an agent of development in the by maintaining order and good government in his or her Chiefdom.

Ward committee at Chiefdom Level.

Preparing a ward development plan with the local community that will be incorporated into the development plan is done by the local council. The paramount chief is the Chairperson of the local council ward committee. He ensures the synergy between the chiefdom and the ward committee. The councillor of the ward serves as the secretary to the ward committee. The Councillor convenes WC meetings every month, reporting its deliberations to the local council, and reporting back to the ward committee on local council decisions relevant to the ward. WC consists of five males and five females.

Section, town and Village chiefs.

The section and town Chiefs serve on the chiefdom council. Section chiefs are accountable to the paramount chief while the town / village chiefs are accountable to the paramount chief through their section chiefs.

Staff of the chiefdom administration.

Chiefdom administrations cooperate with local councils in the performance of their local council functions. A chiefdom administration may initiate development programs if it has sufficient resources. It shall consult with the local council to ensure synergy with the local development plan. They also collect Local tax in the chiefdom.

Chiefdom Administration Clerk (CAC).

The CAC is responsible for the management of chiefdom finances under the direction and supervision of the chiefdom council. The CAC is accountable to the chiefdom council and CCAC on financial matters. The CAC manages the property of the chiefdom administration.

Central Chiefdom Administration Clerk (CCAC).

The CCAC supervises the chiefdom clerks in the district. The CCAC monitors revenue collection in the chiefdoms and assists in the preparation of its budget. They also perform other functions assigned by the District Officer and the chiefdom administration.

The chiefdom people.

The People in the chiefdom are also the most important stakeholders at the chiefdom level. The chiefdom authorities are accountable to the people in the chiefdom for their actions. The people shall cooperate to ensure social harmony, peace and stability that is essential for furthering local development.

NGOs (National and international)

Provide technical knowledge and relevant human and material resources.

The Private Sector.

The private sector shall inform local councils, ward committees, VDCs and traditional authorities of activities they intend to undertake within a locality. These activities should be aligned with the local development plan.

5.4 Preparation of the Medium Term District Plan.

At the district level, medium district plans are prepared through participatory means using the bottom-up approach. District development takes a holistic view of the needs of the people of the district. This includes the provision of services such as education, health, water and sanitation, agricultural development, local economic development, infrastructure, improvements in the road network. The ultimate aim of these projects is to aid in poverty reduction. These plans aim to operationalise the national development framework by reflecting district-specific challenges and needs.

In lieu of this, the Local Council prepares a development plan which guides the overall development of the district. At the district level, the planning authority is the district council in collaboration with the devolved sector departments such as the directorates of the Agriculture, Health and Sanitation, Education Social welfare and Gender program (S.L.

Vision 2025). The district planning authority collaborates with the devolved sector department such as the directorates of the Agriculture, Health and Sanitation, Education Social welfare and Gender program (S.L. Vision 2025). Hence, the various district development challenges are articulated and aggregated. They are then factored into the National Development plan through the PRSP. Before this time, the responsibility for rural development with government was held by various ministries-: Social Welfare, Internal Affairs, Economic Development, and most recently the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development. The sector also has their own policies that guide their operation in the rural areas. The planning stage involves:

5.5 The appointment of the Local Technical Planning Committee (LTPC).

The Local Council first appoints a LTPC. The responsibility of the LTPC is to take the lead in the formulation, preparation and review of its District Development Plan and Annual Work Plans. The LTPC is chaired by the Local Council's CA and its members comprise the heads of relevant departments of the Local Council and any technical persons co–opted by the CA.

The LTPC is chaired by the Local Council's CA and its members comprise the heads of relevant devolved sectors or departments of the Local Council and any other technical persons can be co-opted by the CA. The LTPC meet according to a schedule drawn up by the Local Council's DPO for the formulation of the Development Plan and AWP.

As mentioned earlier, before the Local Councils were re-introduced, MDAs had sectoral policies that were mainly centralized. These policies guided their operations in the districts. After the decentralization program, several relevant laws, regulations and policies have been enacted to provide the legal basis. In preparing the district development plan (DDP), the LCs, MDAs and other partners have to be cognizant of all these parameters to understand and grasp their contents, including the LGA04, PRSP and the Decentralization and Rural Policies, Education, Health, Agriculture, Feeder Road Policies, Chiefdom and Traditional Administration Policy.

5.6 Process of Formulating District Development Plans.

Local Councils collaborate with local communities, MDAs and other partners to formulate a three-year District Development Plan in accordance to the guidelines set by the National Development Plan (PRSP). The DPP reflect the needs of communities discussed during the needs assessment period conducted by the Ward Committees. The ward committee is very important actor in local administration. The essence of bringing central government apparatus closer to the people and encouraging grassroots participation in decision-making is, to a larger extent, to be able to actualize the plans in the Ward committee.

After reviewing all the various needs discussed at the WC, the council then would arrange them in order to see which course of action to take. In the end, the draft District Development Plan is made public by posting it on a notice board for the community to see. Community members are encouraged to make suggestions after they read the DDP.

The Draft District Development Plan will then be presented at the Council Meeting/s for further discussion and approval.

Following its approval, copies of the approved District Development Plan are made available at the office of the Local Council and placed in a conspicuous location in every Ward.

The budget of the Local Council is then prepared based on the District Development Plan. The DDP is reviewed annually so amendments could be made based on the current circumstances of the community.

5.7 Implementation of the District Development Plan.

For the purpose of implementing the District Development plan, the distinct council established two structures: the District Development Coordination Forum (DDCF) and the Local Council Management Meeting (LCMM).

The main responsibility of the DDFC is to share information on the activities and progress of the Local Council, Development Partners and MDAs as slated in the DDP.

5.8 Composition of District Development Coordination Forum.

The DDCF is composed of all District Council Officers including senior officers from the FO, PO, DPO, and WE. Experts assigned to the Local Council, such as the RTF, shall be co-opted members. The forum is chaired by the CA and the DPO serve as the Secretary

Other stakeholders of the forum include the Councillors, Chairpersons of the relevant Council Committees, MDAs, including Agriculture, Education, Health, Social Welfare, SLRA, Development partners including international and national NGOs, Representatives of traditional authorities,(the Chair of Association of Paramount Chiefs, Community representatives and the District Officer. The DDCF meet quarterly.

5.9 Local Council Management Team.

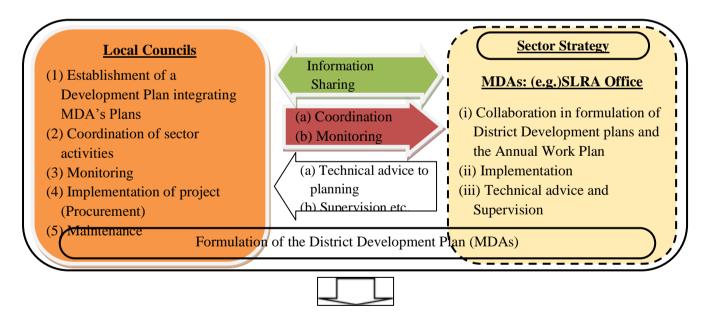
The purpose of the Management Meeting is to coordinate the implementation of Council decisions and plan the technical and administrative work of Council.

5.10 The composition of the Management Team.

The LCMT of the District Council consists of the CA, who serves as the Chair, core staff and Heads of the devolved services. This body meets at least once every month. This meeting promotes collaboration between Local Councils and MDAs through the heads of the various devolved staff. This is essential for the successful planning, implementation and maintenance of any development project.

As illustrated in figure 5.1, there is a strong collaboration or synergy between the local council and the various MDAs in the formulation of the DDP. This is, as indicated by the arrows, in term of information sharing, coordination, monitoring, technical advice to planning and supervision. Major activities where they collaborated include: Collation and sharing of the database of technical information, formulation of the DDP and the Annual Work Plan (AWP), planning of the technical aspects of the project and conducting joint surveys.

Figure 5.2 Project Implementation Structure at District Level.



Collaborated Activities:

- (a) Collate and share the Database of Technical Information
- (b) Formulate District Development Plans and the Annual Work Plan
- (c) Plan technical aspects of the project
- (d) Conduct joint surveys

Source: District Development Hand book MLGRD/JICA 2012.

Collaboration between the Local Councils, MDAs and the communities is important at every stage (figure 5.7) so as to ensure effective and efficient collaboration and implementation.

A number of institutions are involved in the implementation of the program of the PRSP at national, district, chiefdom and ward levels. This is done in order to reflect the diversity of interests expressed in the participatory phase of the process.

Each district will have a working group (DWGs) comprised of representatives from the District Council, the Paramount Chiefs, local MDA branches, CSOs, SSL, and the Decentralisation Secretariat and other selected parties. The DWGs are required to tangibly impact on the local delivery of the policy objectives. The group meets to debate local crosssector issues on a monthly basis to achieve these objectives. Local monitoring and evaluation of the PRSP is incorporated into the Results Framework. This will empower districts to influence local delivery and provide transparency on the progress towards poverty reduction for both local and national decision-makers.

The framework also provides support to the successful implementation of government program, not only to reduce poverty but also to promote sustainable growth of the economy. The Office of the President, Cabinet Secretariat and Ministry of Finance and Economic Development are the primary institutions that will be responsible for this framework. They are guided by the five principles of monitoring and evaluation enumerated in the PRSP II document namely: development, results-focus, transparency, efficiency and local relevance.

5.11 Coordination from the policy to the implementation levels.

Coordination is considered a key factor in the implementation of the PRSPI. It is therefore necessary to design a coordination mechanism that would enhance the implementation of the PRSP.

At the policy level, coordination across Ministries is led by Cabinet while coordination between GoSL and development partners is led by the Office of the President. This is done through quarterly meetings of the Development Partnership Committee (DEPAC). At the operational level, monthly meetings of the National Technical Committee (NTC) are led by MoFED. At the implementation level, national cross-sector coordination is led by the Cluster Working Groups (PWGs), while local cross-sector coordination is led by DWGs.

The PRSP Working Groups include representatives from GoSL, MDAs, development partners, and CSOs. They are facilitated by the Ministry of Finance and Economic Development.

In summary, the implementation of the National Rural development policy in the district level is in line with Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP). It makes use of the decentralization strategy and takes the form of the district's Medium Tern Development Plan. The NRDP also describes the various stakeholders and how the DDP is prepared and implemented.

5.12 Major Changes from the district perspective.

When change occurred at the central level, it equally affected the whole governmental system. This is because Sierra Leone is a unitary state with an Executive President that is elected by the people with franchise. But before the governance reform program, the system in the district was highly influenced by the country's over centralized policy. Hence, the idea of decentralization was not initially considered at the district level. During that time, officer in districts were simply representing and translating central government policies through the directives given to them by their bosses in the central government. The districts cannot initiate plan and implement any development activities.

But the current system now encourages and support participatory governance systems. In short, in the past, decentralization was not considered relevant by the district administration but currently the *districts consider decentralization as a good strategy* to develop local communities.

Before decentralization, the political system and environment that existed in the district under the centralized system was authoritarian in nature. During this period, there was no multi party election, no elected councillors, no elected district Chairmen. In fact, it was during this period that the established local administration was suspended. The administration of towns and the city council was placed under the control of the committee of management, whose membership was appointed by the central government. The district officer was the most senior officer in the district.

The opposition parties and leaders were similarly suppressed or sometimes threatened to death in the district. Elections were rigged and marked with violence. Houses were burnt down and there was a lot of fighting. Worst, both male and female opposition members were abused in broad daylight in some districts. The only party that existed was the ruling government party. There was no press freedom as well in the districts. This accumulated a lot of grievances and dissatisfaction among the citizens.

However, under the current order, the political landscape has changed. The government has become more tolerant and open to multi party democracy. This has encouraged increase political participation. In short, the politics of exclusion that was practiced in the past has changed to the politics of inclusion under the current system.

In the past, no national policy on decentralization and other district-rural development policies have been prepared. As such, all policies for district development came from the central government and were sector led. There was a lot of overlapping and duplication

among sectors, NGOs and development partners. This resulted to the wasting of a lot of time and resources. In the end, those who lived in the rural areas were neglected.

Under the current regime, there are now *national policies on decentralization and other relevant rural development policies* that were in line with the PRSP. NTDP has now been localized. The DDP is now prepared with the involvement of all stakeholders in the district as well as in the chiefdom. The DC and Chiefdom administration can make their own local policies through by-laws. The various policies on district rural development now identify key stakeholders in the district and the chiefdoms. Their roles, responsibilities and functional relationships are clearly defined. This has encouraged and improves consultations and coordination among sectors and development partners.

In the past, major decisions that affect the whole nation was developed and implemented directly from the central government. A process that did not involve the people as much. Therefore, the district can only take action on issues that have been decided on. The district ensures full compliance even if such policy may not be in the interest of the people. In other word, decision-making process was heavily top-to-bottom oriented. As such, most of these decisions did not reflect the actual situation and needs of the people in the district as well as in the chiefdoms. In the end, most of the development project and program designed does not serve the people in a manner that would improve their welfare.

However, the situation changed under the present system through the creation of the district councils. The *District and chiefdom council administration can now make decisions* on issues that affect them in their locality. Moreover, they can do this in consultation with the people. This, in short, improves community capacity, ownership and brings gradual but sustainable development at the local level.

Unfortunately, the decisions made on development activities are still weak. The local councils is still not able to raise enough revenue and relies heavily on central government

transfers, most of which are tied to grants that are meant to be used for an already specified activity. The council do not have the power to untie that grant. As such, weakness in decision-making sets in.

Before the governance reform program, *planning* for development initiatives at district were all done centrally by the National Technical Planning committee (NTPC), otherwise called the central Development Planning. During this time, there is no district rural development plan. As such, there is no need for organized district, chiefdom or consultative meetings for planning purposes. In the end, only the report of the NTPC will be directed to from the central government for implementation at the district. As mentioned in the preceding chapters, these plans are centrally designed and centrally implemented; the outcome is often not achieved.

When the NTPC system was replaced by the current system of planning through the PRSP development framework. The district now has control over the planning and implementation of their own development initiatives. They only need to make sure, however, that they refer to the guidelines set by the national government. Under the PRSP participatory framework, local Councils in collaboration with local communities, MDAs devolved sector heads and other development Partners formulate a three-year District Development Plans. The DPP reflects the needs of communities discussed during the needs assessment period by the Ward Committees. Through this participatory approach, view and opinions from the all stakeholders in the district are heard which encourages owner and sustainability as well.

In the past, the services of the *staff* also ceased after the local council was abolished. But following the reform, the district council and the chiefdom administration were staffed. During the transition period, some of the staff members were sent from the central government while more permanent personnel were recruited at the district level. For instance,

the CA during the initial stage of the council's operation was sent from the central government. So were all the devolved sector heads.

At the chiefdom level, all chiefdom administration *staff* was recruited from the district. The district council now also recruit staff through the human resource recruitment guidelines. This has enhanced the district and chiefdom administration performance.

In the past, budgeting was also centralized. Since councils did not exist during that period, there was no budget for locally conceived development projects. However, under the current regime, the district councils can now plan to undertake development activities and cost it. In line with the changes in national allocation of resources, district councils can now (1) prepare realistic budget estimates (that include chiefdom councils' budget for the purpose of harmonising the central and local government planning), (2) develop budgeting and implementation cycles to ensure that local needs and priorities. Both recurrent and development budgets are fed into the national budget planning system.

Another important change, was the *re-establishment of the district councils*. District councils are considered the highest political and development authority in their area of administration. LCs are now responsible for improving the well-being of the people in their locality, including the delivery of devolved services and the implementation of community development activities. The return of the district council administration however changed the whole local government system because it resulted to the creation of two-levels of local administration: the district and chiefdom administration. It also broadened local participation.

The *transfer of functions* from the central government to the local councils is generally considered as the cornerstone or major change brought by the implementation of the decentralization policy in the district. Before this time, every aspect of government development policies were centrally driven. During the introduction of the decentralized governance system, MDAs were now required to devolve or transfer some functions with

personnel, assets and financial resources associated with those functions. Since then, district planning, implementation and evaluation of development projects and program that were control by the central government through various Ministries were now performed by the district council.

Another important change brought about by the decentralisation program is with respect to *inter-governmental fiscal transfers*. This is an important milestone and is interpreted by many as a big progress towards rural development. In the old days, when everything was controlled by the central government, some districts receive a much bigger share of resources than others depending on the amount of support you give to the ruling party. To say the east, national resources were unevenly distributed. But under the new order, each district has guaranteed funds for local services. Decisions over the allocation of these funds are also made locally through the development and costing of the DDP.

Furthermore, the national Monitoring and Evaluation framework equally affected the district. All district officers are now required to sign a performance contract. For the successful implementation of the M&E framework each district formed a working group (DWGs) comprised of representatives from the District Council, the Paramount Chiefs, local MDA branches, CSOs, SSL, and the Decentralisation Secretariat and other selected parties. The Results Framework now empowers districts to influence local delivery and provide transparency on the progress towards poverty reduction.

The suspension of the local government during the period of the All People's Congress (APC) single-party regime, made traditional authorities (Paramount Chieftaincy) the only form of governance in the provinces. Chiefs became very active in the collection of revenues on behalf of the central government, but had no service delivery or development functions. During this period, Chiefs (PC) acted as rulers not leaders. As such, they possessed

all legislative, executive and judicial power. They also served the as custodian of the land and were responsible for maintaining law and order.

The decentralization strategy modernized the institution of the Paramount chieftaincy. PCs and other traditional authorities are now seen as leaders and part of modern district administration structure. The *PC leadership Style now* displays more leadership in governance and development at the grassroots. They also cooperate with local councils in the development of their areas. Also, the institutions of chiefdom and traditional governance, is now anchored in law. But it still upholds the respect for their customary and traditional roles as well as provide a sound foundation for social harmony with open, transparent and inclusive processes that creates the atmosphere for development. Furthermore, Paramount chiefs are now to be represented on local councils in accordance with LGA 2004 so as to facilitate such cooperation and also to ensure that relevant traditional or customary matters are taken into account.

PC should act politically neutral in all their activities and shall encourage political tolerance. Their political neutrality must be respected by all, so as to preserve the respect and dignity of the institution and of the individual office-holders.

The encouragement of taking *collective activity* is also seen as an important change brought about by the reform strategy. At the Ward level for instance, the formation of the ward committee is the collective responsibility of all the residents. They should ensure that its composition is not gender biased (five male and five female). In effect, the PC and local people now collectively lead the preparation of district development plans that are gender and youth sensitive and which identify rural development priorities of the people and their proposals for implementation.

5.13 Summary

The above presentation described how the national decentralization policy is being implemented in the district level. This chapter presented all the key players, their responsibility and how they are coordinated at both district and chiefdom levels. It further describes the participatory nature of the preparation and implementation process of the DDP or the MTDP. The major changes that have occurred from the perspective of the implementing level following the governance reform program using the decentralization strategy is described in the chapter.

The next chapter will discuss the case study of this research that was done order to determine the effects of the decentralization process in the district level.

Chapter 6

Case study of Luawa Chiefdom, Kailahun District.

6.1 Rural development and rural populations: Case study of Luawa Chiefdom, Kailahun District.

This section presents the discussion and analysis of the case study on Luawa Chiefdom, Kailahun district. It aims to describe the ways through will rural development policy has influence changes in the town. This discussion is primarily based on author's experience as senior government officer and the qualitative data collected as the result of the research team's field work supervised by author and was conducted in Sierra Leone. The analysis is based on the perceived notion that decentralisation would serve as a means to achieve post conflict recovery, bring government closer to the people and improve the welfare of the rural residents through effective services delivery.

In particular, the case study discussion and analysis in this chapter includes the following: a paragraph on describing the Kailahun district community including its administrative arrangement with district and chiefdom council administration as prescribed by the various law and regulation; the relationship between these actors. This chapter also includes a section on the changes that were expected to occur due to the various policies geared towards rural development; the perceptions of the people about the local council administration; the poverty profile of the district and the demographic characteristic of the of district in relationship with the its chiefdoms; and observations and description of the changes that have occurred in the case community under decentralisation.

Discussions in the previous chapters have established that the institutional and structural reform program in Sierra Leone was in the form of decentralization. Decentralization was implemented through the devolution of three main aspects: political, administrative and fiscal. Political devolution in the Sierra Leonean context involves election of the City/ Municipal/ Council Mayors/Chairmen as well as the councillors or representatives by the town people. They then become the highest political and development authority if the district. Meanwhile, administrative devolution involves the transfer of some central government functions, decision-making authority, resources and capital assets to the local governments. Fiscal devolution, on the other hand, involves giving the local government the authority over expenditures and transfers made to them by the central government (i.e. tied grants for devolved services and administrative grants) as well as the authority to generate their own revenues through taxation, licenses or through project writing.

In theory, it is thus expected that political devolution would bring the government closer to the people, enhance public participation in governance issues, and increase accountability of government agent thereby improving service delivery. Meanwhile, administrative devolution is expected to improve the efficiency of work plan, approval, financing and implementation, and enhance oversight. Thereby enhancing public goods distribution. Finally, fiscal devolution is expected to enhance the ability of the district government to make financial choices on the basis of their scale of preference and local context.

The governors in the district councils are expected to be more responsive and accountable to the people. For the local government to be able to discharge responsibility, they are also expected to increase own revenue generation through taxes, licences, government bonds and loans, profits from locally-owned enterprises and direct relationships with international donor agencies and international NGOs. Revenue sharing would also increase the funds available for use in the local government budget. The natural resource revenue sharing formula was also introduced to the local governments by the central government. On decentralisation through political administration and fiscal devolution, Katherine Assey (in Zhou 2009, P.60) writes:

"Taken together, these translate to higher quality service delivery, improved public access to services, and thus greater citizen satisfaction with public services. In addition, by bringing the government closer to the people, decentralization seeks to: (a) enhance citizens' access to politicians and thus increase the former's influence over decisions and (b) increase citizens' access to information about the government, thereby enabling them to better assess and monitor government activities. Through this combination of voice and information, decentralization aims to increase citizens' ability to demand better services and hold their representatives accountable for public sector performance".

6.2 The location of Kailahun District.

Kailahun district is one of the twelve administrative districts in Sierra Leone. It is located in the eastern part (province) of Sierra Leone (Image 6.3). Specifically, its lies in the eastern horn of Sierra Leone. Externally, it shares common borders with the republic of Guinea in the northeast and the Republic of Liberia in the southeast. Internally, Kailahun share boundaries with Kenema District in the West and Kono District in the northeast.

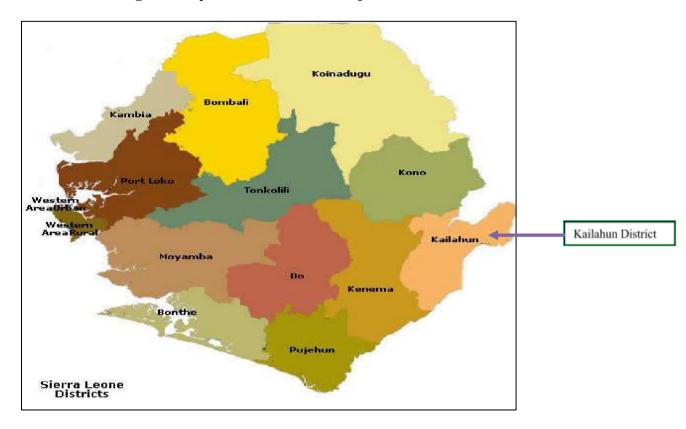


Image 6.1 Map of Sierra Leone indicating Kailahun District

Kailahun district occupies a total land area of 3,946 km² with 1,147 localities, 81 sections and 14 Chiefdoms. Its district headquarters is in Kailahun town, the seat of local government administration. The main ethnic groups are Mende and Kissi, although there are pockets of other ethnic groups.

They are two seasons in Sierra Leone: six dry months and six wet/rainy months but the amount of rainfall varies from district to district. In Kailahun district, there is usually 9 months of torrential rain fall, 3 months dry weather (SLPI-KDPR 2010).

Upon entering the district from the neighbouring Kenema district, one can see a huge sign board across the river Sewa that separate the two districts. On the sign board (Image **6.1**) is the Logo of Kailahun and a welcome message to the district with the district motto "the soil is our bank." This is very unique about the district.

Image 6.2 Welcome sign in the Kailahun district with the motto: "the soil is our Bank.



6.3 Population and Economic activities of Kailahun district

The current population of Kailahun district is estimated at about 358,259 inhabitants, of this figure, 172,612 are male and 185,647 are female. About 75% of the population are farmers as the soil structure is ideal for agricultural activity. Inland swamps provide the necessary condition for growing rice. The main economic activities in the district include the production of cacao, coffee kola nut, palm oil, rice and small scale mining. Despite the presence of such industries, the average annual income per capita in the district is one of the lowest in the world, at just US\$747 (IMF, 2009).

6.4 Demographic characteristics of Kailahun district in relation to its chiefdom

Sesay I.M et al (2006) indicates that Kailahun district administratively consists of 1,147 localities, 81 sections and 14 Chiefdoms. Table 6.1 shows that the demographic distribution of the population of Luawa Chiefdom is about 69,494 (of which 32,714 is male and 36,780

female). Luawa chief has the largest recorded population in the district and the ratio of the female population is higher than that of the male.

CHIEFDOM/ WARD	CHIEFDOM WARD CODE	NO. OF HOUSEHOLDS	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
Dea	1101	1,880	4,102	4,454	8,556
Jawei	1102	7,514	20,016	20,664	40,680
Kissi Kama	1103	2,813	5,988	6,804	12,792
Kissi Teng	1104	5,156	13,374	14,638	28,012
Kissi Tongi	1105	5,646	15,791	17,941	33,732
Peje Bongre	1106	2,465	5,579	6,239	11,818
Peje West	1107	2,073	6,721	7,155	13,876
Luawa	1108	14,392	32,714	36,780	69,494
Malema	1109	3,886	12,835	10,995	23,830
Mandu	1110	3,305	8,614	9,346	17,960
Njaluahun	1111	7,116	18,614	19,364	37,978
Penguia	1112	2,730	6,175	7,012	13,187
Yawei	1113	3,832	13,875	15,347	29,222
Upper Bambara	1114	2,759	7,706	8,405	16,111
		65,567	172,104	185,144	357,248

Table 6.1 Demographic characteristics of Kailahun district in relation to its chiefdom

Source: Republic of Sierra Leone: 2004 Population and Housing Census: Analytical Report on Population Distribution, Migration and Urbanisation in Sierra Leone.

6.5 Poverty Profile of Kailahun District

The IMF country Report No. 05/191 (2005 SL), described the incidence, depth and severity of poverty by district. The report indicated the poorest districts in order of the incidence of poverty. These are the Kailahun, Bombali, Kenema, Bonthe and Tonkolili districts. More than 8 out of 10 people in these districts live in Poverty. Specifically, the report shows that an 4 out of 10 people in Kailahun district live in extreme poverty and that the poor in the districts can meet only about two-thirds of their basic needs. It further reveals that poverty is also relatively more severe in Kailahun districts, with severity indices of 30.4 percent.

One of the factors that could partly be responsible for the high incidence of poverty in the District is the lingering impact of civil war on the cocoa and coffee production. Most of the plantations were abandoned for over ten years as a result of the displacement of the population. During peace time, these crops as well as the upland and swamp rice farms were harvested once a year. The income from which were used to acquire other goods and services throughout the year, including education for their children.

6.6 District Administration of Kailahun district.

The Governance system in Sierra Leone consists of a number of levels. At the highest level is the central government headed by the president. He, along with the vice-president is elected by the electorate through Universal Adult Suffrage. Meanwhile, the Cabinet Ministers are appointed by the President or Head of state. Their appointment must also be approved by the Parliament. The highest representative body is the House of Parliament which consists of elected representatives. Below them are the three provincial or regional administrations headed by the Ministers, who are basically an extension of the central level administration in the Province. Below the provincial administration is the District/city/ Municipal administration followed by Chiefdom Administration. A detailed description of the DC is presented in subsequent sections.

Within the Chiefdom, there are also layers of administrations including Town, Section, and village and of course the family unit. Unlike other public elected officers, the PC is elected by the Chiefdom Councillors in accordance with customary law of the chiefdom prescribed in the "Chieftaincy Act 2009". The PC together with the Chiefdom Council (cabinet of the Chiefdom) administers the Chiefdom. The district and chiefdom administration are pertinent to the entire process of this research.

Kailahun District Council is one of the 19 Local Councils established as the result of the LGA 04. It is governed by a district council form of government. The district council of Kailahun, the highest political/development authority in the district as prescribed by LGA 04 Part 4 Sub sect 20. The council consists of both elected members otherwise known as councillors (Political wing) and the administrative wing. All members of the Political wing were elected through universal Adult Suffrage. They serve in the council for a term of five years. Image 6.3 shows the Kailahun district local government council hall which was constructed following the enactment of the country's decentralization. The photo was taken sometime in September 2013 when the research team arrived in the field for primary data collection.



Image 6.3. Research Team arrived at the Kailahun District council.

The District Council Chairman is the head of the LC. He is assisted by a Deputy Chair. Election for the position of the Kailahun District Chairmanship was conducted in line with Part III Section 4(1), paragraph D of sub section 2 of the LGA 2004. It was conducted around the same time as the field work and was won by Alex Bonopha. The Chairman is the chief executive officer in the District and is responsible for the general management of the district and for overseeing that all local laws are enforced. This clearly demonstrates, as Mawhood, (1983) described "the act in which a central government formally cedes powers to actors and institutions at lower levels in a political-administrative and territorial hierarchy".

Figure 6.1 illustrates the structure of the local government system within which there exists a political wing and an administrative wing. The political wing is headed by the CA, currently in the person of Mr. Mohamed Koroma. The political wing includes the Council Chairman, Deputy Chairman and Councillors. They are all elected by the residents of their district or in their ward.

On the other hand, the Administrative wing is headed by the Chief Administrator. He is assisted by the Deputy Chief Administrator. Beside of the administrative wing (left in Figure 6.1) are the heads of relevant MDAs Technical or Professional Heads. Within the Administrative wing are various unit or departments, such as Human Resource, Development Planning Information, communication and education unit, Engineering unit Monitoring and Evaluation unit, other Administrative Assistant and support staff of the Council.

As part of the decentralization process, some key Ministries, Departments and Agencies have been devolved to the Council. As such, the Council is responsible for undertaking of all development activities and overseeing projects undertaken by MDA's and NGO's within the District. Hence, responsibilities that were once in the hands of the central government (e.g. decision-making, political and fiscal administration) have been devolved to the Kailahun district council. The KDC is now expected to organize the residents as well as different organisations within the district. They are expected to facilitate the harmonious collective working environment in the district and be able to discharge their fundamental responsibility in an accountable and transparent manner.

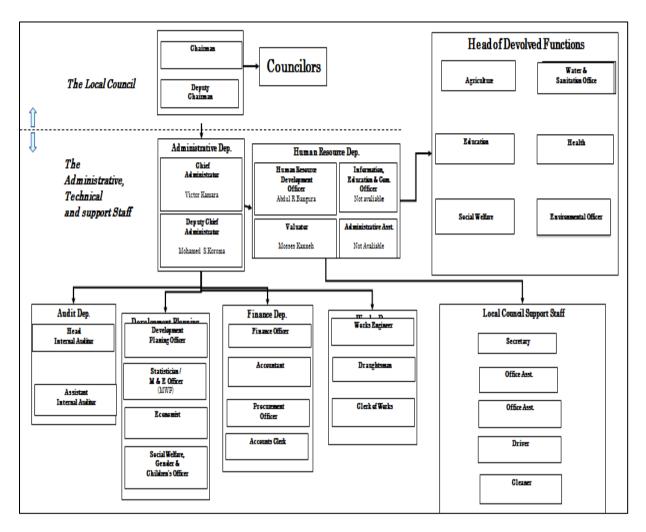


Figure 6.1: Organizational structure of the local/district Council administration

Source: By the Author.

6.7 Chiefdom Administration in Kailahun district.

Image 6.4 shows the district's geographical boundaries map, enumerating the number and names of the fourteen administrative Chiefdoms in the Kailahun district. It is important to know that each chiefdom is headed by the PC. The Luawa chiefdom, this research's case study area is also indicated below.

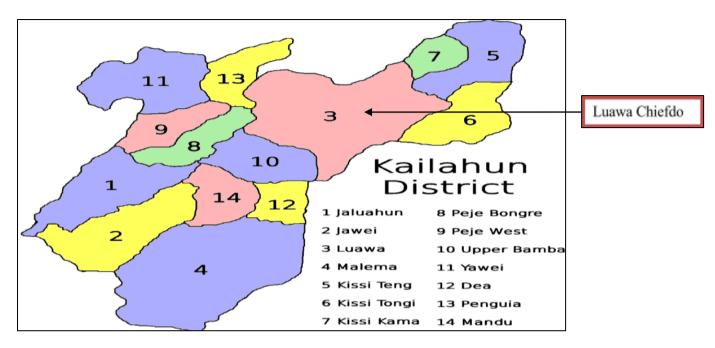


Image 6.4 Map showing the 14 chiefdoms in Kailahun district

Source: SLIHS, 2003/04

As previously stated, districts have a two-tier local administration in SL. They are the district and chiefdom administration. Chiefdoms in Sierra Leone are the basic unit of administration. The Chiefdom administration is strongly associated with Paramount Chieftaincy. The PC is the Head of the chiefdom council administration who is deputized by the Chiefdom Speaker (CS). Under the CS is the Town Chief, Section Chief, Village and family heads respectively.

Chiefdoms are located within the geographical boundaries of the district. For the district councils to perform their functions effectively, chiefdom administrations need to be viable. The local or district council administration supervises the Chiefdom administration. This implies that the success of the local councils will depend, to a large extent, on the relationship between the local council and the chiefdoms (CTAP 2011).

6.8 The current Situation in Luawa Chiefdom

This section presents the current situation in Luawa Chiefdom, Kailahun district, following enactment the institutional and structural reform program under the country's decentralisation program.

Image 6.5 shows Kailahun town, which is both the district and chiefdom headquarters of the Kailahun district and Luawa town, Luawa Chiefdom. This chiefdom is in the town of Mbomaru. This was where the first gunshot and first victim of the twelve year long conflict took place. Eventually, the town came under rebel control for over ten years. It also served as the command centre of the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) until normalcy was restored in 2012.

As the image shows, the roads are very muddy. This made walking very difficult especially during the rainy season. At night, parts of the town would be as *dark as graveyards* because there is no energy and power supply. The only sources of energy in the chiefdom and the district are the portable generators owned mostly by private individuals, few champions in the community or by some government institution or NGOs. Recently, streetlights have been installed in the main business centre of the town. They are powered using solar energy.

The beating of the drum (Tabule) and the loudspeaker can be heard from all corners of Kailahun as early as 4:30 in the morning and in the evening (around 6:30) every day from the central mosque (a place Muslims worship). This signals the call for early morning and evening prayers. On Sundays, the ringing of the Church bell can also be heard (King Koong! King Koong!) as a reminder for Christians to go to church for worship service. One interesting aspect about the residents of the chiefdom is their religious tolerance and respect.

The transportation system in the Chiefdom as well as internet and other communication facilities are extremely difficult to access due to the degradable conditions of the major roads and lack of energy and power in the township. During the day, many residents are engaged in various activities such as commercial bike riding, small business or petty trading in the market or in their small shops selling their wares. The others go to attend to their farms and gardens.



Image 6.5 below is showing Kailahun town Luawa Chiefdom

Image 6.6 shows the current Paramount Chief of the Luawa Chiefdom. His name is Hon. PC Mohamed Sama Kailondo Banya IV. He represents the entire PCs of Kailahun district in the national house of representative (Parliament). He was democratically elected as PC by the chiefdom people through the chiefdom councillors following the restoration of peace.

He assumed power immediately after the war. This was a time when the living condition of the residents was extremely difficult and the town had huge development challenges. Among these include the provision of food, improved agricultural tools, shelter, health facilities, education, good road infrastructures and water supply. These items are often referred to by the PC as the basic needs of the constituency.

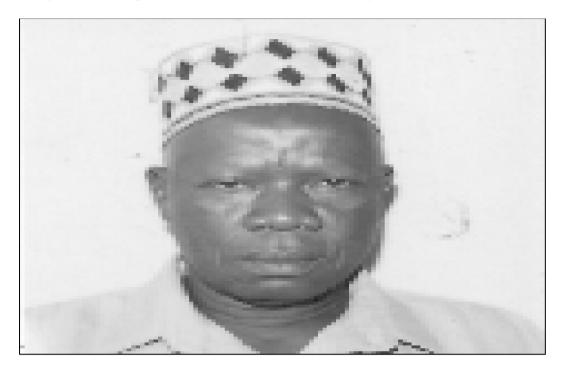


Image 6.6 showing PC Mohamed Sama Kailondo Banya IV of Luawa

Figure 6.2 illustrates the localized stakeholder map drafted by PC Mohamed Sama Kailondo Banya IV of Luawa chiefdom. This image helps them develop strategies that changed his chiefdom from hunger to food sufficiency. This stakeholder map is localized because it adopts the national strategy to food security. At the implementation level, the target group, output activities and input becomes different as it becomes based on the population and available resources of a district level.

Being a community whose inhabitants are predominantly involved in agricultural activities, the PC took the initiative to discuss with the WDC and other relevant stakeholders in the community. They encouraged agricultural activities that would enhance food sufficiency in the chiefdom. The PC himself served as a role model by cultivating rice on huge acres of upland in the chiefdom with support from the residents within the community. As leader of the chiefdom, the PC also became the lead or master farmer in the chiefdom.

Following this huge success, other stakeholders and individuals within the chiefdom were very impressed with the good example of the PC. Some WDC members were eventually

encouraged and motivated to adopt similar initiatives in their areas or agricultural fields. The PC with support from the DC and the WDC provided technical support and coordination to the various farmers. Within a short period of time, the knowledge and skill were disseminated within the chiefdom. This resulted to the emergence of some promising farmers.

Hence, the beauty of the concept of localization as discussed in the literature by Pavey et al. (2007, p. 91) is evidence in this situation. To review, Pavey et el (2007) stated that devolution of authority to local levels offers communities the opportunity to better plan and achieve desired outcomes by allowing them to tailor regulations and programs to fit local circumstances.

Consequently, many farmers were able to produce enough food products. Not only where they were able to harvest a sufficient amount of rice, being the staple food for consumption but they had enough surpluses to the market. This brought in some income for the farmers. With this increase in income, they were able to improve or change their lifestyle.

For instance, Mr. and Mrs Amara Sartie were farmers and residents of Yandohun village, eight kilometres from Kailahun town, close to the Guinean Border. When they were visited by the research team and asked how they have been affected by the current decentralization under the leadership of PC Banya IV of Luawa chiefdom, they responded with the following statement:

"We the residents of the village of Yandohun, Luawa chiefdom, thank God and the KDC and our able councillor Mr. Wurrie. Through our councillor and our PC and Chief we receive assistance from local council through the provision of farm implements like axe, machetes wheelbarrows, watering cans to use in their farms, seedlings like rice and groundnut, cassava garter machines, live stocks, goat, sheep, chicken and provide some sensitisation on farm activities. For the past three years now, our community has not been facing acute food shortages as it used to during the raining season. Food can be seen in the market throughout the year with the same price. They however concluded that more is needed to be done to help them improve their road as the road from Yandohun to Kailahun town is very bad for vehicle to come to the village, making it difficult to access the market to sell their product"(2013/06/27, 9:15 am).

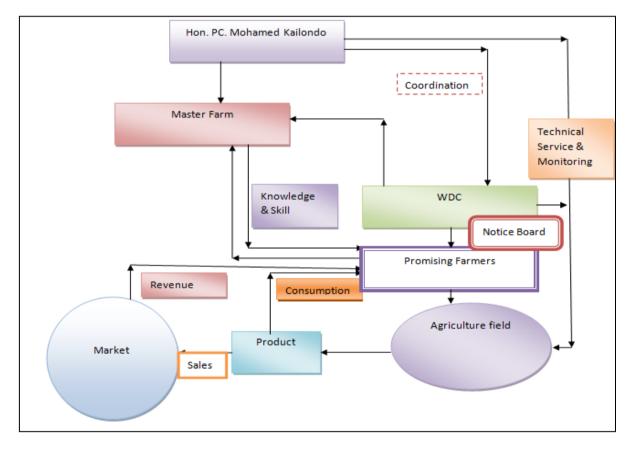


Figure 6.2 Stakeholder map of PC M.S.K Banya IV agricultural strategy.

Source: *By the author.*

Table 6.2 indicates the case study area's policy structure. it shows the strategy and the causal relationship between ends and means as end outcomes, outputs, then activities and input details. The matrix shows how the end outcome of the PC strategy is to develop the Luawa community through agriculture. To achieve this, he identified some promising farmers.

With support from the DC and WDC the PC provided some encouragement through training. This motivated them greatly. With inputs and some activities undertaken by the PC, the DC and the WDC in terms of funding, ideas training, land for cultivation, and provision of a new variety of rice seeds (a variety that could be cultivated twice in a year). These initiatives resulted to an increase in output in term of the agricultural productivity of rice.

It is expected that the result of the policy initiative by the PC on individuals and organizations (intermediate Outcome) that were targeted in the chiefdom was positive as manifested in the improvement in their living condition in the community.

These results indicate that decentralisation has brought the local government closer to the people. It was also able to effect a corresponding alignment of community values and vision. Evidently, decentralization had an impact in the Luawa chiefdom in terms of their political administration. They now have the autonomy to make policies, choices and give direction based on their own context.

End Outcome	Intermediate Outcome	Output	Activities	input
Community development	 Local employment is generated Local 	Agriculture productivity increased.	 Awareness raising. Motivating 	• Master farmer
	 Local coordination Total network also increase Livelihood development 		• Providing necessary funding for agriculture al activities	• Fund
	 Skills of farmers increased Confidence 		 Approval for land use Bush clearing and cultivation 	• Land
	 level of the residents increase Improve 		• Training of farmers new ideas	• Trainer

 Table 6.2 Community development policy structure

agriculture production	 Purchasing of seed rise Distributing of seed rice
---------------------------	--

6.9 The perception on the changes in the Chiefdom brought by Decentralization.

Interviews and focused group discussions were also conducted randomly to be able to gauge the general sentiments of the community people about the current governance system.

From their perspective, they view the entire reform program as very important. It was described as a laudable initiative taken by the SLPP government that has changed the governance system. It has given emphasis on local administration as a means to help them to improve their community with respect and consideration of their own context. Many of the respondents in the chiefdom have a clear view of the local administration council and some reasons for which they were created.

Madam Komba, an ordinary business woman with no husband, enumerates the reasons why government decided to bring district councils (2013/08/02, 9:00am): "*To help develop their community base on their needs and to have a say in their own affairs*". The interviews also revealed that most of the information about the responsibility of the council, the councillor and the Ward committee were also communicated through the community's two radio stations, Radio Moa and Eastern Radio, or through community meetings/ sensitisation by the KDC, or through their councillors.

Image 6.7, shows how the focus group discussions was conducted by the field research team (2013/08/20, 4:30pm) in the neighborhood of Ngitibu, that is located at the back of the Paramount Chief's compound. Here, different family heads including women were present. It was a very happy and interactive session as one would see from the photos. They were asked about their point of view regarding the entire reform program that introduced the decentralized governance system. the discussion revealed that the initiative by

the government to bring back local government was perceived as a right decision. The group expounds:

"The major changes that had taken place following the development of the National Decentralisation Policy and subsequent policies on rural development is the establishment of the KDC located in their chiefdom. Government is now much more closer to them which would ensure their engagement in the processes of government; and involve them in their community own development by enhancing 'participation in the planning and implementation of development strategies and the setting of priorities. Most importantly we the people of Luawa now directly elect our councillor to represent us in the district council assembly".

Image 6.7 Focused group discussion conducted by the field research team in the neighborhood of Ngitibu (2013/08/20, 4:30pm)



To the community members, the presence of the KDC manifests how the government is now very closer to them inspire of being the highest political and development agent in that locality (Section 20 of the LGA.04). This is also conclusive to the literature that indicated that one fundamental reason for the government to introduced decentralization Sierra Leone was to bring central government operatives closer to the people to ensure greater citizen engagement in the processes of government; and involve the community in its own development by enhancing citizens 'participation in the planning and implementation of development strategies and the setting of priorities has indeed been materialized (Vivex, 2008).

However, in order to perform its functions, the KDC depend highly on the viability of the chiefdom administration within the district. The development of the decentralized policies on rural development has contributed

Another important change that was evident in the community was the involvement or empowerment of the community people. The women and the youth in the chiefdom are now involved making decisions on major issues related to the planning of development initiatives in the community through the WDC. According to the research respondents, this has never happened in the past because all decisions for district development relating to service were done by the central government in Freetown. Currently, the trend has changed and decisions on district-level development are now made at locally with the involvement of all stakeholders in the community. This was exactly what PC. M.S.K Banya of Luawa chiefdom did. Through consultation and cooperation with his people, he initiated a strategy that would to improve the food situation that his chiefdom faced immediately after the post complicit situation.

For instance, in Ward (1) one, a financial institution wanted to construct a building in a site that was once a market place. This generated huge disagreements between the various stakeholders. There were those who wanted to relocate the market and build the bank centrally in the township and those who were against the relocation of the market. The people were consulted on this issue and decision was made by the residents to construct the bank in place of the market. It was perceived that building the bank in such a strategic point will give the town a facelift. Hence, involving the community in the decision-making has gradually increased the community's ability to solve problems on issues that affect their lives -- an opportunity they had been robbed of for close to a decade. Similarly, the residents decide on who would represent them in the House of parliament at the central or national level. In fact, the research coincided with the elections for Members of Parliament for constituency. It was also interesting to note that the position was vigorously fought over by a woman and a man. Although the contest was eventually won by a man, this indicates a positive sign of political of inclusion and good-enough governance, a prerequisite for peace and development within the local areas.

In addition, the participatory approach provided opportunities for the rural community to have voice in their own affairs, build their vision together by respecting different opinions, take ownership and responsibility for their decisions, as well as gain each other's trust. The people also became more confident in themselves. They now consider themselves major stakeholders in the community because they were included in electing the councillor who would represent them in the district council administration.

Another change that was observed during the research was that decentralization was not encouraged in the past because of the highly centralized system. Everything that pertains to the chiefdom was directed from the central government in Freetown. Since councils and chiefdoms were re-established, decentralization became a good strategy to help improve their communities. As seen in the Luawa Chiefdom, the initiative of the PC to improve food sufficiency by improving agriculture encouraged other residents and organizations to follow his good example. Now, rice and other farming activities are contributing to the improvement of the livelihood of many in the chiefdom. In addition, the following were also observed to have taken place: (1) KDC was staffed with individuals coming from both the central government and the district. The chiefdom administrative staff was all recruited from the chiefdom, including the Treasury Clerk. (2) The political situation in the district is now characterized by multi party democracy. The councillors that were elected in their wards come from different political parties. (3) Planning and budgeting for district and chiefdom development is now also done in the district and chiefdom. The planning and implementation for instance of the PC to improve on agriculture was initiated planned and implement in the Luawa Chiefdom. In the end, it generated local employment for the residents in the chiefdom.

A collaborative relationship between the district councils and the chiefdom and traditional administration was also observed as a change in the Luawa community following the country's decentralization. The council treat the PC with huge respect. With the PC acting as the Chairman of his ward, the councillor serves as his Secretary during WC meetings. This is where grassroots development initiatives are made and communicated to the district council. It is also through the councillor that wards communicate their feedback to the council. The PC and local people lead the preparations for the district development plan.

There are various social organisations groups and individuals in the community. Among them are the Muslim and Christian organizations, the youth, bike riders and drivers association, and women's group. The research team interviewed one of the women's group called the "Amuloma Luawa Woman Group." They meet in the Mbelebu section of Kailahun. The Leader of the group was Madam Fatu Nyuman.

During the interview, the women were asked to describe how they view the whole governance reform program. In general, the group perceived decentralization to mean women empowerment, as development for their community, as improvement in their agriculture, as an opportunity to send their children to school and as an opportunity to facilitate small petty trading activities. Madam Nyuma explains:

"For over twelve years we were wandering in neighbouring countries of Guinea and Liberia living behind all what we had during the war. Today we thank God we did not die to see this change that have brought respect to women, we the women now work side by side with our men and no longer walk behind them. We have now been given the opportunity to compete with the men for responsible position in our community. We have a woman as a parliamentarian in our constituency as eight women councillor in the district council. This is a very big development and we are still advocating for more empowerment. However, she acknowledged that conditions are still difficult in terms of effective service delivery but hopeful that since there is now peace in our community, the local council and the good leader of their PC that are working very hard the stage is now set for further development of our community she concluded. (Interview conducted with the Amuloma Luawa Woman Group on 2013/08/21, 11:30am



"Image 6.8 Meeting with "Amuloma Luawa Woman Group"

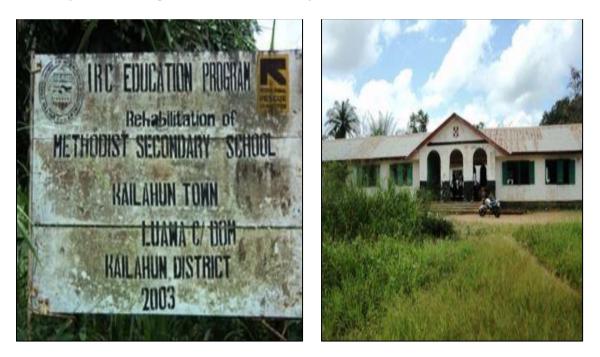
It is important to note that the chiefdom administration, individuals, groups and organization are all integral part of the community. These groups are now able to interact with each other in the community through formal governance processes (District and Chiefdom Administration), through meetings as well as other more informal relations and activities. Such community-based organisations provide individuals with important social capital. They also help re-establish good relationships within the community that was destroy by the civil war. This has resulted to a closer cooperation and harmony between the chiefdom administration represented by PC Banya IV, the WDC represented by the councillor, the women represented by the women leader (Mammy Queen) and the youth, the drivers union, the petty traders, the police the and the civil society with each respecting the roles and responsibilities of the various actors at the chiefdom, District and central Government levels. The nature of cooperation and human interaction between individuals and organisations in the community has, to a larger extent, resulted to their improved sense of community - that is, trust especially for the district and chiefdom to develop their community's inclination towards collective action, inclusion, formation of local groups and networks and NGOs in the community, information sharing and communication.

In the past, networking was not so good in the community for both internal and external stakeholders. As such the community could not benefit from the advantages of networking. However, the current situation shows, community members are able to benefit from networking with national and international NGOs that have activities in the community. The Paramount Chief for instance is both PC and MP representing the all the PCs in the district. Through his networking with the central level authorities (external stakeholder) he was sent to England where he was able to network with another NGOs that later on provided

assistance to the Chiefdom with the construction of schools and donation of learning materials for the town library.

Local school authorities also conducted some form of networking with various NGOs that operate in the district. For instance, Mr. Adu G Lamin the head teacher of Methodist Junior Secondary School Kailahun revealed that he was able to meet the leadership of the International Rescue Committee (IRC) through his informal network of contacts. Image 6.9 shows this networking with the IRC helped rehabilitate their school.

Image 6.9 showing MSSK rehabilitated by the International Rescue Committee (IRC).



The district and chiefdom authorities, as well as other government and development partners, now recognize that the youth, women and men are actors for change. And that improvement in their communities was due to the good governance initiative that characterized PC Banya's administration of the chiefdom. His leadership has been described by the UNDP (1997, pp. 9-10) as responsive, participatory, transparent, equitable, accountable, consensus-oriented, effective, efficient, and strategic. In the past, the youth had a bitter relationship with local authorities because they were not considered an important segment in development. Their treatment of women was even worst. During that time, the youth and the women considered themselves marginalized.

Currently, the youth and women, alongside the men, are now respected equally in the chiefdom. Women can now actively participate in decision-making as well as hold leadership and representational positions within the chiefdom and other traditional authority structures. For instance, the newly elected Chairman of the KDC Alex Bonopha indicated that he has already appointed five women councillors to head five of the nine committees.

Development funds or resources available to the district are now distributed between the different wards in the district. Various development projects by the district councils were identified by the community themselves under the facilitation of the WDC during the need assessment stage. These proposals were eventually factored in the District development plans.

The stakeholders are required to attend Public Council meetings. Documents, budgets and accounts, development plans etc are now open to the public. Notice boards are placed in all the 29 wards in the district to communicate the activities of the council. This aims to promote accountability, openness and trust in the new era. The district councils rotate the location of its monthly council meeting between wards to take the council closer to the people. Every weekend, there is a radio and television program organized by the district council to inform the residents about the activities of the council. This tool makes community information accessible even for those who could not read.

The active participation of civil society organizations or movement at district and chiefdom level is also an important change that came with the reform program. They seem more motivated to organise and take action on issues important to them. The CSOs now represent the ordinary man whose voice immediately be heard. They help to inform the community about development of their areas and monitoring project implementation, scrutinising community leaders to become more accountability and building trust between local people and government.

Despite all the changes that have been discussed, there is more that needs to be done to further deepen and strengthen the decentralization process at the chiefdom level. The field interview revealed that education and other activities aimed at strengthening democratic processes and enhancing the implementation of decentralisation are required at the village level. Focusing on strengthening the individuals, organisations and government at this level would definitely increase their commitment to their local governments.

6.10 Summary

This chapter discussed and analyzed of a case study of Luawa Chiefdom, Kailahun District. It described various ways in which the national policies on rural development have influenced change. This discussion primarily utilized the qualitative methods that largely depended on both primary and secondary data collection and analysis. Two strategies were used for data collection which included: visit of research team in the research area, interviews of some key player or stakeholders. The analysis is based on the perceived notion that decentralisation could served as a means for post conflict recovery, bring government closer to the people and improve the welfare of the rural.

The chapter in the process presented the current administrative arrangement between the district and chiefdom council administration as prescribed by the various law and regulations of SL, the poverty profile of the district and the demographic characteristic of the district in relationship with its chiefdoms.

An account of the current situation in the case study in Luawa chiefdom is presented with particular focus on the PC MSK Banya IV localization of the agriculture policy to promote food security in the Luawa chiefdom. How his policy has changed the indigenes of

104

the community in relation to the concept of decentralization are all analyzed and formed part of this chapter.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

7.1 Conclusion

In Sierra Leone, for almost three decades the governance system was marked by over centralization. During this period of over centralism, all Government institutions and decisions that affect the lives of all the citizens were determined by the Government in the capital of Freetown. State institutions became weak due to low capacity in all spheres to the extent that basic services needed by the people in the rural areas were very minimal. At the same time, the governance system was characterized by weak public sector management, high rate of poverty, high cost of living, shortages in rice (being the staple food) due to disappointing agricultural policies, marginalization and low rate of literacy (as education was considered as a privilege and not a right).

Ten years of civil war only worsened the situation. But a multi-party election in 2002, ushered in a democratically elected government that eventually restored constitutional order. The Sierra Leone Peoples Party-led government embarked on national Institutional and structural reform program that was characterized by decentralisation by devolution. This led to the subsequent rejuvenation of the sub-regional/ local council administration in Sierra Leone. LGA 04 SL ushered in the revival of the nineteen elected local councils or sub-national institutions. As the literature suggested, it was perceived that the process of decentralization through devolution could serve as a means or conduit that would help in the develop the rural communities that were for a long time neglected and excluded from processes that were relevant to their own lives. Hence, the political rationale for decentralization has always been good governance, through enhancing local democracy, promoting transparency, accountability, integrity, and representation in the management of public affairs.

The study examined and reviewed the major changes in the governance system brought by government institutional and structural reform program through the decentralization strategy. In particular, this study analyzed why there was need for the reform of the governance system. It also explored the reason behind the need for decentralisation as well as defines the kind of decentralisation practiced in Sierra Leonean (Political Administrative, functional and fiscal devolution). It examined the legal and regulatory framework of the current decentralisation program in Sierra Leone. In addition, the study further examines the process in the development and implementation of the national policies on rural development from National and District level (policy and implementing levels) in line with PRSP. An Extensive literature review was undertaken to analyze the reasons for the governance reform program. Interviews with experts in Sierra Leone and the collection of secondary data in the form of reports, articles and conference papers were conducted in aid of the goals of this research.

A case study of one chiefdom (Luawa Chiefdom, Kailahun District, in the Eastern Province) was conducted in order to obtain the study's primary data. This was done through interviews of key stakeholders both at the district and chiefdom level. Focused group and individual discussions were conducted during the field work.

An observation of the community by the research team was another key component in this study's data collection. The essence of using all these methods was to gather conclusive information on the institutional and structural changes that have occurred in the community. It also hoped to establish the extent to which these changes have affected the residents in the community or chiefdom in terms of good governance, following the reestablishment of the sub regional or district council administration brought about by the decentralization program. The functional relationships between the key stakeholders at the district as well as chiefdom administration were analyzed in order to showcase how their interaction improved or developed the well-being of the residents of the rural communities through the democratic good governance.

The analysis of the case study was based on the perceived notion and theory of decentralisation and the implementation of the decentralisation policy using the devolution. The study focused on the structures within the local government institution including grassroots members of the community as drivers of their own development, the local government with its chiefdom administration, community-based organisations, individuals and CSOs.

So far the current decentralization programme has had positive effect on the political landscape in Sierra Leone in terms perspective, organization, administration, planning, implementation and Monitoring and Evaluation. The following sections will discuss a summary of the main findings of the study, policy implications and prospects and recommendations for future research.

7.2 Summary of the research

Decentralization has had significant positive impact on the political landscape of Sierra Leone. The sharing of political power beyond Freetown is unprecedented; on this dimension alone, the initiative is viewed by many as a major success. It is perceived that the key country stakeholders and donors took advantage of the window of opportunity that became available after 2002 by supporting the enactment and implementation of the Local Government Act. Their actions helped establish a system that is reasonably robust and create a new class of sub national actors that is gaining central prominence in shaping a new political and economic dynamic in Sierra Leone.

Table 7.1 below presented key summary of major changes that have taken place in the national and district-rural levels following the reform program. Key issues were identified and

108

examined as they prevailed in the past and currently from the national as well as from the district/ local/Rural perspective as discussed in chapters 4 and 5.

Central			District/Local/Rural	
Issues	Past	Current	Past	Current
Perspective on Decentralization	Not Exist/Not Considered	Exist	Not considered	Exist
Political Situation	More Authoritarian	Multi Party Democracy	Political Will Not Exist	Multi Party/ Election
Policy	Only for Central Government	Decentralized policy Created	Not Considered	Decentralization Emphasized
Organization	Only Central Government	Central and Local Governments	Not exist	Exist Local government
Decision Making	Centralized/ Top Down approach	Central Government Guiding	Decision Not Conducted	Still Weak but Decision Making in local context/
Development Planning	Central Development Planning	Poverty Reduction Strategy	Plan from Central Government/ Rural Development Plan Not Exist	Localization of Planning
Staffing	Central	Central and Local	Not Staffed	Staffing for Local Government
Budget	Centralized Budgeting	Central and Local	No Budget for Local Own Development/ Development Implementation by Central Government	Increase of Development Implementation by Local Government
The transfer of functions	Not Considered	Now considered	Not exist	Functions now devolved with funds
Equitable resource distribution	Not Considered	Now considered	Not equitable	Every district get their own resources

 Table 7.1 Summary of major changes by decentralization in Sierra Leone.

In the district, the presence of the district council administration called the Kailahun District council was documented. The council consists of elected officers (councillors headed by the District Chairman) and Administrative officers headed by the CA including the core staff. The core staff is the technical head devolved within the council administration together with its functions, asset, personnel and finances attached to those functions previously held by the central government. These functions include Primary and JSS educations, Agriculture, Health, Social welfare and Gender and Information, Education and Communication. All of these devolved sectors were created and are now functioning within the council. This means that there is evidence of the aspect of political, administrative and fiscal decentralisation through devolution in Sierra Leone as manifest in the functioning of the KDC institution created by the LGA 04 SL. The political and administrative aspect of the policy as prescribed by (LGA.04 SL) made provisions for the local councils, being the highest political authority in their jurisdiction. It then sets out a detailed political framework that established the election and composition of councils; the qualifications of councillors; procedures for the election of mayors (for urban cities) and chairpersons (for District councils); powers to make and execute by-laws; the role and responsibilities of ward committees; and provision for citizen participation, transparency, and accountability, community capacity development and gradual improvement of services delivery. Central ministries and agencies retain responsibility for strategic planning, setting of standards, quality control, and monitoring, as well as procurement of certain priority commodities, such as textbooks and drugs.

Administratively, the central government still retains certain aspects of administrative control over the staff responsible for performing devolved functions. Similarly, MDAs retain

responsibility for strategic planning, setting of standards, quality control, and monitoring, as well as procurement of certain priority commodities, such as textbooks and drugs. On the area of fiscal devolution, the Act provided intergovernmental fiscal arrangements indicating the revenue raising authority and the areas of expenditure sources of funding (central government tied grants for devolved services and administrative grants) as well as own / local revenue. Councils are now given the opportunity to raise and expend their own revenue. However, the council's own source revenue mobilization in the district is still weak due to low income and the inability of the people in the district to pay. Central government transfers still remain the main source of revenue for the council.

As seen in the case study community of Luawa Chiefdom, Kailahun district, the government initiative of reforming the governance system through institutional and structural reform using the decentralized strategy has greatly improved governance in rural communities, grassroots involvement in making decisions that affect them, involvement in project planning and implementation, respect for the rule of law and human right and collective activity initiative (building democratic good governance.). The policy has resulted to building the capacity of the community's through their increased sense of the community, commitment, ability to set and achieve objective and the ability to access resources. This was done raising their awareness through regular meetings with the various stakeholder, consultation and involvement, sharing information, transparency and accountability to the people, empowerment and promoting trust for each other. These transformations have created a situation or a pressure on the policy and implementation level for employment, improvement of social services and the creation of more income generating activities.

7.3 Implications for policy

The most profound policy implication is the returning of the country to a democratically governed nation through the 2004 Local Government Act. The Act called for the active participation of local people and communities in public policy discourse and decision making, through devolved governance, especially as regards economic, social, environmental, health and education issues – matters affecting their life chances.

Now that the institutions and structures have been established and are functioning, there is need for the government to modify and develop new policy structures that focus on service provision in an effective and efficient way.

It is also important to note that the process of decentralization requires time and a variety of resources for its development and sustainability. All the stakeholders including donors, partners and civil society will have to play a critical role in maintaining the momentum that has been established, including advocacy initiatives and continuous policy dialogue with the government. Any let-up in effort at this stage could jeopardize the initiative and compromise the remarkable progress achieved since 2004 when the program was introduced.

7.4 Recommendation and prospect for future Research.

As indicated in preceding chapters, the field study was based on very ordinary rural community in Luawa Chiefdom in the Kailahun District located in the eastern province of Sierra Leon. Due to its distance from the capital, it was difficult for the central government machinery to provide them with some improved necessary services.

The government's reform program after ten years of civil war through the decentralization strategy, re-established sub national institutions or district councils for local administration. It was designed to help rebuild service delivery and improve quality; improve

resource allocation, by moving resources to the service delivery level; ensure greater citizen engagement in the processes of government; and involve the community in its own development by enhancing citizens 'participation in the planning and implementation of development strategies. So far the process of the institutional and structural reform using decentralized strategy has met with great success as well as some challenges as revealed in the case study community. The chiefdom is very peaceful, the district and chiefdom councils are functioning, children are attending schools, agricultural and other businesses are going on normal. The health sector and the free health care services program for lactating mother and children under than five years is going on, skill and Community capacity development initiatives are all in motion. This means that the chiefdom to have greatly been affected with the reform program that initiated the decentralization strategy. However, the extent of the effectiveness of these services is a whole research area that needed to be undertaken in the future.

The active participation of the Private sector in the current decentralized governance system is also very important. Now that the decentralization programme is gaining ground, there is the dear need for the government to develop new policy that will involve and encouraged the private sector decentralization. This will help accelerate the program to another level.

Similarly, due to the resource constraints including (time, distance, funds and scope) which served as major limitations of this study, analysis provided has only achieved a minimum level of depth. One possible area of research identified is the aspect of Local Economic Development (LED) and own source revenue mobilization. This is relevant because there are only a few known income generating activities in the chiefdom and the district as a whole.

Another interesting area for possible research in the future is the building of the community capacity and the introduction of the community capacity and policy structure model as an alternative rural development strategy.

Bibliography

- Bardhan, Pranab, and Mookherjee, eds. (2006. *Decentralization and Local Governance in Developing Countries: A Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Braima, S.J., (2007). Theoretical Foundation of Development policies and Strategies in Sierra Leone (1961-2006) in Suzuki M., Development policies and Strategies in Sierra Leone; Govt. SL & JICA
- Chambers, R. (1995). Rural Development: Putting the Last First. Prentice: Prentice Hall.
- Chaskin, Robert J., Brown, Prudence, Venkatesh, Sudhir, & Vidal, Avis, (2001). *Building Community Capacity*. New York: Aldine De Gruyter.
- Cling, Jean-Pierre, Razafindrakoto, Mireille & Roubaud, Francois (2002b) *A participatory* process towards establishing new relationships between stakeholders.
- In (Eds.), Cling, Jean-Pierre, Razafindrakoto, Mireille & Roubaud, Francois. New International Poverty Reduction Strategies (pp. 151) London: Routledge.
- Collier, P. (2007). *The Bottom Billion: Why the Poorest Countries Are Failing and What Be Done About It.* New York: Oxford University Press .
- Crook, R. and A.S. Sverrisson (2001) "Decentralization and poverty-alleviation in developing countries: A comparative analysis, or is West Bengal unique?" Working paper no. 130, Institute of Development Studies, Brighton.
- Dumbuya, A.R., (2005) "Literature Review on State v Civil Society Relationships in Sierra Leone".SLG Printing Press.

- Francis (2004). *State-Building: Governance and World Order in the 21st Century*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Govt.SL (2004). *Truth & Reconciliation Commission, Sierra Leone Report*. GPL Press, Accra, Ghana.
- Govt. SL (2010). National Decentralization Policy; Sierra Leone News and information. Freetown
- Govt, SL (2009). *National Rice Development Strategy Sierra Leone*: Prepared for the coalition for African Rice Development. Free town: SL Govt. Printing Press.
- Govt. SL. (2010). *Millennium Development Goals Progress Report 2010*. Freetown.: SLG printing Press.
- Govt. SL (2012) *District Development Hand book* (Revised Version 1) CDCD Project MLGRD/JICA.
- Hadenius, A. (2003). *Decentralization and Democratic Governance*. Uppsala Sweden.: Uppsala University.
- Holstein, G. &. (1997). The New Language of Qualitative Methods. USA: Oxford University
 Press. (2010). United Nation towards a Post-Welfare Agenda, in Bennet, J.
 Decentralisation, Local Governments and Market: Towards a Post Welfare Agenda,
 New York: Oxford University Press
- Hickey, Sam & Mohan, Giles (2005). Relocating Participation within a Radical Politics of Development. Development and Changes, 36(2), 237-262.

- James L., Muth, Ayllson B., Ostermeier, David & Steiner Davis, Miriam L. E. (2007). Building Capacity for Local Governance: An Application of Interactional Theory to Developing a Community of Interest. Rural Sociology, 72(1), 99.
- Kaufmann, Daniel, Recanatini, Francesca, & Biletsky, Sergiy (2002). Assessing Governance: Diagnostic Tools and Applied Methods for Capacity Building and Action Learning.
 Washington, D.C.: World Bank
- Litvack, J. Ahmad, J. & Bird, R. (1998). *Rethinking Decentralisation in Developing Countries*, Discussion Paper, Washington DC: World Bank.
- Manor, J. (1999). The Political Economy of Democratic Decentralisation. Washington,D.C.: The World Bank.
- Mengistu, A., (2009). Determinants and impacts of Vertical and Horizontal Rxport Divertion on economic growth: Evidence from East Asia and Sub-Saharan Afrifca. Beppy, Japan (unpublished): Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University.
- O'Rirodan, Tim & Church, Chris (2001). Synthesis and Context. In O'Riordan, Tim (Ed.), Globalism, Localism, and Identity: Fresh Perspectives on the Transition to Sustainability (pp. 22).London: Earth scans Publications Ltd.
- Olowu, D. (2001) "Local Political and Institutional Structures and Processes". A summary report prepared for the UNCDF symposium on Decentralization Local Governance in Africa. Institute of Social Studies, The Hague.
- Olowu, Dele (1989). Local Institute and Development: The African Experience. *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, 23(2), 201-231.

- Pavey, et al, (2007). Building Capacity for Local Governance: An Application of Interactional Theory to Developing a Community of Interest. Rural Sociology, 72(1), 90-110.
- Putnam, Robert D. (1993). *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press
- Reason, P.& Bradury, K. (Rondinelli, D.A. (1981). Government Decentralisation in Comparative Perspective Theory and Practice in Developing Countries. International Review of Administrative Sciences, 47, 133-45.
- Ragin, C. (1994). Constructing Social Research: The unity and diversity of method Thousand Oaks: Pine Forge Press.
- Rhodes, R.A.W. (1997). Understanding Governance. Maidenhead: Open University Press.
- Ribot, J (2004) Waiting for Democracy: The Politics of Choice in Natural Resource Decentralization World Resources Institute, Washington
- Sachs, J. (2005). The End of Poverty. New York: The Penguin Press.
- Schou, A. and M. Haug (2005) "Decentralisation in Conflict and Post-Conflict Situations", Working Paper 139. The Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Oslo.
- Smoke, P (2003) "Decentralisation in Africa: Goals, Dimensions, Myths and Challenges." *Public Administration and development* 23, pp. 7
- Strauss, A. and Corbin, J. (1994). Grounded theory methodology. In Denzin, N.K.and Lincoln, Y.S. (eds.), A Handbook of Qualitative Research. Thousand Oaks: Sage.pp. 273

- Wolman, H. (1990). *Decentralisation: What It Is and Why We Should Care*, in the New Agenda. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Wunch, J.S. and D. Olowu (1995) The failure of the Centralized State: Institutions and Self Governance in Africa. San Francisco: Institute for Contemporary Studies Press.
- World Bank,(2006). Agriculture and Achieving The Millennium Development Goals. Washington DC: World Bank
- World Bank (2009). World Bank development report on Sierra Leone. Washington DC: World Bank
- Yin, Robert K. (2003). *Case Study Research Design and Methods*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Zhou Y. (2009). Decentralization, Democracy and Development: Recent Experience in Sierra Leone. Washington DC: World Bank.
- UNDP (1994) capacity assessment for public sector management and decentralization programming mission: management development and governance division Sierra Leone Aid Memoir Washington DC.

http://www1.worldbank.org/publicsector/decentralization/admin.htm