United Nations Development Programme
Evaluation office

UNDP

**Case Study
Sierra Leone**

EVALUATION OF UNDP ASSISTANCE TO CONFLICT-AFFECTED COUNTRIES

HUMAN
SECURITY

By Mary Kaldor with James Vincent

Table of Contents

Acronyms

CDF	Civil Defence Forces
DDR	Demobilization, Disarmament and Reintegration
DFID	Department for International Development
ECOMOG	Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group
NGO	non-governmental organization
RUF	Revolutionary United Front
SRSG	Special Representative of the Secretary-General
UNAMSIL	United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme

Executive summary

Sierra Leone has been ravaged by a civil war that lasted from 1991 to 2002, and resulted in some 70,000 casualties and 2.6 million displaced people. The war was characterized by widespread atrocities, including the abduction of children and systematic rape. The conditions that led to the war included a repressive predatory state, dependence on mineral rents, the impact of structural adjustment, a large excluded youth population, the availability of small arms after the end of the Cold War, and interference from regional neighbours.

Human security has now improved because the conflict is over and because of international presence. But the State is still very weak despite the extension of State authority and the establishment of local councils. Legal and security institutions are weak, corruption is endemic, and there is a pervasive distrust of politics. Civil society is also weak despite the key role played by it during the war, especially by women's groups. Youth unemployment is very high and youth literacy is very low. The situation of girls is particularly bad; some 80-90 percent undergo female genital mutilation. There are some self-organized youth initiatives such as the Bike Riders Association or the Cassette Sellers Association, although they are also potential sources of youth disgruntlement. Since 2002, economic growth has been rapid but Sierra Leone remains one of the poorest countries in the world and near the bottom of the human development index. Regional instability could easily help to reignite the conflict.

Since 2000, the international community, particularly the United Nations, has played a key role in sustaining the peace agreement. Between 2000 and 2002, the focus was on Demobilization, Disarmament and Reintegration (DDR), return and resettlement of displaced people, and the extension of State authority, both line ministries and traditional authorities. In addition, after 2002, the international community helped to implement the Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy and National Recovery Strategy, which included the establishment of the Special Court and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, justice and security sector reform and poverty alleviation. Expenditure by the international community runs at 80 percent of gross national income and is more than double government expenditures.

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) has played a pivotal role both in strategic coordination and in filling gaps that other agencies are unable or unwilling to fill with targeted interventions. Since 2002, UNDP's programmes have covered three practice areas: 1) recovery and peace-building; 2) governance and democratic development; and 3) poverty reduction and human development. The first area is the largest. Particularly important projects include Arms for Development, an innovative community-based DDR programme; youth policy; support for elections, especially local elections; and access to justice.

Sierra Leone provides a model for the integrated office concept, not least because of the roles of Alan Doss, the former Deputy Special Representative of the Secretary-General (SRSG), and Victor Angelo, the current SRSG. Alan Doss stressed the importance of integrated or 'coherent' thinking and the need to involve the

development and humanitarian agencies in decision-making. Partnerships with other agencies have also been effective, at least in Freetown. Outside the capital, however, the problems of duplication and competition persist. A particular problem has been the difficulty faced by the Transition Support Teams, based within UNDP, in coordinating the transition from recovery to development.

UNDP has been criticized by the Government for an over emphasis on direct implementation rather than on national implementation, though not by beneficiaries and civil society. A major problem is building national capacity in the context of such a large and effective international presence. UNDP is trying to achieve this through project implementation units, reforms of the senior levels of the civil service and partnership with the Ministry for Youth and Sports. UNDP is also widely criticized for bureaucracy and delays in payments.

Overall, the international community has played a positive role. However, a big problem is that its very success detracts from the legitimacy of the Government. In addition, despite innovative community approaches, there is a need to generate jobs on a large scale and to improve the situation of women. In Sierra Leone, UNDP's gap-filling role has been rather effective because it has been demand driven rather than donor driven and because of the efficiency of local staff. However, more attention needs to be paid to civil society and gender.

1. Introduction

The war in Sierra Leone lasted from March 1991, when a group of rebels backed by the Liberian leader Charles Taylor invaded the country from Liberia, to January 2002, when the United Nations Special Representative of the Secretary-General (SRSG) in Sierra Leone declared the war over. There are no accurate statistics of the casualties, but conservative estimates suggest that 70,000 people were killed and roughly 2.6 million people, more than half the population, were displaced from their homes. The brutality of the war has been widely recorded; it involved hideous and often macabre atrocities on all sides against civilians, including widespread execution, amputation of limbs, lips and ears, decapitation and gang rape. Children were abducted to fight on all sides, and injected with drugs or given alcohol to give them courage. Criminals freed from prison were also mobilized. It was the experience of Sierra Leone that led Robert Kaplan to coin the term 'the coming anarchy'. Table 1 below provides a chronology of the conflict in Sierra Leone.

Table 1: Chronology of the conflict in Sierra Leone: 1991 - 2006

23 March 1991: Revolutionary United Front (RUF) invades Sierra Leone with support from Liberia and Burkina Faso, led by Foday Sankoh.

29 April 1992: There is a coup against them authoritarian leader, Joseph Momoh. The National Provisional Ruling Council (NPRC) is formed, led by Captain Valentine Strasser.

1993: NPRC hires mercenaries including a Gurkha unit, which is later defeated.

April-July 1995: A South African-led company, Executive Outcomes, expels the RUF from Freetown and the environs, retakes the bauxite and rutile mines, and secures the Kono diamond fields. Payment is cash and diamond concessions.

August 1995: After massive demonstrations organized by women's groups, a National Consultative Conference is held. The conference calls for elections and for a negotiated settlement.

March 1996: After Strasser is overthrown in a palace coup, elections are held. Ahmad Tejan Kabbah, a former United Nations employee, wins the elections.

November 1996: The Abidjan peace accord is signed. It includes amnesty for RUF, transformation of RUF into a political party, disarmament and demobilization of combatants, reduction of armed forces, and withdrawal of Executive Outcomes. (Executive Outcomes is dismissed in January because Kabbah cannot pay them.) Within a few weeks, fighting resumes.

March 1997: Foday Sankoh is arrested in Nigeria on weapons charges.

25 May 1997: A coup is orchestrated by junior officers calling themselves the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC). The new Leader is Major Johnny Paul Koroma. The junta suspends the constitution and invites the RUF to join them. There is widespread civil disobedience and international condemnation. Thousands flee Sierra Leone, including Kabbah and many civil society activists.

February 1998: Nigerian-led ECOMOG (Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group) forces overthrow AFRC.

6 January 1999: RUF and AFRC attack Freetown. After two weeks of fighting in which 5,000–6,000 people die and hundreds are mutilated, ECOMOG restores control.

7 July 1999: Signing of Lomé Peace Accord. The Accord includes power sharing between Government and rebels, blanket amnesty for rebels, disarmament and demobilization, and establishment of commissions for human rights and for truth and reconciliation.

22 October 1999: United Nations Security Council authorizes the establishment of a United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL) of up to 6,000 troops including 260 unarmed observers, under Chapter VII (Resolution 1270).

7 February 2000: United Nations Security Council expands UNAMSIL to 11,100 troops. The Mission's mandate is also expanded to include provision of security at key locations in and near Freetown and at all disarmament sites.

1 May 2000: RUF seizes nearly 500 Kenyan and Zambian peacekeepers in remote locations in the north and east of the country. Britain sends 700 paratroopers to restore security in and around Freetown and to bolster the morale and resolve of peacekeepers.

8 May 2000: There is a massive civil society protest in Freetown, demanding the release of peacekeepers. 30,000 people move towards Sankoh's house; Sankoh's bodyguards open fire, killing 19 people and injuring dozens. Sankoh flees over a back wall in women's clothing.

17 May 2000: Sankoh is captured and arrested.

19 May 2000: United Nations Security Council authorizes a further increase in the strength of UNAMSIL up to 13,000 (Resolution 1299).

June 2000: Most hostages are released after negotiations through Charles Taylor of Liberia.

5 July 2000: United Nations Security Council imposes an embargo on all rough diamonds from Sierra Leone, unless they have a Government of Sierra Leone Certificate of Origin (Resolution 1306).

22 July 2000: UNAMSIL's Operation Thunderbolt frees roadblocks between Freetown and the airport, and attacks the Occra base of the West Side Boys, a paramilitary group that includes RUF and AFRC personnel.

14 August 2000: United Nations Security Council authorizes the United Nations Secretary-General to negotiate the establishment of an independent Special Court to try persons responsible for war crimes, crimes against humanity, and violations of international humanitarian law, as well as crimes under relevant Sierra Leonean law committed on the territory of Sierra Leone (Resolution 1315).

25 August 2000: Eleven British military personnel and one member of the Sierra Leone Army are taken hostage by the West Side Boys.

10 September 2000: A British rescue mission releases the hostages and attacks the West Side Boys' base. Some West Side Boys are killed and many surrender as a result of both British attacks and Operation Thunderbolt.

20 September 2000: India announces the withdrawal of Indian troops from UNAMSIL following a disagreement between the Indian commander and Nigerian officials about the conduct of war.

19 October 2000: Jordan announces the withdrawal of Jordanian troops from UNAMSIL.

10 November 2000: A ceasefire is signed under the auspices of the Economic Community of West African States in Abuja. Under the agreement, RUF agrees to free the movement of persons and goods throughout the country, to return seized weapons, and to disarm. UNAMSIL is also guaranteed free movement throughout Sierra Leone

30 March 2001: United Nations Security Council authorizes a further increase in UNAMSIL up to 17,500 troops (Resolution 1346), making it the largest peacekeeping mission in the world.

18 January 2002: The civil war is declared over and the final phase of disarmament and demobilization is completed.

14 May 2002: Presidential and Parliamentary Elections are held.

2003: A Special Court is established.

2004: Report of Truth and Reconciliation Commission is produced after two years work.

June 2004: First local elections for 32 years are held.

31 December 2005: UNAMSIL mandate expires. The United Nations Integrated Office in Sierra Leone (UNIOSL) is established under Security Council Resolution 1620 (2005).

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) has played a pivotal role in Sierra Leone, and it is sometimes difficult to distinguish the role of UNDP from the role of the United Nations system as a whole. This was especially true after the introduction of the integrated mission in 2000, whereby the Deputy United Nations SRSG was also the UNDP Resident Representative, the Humanitarian Coordinator, and the Resident Coordinator. The United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL) ended its mission as of December 2005. United Nations peacekeepers have withdrawn and a new mission, the United Nations Integrated Office in Sierra Leone, has begun.

In many ways, both the UNDP and the UNAMSIL missions in Sierra Leone can be regarded as an emerging model of how to intervene in conflict situations. The substantial international presence is itself a guarantor of peace. The withdrawal of United Nations peacekeepers and the change of mission have taken place peacefully. The Special Court, the Demobilization, Disarmament and Reintegration (DDR) programme, the justice and security sector reform, and, above all, the assistance to the extension of State authority have all undoubtedly contributed to the consolidation of peace and the relatively positive human rights record. The Secretary-General in his report of December 2005 said that UNAMSIL had "…broken new ground in several respects…". He mentioned, in particular, the integrated mission and the support for regional cooperation, the Mano River Union.

It is for this reason that a case study of UNDP's role in Sierra Leone is particularly interesting. Despite the effectiveness of the mission, the structural conditions that led to the conflict still persist – in particular, the weakness of the State and pervasive poverty and exclusion, especially among youth. It is precisely because the mission can be regarded as a textbook intervention, that it raises the dilemmas and challenges of outside intervention in a stark fashion. As one well-known Sierra Leonean journalist said to me, "It was the worst of times and the best of times."

2. Has human security improved?

Human security in Sierra Leone has improved because the conflict is over. A characteristic of this type of war is that it often exacerbates those factors that lead to war. In other words, consequences are also causes. The questions before us now are whether this was also true of Sierra Leone, to what extent the factors that led to the war are still present in Sierra Leone, and if the improvement in human security is sustainable.

2.1 The nature of the conflict

The conflict was, in many ways, typical of a 'new war'. The causes have to be sought in the weakness of State authority in the context of globalization. On the one hand, the one-party Government of the 1980s was deeply authoritarian and repressive, with pervasive corruption, patronage and mismanagement, and on the other hand, pressures from the outside for structural adjustment destroyed the revenue base of the Government and any remnants of service provision especially outside Freetown. By the time the war began, neglect, combined with poor roads and communication, meant that many regions and sections of society had lost contact with the Government. Moreover, the Government was increasingly perceived as being merely a source of money and/or intimidation. As David Keen emphasizes, the fighters on all sides were young, excluded and marginalized. "It appears as if much of the violence in Sierra Leone in the 1990s can be explained as a succession of attempts by those who have felt excluded or forgotten to draw attention to their grievances, perhaps even their existence. Whenever one group managed to force its way into the 'inner circle' (as in the May 1992 coup or the RUF acquisition of cabinet posts in 1999) there were always other groups left outside with an incentive to use violence to draw attention to their continuing grievances…"[1]

Compounding the local sources of violence was the regional and global context. The war began in 1991 when a group of the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) led by Corporal Foday Sankoh attacked two small towns – Sega and Bomaru in the Kailahun district – with support from the Liberian leader Charles Taylor. At that time, surplus arms and mercenaries left over from the Cold War were becoming available to countries in Africa. The invasion was supported by Muammar al-Gaddafi of Libya and Blaise Campoare of Burkina Faso, who are said to have developed a plan to conquer Sierra Leone, Liberia, Guinea and the Gambia, all in the West African sub region. Their reasons have never been made clear but it is likely that access to mineral resources, especially diamonds, was an important motive.

In many ways, this was 'raw conflict'. Unlike most new wars, there was almost no veneer of ethnicity or even ideology. From time to time, the Civil Defence Forces (CDF) were said to be 'Mende militias'; the Mende CDFs became known as Karmajors –formerly hunters of animals with mysterious powers. But there were also Temne CDFs. Or the RUF, on the other side, would be accused of being anti-Mende but there were many Mende in the RUF ranks. There has also always been a divide

---

[1] Keen, David, *Conflict and Collusion in Sierra Leone*, Oxford: James Currey, 2005; p290

between the largely Creole elite in Freetown and those living in the rest of the country but the latter fought on all sides.

There was an inchoate ideology but it was shared by all groups. As Keen points out, the pattern of conflict and collusion, the "…coming together of ostensible enemies was facilitated by the fact that fighters on 'opposing sides' were often coming to the conflict with similar backgrounds and similar grievances (and sometimes from the same village or even family as their 'enemy'). Elements of a radical political analysis – for example, critiques of chieftaincy and the APC/SCPP 'diarchy' – could be found among soldiers and CDF fighters as well as rebels and those not taking part in the fighting." [2]

If there was any kind of identity, it was a 'youth' identity – the young against the old, who had failed the system. The desire and need of the youth for recognition and respect was widely expressed. But, of course, the young were the recruits on all sides.

The brutal violence against civilians was typical of a new war. There is a debate among scholars about whether the motivations were economic (loot and pillage) or psychological (anger, shame and humiliation). But there is also a military logic to this seemingly irrational mode of fighting. In an era where all weapons are increasingly accurate and destructive, battles are costly and difficult to win. The best way to control territory is through control over or displacement of the population who live there. Terror is a technique for achieving territorial control. Dennis Bright, the Minister for Youth and Sports, talked about how the rebels enjoyed defying logic. But 'defying logic' has its own logic as a way of instilling fear and submission. They had, as Bright put it, "…awesome power, a fearsome power over life and death."

The aim of controlling territory is of course power, both political and economic. Because of the history of the one-party system, access to power was, and indeed often still is, equated with access to money. People tell of how the very young men who ruled during the military governments of 1992-1996 and 1997-1998 (National Provisional Ruling Council / Armed Forces Revolutionary Council) broke open the vaults and walked away with sackfuls of money. And, of course, control of diamond mines was critical in the eastern and southern territories towards the Liberian border.

Thus the war economy was also typical of 'new wars'. Because government revenue had collapsed, all sides were dependent on the spoils of war to finance their activities. These spoils ranged from loot and pillage (high), 'taxation' of humanitarian aid (relatively low compared with other places) and, of course, diamond smuggling across the borders for the Mano River Union countries of Liberia and Guinea where the war lords (Charles Taylor and Blaise Campoare) were based. Hence the difficulty, which is at the heart of the 'greed' and 'grievance' debate, of distinguishing between the spoils of war as a motive for fighting (greed) or the spoils of war as a way of financing a war motivated by politics (grievance).

---

[2] Keen, David, *Conflict and Collusion in Sierra Leone*, Oxford: James Currey, 2005, p295

Thus the key factors that created the conditions for the war were the weakness of the State, growing exclusion and marginalization, especially among young people, and the regional context. The first two factors, at least, were greatly exacerbated by the war.

2.2 Weak State

The capacity of the Government, which was already coined by William Reno as a 'shadow state', was further eroded by the war – indeed, it was all but destroyed outside Freetown. Despite the efforts to reconstruct State authority (see below), and despite national and local elections that have been relatively free and fair, the legitimacy of the Government remains weak. The reasons include endemic corruption (largely because of the low salaries of public servants), lack of justice (due to the collapse of the legal system and corruption), poor service delivery, especially of basics like water, electricity, transport, or health, and lack of transparency. A recent report by the International Crisis Group suggests that, at best, a failed State has been replaced by a shadow State (ICG 2005).

There are some positive developments as well, which include the new local councils, although they are not yet properly functioning; the new National Election Commission created after the previous commission was dissolved because of election irregularities; and the new pioneering Ministry of Youth and Sports. But the question remains as to whether these new initiatives will be able to overcome the pervasive distrust of politics, inherited from decades of poor governance, and the huge gap between the political class and ordinary people, especially young people.

Security and rule of law
The United Nations handed over responsibility for maintaining security to national security agencies in 1994. While there are no longer any illegal armed groups, public confidence in the capacity of the security institutions to maintain security has not yet been established. The armed forces are being downsized from 13,000 to 10,500 (to be completed by 2007) and this, together with inadequate infrastructure, is contributing to disaffection within the armed forces (United Nations S/2005/777). The situation of the police is said to be better. The current strength of the police force is 7,500, with plans to increase the numbers to 9,500. Police are deployed throughout Sierra Leone. The establishment of local and provincial security committees throughout the country, with what the Office of National Security described as a 'holistic' approach to security, has been an important factor in defusing tensions. Nevertheless, the symbolic presence of the United Nations and the British military advisory team is still seen by most Sierra Leoneans as the guarantee of stability.

The judiciary is also very weak and this, together with very high levels of poverty and deprivation, contributes to everyday crime. Nevertheless, as the High Commissioner for Human Rights reported in February 2006: "Generally, there is an increasing trend towards respect for the life and security of the person. The only pervasive pattern of human rights violations is female genital mutilation…" (United Nations E/CN.4/2006/16 paragraph 5)

There are no political prisoners. However, civil society activists who we interviewed raised a couple of cases as examples of threats to human rights. Charles

Magai, a veteran politician who resigned from the ruling party after failing to be elected leader, was arrested in late 2005 on an 11-count indictment including campaigning under the banner of an unregistered party. A journalist, Paul Kamara, was arrested under the Public Order Act but released in November 2005, on appeal to the High Court.

Civil society

The war also greatly weakened civil society. It is the task of the civil society to close the gap between the political class and ordinary people. During the period of one-party rule before the war, civil society was largely co-opted by the State. Moreover, the decline of public services, especially education, undermined the human and financial resources available for civil society. During the war, civil society efforts played a key role at certain significant moments. In particular, the creation of the Sierra Leone Women's Movement for Peace played a crucial role in 1995, creating the conditions for the end of military rule and the elections of 1996, which brought Ahmad Tejan Kabbah (former United Nations employee) to power and paved the way for the first peace agreement. However, women were marginalized both in the agreement and in the newly elected Government. The Inter-Religious Council of Sierra Leone created in 1997 also became a mechanism for facilitating the peace process and for confidence building measures. But when the rebels invaded Freetown in January 1999, they targeted civil society activists and many were killed or fled the country. Another important moment was the civil society protest outside Foday Sankoh's house in May 2000, after hundreds of United Nations peacekeepers had been taken hostage. This protest eventually led to Sankoh's capture and arrest. Although civil society has been supported by the international community in the post-conflict period, it lacks the capacity to offer a meaningful channel for the voices of the poor and excluded.

2.3 The situation of the youth

The younger generation emerged from the war jobless and without skills because they missed years of schooling, having been both agents and victims of horrifying behaviour. The youth numbers 1.6 million or 34 percent of the population. Seventy percent of the combatants were people aged between 12 and 35 and only 5 percent were literate. A household survey undertaken in 2002-2003 showed that 58 percent of young people are unemployed (Government of the Republic of Sierra Leone, March 2005).

During the war, commanders in all the fighting forces used and misused young fighters and threatened them with summary execution if they resisted; for instance, they would make these fighters work from dawn till dusk in diamond pits with no remuneration. These commanders are still powerful; they often joined in the DDR process by including civilian dependents as registered 'ex-combatants' while excluding the real ex-combatants.

In a way, the war involved a process of forced urbanization – many young people were forced to leave their villages and many are now reluctant to return, even though unemployment is high in the towns. In the villages, where bride prices are very high, many youths are often virtual slaves as they have to work for several years for the parents of a girl they may want to marry. Lack of access to land (in rural areas)

and to mineral resources (diamond, gold, etc.) because of very high registration and licensing procedures and costs, and difficulty of obtaining information, compounds the marginalization of youth.

The situation for girls, both in towns and villages, is even worse; domestic violence is widespread but unreported and some 80 to 90 percent of girls undergo female genital mutilation. Very few young women can be seen on the streets except at night, mainly, it is said, for reasons of shame.

Everyone talks about the 'disgruntled youth' who express their frustrations through popular music, which plays everywhere. There is a lot of talk about the 'dependency syndrome' – the notion that young people believe the Government owes them a living and that corruption is always somewhere else – 'l'enfer c'est les autres' or 'Hell is other people,' as Dennis Bright put it.

Yet even among the younger generation, there are some positive trends. In our efforts to interview 'disgruntled youth', we visited three organizations that were reputed to be hotbeds of disgruntlement – the Bike Riders Association, the Car Wash Boys, and the Cassette Sellers Association. The first group consists largely of ex-combatants, many of whom stole motorbikes during the war. Now they make a living giving people rides for 1000 leones (30 cents) per ride. They pay 25,000 leones to join the association and they receive an identity card and maintenance support, as well as a place to meet and talk. The Association has some 3,000 members. Some of them are legitimate with commercial vehicles (red licence plates) and driving licences, but many are not. There have been major clashes with the police that have raised fears of renewed fighting, but the Bike Riders of Bo told us that they had started a dialogue with the police and that the situation was improving. They said that while they were still frustrated with the political system, they were better off than during the war and they preferred to bring about change through the ballot box rather than through fighting.

The Car Wash Boys, as their name suggests, wash cars and are starting to do car decorations and basic maintenance/servicing of vehicles; they are a smaller organization than the Bike Riders Association (only 17 members) but they expressed similar sentiments. Finally, the Cassette Sellers Association has 3,096 members and offices all over Sierra Leone. The Association was founded in 1992, but really grew in membership after the war. It involves ex-combatants who have gone through the DDR process. They apply to join and if accepted they have to pay a small fee. They buy their own cassettes and CDs from the Association at reduced costs and the Association helps them set up in particular areas and sometimes provides small loans. Interestingly, the small office of the Association had a picture of the President on the wall, as well as the Sierra Leonean national pledge.

All three organizations are self-organized and have never received assistance from international agencies or non-governmental organizations (NGOs).[3] They have, however, all asked for support, and have prepared proposals. The Car Wash Boys actually employed an architect for 300,000 leones ($100) to design a building with

---

[3] The Bike Riders Association participated in an NGO-organized seminar on traffic management. The Car Wash boys complained that they had received a visit from the Crown Prince of Norway and that they had given him lunch and had not received a penny in return!

offices and workshops. The Cassette Sellers would like to acquire equipment to burn their own CDs and to start an outlet in London for Sierra Leonean music.

They all say that the youth have changed as a result of the war. "Sierra Leone is not the same country as before the war…" said one civil society activist. "War has made us very wise", said the Accident and Safety officer of the Bike Riders Association. "Things we didn't know we know now. We know our rights."

There are other, similar organizations like the 'dollar boys', who change money (informal foreign exchange bureaus), or the King Jimmy Boys (commonly called Jew Men) in Freetown. The latter look for people who have new or used articles such as TVs, tape recorders or freezers, which they sell for a small profit (sometimes they even market stolen articles). These boys have a code of conduct and a well disciplined social structure: every article collected must be reported to the Association and the owners of the articles must receive the monies agreed on after sales.

Nevertheless, these associations represent only a small proportion of the total youth population. Not all young people feel empowered; so many have been brutalized, especially girls. It was noteworthy that there were no girls among these groups. One person summarized the situation of the youth as 'turbulent'. Dennis Bright said that many were 'just sinking'. While the youth may not want to go back to war, there still exists a lot of potential for instability.

The legitimacy of the Government and the attitudes of young people are mutually reinforcing. If the Government can improve service delivery, reduce corruption and generate jobs, this will help encourage more positive attitudes among the youth. On the other hand, failure to meet the very difficult challenges faced by the Government could reinforce the sense of negativity among the youth.

2.4 The regional context

These local factors are compounded by the regional context. Although there is now relative peace in Liberia, many ex-combatants and weapons caches have moved to Guinea and Cote d'Ivoire, and illicit diamond mining still accounts for half of Sierra Leonean production. Indeed, the International Crisis Group quotes a DDR specialist as saying that the best disarmament initiative in Sierra Leone has been the continued fighting in the region[4]. This of course always has the potential to boomerang, and lead to renewed conflict in Sierra Leone. High levels of youth unemployment are a characteristic of the whole region and a continuing source of instability (see United Nations Office for West Africa, December 2005). A recent report by the Human Rights Watch describes the activities of thousands of regional warriors, young men for whom fighting is a career, most of them originally forcibly recruited to fight in Liberia and Sierra Leone[5].

---

[4] International Crisis Group, 'Liberia and Sierra Leone: Rebuilding Failed States', Africa Report N°87, 8 December 2004
[5] Human Rights Watch, 'Youth, Blood and Poverty: The Lethal Legacy of West Africa's Regional Warriors', 2005
www.hrw.org/reports/2005/westafrica0405

2.5 Economic insecurity

During the war, the economy plummeted. Gross domestic product was halved during the 1990s, reaching US $142 per capita in 2000. According to the Government's Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper, "Local community, social and productive infrastructure such as markets, stores, rice mills and community service buildings were completely vandalized. Livestock was almost completely wiped out. Mining and agriculture were ravaged and abandoned..." (Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper 2005). Economic growth has been rapid since the war ended with rates of 6 and 7 percent projected for 2006 and 2007. Nevertheless, Sierra Leone is heavily indebted and dependent on external aid. In 2004, aid was running at US $360 million or 34 percent of GDP and debt was estimated at US $1.6 billion or 205 percent of GDP.

Before the war, the mining sector (diamonds, gold, rutile and bauxite) accounted for 20 percent of government revenue and 90 percent of exports. Even before the war began, legal exports fell dramatically because of corruption. Today, there are some 100,000 workers engaged in mining, mainly small-scale artisanal mining. Various measures, including licensing and the Kimberly process, have helped diamond exports to gradually increase, reaching US $125 million in 2004. But mining is unlikely to provide a self-sustaining source for development in the future, underlining Sierra Leone's precarious economy.

Sierra Leone is one of the poorest countries in the world. In 2004, it was at bottom of the human development index. According to the global human development report, in the period 1990 – 2002, 57 percent of the population lived below US $1 a day and 75 percent lived below US $2 a day. An estimate by the United Nations Country Team suggested that 82 percent of the population lived below US $1 a day in the same period (United Nations Development Assistance Framework, March 2003). Life expectancy declined from 42 years in 1990 to 34 years in 2000 and has now crept up to 40 years. Adult literacy at 31 percent is one of the lowest in the world and is much lower for women; only 18 percent of women can read in English compared with 35 percent of males, and only 19 percent of women can do written calculations compared with 37 percent of males.

3. Contribution of the international community and the United Nations to human security

There were three outside interventions before the establishment of the United Nations Mission in 1999.   The first outside intervention occurred in 1993, when the Gurkha Security Group, a private security company mainly made up of Nepalese Gurkhas, was hired by the Government; it was forced to withdraw after suffering heavy casualties, including the murder of its American commander, Robert Mackenzie. Then in 1995, the private South African company Executive Outcomes repelled an RUF attack on Freetown. However, after the elections of 1996 and the Abidjan peace agreement, the then newly elected President Ahmad Tejan Kabbah dismissed Executive Outcomes because he lacked sufficient funding as a result of an International Monetary Fund structural adjustment plan. President Kabbah was forced to flee the country after a coup orchestrated by the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council, but eventually returned to power as a result of an intervention by the Nigerian-led Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) force in February 1998 (the third outside intervention). As a leading civil society activist explained, "…the only people who have ever successfully subdued the RUF are the Executive Outcomes and the ECOMOG. This is why Sierra Leoneans have very fond memories of the two forces and always want them to stay."(Quoted in Kaldor, 2001).

The evolution of the United Nations intervention in the region can be viewed as a kind of 'learning process' in which different approaches were tested. The Sierra Leone Truth and Reconciliation Commission (SLTRC), in its final report, lamented "…the fact that the international community, apart from the ECOWAS states, declined to intervene in the unfolding human catastrophe in Sierra Leone until at a very late stage."(Introduction SLTRC). In October 1999, the United Nations Security Council authorized the establishment of UNAMSIL, which replaced the United Nations Observer Mission set up in 1998. At that time, up to 6,000 troops were authorized. UNAMSIL's mission was to assist in the implementation of the 1999 Lomè Agreement. The Agreement included a blanket amnesty as well as important positions in Government for the rebels. As the then American Ambassador, John Hirsch (2001, p.80), put it, "For the democratic forces, the Lomé negotiations were a bitter and painful reversal from the international ostracism of the RUF almost two years earlier." The Agreement was criticized by Mary Robinson, the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, and several international NGOs, primarily for the blanket amnesty. In a letter to the United Nations Security Council dated 19 May 2000, Human Rights Watch requested the setting up of an International Criminal Tribunal for Sierra Leone as well as confirmation of Mary Robinson's position that the Agreement could not apply to "…crimes of genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes, and other serious violations of international humanitarian law…"(Quoted in Kaldor, 2001)

The Mission also included an explicit mandate, under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, to protect civilians under "…imminent threat of physical violence…". In February 2000, UNAMSIL's troops were increased to 11,100 and its mandate further extended to include the provision of security at key locations in and

near Freetown and at all disarmament sites. Despite the mandate, UNAMSIL was very slow to implement the disarmament and demobilization provisions of the agreement and was considered insufficiently robust in protecting civilians. In May, the RUF attacked United Nations personnel; several troops were killed and some 500 taken hostage.

At this point, the British sent to Sierra Leone some 700 troops, who were well-trained and well-equipped and given a robust mandate; they helped to protect the capital and to create the conditions for the release of the hostages. The United Nations troops were also increased to 13,000 and began to act more robustly, as in Operation Thunderbolt when the road between Freetown and the airport was freed. In August 2000, 11 British soldiers were also captured by the rebels. Five were released and the remaining six were rescued in September. In the process, the notorious West Side Boys, one of the most brutal rebel groups, was rounded up. British troops later withdrew, but additional reinforcements were announced in October; emphasis was placed on training the army and the police. The Indian and Jordanian United Nations contingents also withdrew after the Indian commander, Major-General Vijay Jetley, wrote a secret memorandum to the Security Council accusing Nigerian officials, including the United Nations Special Representative and the UNAMSIL deputy commander, of colluding with the rebels. A new ceasefire agreement was signed in November 2000. Other measures taken by the United Nations included further strengthening of UNAMSIL and the DDR process, the imposition of an arms embargo and a diamond embargo on Liberia (from where rebel diamonds are exported), the introduction of diamond certification, and the establishment of a war crimes tribunal. It was also in 2000 that Alan Doss was appointed as Deputy SRSG for Governance and Stabilization, combining the posts of Humanitarian Coordinator, Resident Representative and Resident Coordinator.

Until January 2002, the main focus of the international community's efforts was the DDR process, the return and resettlement of displaced people, and the extension of State authority throughout the country, including line ministries and traditional authorities – the paramount chiefs. The war was declared over on 18 January 2002, and disarmament and demobilization was completed. A total of 72,490 combatants had been disarmed and 71,043 demobilized, including 6,845 child soldiers (506 girls) and 4,651 women (Alan Doss 2004). The DDR process was extremely important both as a means of eliminating illegal armed groups and in symbolic terms. It was, however, primarily a demobilization process and was less successful in collecting weapons. UNDP estimated that only between 2 and 10 percent of the total weapons in the country were collected[6]. Some 34,419 small arms and light weapons were collected (UNDP/ Government of the Republic of Sierra Leone 2003). Nor was the DDR process very successful in terms of reintegration. A 'reinsertion benefit' was paid to each entitled ex-combatant and over 50,000 registered for the Reintegration Support Programme. Most participated in the Reintegration Opportunities Programme where they learned skills and received tool kits.[7] The Programme was completed in June 2004. However, a weakness of the Programme was that skills were not matched

---

[6] United Nations Development Programme, 'Country Report: Sierra Leone', 2005a

[7] As of June 2005, a total of 17,981 had completed vocational training and a further 10,572 were registered; 7,233 had chosen to return to formal education; some 9,342 were 'beneficiaries in agriculture'; and 798 were found job placements (Government of the Republic of Sierra Leone , June 2005).

to demand and because they were offered on an individual basis, many ex-combatants chose to sell their toolkits. As Bengt Ljunggren, senior advisor for recovery put it, "The choice of name, Reintegration Opportunities Programme, was accurate as not properly addressing reintegration from the perspective of community strengthening and involvement but solely focussing on the immediate needs of the ex-combatants, without contributing to the rehabilitation or creation of sustainable institutions. It was more of a time-buying concept." (Ljunggren and Molloy, cited in International Crisis Group 2004.) Another criticism from women's organizations was that "…DDR really marginalized the girls…"

After completion of the demobilization programmes, UNAMSIL and the United Nations Country Team, in conjunction with their international partners, developed the United Nations Peace-Building and Recovery Strategy and its operational counterpart, the United Nations Development Assistance Framework. The Strategy aimed to "…plan the transition from relief to development and from peacekeeping to peace-building…" (United Nations Development Assistance Framework 2003), and to support the Government's own programmes, the Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy and the National Recovery Strategy. Key elements of the programme included the continued extension of State authority, continued efforts at reintegration of ex-combatants and resettlement of displaced persons, the setting up of the Special Court and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, economic recovery including the restoration of agriculture and mining, justice and security sector reform, and poverty reduction. Transition Support Teams were established by the United Nations Country Team in 2004 to support the implementation of the National Recovery Strategy and the transition from relief to development. I met some energetic and creative members of the teams both in the field and at headquarters.

The International Crisis Group has criticized the international community's intervention on the grounds that it treated peace-building as 'an operational checklist'. Although one can always criticize the short time frames, the degree of consultation, the tendency for recovery as opposed to reform, or the implementation of particular programmes, it is difficult to see how else peace-building can be undertaken except through some sort of checklist. In the case of Sierra Leone, the checklist did represent, after 2000, an innovative response to the specific challenges of this new type of conflict.

The main question that arises is directly related to the (financial) scale of the international intervention in Sierra Leone, which is considerably larger than expenditure by the Sierra Leonean Government. Moreover, around half of Government expenditure is financed from abroad.

Table 2: Comparison of international and Government expenditures (US $ million)

	2002	2003	2004
Overseas Development Assistance	$353	$303	$360
UNAMSIL*	$617	$603	$449
Sierra Leonean Government Expenditures	$240	$256	$338

Gross National Income	$936	$1010	$1080

It can be argued that this kind of intervention can paradoxically actually weaken the legitimacy of the State because the United Nations has created parallel structures that spend and deliver more than the State itself. The United Nations system and indeed the whole international presence, is a kind of parallel neo-colonial state that is more popular than the State itself (beneficiaries clap enthusiastically when the United Nations is mentioned). From my interviews it is evident that the United Nations is much more trusted than the Government. The question arises whether the very success of the United Nations undermines the prospects for the Sierra Leonean State. Despite efforts to stimulate self-generating development, external assistance is a form of dependence, so does this outside help reinforce the 'dependency syndrome'? I was struck in interviews by the contrast between the somewhat submissive beneficiaries of United Nations programmes and the aggressive confidence of the self-organized youth associations described above. The challenge is how to channel the energies of the latter so that they can contribute to self-sustaining development.

This dilemma is closely linked, though not identical to the capacity problem. In all such interventions, the salary gap between international agencies and NGOs on the one hand, and Governments on the other, weakens national capacity. The difficulty faced by the Government in overcoming the syndrome of low pay for civil servants, lack of highly skilled personnel and corruption, is exacerbated by the presence of the international community who absorb the best local talent.

4. Contribution of UNDP to human security

UNDP has played a pivotal role in Sierra Leone for several reasons. First of all, UNDP has been in Sierra Leone before, during and after the war. Several people interviewed mentioned the role of Elisabeth Luanda in the 1990s; it was said that UNDP had played a key role both in various peace processes and in helping the Government, especially when it went into exile in Guinea in 1997, to formulate a development plan. Many of the ideas about decentralization were reportedly initiated at this time. Secondly, the key position of Alan Doss as Deputy SRSG gave UNDP an edge in strategic planning and in implementing recovery. Thirdly, the ability of UNDP to fast-track programmes and to quickly respond to urgent needs that other agencies were unable or unwilling to meet was particularly important in the final stages of the conflict and the immediate recovery period.

In the period 2000-2002, UNDP took the lead in helping the Government to formulate the National Recovery Strategy, and to prioritize the extension of State authority, including the deployment of administrative offices in all districts and the return of the traditional authorities, the paramount chiefs. UNDP also played a key role in the third and final phase of DDR. In addition, it supported the repatriation and resettlement of internally displaced persons and refugees – some 300,000 returned in that period – as well as economic recovery.

UNDP was reformed in 2002, when practice areas and the Atlas system were introduced. Since then, UNDP has had three practice areas: recovery and peace-building; governance and democratic development; and poverty and human development. The breakdown and content of these three areas for 2004 is summarized in Table 3 below.

Table 3: UNDP programme 2004

Practice area/Programme	Activities	Budget (US $)	Expenditure (US $)
Recovery and peace-building		**13,758,000**	**5, 971,010**
Consolidation of State authority	Construction and rehabilitation of facilities for police, prisons and magistrate courts.	3,435,000	1,830,000
Community-based reconciliation and security	Various measures to reduce weapons, including legislation, community-based weapons collection, prevention of arms trafficking, and community recovery and development in border areas.	2,194,500	768,981
National Disaster and Risk Management Policy	Conducting risk assessment, developing a risk assessment and emergency response plan, and establishing an		

	emergency response system.		
Community-based and designed programmes	Mainly youth engagement projects. Also community empowerment projects linked to local councils, and the development of Sierra Leone's information system.	8,128,500	3,372,029
Governance and democratic development		**7,954,000**	**4,852,853**
Decentralization and local governance	Support for local elections and implementation of decentralization policy, including establishment of local councils and ward committees, training and activities aimed at local service delivery and resource mobilization.	5,244,000	4,081,189
Justice and human rights	Support for Justices of the Peace and clerks so as to expand access to justice; support for Special Court and for human rights legislation and sensitization	1,550,000	397,892
Public sector reform	Mainly support for Senior Executive Service and support for national procurement processes.	860,000	302,842
Security sector reform	Mainly police training.	300,000	70,930
Poverty reduction and human development		**3,255,270**	**1,334,680**
Vision 2025	Development of document on inter-generational dialogue.	92,710	0
Support for Millennium Development Goals	Millennium Development Goals awareness campaigns and reporting.	96,300	11,345
Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper	Support for secretariat, production of strategy, monitoring and implementation.	396,100	192,598
Microfinance	Establishment of microfinance initiatives with special emphasis on women's groups.	847,950	182,626
Aid coordination	Support for the establishment of the Development Assistance Coordination Office within the office of the Vice-President.	245,500	60,232

Private sector development	Support for local enterprise, especially among women and youth.	234,810	15,973
Food security	Capacity building for small farmers and rural communities	365,000	4,788
Grand Total		**24,967,270**	**12,158,543**

4.1 Recovery and peace-building

UNDP's biggest practice area is still recovery and peace-building. Most of the construction and rehabilitation of state facilities, such as district offices, magistrate courts or prisons was completed in 2004. The main areas of focus are now community projects, particularly the Arms for Development programme and Transition Support Team projects, and youth engagement. In addition, UNDP is helping to build a National Disaster Unit and an emergency response capability within the Office of National Security, so the latter is prepared in the event of disasters.

Arms for Development programme

The Arms for Development programme is an extremely innovative programme designed to fill the gaps left in the DDR programme. The objectives of the programme are threefold:

- To assist the Government of the Republic of Sierra Leone in developing new legislation and licensing procedures for the control of small arms and light weapons. The existing legislation dates from colonial times and the rather complex procedures for licensing (requests had to go the President through the paramount chiefs and licenses were eventually issued only at the police headquarters in Freetown) were thought to have encouraged the acquisition of illicit arms, which could be considered one of the causes of the war.
- To control illicit arms trafficking. This has led to a border-strengthening project within the Office of National Security in cooperation with the Mano River Union countries as well as grass roots border initiatives across the border with Guinea. Border strengthening is important not only to control arms smuggling but also to control trafficking in diamonds, drugs and people.
- To develop community-based approaches to weapons collection.

The last objective is of particular interest as a way of conducting DDR. The idea is that self-organized community collection of weapons is much more effective than individual voluntary collection of weapons. In this programme, communities are offered the incentive of a project worth Leones 48 million (US $18,000) if their communities are declared weapon-free. For the communities that participate, Project Management Committees are nominated by the local community, and they receive training in both weapons collection and project management. Each community is given a metal box, which is put in the safekeeping of two trusted members of the village, usually the village chief and the imam. Weapons are surrendered and put in the box where they are divided into two categories. Unsafe weapons or those that cannot be licensed are destroyed. Safe and licensable weapons are oiled and stored by the United Nations. The owner gets a receipt so that he can potentially reclaim the weapon if he is able to obtain a license under the new licensing laws. The villages are given a weapons-free certificate by the Sierra Leonean Police if the police deem all weapons to have been collected, on the basis of house-to-house searches. As of June

2005, a total of 1,703 weapons had been collected and some 32 chiefdoms had been declared weapons free; a further 50 chiefdoms, over half the country, were expected to be weapons free by the end of 2006 (Government of the Republic of Sierra Leone , June 2005). In some cases, alternatives to firearms are provided; for example, the construction of traps to protect crops from wild animals instead of relying on hunters with firearms.

The projects chosen by the communities are implemented once a community is declared weapons free. Projects include market centres, primary schools and health centres. I visited a community in the Tokolili District that had chosen to build a football stadium. They had collected 149 weapons. Their hope is that the stadium will become an income generating project since there is no stadium in the district. The local chief had donated the land, and the community had chosen to use the funds to build the walls of the stadium; the ground and the pavilion had yet to be constructed. The Ministry of Youth and Sports has agreed to provide equipment to prepare the ground but the community is still trying to the raise funds (approximately US $20,000) for a pavilion. There was enormous enthusiasm and energy among the youths that I met – they are all either Arsenal or Manchester United supporters.[8] However, there were no girls present. When asked if the girls shared their enthusiasm, they all nodded vigorously but did not explain why no girls had joined us.

Apart from the direct improvement in security that results from the collection of the weapons, there are several other benefits of this programme. First of all, it has what the designers of the programme call a psycho-social impact. It helps shift the mentality from the notion that owning weapons is prestigious to pride in the possession of a weapons-free certificate. Villages that have been declared weapons-free are more likely to report illicit weapons or unexploded ordnance. Secondly, the Sierra Leone Police have played an "…impressive and at times instrumental…"[9] role in the programme. Thus the programme has greatly improved the relations between communities and the police at local levels, which also contributes significantly to security. Thirdly, the programme helps to mobilize communities since they own the programme and implementation involves dialogue among a range of actors.

Youth engagement and job creation
Youth policy is another important component of the recovery practice area. Youth activities include:
-   Capacity-building in the Ministry of Youth and Sports. UNDP has established a capacity-building unit within the Ministry, staffed with local personnel. The unit helps with personnel needs, project formulation, monitoring and evaluation, gender sensitivity and research on youth. According to the Director of Youth, UNDP "…has been a tremendous help to this Ministry." He mentioned, in particular, the efforts to coordinate NGO responses and the monthly meeting with donors organized by UNDP, where the agencies discuss their activities, map interventions, and try to create synergies. A youth basket fund has also been established involving UNDP and the World Bank.

---

[8] Football is very popular in Sierra Leone and most young people support English football clubs. At the end of the war, Dennis Bright , then a member of the Commission for the Consolidation of Peace, organized a football match for ex-combatants and the two teams were called Forgiveness and Repentance. He organized a draw.
[9] United Nations Development Programme, 'Arms for Development Annual Report', 2004a

- Creating various mechanisms for representation of youth and coordination of youth activities, including youth councils and a nation-wide youth network.
- A range of income-generating, skills training, and microfinance projects aimed at young people. These include youth engagement in agriculture, the Girls off the Street project targeted at single mothers and commercial sex workers, and a fuel wood project aimed at reforestation.

Regarding the last set of activities, there is a debate about whether young people want to return to agriculture. Some argue that jobs for the youth must be found in the towns. Others argue that agriculture is the main source of livelihood in Sierra Leone, accounting for nearly half of GDP and (before the war) 75 percent of the population, and that it is necessary to create more mechanized farms with better communications infrastructure to attract young people back to the countryside. A survey undertaken by the Ministry of Youth suggested that 90 percent of young people would like to return to the land but not under the same conditions as those faced by their parents. Together with the Ministry of Youth and Sports, UNDP has started various pilot projects – youth farms growing cassava and sweet potato, piggery projects and job placement in construction. But both the Minister and the Director of youth told us that such projects were "…only a drop in the ocean."

The most disappointing project we visited was Girls off the Street. The objective of this project was to train girls to work as taxi drivers or in restaurants and catering. The project was managed by the Bo District youth council, which handled the earnings. A rather sad young woman explained that she had been trained as a taxi driver and shared a taxi with another young woman. The girls' taxi had broken down and needed repairs, but the Bo youth council refused to release the money. Conciliation Resources, the NGO that managed the project, argued that the project was inadequately funded and subject to problematic delays (see below). They had also concluded that training girls to work in restaurants was a bad idea as people in Sierra Leone did not eat out; the NGO wanted to focus instead on entertainment centres, but had received no response to their suggestions.

4.2 Governance and democratic development

The second practice area in terms of funds is governance and democratic development. It includes support for decentralization, justice reform and public sector reform.

UNDP has pushed strongly for decentralization since over-centralization of the Government is viewed as a cause of the conflict. UNDP helped draft the Local Government Act and supported the National Election Commission in conducting the local elections in 2004, managing the funds to finance the elections. Although the elections were regarded as a success, there were many irregularities – including ballot stuffing – some of which involved the National Election Commission itself. In addition, turn out was much lower than in the 2002 elections. The National Election Commission was subsequently closed down and a new Commission has been established to conduct the 2007 Presidential and Parliamentary elections, with funds managed jointly by UNDP and the European Union. UNDP also provided support for the decentralization of line ministries and for the establishment of the Decentralization Secretariat within the Ministry for Local Government. In addition, it

assisted with various projects to support training, service delivery and resource mobilization for local government.

One very interesting initiative involves the Agricultural Business Units. These are agricultural cooperatives and their objective is to improve food security and provide a revenue base for local councils. We visited a Unit that produced rice. Their aim is to increase acreage by producing more seedlings. Members of the Unit receive training and initial seedlings from UNDP. They told us the training had been very useful as it had helped prevent harvest loss and had taught them about disease prevention. Unit members also said, however, that they could not produce a surplus without mechanization; there is a limit to the acreage they can cover using manual labour. They are hoping to receive a rice mill from UNDP.

Another important initiative under this practice area is the development of local councils. The setting up of these councils has exceeded expectations and there are several enthusiastic newly elected councillors who are keen to make a success of the enterprise; we met, for example, the Chairman of the Bo District council, an energetic former Professor of chemistry. However, there are considerable tensions between the local councils and the Ministries in the devolution of services, as well as with the traditional authorities, the Chiefs, who are responsible for local revenue collection and for the provision of traditional justice. One question that arises is whether emphasizing the return of the Paramount Chiefs during the initial surge to restore State authority was the appropriate strategy. These traditional authorities had been the mainstay of indirect rule in colonial times and had provided a mechanism for patronage in the pre-conflict period, abusing the justice system in the interests of raising money, often for private purposes. On the other hand, the Chiefs still command loyalty and could represent a source of stability provided a working relationship can be established with the local councils and the civil justice system.

While much of the decentralization work has been taken over by the World Bank and the European Union, the head of the Decentralization Secretariat emphasized the role of UNDP in providing the 'software' – facilitating dialogue with civil society, raising awareness and promoting new ideas.

Probably the most important initiative in the justice sector has been the effort to expand access to justice by training Justices of the Peace, magistrates, clerks and bailiffs. At the end of the war, there were only eight magistrates in the whole country. UNDP's role in increasing access to justice is a good example of the effectiveness of a targeted approach. For example, we visited the Makeni District Court where UNDP supplements the salaries of two Justices of the Peace and pays one clerk. The court had no generator and no water – a fridge donated by the United Kingdom's Department for International Development (DFID) had been standing unpacked for two years. There is clearly a need for a broader reform of the justice system, especially an increase in the number of magistrates and high court judges; currently, case backlogs are high, and it can sometimes take two or three years before high court cases are heard. There was also tension because the UNDP-recruited clerk earned more than the regular clerks, who were training him. Nevertheless, given the limitations on resources, this was probably the most useful intervention to be made. "We can do without lights", said the magistrate, "But we can't do without JPs and clerks."

Public sector reform is the third theme in this practice area. Initially, donors dealt with the lack of governmental capacity through the establishment of Project Implementation Units, which were staffed by well-paid skilled consultants on short-term contracts. The Decentralization Secretariat is an example. Other distinct institutions with their own structures and pay scales include the Economic Policy and Research Unit (in the Ministry of Finance), the Poverty Alleviating Strategy Coordination Office in the Ministry of Development and Economic Planning, the National Commission for Social Action, which played a key role in the recovery strategy, and the National Election Commission. Some argue that this leads to an unnecessary proliferation of organizations and yet another parallel system as well as tensions with the regular ministries. A new approach is the Senior Executive Service, which will provide reselection, redundancy packages and a revamped pay scale for the top layer of the civil service. UNDP is supporting this initiative, although a recent policy paper suggests that it is too top-down and more needs to be done to address lower levels of the civil service. UNDP is also assisting with public procurement legislation, civil service codes and regulation, as well as public information on the role that citizens can play.

4.3 Poverty and human development

This is the smallest practice area. The most important project has been the support provided for the drafting of the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper. People interviewed were also very positive about UNDP's role in developing microfinance instruments. This area also covers private sector development and raising awareness about the Millennium Development Goals. Quite by chance, we found ourselves addressing a vociferous meeting of civil society activists aimed at sensitizing civil society to Millennium Development Goals.

4.4 Overall assessment of the content of UNDP's programme in Sierra Leone

UNDP has a twofold role in Sierra Leone. One is facilitating coordination and taking a lead in strategic development. The other is filling gaps that other agencies are unable or unwilling to fill with targeted interventions. Some argue that UNDP is spread too thin and hence should focus on the first role. There are three reasons why the gap-filling role is important. First, it would be difficult to play an effective strategic role without the experience of project implementation. Secondly, in conflicts where new challenges and problems are continually faced, there is a real need for an agency that can meet unexpected and unanticipated needs. The problem with narrow mandates is that they are determined by past experience that does not always fit current realities. Thirdly, the capacity to fill gaps is a learning experiment which leads to new and innovative approaches, for instance the Arms for Development programme. The example of UNDP in Sierra Leone suggests that gap-filling works if it is demand driven rather than donor driven and if it is undertaken by professional and experienced staff. One reason why this has been possible in Sierra Leone may be that core funding is relatively high in Sierra Leone, accounting for one third of UNDP's budget in 2004.

One criticism is that although all UNDP policy papers stress the gender dimension of its work, much more needs to be done for women and girls in Sierra

Leone. Civil society activists to whom I talked also argued that more needs to be done to support civil society. While they felt that they had been consulted by UNDP, they wanted more assistance with civil society capacity building. In particular, the capacity for independent analysis seems weak because of the loss of so many skilled people during the war. Some effort to build capacity to research and analyse the problems of human security in Sierra Leone is much needed.

5. Management and partnerships

This section addresses four issues: the integrated office; relations with UNDP's partners; direct versus national implementation; and bureaucracy and delays.

5.1 The integrated office

UNAMSIL offers a good model for the integrated office. Alan Doss, the first Deputy SRSG who combined the various roles necessary to make the integrated concept effective, gave two arguments as to why the model worked. The first is that integrated thinking is more important than integrated institutions. In his note written on leaving Sierra Leone, he wrote: "Effective coordination does not necessarily imply a *single* institutional response but rather a *coherent* institutional response."(Doss 2004, paragraph 7, emphasis in the original)

The second argument is that the humanitarian/development agencies must have a voice in formulating strategy. When the integrated office was established, there were fears that the humanitarian mandate would be diluted or subordinated to political imperatives – fears that have been borne out in other missions. Yet an effective political and security strategy in conflict areas needs to give centrality to humanitarian and development concerns since these concerns play a central role in the way conflict unfolds on the ground. To quote Doss again:
"It is easier to find common ground between political/security actors and humanitarian/development agencies when the discussion centres on issues rather than institutional mandates. In Sierra Leone, we have tried that within the UN by jointly developing the UN Peace-building and Recovery Strategy followed by the longer term UN Development Assistance Framework and helping the government develop its own National Recovery Programme and the Poverty Reduction Paper (PRSP). In developing these instruments we used an iterative approach mindful of an earlier effort to construct a UN led 'strategic framework' which had not worked well because of the perception that the UN was imposing this initiative in a top down fashion and obliging others to join in."(Doss 2004, paragraph 8)

An integrated conceptual approach allows agencies to capitalize on their complementarities, rather than compete with one another. The extension of State authority in the immediate post-conflict period provided a good example of this approach, "…with UNDP contributing expertise and programme funds, while UNAMSIL provided staff throughout the country."(Doss 2004 paragraph 12)

5.2 Partnerships

There have, of course, been differences of opinion between the United Nations and the non-United Nations agencies. The World Bank argued that development concerns should have played a more central role in the immediate post-recovery period. James Sackey, the World Bank Director in Sierra Leone, commenting on the less than central role of development concerns, said "…it's like waking up without breakfast." In the end, they agreed on an Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy, which paralleled the National Recovery Strategy. For its part, DFID favoured greater overall strategic coordination with the Government rather than United Nations taking the lead. DFID also opposed the haste to set up local councils and hold local elections arguing that a

slower, better planned approach would increase effectiveness in the long run. Within Freetown, these differences were discussed and largely ironed out; indeed they may have been fruitful debates.

Outside Freetown, the story is somewhat different. Effective coordination does not seem to filter down to local levels and there remains a lot of duplication and competition at these levels. The Transition Support Teams were supposed to play a coordinating role in the transition from recovery to development. However, they are based in UNDP rather than in the integrated office and hence are seen by other agencies as a part of UNDP. Since different agencies have taken the lead in different regions, they prefer to retain their leading roles rather than submit to coordination by the Transition Support Teams. A meeting we held with different agencies ended in a heated argument between representatives of two different agencies on this issue.

This assessment was confirmed in meetings with international NGOs (basically Catholic Relief Services and the American Refugee Committee). They were pleased with the degree of coordination and the role they were able to play in consortium meetings, but gave examples at local levels where coordination through the Transition Support Teams had been less successful.

5.3 Direct versus national implementation

Many people in Government to whom we spoke complained that UNDP insisted on direct implementation, thereby undermining Government efforts to coordinate development strategy and to build national development capacity. Indeed, UNDP was singled out for being most insistent on direct implementation and not providing sufficient information and consultation with Government, even though there is active participation at local levels and with civil society.

There are obvious reasons for preferring direct implementation, and many of these were confirmed by several beneficiaries. While Government criticized direct implementation, journalists and civil society activists were strongly in favour of it because of their distrust of the Government. Additionally, donors want to be sure that the money they spend reaches the beneficiaries and that the projects they fund are implemented efficiently and effectively.

One way UNDP in Sierra Leone has tried to address this dilemma is to collaborate with divisions of Government so that they take on responsibility for initiating and approving projects while UNDP retains control of funding. This approach has been adopted in relation to the Ministry of Youth and Sports and local councils.

5.4 Bureaucracy and payment delays

Almost every project that we visited or were told about had suffered from payment delays. These delays posed serious problems for the Agricultural Business Units, where payment delays can affect the harvests. The Girls Off the Street project started late because of payment delays and the group never received an answer to their request for an extension.

The Justices of the Peace we interviewed had only received four months out of seven months of supplementary salaries. Dennis Bright told us of a joint project with UNDP that he had publicly announced. Unfortunately, the Atlas system encountered serious problems and the project was delayed. In this case, however, the perception was that the Minister, rather than UNDP, was responsible for the delay.

There were also complaints about procedures. For example, the insistence on 10 percent pre-financing for construction projects. The lack of transparency of UNDP operations was also criticized.

6. Lessons learned

6.1 Lessons for the international community in general

The international community has played a crucial role in stabilizing the situation in Sierra Leone. It has contributed to human security by helping to end the conflict. It has not, however, succeeded in eliminating the conditions that gave rise to the conflict. The two major issues now facing Sierra Leone are the legitimacy of the State and the situation of young people.

The international community, led by the United Nations with UNDP playing a pivotal role, has put great emphasis on the restoration of State authority and on justice and security sector reform. But pervasive distrust of governmental bodies remains. In part, this is a consequence of the very success of the international community in Sierra Leone. As long as service delivery and security is provided by the international community rather than the State, beneficiaries are more likely to trust the international community. Moreover, international agencies including NGOs absorb scarce local skills, thus hampering national capacity building. Much more effort needs to be devoted to developing new approaches that might help to address this dilemma.

The situation of youth is characterized by extreme poverty and high unemployment, with particular problems faced by girls. The international community is experimenting with new approaches to development that depart both from the top-down, state-led approaches of the 1960s and 1970s, and from the market-led emphasis on structural adjustment that characterized the 1980s and 1990s – both of which contributed to the conflict in Sierra Leone. The emphasis on decentralization, sustainable development and community participation are all examples of these new approaches. But a greater effort must be made to generate large-scale job creation and to improve the situation of women.

6.2 Lessons for the United Nations

The main lesson for the United Nations relates to the functioning of the integrated office. The main case for the integrated office is that in contemporary conflicts, humanitarian space no longer exists. These are not wars where most of the fighting is carried out between military forces of the opposing sides, and where humanitarian agencies can negotiate a neutral position. These are wars where violence is directed against civilians and the humanitarian task is to defend civilians, which can often only be done through the support of political/military actors. On the other hand, the political/military actors also have to adapt. They can no longer keep the peace between the sides or take a position on one side; they have to adopt a more bottom-up approach. Hence the integrated office can only function if all the actors understand this changed situation. The political/military actors have to incorporate the thinking of development/humanitarian actors and the latter have to be ready to work more closely with the political/military actors.

Linked to this argument is the need for intensive dialogue and consultation in developing strategic approaches, involving civil society and women as well as the Government and other relevant agencies.

6.3 Lessons for UNDP

UNDP's comparative advantage is strategic coordination and gap-filling. In Sierra Leone, there was widespread acclamation for UNDP's role in strategic coordination. UNDP has developed a new approach to address the new types of conflict. As James Sackey put it, UNDP is very good at "…diagnostic and institutional reform…". Or as the Director of the Decentralization Secretariat put it, "It is good at providing software."

UNDP's gap-filling role is more often questioned. Does UNDP dissipate its efforts precisely because of the wide range of activities, that is, the scattered character of UNDP projects? What exactly is the mission of UNDP in contrast to the specialized agencies whose mandate is clear? As argued above, there is a good case for gap filling since in these new types of conflicts, there are often urgent needs that do not fit the mandate of other specialized agencies. Moreover, through gap filling, UNDP acquires an overall understanding of conflict-affected countries that enables strategic coordination, and through small targeted interventions UNDP can contribute to urgent needs before more comprehensive approaches can be adopted. A less charitable interpretation, however, might suggest that UNDP's gap-filling role has come about because other agencies have taken over UNDP's role, and that it does not make sense to operate such a wide array of small projects.

Gap filling must also be combined with expertise in particular areas. UNDP's expertise in governance, justice, community participation and security sector reform – specially DDR – were all relevant in Sierra Leone.

The lesson from Sierra Leone is that gap-filling is very important. But to be effective, it requires:
- a committed, professional and versatile staff
- sufficient core funding to be demand driven rather than donor driven
- greater organizational flexibility.

While UNDP possesses the first two requirements in Sierra Leone, its effectiveness was marred by problems with payments and contracts.

Finally, a lesson from Sierra Leone is that more attention needs to be paid to gender issues and to the analytical and advocacy capacities of civil society.

Annex I: List of people consulted

United Nations

Food and Agriculture Organization of the UN (FAO)

UN Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO)

UN Integrated Office in Sierra Leone
Mr. Nega, Peace Unit

UN Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)

World Bank
Mr. James Sackey, Country Manager

World Health Organization (WHO)

United Nations Development Programme

UNDP Sierra Leone
Mr. J. Victor Angelo, UN Executive Representative of Secretary General and UNDP
Resident Representative
Ms. Nancy Assanga, Country Director

UNDP Governance Unit
Mr. Jonathan Sandy, Head
Ms. Tanzila

UNDP Recovery Unit
Mr. Bengt Ljunggren, Head
Mrs. Lona French
Mrs. Emma Vincent, Information Officer, Sierra Leone Information System (SLIS)
Mr. Jethro Buttner, Information Systems Specialist, SLIS
Mohamed Kamara, Project Coordinator Arms For Development
Bauke, TST Coordinator
Wahab Lera Shaw, Programme Specialist (Youth)
Joseph Muana, Project Coordinator, Sierra Leone Reconstruction and Rehabilitation
Programme (SRRP)

Others Contacted

Development Assistance Coordination Office (DACO)
Mr. Kawusu Kebbay, Coordinator

Office of National Security (ONS)
Francis Keilie, Programme Coordinator, Sierra Leone Border Strengthening
Programme
John Rogers, Desk Officer

Nat John, Assistant Director, Provincial Security

Civil Society Coalition Group
Charles Mambu, Chairman
Mrs. Sia Nyandemoh, Women's Wing
Alfred Collier, Regional Coordinatior
Philip Lansana, Reintegration of Ex-Combatants

Action Aid International
Tennyson Williams, Country Director

Decentralization Secretariat
Mr. Emmanuel Gaima, Director

Ministry of Local Government & Community Development
Mr. Sidiki Brima, Minister

Ministry of Development & Economic Planning
Mrs. Konah Koroma, Development Secretary
Mr. Abraham Sesay, Deputy Minister

Ministry of Youth and Sports
Mr. Anthony Koroma, Director of Youth

Beneficiaries of Magburaka Town
Chairman and the rest of the beneficiaries (the youth)

Bo Town Council
Dr. Wusu Sannoh, Chairman

Bike riders association

Conciliation Resources (Youth)

Department for International Development
Mr. Ian Stuart, Consultant

European Union Officials
Andreas Laggis, Head of Operations
Diane Sheinberg, Junior Expert
Kirsi Pekuri, Head of Economic, Trade and Regional Cooperation Section
Chiava Bellini, EC

Annex II: Bibliography

Development Assistance Coordination Office, Development Assistance to Sierra Leone, December 2004

Doss, Alan, End of Mission Report and Handover Notes on Completing Assignment in Sierra Leone, Freetown, June 2004

Economist Intelligence Unit, 'Country Report Sierra Leone', London, March 2005

Government of the Republic of Sierra Leone, Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper: A National Programme for Food Security, Job Creation and Good Governance 2005-2007, March 2005

Government of the Republic of Sierra Leone, 'National Report of the Republic of Sierra Leone on the Implementation of the United Nations Programme of Action on Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in all its Aspects', June 2005

Government of the Republic of Sierra Leone /United Nations Country Team, 'Transition and Peace-Building in Sierra Leone: A United Nations Country Team Approach', Background Statement for the United Nations Assessment Mission, February 2004

Government of the Republic of Sierra Leone /UNDP, Community Arms Collection and Development Programme, June 2003

Government of the Republic of Sierra Leone /UNDP, Sierra Leone Interim Governance Project, 22 November 2002

Government of the Republic of Sierra Leone, 'National Recovery Strategy Progress Report', November 2003

Government of the Republic of Sierra Leone /UNDP, Sierra Leone Interim Recovery Project, 3 October 2002

Government of the Republic of Sierra Leone, Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper, June 2001

Hirsch, J. L., 'Sierra Leone: Diamonds and the Struggle for Democracy', International Peace Academy Occasional Papers, Boulder, Colorado and London: Lynne Rienner, 2001

Human Rights Watch, 'Youth, Blood and Poverty: The Lethal Legacy of West Africa's Regional Warriors', 2005
www.hrw.org/reports/2005/westafrica0405

International Crisis Group, 'Liberia and Sierra Leone: Rebuilding Failed States', Africa Report N°87, 8 December 2004

International Crisis Group, 'Sierra Leone: The State of Security and Governance', Africa Report N°67, 2 September 2003

International Monetary Fund, Country Report 04/420 Sierra Leone: Selected Issues and Statistical Appendix, December 2004

Kaldor,Mary, 'A Decade of Humanitarian Intervention', in Anheier,H, Glasius,M and Kaldor,M, *Global Civil Society 2001*, Oxford University Press, 2001

Keen, David, *Conflict and Collusion in Sierra Leone*, Oxford: James Currey, 2005

Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, Statistical Annex of the 2005 Development Cooperation Report, 2005
http://www.oecd.org/document/9/0,2340,en_2825_495602_1893129_1_1_1_1,00.html

Pham, J. Peter, 'Lazarus Rising: Civil Society and Sierra Leone's Return from the Grave', *International Journal of Not-For-Profit Law* Volume 7, Issue 1, November 2004

Reno, William, *Corruption and State Politics in Sierra Leone,* Cambridge University Press, 1995

Richards, P., *Fighting for the Rainforest: War, Youth and Resources in Sierra Leone,* Oxford: International African Institute, James Currey, 1996

Sierra Leone Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 'Witness to Truth: Report of the Sierra Leone Truth and Reconciliation Commission', 2004
www.trcsierraleone.org/pdf/start.html

Sierra Leone Encyclopaedia 2005
www.daco-sl.org/encyclopedia

Smillie, I., Gberie, L., and Hazelton, R. (eds), *The Heart of the Matter. Sierra Leone: Diamonds and Human Security,* Partnership Africa, January 2000

United Nations Economic and Social Council, 'Advisory Services and Technical Cooperation in the Field of Human Rights', Report by the High Commissioner for Human Rights, E/CN.4/2006/16, 15 February 2006

United Nations Office for West Africa, 'Youth Unemployment: Regional Insecurity in West Africa', December 2005

United Nations, 'Twenty-seventh Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone', United Nations Secretary-General's Report, S/2005/777,12 December 2005

United Nations, 'Twenty-sixth Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone', United Nations Secretary-General's Report, S/2005/596, 20 September 2005

United Nations, 'Twenty-fifth Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone', United Nations Secretary-General's Report, S/2005/273 - S/2005/273/Add.1 - S/2005/273/Add.2, 26 April 2005, 21 June 2005

United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, 'Transitional Appeal for Relief and Recovery in Sierra Leone', 2004

United Nations, 'Twenty-fourth Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone', United Nations Secretary-General's Report, S/2004/965, 10 December 2004

United Nations, 'Twenty-first Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone', United Nations Secretary-General's Report, S/2004/228, 19 March 2004

United Nations Executive Board of the United Nations Development Programme and the United Nations Population Fund, 'Draft Country Programme for Sierra Leone 2004 -2007', 9 June 2003

United Nations Country Team, 'United Nations Development Assistance Framework Sierra Leone 2004-2005', March 2003

United Nations, 'Twentieth Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone, ' United Nations Secretary-General's Report, S/2003/1202, 23 December 2003

United Nations, 'United Nations Strategy to Support National Recovery and Peace-Building in Sierra Leone', October 2002

United Nations, 'Sixteenth Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone', United Nations Secretary-General's Report, S/2002/1417, 24 December 2002

United Nations, 'Thirteenth Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone', United Nations Secretary-General's Report, S/2002/267,14 March 2002

United Nations, 'Twelfth Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone', United Nations Secretary-General's Report, S/2001/1195, 13 December 2001

United Nations, 'Eleventh Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone', United Nations Secretary-General's Report, S/2001/857, 7 September 2001

United Nations, 'Tenth Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone', United Nations Secretary-General's Report, S/2001/627, 25 June 2001

United Nations, 'Ninth Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone', United Nations Secretary-General's Report, S/2001/228,14 March 2001

United Nations, 'Eighth Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone', United Nations Secretary-General's Report, S/2000/1199, 15 December 2000

United Nations, 'Sixth Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone' United Nations Secretary-General's Report, S/2000/832, 24 August 2000

United Nations, 'Fourth Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone', United Nations Secretary-General's Report, S/2000/455, 19 May 2000

United Nations, 'Third Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone', United Nations Secretary-General's Report, S/2000/186, 7 March 2000

United Nations, 'Addendum to the Second Report on the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone', United Nations Secretary-General's Report, S/2000/13/Add.1, 21 January 2000

United Nations, 'Second Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone', United Nations Secretary-General's Report, S/2000/13, 11 January 2000

United Nations, 'First Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone', United Nations Secretary-General's Report, S/1999/1223, 6 December 1999

United Nations, 'Eighth Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Observers Mission in Sierra Leone', United Nations Secretary-General's Report, S/1999/1003, 28 September 1999

United Nations, 'Seventh Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Observers Mission in Sierra Leone', United Nations Secretary-General's Report, S/1999/836, 30 July 1999

United Nations, 'Sixth Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Observers Mission in Sierra Leone', United Nations Secretary-General's Report, S/1999/645, 4 June 1999

United Nations, 'Fifth Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Observers Mission in Sierra Leone', United Nations Secretary-General's Report, S/1999/237, 4 March 1999

United Nations, 'Special Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission of Observers in Sierra Leone', United Nations Secretary-General's Report, S/1999/20, 7 January 1999

United Nations Development Programme, 'Country Report: Sierra Leone', 2005a

United Nations Development Programme, 'Human Development Report 2005', 2005b

United Nations Development Programme, 'Arms for Development Annual Report', 2004a

United Nations Development Programme, 'Sierra Leone Country Programme Review', 2004b