

**THE CHALLENGES OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN
POST-CONFLICT AFRICA: A CASE STUDY OF SIERRA
LEONE**

BY

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that, except for references to other publications which have been duly acknowledged herein, this work is the result of an original research conducted by me under the supervision of the undersigned and that no part of it has been submitted elsewhere for any other purpose.

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DEDICATION

To Allah alone be the Glory.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AfDB	African Development Bank
AFRC	Armed Forces Revolutionary Council
APC	All People's Congress
AU	African Union
BECE	Basic Education Certificate Examination
CDF	Civil Defence Force
CMRRD	Commission for the Management of Strategic Resources and National Reconstruction
CREPS	Complementary Rapid Education for Primary School
CSO	Civil Society Organisations
DACDF	Diamond Area Community Development Fund
DDR	Disarmament, Demobilization and Rehabilitation
DFID	Department for International Development
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
ECOMOG	Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group
EMIS	Education Management Information System
EU	European Union
EVD	Ebola Virus Disease
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNI	Gross National Income
GoSL	Government of Sierra Leone
HIPC	Heavily Indebted Poor Countries
HDI	Human Development Index
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
IDA	International Development Association
IPRSP	Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
IMF	International Monetary Fund
KA IPTC	Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre
KPCS	Kimberley Process Certification Scheme
Le	Sierra Leonean Leone

LECIAD	Legon Centre for International Affairs and Diplomacy
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MoFED	Ministry of Finance and Economic Development
MEST	Ministry of Education, Science and Technology
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NPFL	National Patriotic Front of Liberia
NPRC	National Provisional Ruling Council
NRC	National Reformation Council
NRC	Norwegian Refugee Council
IDPs	Internally Displaced People
NPSE	National Primary School Examination
NURC	National Unity and Reconciliation Commission
NAYCOM	National Youth Commission
PCR	Post-Conflict Reconstruction
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers
RREP	Rapid Response Education Programme
RUF	Revolutionary United Front
SAP	Structural Adjustment Policies
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SLA	Sierra Leone Army
SLPP	Sierra Leone People's Party
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
TVET	Technical and Vocational Education and Training
UN	United Nations
UCDP	Uppsala Conflict Data Program
UNAMSIL	United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNRRA	United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
YESP	Youth Employment Support Program

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ABSTRACT

Wars and conflicts have been dominant in the history of the world, particularly in Africa for some time now. The Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP) records that the continent of Africa experienced an approximately 630 state-based and non-state armed conflicts between 1990 and 2015. These conflicts have been caused by a multiplicity of factors and have negatively impacted the economic development of states. The youth have often been involved in these conflicts. Sierra Leone experienced a civil war caused by a multiplicity of factors from March 1991 to January 2002 which destroyed the state systems and infrastructure in sectors such as health, education and energy and displaced many people. It began the post-conflict reconstruction headed by the United Nations (UN), its agencies and other stakeholders to establish peace and rebuild what has been lost or destroyed. The state, although have made some progress with the help of non-state actors after the civil war, continues to suffer challenges that are dire to its economic development. Youth employment and provision of education are two key sectors that suffer challenges. They also pose a threat to the stability of state security because they are part of the causes of the civil war. As such, the main objective of the study is to find out the challenges that Sierra Leone faces and its ramifications for economic development, particularly with youth employment and education sectors. The study hypothesised that the measures put in place in post-conflict Sierra Leone have improved the education and youth employment sectors. The research used semi-structured interviews and purposive sampling methods to obtain quality and reliable data for subsequent analysis. It reveals that with measures put in place by Sierra Leone and with the assistance of non-state actors, she has achieved considerable progress in the education sector, as well as youth employment. The study recommends, among others, that there should be better working conditions for teachers in the education sector and also a national system which absorbs graduates after completion of tertiary studies to enable them to have some work experience to help them find official employment.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background to the Study

Wars and conflicts have been dominant in the history of the world, particularly in Africa for some time now. The Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP) records that the African continent has experienced approximately 630 state-based and non-state armed conflicts between the periods 1990 and 2015.¹ Some of these conflicts have been caused by ethnic polarisation, bad governance and poverty.² Other scholars indicate greed, which is when people engage in conflict because they want to maximize their opportunities from the conflict, to be a comparatively superior cause of conflicts.³ States, including Liberia, Nigeria and Sierra Leone have gone through conflict and have had their economic development progress ruined by civil wars. Rwanda, Cote d'Ivoire and Chad have experienced intra-state conflicts while Ethiopia-Eritrea and Cameroon-Nigeria have encountered inter-state conflicts.

Conflicts in Africa have had a damaging effect on the continent's outlook on the world scene. From one state to another, it has resulted in both economic and social costs where the latter comprises casualties, displacement, among others while economic costs also include increase in military spending and a decline in economic growth.⁴ These costs impede state growth and development. The consequences of conflicts have been "destruction of lives and property, the internal displacement of people, a wide refugee crisis, poverty and diseases, the proliferation of small arms, human and drug trafficking, illegal exploitation of natural resources and banditry".⁵ Economic growth is also slowed during a conflict and as Collier asserts, during "civil war the annual Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth rate is reduced by 2.2%."⁶

In a 2011 transcript presented at Chatham House, former President of Liberia, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, explained that Liberia had 800 doctors in 1989 and by 2003 the number had reduced to 50 due to the civil war.⁷ Sirleaf continues that, Liberia also lost most people from many other professions as they all left the country.⁸ In Cote d'Ivoire, the education sector was seriously damaged and a large number of people, comprising students and teachers, were also prohibited from having access to the educational system.⁹ The Mozambican civil war killed about 21 health workers with at least 50 percent of healthcare infrastructure destroyed by the rebels by 1985. During the first six weeks of the 1994 genocide in Rwanda, an estimated 800,000 people may have been killed, comprising mainly Tutsis.¹⁰

At the end of a conflict, states undergo the process of reconstruction which refers to the process or activities engaged in, in order to regain what has been lost to the conflict. As such, sectors of the state that are severely impacted by the conflict need to be attended to with the purpose of bringing about development. In a quest to do that, states face challenges that impede their effort at stimulating development and growth. Education, health, agriculture, private sector development and youth employment, among others, are been impacted by conflict. Two of the sectors that are heavily impacted and face challenges but are critical to state development has been education and youth employment. The lack of employment opportunities for the youth pose a threat to state stability. Employment for the youth is critical because “job creation projects are among the most effective means of stabilizing communities and keeping the peace immediately after conflict”.¹¹ One other misfortune that states face is the damage done to its educational infrastructure where its access becomes difficult. Respectively, the conflicts in Mozambique and Rwanda saw approximately 45% of primary schools damaged and over 60% of tutors either running away to neighbouring states or murdered.¹²

Measures and reforms have been undertaken by states and with the support of non-state actors to reconstruct post-conflict economies in Africa. These measures may differ from state to state, but they seek to achieve similar objectives which are to safeguard peace and security, reconciling the people and societies and ensure economic development. The United Nations (UN), African Union (AU), local governments, donor states, civil society, Non-governmental Organisations (NGOs) and a host of others have been some of the stakeholders that undertake reconstruction in a post-conflict state which, among other objectives, aims at economic development.

Government's capacity to restore things to normal have come with hurdles. The sectors of states are habitually weak and need to be restored.¹³ These sectors are key to providing individuals with economic empowerment and improving the standard of living of people. Despite considerable progress made in post-conflict states in Africa, there remain some challenges, especially, with economic development. This study, therefore, uses post-conflict Sierra Leone as the study area to examine the challenges that are faced in addressing economic development in a post-conflict state.

1.1 Statement of the Research Problem

Sierra Leone experienced civil war from March 1991 to January 2002.¹⁴ The civil war left over 70,000 casualties and approximately 2.6 million persons, above half the population number, displaced from their homes.¹⁵ The war led to the general destruction of the Sierra Leonean economy making it one of the poorest state in the world.¹⁶ According to the World Bank, the conflict costs an estimated US\$15 billion based on damage to property, livelihoods, and precious lives lost.¹⁷ It destroyed a number of key infrastructure and systems that were

functioning before the war, such as the education, healthcare system, transportation and agricultural sectors

A 2016 low Human Development Index (HDI) ranking of 179 out of 188 shows that Sierra Leone faces challenges with life expectancy at birth, Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita and expected years of schooling, among others.¹⁸ Being on the path of reconstruction and stabilization, Sierra Leone, after the civil war ended in 2002, has made considerable progress over the years towards positive economic growth and political stability. For instance, contributions from its sectors to GDP rose from 4.5% in 2010 to 5.3% in 2011.¹⁹ Again, between 1999 and 2007, a number of primary services like education were restored and this resulted in a 146 percent increase in primary school enrolment with the help of international support.²⁰ Politically, it has also been able to hold three successful general elections since the end of the civil war with power handed over to the legitimate victor.

Despite the above progress, unemployment continues to be high among the youth while literacy rate also remains low. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) declares that “the youth population, aged 15-35, comprises one third of the population of Sierra Leone and youth unemployment was a major root cause of the outbreak of civil conflict in Sierra Leone. Approximately 70% of youth are underemployed or unemployed and an estimated 800,000 youth today are actively searching for employment”.²¹ According to the 2015 population and housing census, unemployment levels remained high with numbers increasing from about 70,000 in 2004 to over 109,034 in 2015.²² In the education sector, schools were targeted for destruction with about 70% of children in Sierra Leone not having access to education by the late 1990’s.²³ By the time the conflict was over, a significant number of children who were attending school had grown past their school age

whereas many others had lost some years of schooling.²⁴ Fourah Bay College, the first tertiary institution to have been established in West Africa was severely impacted as the war devastated more than 60 percent of the state's educational infrastructure.²⁵ The conflict disrupted the healthcare system, affecting the prevention of childhood diseases, immunisation as well as the structures to ensure access to basic sanitation, food and clean water.²⁶ Infrastructure and employment levels were equally badly hit.

The destruction of companies and the loss of jobs also added to the already existing high unemployment levels. Organisations such as the UN and its agencies, civil society groups, women's organisations and the Governments of Sierra Leone have helped in the progress made towards revamping the economy. Despite the efforts of these institutions, the state still faces some challenges that pose a threat to its economic development achievement. Its government is making the effort to better the judicial and tax system and public debt management in order to address pervasive corruption which is critical for economic development to occur.²⁷ Adding to the already struggling health sector, in 2014, Sierra Leone was also hit by the Ebola Virus Disease (EVD) which severely impacted the state's economy.

By 2035, Sierra Leone hopes to become a middle-income country but challenges of corruption, inadequate infrastructure, a weak educational system, poverty, unemployment, low economic growth characterise the economy of the state. The lack of education has become a barrier to compete for work, especially, among the youth, according to UNDP.²⁸ Disparities in education provision and high youth unemployment were seen to be part of the causes of the civil war in 1991 and with their close relation poses a threat to the security of the state. All things being equal, with the adequate educational provision, it increases the possibility of the citizenry getting employed and earning income. Incomes from jobs gives

individuals enough purchasing power of which some can be used to pursue education. Youth employment and access to education are both fundamental to reducing poverty in a state. As such, this study investigates the challenges that confront Sierra Leone in a post-conflict era towards economic development, particularly with education and employment.

1.2 Research Questions

1. What are the challenges facing post-conflict Sierra Leone with respect to education and youth employment and its ramifications for economic development?
2. What are the measures put in place by the state to address the challenges being faced with education and youth employment in post-conflict Sierra Leone?
3. What are the roles played by non-state actors in reconstructing and developing education and youth employment in Sierra Leone?

1.3 Research Objectives

1. To examine the challenges facing post-conflict Sierra Leone with respect to education and youth employment and its ramifications for economic development.
2. To explore the measures put in place by the state to address the challenges being faced with education and youth employment in post-conflict Sierra Leone.
3. To ascertain the roles played by non-state actors in reconstructing and developing the education and youth employment in Sierra Leone.

1.4 Scope of the Study

This study focuses on the economic development challenges Sierra Leone faces after the civil war with respect to education and youth employment sectors. Education and youth

employment sectors are focused on because of the interrelation between them and the fact that they were two of the main factors that formed grievances among citizens resulting into the civil war. It is therefore critical to state stability, hence the reason for choosing the two sectors. The research therefore covers the timeframe from 2010 to 2018. The reason is that, the period 2010 and 2018 gives enough time to analyse the long-term outcomes of the reconstruction programmes instituted after the war. The study ends with the year 2018 because it marks the end of an incumbent government's administration and is the year for elections.

1.5 Rationale of the Study

Conflict affects economic development of states. Education and youth employment were among the causes of the war and were as well badly hit during the civil war. The interrelation between these two variables are very key to national development and poverty alleviation. Comparing Sierra Leone to other states such as Rwanda, which has undergone post-conflict reconstruction, the latter has made considerable post-conflict progress as compared to the former. This study therefore examines the challenges Sierra Leone faces with economic development despite the measures put in place as part of post-conflict reconstruction strategies. It assists government officials and stakeholders to identify the challenges of economic development and the ramifications of its absence. It offers constructive policy guidelines as part of post-conflict reconstruction strategies for Sierra Leone that will address some of the root causes of the conflict. This research also adds up to the body of knowledge in post-conflict economic development in Africa and particularly Sierra Leone.

1.6 Hypothesis

The measures put in place by the state in post-conflict Sierra Leone has improved the education and youth employment sectors.

1.7 Conceptual Framework

The concept of Post-Conflict Reconstruction (PCR) is adopted as the framework for this study. Scholars who have written on this concept include Gerd Junne, Birgitte Sorensen, Graciana del Castillo, Nikolaos Tzifakis, Sanam Naraghi Anderlini, Paul Collier, among others. Actors involved in the PCR process and advocacy include the UN and its agencies such as the World Bank and UNDP, Bilateral Donors, International Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), national actors, among others.²⁹ The African Union (AU) and the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) also have policy frameworks that guide the implementation process.

Post-conflict reconstruction (PCR) is defined as one that “aims at the consolidation of peace and security and the attainment of sustainable socio-economic development in a war-shattered country”.³⁰ The objective is basically to rebuild the state that has been destroyed by conflict. By implication, economic reconstruction is based on the premise that in order for development to take place in a post-conflict society, there is the need to strengthen peace which gives room for socio economic development to take place. “PCR is broadly understood as a complex, holistic and multidimensional process encompassing effort to simultaneously improve military (restoration of law and order), political (governance), economic (rehabilitation and development) and social conditions (justice and reconciliation).”³¹ Yosef Jabareen also confirms this and asserts that there should be four correlated components of PCR which are Political Reconstruction which includes building institutions and policies for

effective state control; Economic Reconstruction which includes rebuilding infrastructure, provision of necessary services and environment for employment for the youth; Social Reconstruction such as settling disagreements and tackling gender inequalities; and Provision of general security to ensure a successful reconstruction.

The study focuses widely on the economic aspect of PCR regarding its relation it shares with development.³² Conflict has, in many countries, annihilated years of economic and social development accomplishments, rendering them poor.³³ The PCR commences when peace agreements are signed or occasions that symbolise an end to war have been signed.³⁴ Bilateral or multilateral organisations work with the government of the state in order to control and expend most funds for social and economic reconstruction.³⁵

According to the World Bank, “PCR has two overall objectives: to facilitate the transition to sustainable peace after hostilities have ceased and to support economic and social development”.³⁶ In the PCR process, Anderlini states that there are three phases of activities that the state undergoes. The “initial response” phase where violence has been brought to an end and humanitarian relief are disbursed with military presence to provide security. The “transition” phase is characterised by efforts aimed at reviving the economy, establishment of basic infrastructure for social welfare and an efficient governance and judicial process. The last phase, “fostering sustainability”, is the period where recovery efforts should be strengthened to help prevent the reoccurrence of conflict with international peacekeepers withdrawing and society begins to returning to a normal condition.³⁷

Tzifakis highlights some historical PCR efforts and these cover contributions that were made to Europe and China from 1943 to 1946, by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) as well as the loans disbursed by the International Bank of

Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) to Europe, the United States' Marshall Plan for Western Europe between 1948-1951 after the second world.³⁸ The assistance helped to ensure stability and development in these states. In Africa, the African PCR Policy Framework was developed and expedited by the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and sets out an African agenda for PCR that involves the effort of several actors.³⁹ The NEPAD African PCR policy framework defines PCR as follows: "PCR is understood as a complex system that provides for simultaneous short-medium-and-long term programmes to prevent disputes from escalating, avoiding a relapse into violent conflict and to build and consolidate sustainable peace."⁴⁰ The framework is meant to provide a common platform for the various actors who are involved in the post-conflict reconstruction process so as to organise and prioritise such policy responses.⁴¹

Scholars such as Birgitte Sorensen and Naomi Cahn discuss the importance of the involvement of women in post-conflict reconstruction. Women play a major role in reconstruction, rehabilitation and building of peace in post-conflict situations as many post-conflict countries have implemented laws that grant and ensure equal women representation and participation in decision making at all levels.⁴² PCR have been carried out in states such as Rwanda, Sierra Leone and Burundi with non-state actors being a major contributor to the concept. For instance, the International Development Association (IDA) of the World Bank, provided US\$1,054 million to Rwanda and this contributed to economic growth and infrastructure.⁴³ The international donor community committed \$4.5 billion aid for post-conflict reconstruction in Afghanistan in January 2002.⁴⁴ Aid is essential in PCR of states and as Collier and Hoeffler argue, aid ensures successful growth in a post-conflict setting.⁴⁵ In some countries, it has done the opposite leading to corruption without getting funds to intended areas. Some scholars have argued that aid should be provided early because its

absence can break down peace agreements which the World Bank opposes and claims that it should be provided a little later.⁴⁶

The concept is, however, fraught with criticisms. Del Castillo argues that several post-conflict reconstruction works have proven unsuccessful because of insufficient aid and a lack of an all-inclusive planning and approach to reconstruction.⁴⁷ Furthermore, the ‘nirvana fallacy’ which is the assumption that the contribution of foreign government produces a perfect solution to a devastated country as compared to other bodies during post-conflict reconstruction often creates a problem because their involvement can fail.⁴⁸ In the area of funding, at times, the promises of donor organisations to fund or assist with reconstructions tend to be lesser than earlier promised.⁴⁹ Lastly, funds for reconstruction are directed much more at security than at economic and political issues.⁵⁰

Reconstruction, despite the criticisms, is relevant to this study because it suggests effective methods of reconstructing economies of post-conflict states. It suggests effective means of ensuring that post-conflict zones do not relapse, it has the potential of achieving economic development in a post-conflict state. As such it is an indispensable concept that can be effectively applied to Sierra Leone as a post-conflict state.

1.8 Literature Review

There is a number of literature available on conflicts in Africa and Sierra Leone. This literature addresses issues pertaining to the conflicts, the causes, its impact, prevention and recovery. The following books and journal articles are reviewed to aid in this study.

In his book *“From Conflict to Recovery in Africa”*, Tony Addison talks about the role of national actors and international actors in achieving broad-based recovery.⁵¹ In his book, he explains how hard it is to refer to countries that have experienced conflict before as post-conflict countries because peace is vulnerable, meaning conflict can reoccur. He is of the view that the residues of conflict that remain can contribute a lot to its reoccurrence. He posits that because of how critical the nature of the transition from conflict to recovery is, there is the need for peace, which has often been given much attention and begins normally after conflict. He continues that there is also the need for “broad-based recovery” which is to improve the human development indicators and incomes of people, particularly the poor. He describes the latter to have been given little attention such that few elites benefit more than the majority poor. Addison focuses more on the broad-based recovery from conflict where he clarifies the interconnection among actors such as the communities, private sector and the state. He explains that the reconstruction and growth will not be broad-based if communities do not rebuild and strengthen their means of support. He also links the success of communities to the recreation of “markets” and the provision of employment by private investment. He further points out that the communities and private sector will fail to work if the state is not developed.

With the role of international actors, Addison acknowledges their capacity to contribute to recovery but stresses that their success also depends on how strong these actors (communities, private sector and the state) are.⁵² He gives credence to the importance of “broad-based recovery” to the establishment of peace which will in turn reduce grievances, a major causal factor of conflict which has the ability to weaken peace. In this lane, Addison contends that economic policies that help the elite few and put the poor in a disadvantaged position should be changed as this is very crucial to achieving a broad-based recovery.

Addison's book provides an essential explanation to the processes involved in recovering from conflict.

Writing on the "*Girls' and Women's Education and Employment in post-Conflict Sierra Leone*", Agnes J. S. Pessima talks about the low level of education for women in Sierra Leone, the factors that have caused this and how these factors have resulted in low representation of women in the formal sector employment.⁵³ She establishes the direct link between education and employment and assert that the chances to getting a job depends on the degree and type of education an individual hold. Before the war, female education was judged by several families to be a waste of resources.⁵⁴ Further into her work, there is an overview of the conditions that existed with regards to education for women before and after the civil war. She talks about how the war destructed the schooling system in Sierra Leone and the attempts by the government and non-governmental organisations' attempt to improve education and eventual employment prospects for girls and women. In her conclusion, she suggests strategies the government and its agencies can put in place towards improving the educational system and subsequent employment for girls and women. This article is of imperative value as it provides an understanding of the effects of the Sierra Leonean civil war on education and employment. There is, however, more concentration on the effects on women than on men.

Nancy Annan's "*Violent Conflict and Civil Strife in West Africa: Causes, Challenges and Prospects*" examines how intrastate conflicts have ripped economies of its potential, especially in West Africa.⁵⁵ Annan explains how ending violent conflict in West Africa remains a challenge in the sub-region and adds that the possibility of a comeback of conflicts that were thought to have ended is likely. When this happens, it raises concerns about the

effectiveness of the methods that were used in settling the conflict, she posits. Bad governance and corruption, human rights violations and poverty are some factors she considers to bring about conflicts in West African states. She acknowledges and brings to the fore, efforts by international actors and educational institutions towards conflict prevention and resolution in West Africa. She mentions several reasons impeding the end to conflict in West Africa and posits that the poor understanding of core reasons for which a conflict occurs is a main challenge to ending conflict in West Africa. She concludes with suggestions and measures on how violent conflict can be ended in the sub region.

In her article “*Pursuing Development in Post-Conflict Sierra Leone*”, Afua Yakohene looks at the socio-economic development policies and strategies pursued by the political administrations of Sierra Leone after the civil war to improve living standards and participation of its citizens, especially in areas of employment, education and infrastructural development.⁵⁶ She continues that, after conflict, the expectations of people with respect to needs such as food, security and employment is very important. A state is likely to experience some form of instability when these needs are overlooked. Yakohene therefore opines that in pursuing the principles that ensures governance, strategies that affect the needs of citizens should be equally enacted.

Yakohene gives a historical background to the causes of the Sierra Leone conflict and the role of groups that associated themselves with the conflict. She points out that the grave loss to individuals and the state spread across social and economic spheres, including loss of human lives, human resources and physical infrastructure. She also asserts that various policies and strategies of the government of Sierra Leone as well as the support of many international organisations characterised the post war reconstruction and development of

Sierra Leone. These policies, she emphasizes, helped improve education, employment opportunities and infrastructural development. She concludes that there is a mismatch between the performance of government and expectations of the people and offers recommendations that will ensure this gap is removed. The recommendations also cover issues concerning education, infrastructure and employment in Sierra Leone which is significant to this study.

*“Breaking the Conflict Trap: Civil War and Development Policy”*⁵⁷ by Paul Collier discusses the consequence of civil war on development in a country. He mentions that there exist two costs during conflict, economic and social cost where the former refers to instances such as loss in infrastructure and loss of income while the latter refers to instances such as casualties and displacements of people. He continues that where there is no development, there is a high possibility for countries to be in a ‘conflict trap’ where civil war destroys the economy and increases the probability of war occurring. He further indicates that it is not only states that are close to the affected conflict area that experiences the effect of the conflict but it rather extends worldwide. States are faced with victims of the war becoming refugees, health issues, terrorism and increasing military budget.

Additionally, Collier talks about what makes a country disposed to civil war. He asserts that while different perceptions as to why it occurs may be shared by people, ‘the key root cause of conflict is the failure to achieve economic development’.⁵⁸ He further looks at how economic development is changing the prevalence of war and affirms that development is hardly located in areas that are susceptible to civil war. The book discusses approaches by governments, its neighbours and the international community to end the prevalence of civil war which is key to this study.

Roy Maconachie and Tony Binns's "*Beyond the Resource Curse? Diamond Mining, Development and Post-Conflict Reconstruction in Sierra Leone*" investigates the role that diamond mining plays in post-conflict Sierra Leone and studies the possible contributions it can make to development in Sierra Leone.⁵⁹ The authors explain that though there have been contestations surrounding the claim that diamond was at to be the root cause of the conflict in Sierra Leone, there is some level of agreement that it played a role in intensifying the war. They acknowledge the argument made by some scholars on the incidence of 'resource curse' like diamond. They, however, aver that valuable as the resource is, diamond if regulated well, is likely to bring about development in post-conflict Sierra Leone.

Adam Howe's research titled, "*Liberia and Sierra Leone: Sustainable Paths to Development?*" assesses how Liberia and Sierra Leone handled development after their respective conflicts and also investigates the prospects and impediments involved in sustaining economic development.⁶⁰ He posits that though both states have achieved considerable increase in Gross Domestic Product (GDP), the population have not benefited much as these countries rank low in the Human Development rankings. He also outlined the high dependence of the two countries on aid and how financially under-resourced they will become if this aid should be cut. Howe explained that most young people in Liberia and Sierra Leone had their education disrupted by the civil war which has affected their chance to get employed in the formal sector. He warned that these unemployed youths pose a threat to the state's stability. He emphasized that aid is unable to bring about economic development when there are bad governance and lack of political will. He mentioned issues of infrastructure, human capital and Ebola as some limitations to economic development.

1.9 Sources of Data

This research was based on both primary and secondary sources of data. The primary data was gathered from scholars of Peace and Conflict studies including Dr. Ken Ahorsu, Dr. Afua Yakohene and Dr. Phillip Attuquayefio of Legon Centre for International Affairs and Diplomacy (LECIAD) and Dr. Festus Aubyn and Dr. Fiifi Adu-Afari of Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (KAIPTC) to have their in-depth views on conflict, post-conflict reconstruction in Africa and how Sierra Leone has made progress. Mr Mansaray Kemoh and Mr Matthew Sandy of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) respectively, were also interviewed. This was done to obtain information on the roles of these non-state actors in rebuilding Sierra Leone after the civil war. Primary data was also sourced from Ghana's former High Commissioner to Sierra Leone, Ambassador Kabral Amihene and current officials at the High Commission of Ghana in Sierra Leone to ascertain both historical and current information regarding the development of education and youth employment in Sierra Leone as far as the civil war is concerned.

Some citizens were also interviewed to obtain information on the challenges they face with accessing education and employment, particularly among the youth. This was done through focus group discussion with eight (8) unemployed, students and employed citizens, with some also interviewed individually. The objective was to capture some of their experiences with the employment and education sectors of the state. Six (6) teachers from the Government Model and Divine Glory schools in Freetown were interviewed to have their concerns with the education sector. Most of these people were interviewed in Freetown as it served as one of the intensively devastated regions during the war. Considering the importance of information, the primary sources are complimented with legally acquired secondary sources such as books, journal articles from Libraries of Legon Centre for

International Affairs and Diplomacy (LECIAD), KAIPTC and Balme Library of University of Ghana. Secondary information is also sourced from magazines and credible internet sources relevant to the subject. Reports and official publications of the aforementioned Ministries of Sierra Leone and the non-state actors such as World Bank, UNDP, Plan International among others are also sourced from their credible websites.

1.10 Research Methodology

In order to respond to the research questions and achieve the research objectives outlined in chapter one, the study relied on qualitative methods of collecting and analysing data from selected officials and individuals relevant to the study. As an approach to a research study, qualitative methods are constructive and informative and throws more light on a phenomenon. As such, the method facilitated the deeper explanations to the challenges of economic development in post-conflict Sierra Leone. Semi-structured interviews were also conducted to support the secondary data gathered as they provided reliable, comparable qualitative data. Semi-structured interviews allowed both the researcher and the interviewee flexibility to go into details when there was the need to. The data derived from the interviews provided adequate information and opinions to support the research and were analysed qualitatively in the form of narrations, descriptions and explanations. The selection of key interviewees was additionally done based on the qualities and knowledge of the subject matter or experience regarding the subject matter. As such, considering the nature and objectives of the study to investigate the challenges of post-conflict economic development in Africa and Sierra Leone, the purposive sampling method was employed for this study. According to Tongco, purposive sampling technique refers to the careful selection of an informant due to the qualities he or she possesses to provide the information needed for the completion of a particular study.⁶¹

After seeking the consent of my interviewees before recording, the data obtained was organised by manually transcribing the recordings of my interviewees. During the interview, there were some interviewees who wanted to remain anonymous and be referred to as “officials”, which is reflected in the work.

1.11 Limitation of the Study

The study provides an overview of the challenges of education and youth employment in Sierra Leone and its implications for economic development as well as the measures put in place to improve the two sectors above. The focus of this study to obtain information from the Ministries of Finance and Economic Development, Labour and Social Security and Education and the Department for International Development (DFID) are limited by the fact that their interview could not be granted. Some interviewees were also hesitant to grant interviews. Nonetheless, the semi-structured interviews that were conducted from the other primary sources as well as the credible secondary sources are used to support the research to reach substantial findings, conclusions and recommendations.

1.12 Arrangement of Chapters

The study is organized into four chapters. Chapter One constitutes the Introduction. Chapter Two provides an overview of conflicts in Africa including the civil war in Sierra Leone and its effect on some economic development Chapter Three captures the challenges with education and youth employment and its ramifications on economic development in post-conflict Sierra Leone. It also looks at the contributions made by non-state actors to advance development and also capture how PCR have performed. Chapter Four consists of the Summary of Findings, Conclusions and Recommendations.

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CHAPTER TWO

AN OVERVIEW OF CONFLICTS IN AFRICA (SIERRA LEONE INCLUSIVE)

2.0 Introduction

This chapter looks at the overview of conflicts in Africa including the civil war in Sierra Leone and its effect on economic development variables particularly education, health, infrastructure and employment which is imperative to this study. Conflicts have often been destructive than constructive, creating a negative image for the continent of Africa. These conflicts have either been inter conflicts (between two or more states) or intra conflicts (within a particular state) some of which were fought before, during or after the achievement of independence. Although the dynamics of conflicts might differ from one place to the other, it has had an impact on the political, economic and social status quo of states. In order to understand the economic challenges that Sierra Leone faces after the war, there is the need to examine conflicts in Africa, its causes and effects.

2.1 What is Conflict?

Generally, this term has no accepted definitions. Conflict is described by Nicholson to be associated with the wants, needs and obligations of the participants that are involved in it. ¹ He indicates that conflicts occur between two or more individuals or groups when the goals they seek to achieve are mutually incompatible.² He asserts that, conflict takes place between conscious people who are, however, not necessarily rational beings.³ This means the purpose for which either of the groups or individuals undertake the activity is incongruous to the other. Kreisberg defines conflict to be the interaction between two or more when members of

at least one of the group are aware that its goals are incompatible with that of the other. The means by which they seek to achieve these goals are expressed in a number of ways including the use of force, persuasions and positive sanctions.⁴

Conflict is not an activity that is stationary but one that changes as disagreement lingers on.⁵ Aremu asserts that there are two broad-based types of conflict: The first is interstate conflict, which refers to the violence that occurs within a state. The second is intrastate conflict, which refers to the violence between two or more states involving forces from at least one of the states. He further opines that there is a third type called internationalized internal armed conflict which basically refers to civil wars that normally have external interests.⁶ Folarin defines intra-personal conflict to be the conflict that a man has with himself; inter-personal conflict occurs between a man against another man; intra-state conflict occurs within a sovereign state and inter-state is the conflict that occurs between two or more states.⁷ For the purposes of this work, civil wars, ethnic and religious violence and genocide are considered to be conflicts.

2.2 Conflicts in Africa

The impact of conflicts on states have been very destructive and as Richard Reid asserts, it has notably influenced Africa's economic, political and social transformation.⁸ Throughout the twentieth century, Africa was devastated by different wars.⁹ Some people engaged in conflicts in order to continue the struggle to reform their societies that had been apprehended by Europeans through colonialism.¹⁰ Since the independence of Africa, the continent has been known for its high levels of conflict which ranges from low-intensity ethnoreligious and political conflicts to prolonged civil wars and from traditional inter-state conflict to regional

conflicts.¹¹ The different types of violent conflicts that have occurred in African states have deprived them of attaining their development and democratic potentials.¹²

Conflicts in Africa occurred even before colonialism and independence began to be achieved in the various African states. People engaged in precolonial warfare which Mark Grotelueschen defines as the “military activity occurring within and between African societies and peoples before the onset of European political and military control”.¹³ Some of the conflicts were fought among ethnic groups and kingdoms when a group sought to protect their territories or forcefully take them from another group. It also was engaged in, in order to protect people and properties of a particular tribe from the attacks of other groups.

Among others, pre-colonial conflicts consist of the conflict of Bunyoro-Buganda in present day Uganda in 1600, the Songhai-Gourma conflict in present day Mali in 1488¹⁴ and the Moroccan invasion of the Songhay Empire, around 1591.¹⁵ According to Walter Rodney, troops faced each other in battle in the Zululand conflict of the early 19th century although the order of armed confrontation was long-distance flinging of spears.¹⁶ During independence, most states on the African continent fought to relieve themselves of oppressive rule by the then colonial masters of those states. Mention can be made of the fight for independence during apartheid South Africa as well as Kenyans fight for independence in the 1960s. Inter-state wars such as Somalia-Ethiopia wrangle concerning the Ugandan desert from 1964 to 1978, Nigeria-Cameroon difference over the Bakassi peninsular since the 1970s and Chad-Libya crisis of 1980- 1982.¹⁷ Post-independence, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Nigeria, Angola, Congo, Burundi and a host of others experienced internal conflicts of which some were related to post-Cold War. These conflicts were mainly in the form of civil wars which resulted in an excessively large number of destructions across the continent. Most modern

conflicts in Africa continue to remain internal and civil with a few clashes between some states such as Ethiopia and Eritrea.

2.2.1 Causes of Conflicts in Africa

A number of factors have been evident as the causes of the numerous conflicts in Africa. These causes have ranged from issues related to colonialism and the demarcations created by colonial powers to concerns with natural resources, corruption, ethnic or religious disagreements, inequality, among others.

Border demarcations of the African continent saw a separation of some ethnic groups and in some circumstances adversaries combined into a single state¹⁸. Some ethnic groups that had a centralised system of governance were mixed with ones, that were acephalous, which made it difficult for co-operation to exist between the different groups causing clashes between them as they disagreed on a number of issues. With some colonial powers protecting or favouring a particular group and empowering them especially at independence, ethnic groups were turned against each other. Demarcated borders have resulted in some Ewes and Akans of Ghana found in Togo and Cote d'Ivoire respectively.¹⁹ It has also created boundary conflicts such as the Ethiopia-Eritrea (1998-date), Cameroon-Nigeria (1963-2002) and Algeria-Morocco (1962-1970.)

The administration of resources has a link with conflict whereby groups in communities engage in conflicts in order to exploit the gains from the natural resource present in the communities.²⁰ Copper, diamonds, gold, and iron are some conflict causing resources in Africa. Natural resources can be associated with African conflicts in three ways. The first is when a resource forms a direct or distant source of the conflict. Secondly is when resources

help to exacerbate or support the conflict. Lastly is when a resource has been considered in solving a conflict.²¹ In Angola, Liberia, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Sierra Leone, natural resources have been exploited to wage wars against governments.²² In resolving conflicts, it has been used to arrive at peace agreements such as the case of Sierra Leone where the administration of the diamond was under the authority of Foday Sankoh.²³

Ethnicity and religion have also been evident in causing conflicts. This has been particularly evident in Nigeria where a lot of armed ethnic and religious groups have engaged in conflict in their struggle for achieving their group interest. The numerous ethnic groups and religious differences the state has created a situation where there is a lack of cordiality and shared mistrust among the different ethnic groups.²⁴ The Kaduna/Enugu riots had its root from the institution of the Islamic Legal Code (Sharia) by the governors of some states in the north.²⁵ Kafanchan College of Education Muslim-Christian riots and Bulumkutu Christian-Muslim riots are some ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria.²⁶ In Ghana, the ethnic conflict between the Konkombas and their neighbours in Northern Ghana is as a result of the long-term suppression that the Konkombas felt they have been subjected to.²⁷

Paul Collier asserts that the causes of civil war in Africa are economic and further states that three factors are important to the risk of civil war in a state including “the level of income, its rate of growth, and its structure.”²⁸ If a state is poor with a decreasing economic growth and is dependent upon trade in natural resources, it stands a high risk of being confronted with a civil war.²⁹ Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler’s greed and grievance theory claim that greed (economic benefits from war) is the reason why people will engage in conflict rather than grievance (political and social discontent). People do well out of war and so they will engage in it in order to reap economic benefits at the expense of peace.³⁰

2.2.2 Impacts of Conflict on Economic Development in Africa

Conflict is a major impediment to development in Africa as it has destroyed lives and properties as well as resulted in a decline in the economic development of states. One main issue of conflict in Africa is the problem with reconstruction. When reconstruction is well structured and undertaken, it lays the foundation for development in a post-conflict state. During conflicts, infrastructure, public and private properties, investments, human security components, among others are collapsed or destroyed and at the end of a conflict, they need to be fixed. There can be situations where resolving the feud between warring factions become complicated just like restoring damaged infrastructure. Fixing these will take a lot of time and money and in instances where funds are unavailable, it affects development in a post-conflict state.

There is the issue with human costs such as loss of lives, displacement of people and the refugee problem. A high number of people, including civilians, have lost their lives in a number of conflicts. Over 200,000 lives as at the year 2000 were claimed in the Burundi civil, over 250,000 lives were lost in Liberia's fourteen-year civil war between 1990 and 2004.³¹ A number of displaced individuals and groups become refugees in different states on the continent. In South Sudan, one in four persons has been homeless resulting in about 1.4 million refugees in neighbouring countries by the end of 2016.³² These displaced people together with those who have lost their lives add up to lost human resources that could have contributed positively to national development. There becomes a challenge in finding people with requisite skills for work.

During conflicts, health and education come to a standstill as they are greatly affected by the situation. In South Sudan, more than half of children are not enrolled in school because of the

conflict.³³ Conflict decreases education enrolment rate as schools need to close down because of safety reasons since school structures are targeted during a war.³⁴ This affects education levels as it decreases in enrolment might be the same for some time even when the conflict ends which results in underdevelopment in the educational sector because of the loss of teachers and students. Healthcare is affected during conflict whereby either the structures are disrupted or healthcare personnel are not available to attend to the sick. This results in the spread of diseases, reduce life expectancy and children and adult mortality rate. This becomes a challenge as it affects the development levels in a state.

Sometimes, as a probable cause of conflict, unemployment is another challenged area that suffers from the impact of conflict in Africa. Conflict situations affect the already high rate of unemployment in Africa and so in post-conflict situations, there is the challenge of providing jobs for people, especially the youth. As unemployment figures rise, it becomes a challenge especially for the state because these unemployed individuals can be lured by opportunistic businessmen and individuals into becoming combatants to spark up conflict.

2.3 Post-Conflict Africa and the Challenges with Economic Development

Common of any post-conflict milieu, apart from the physical security and protection from the state as well as the stability, the next important thing that comes to the minds of people is economic development and how it is undertaken to provide individuals with a good economic standing. Access to public goods has often been the cry of citizens in a post-conflict state. As already mentioned, African states suffer development challenges after they end the feud between warring factions. The economic progress of Africa has been slow as compared to other continents as Africa's biggest and resource-rich states like Nigeria, Angola and Ethiopia covered in conflicts.³⁵ In its struggle to achieve development goals, it has

encountered situations that hinder the achievement of these goals, set either by themselves (the states or AU) or by the international community.

States need to attain levels of development and meet targets set by the state or the international community. The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), built on the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), have been one key universal action to end poverty, improve education access and quality, improve health, reduce inequality among others. These states do mark their development progress against these SDG objectives. The following sectors of the economy are some of the affected during conflicts and pose a challenge after.

2.3.1 Healthcare

Healthcare provision in Africa has been poor during and after conflict because violence has occurred. Damaged health infrastructure and loss of health workers have often affected the provision of healthcare due to violence.³⁶ In 2015, it was recorded that South Sudan's conflict has resulted in difficulties with improving health, especially concerning maternal and children's health, infrastructure and inadequate government capacity to regulate the health sector.³⁷ In Niger, the Médecins Sans Frontières (Doctors without Borders) health post which operated as the only health facility for 20,000 people was damaged, killing six people and wounding eight.³⁸

2.3.2 Education

Access to education becomes a problem after conflict. Some educational infrastructure gets destroyed during war causing access to be problematic. It is also likely that IDPs cannot access education because they do not have a permanent residence. In 2017, the Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) reported that the conflict in the Kasai province of Democratic

Republic of Congo displaced more than 850,000 children and destroyed more than 900 schools forcing many children to discontinue their education which further deteriorated the education system.³⁹

2.3.3 Agriculture

Agriculture has represented a huge part of the GDP of many African states and employs a large section of the population of Africa. It is a sector that is also affected by conflict and as such in its deficiency poses a dire economic problem to the state. Conflicts double the already existing challenges to improved agriculture such as bad weather and inadequate financing. In 2012, conflict in the northern region of Mali, where much of agricultural activities take place, crops and livestock reared by farmers were greatly affected.⁴⁰ Nigeria's northern regions have faced similar challenges in areas where Boko Haram militants are present.

The challenges posed by the conflict have negatively impacted Africa's development in the sense that most African countries are underdeveloped. Access to healthcare, education, employment, agriculture have become a problem. One undesirable effect of conflict on Africa's economic development has been a brain drain, whereby people who get displaced internally or externally, end up integrating into other societies or countries and inadvertently contributing to its development other than where they migrated from. In 2010, when the government of Sierra Leone introduced the Free Health Scheme, improving healthcare especially for pregnant women and children was fraught with the challenge of inadequate health personnel.⁴¹

2.4 Reconstruction in Post-Conflict States in Africa

After a conflict has successfully come to an end, certain measures are put in place by both governments of the post-conflict states with support from international actors such as the UN and its agencies like World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) and UNDP. States including the United Kingdom, France, United States of America, some African states have been very helpful with reconstruction. Women and civil society groups, the diaspora of the affected state have also been known to offer constructive measures as far as reconstruction is concerned. These measures have become imperative such that it ensures the settlement of peace and the pursuance of socio-economic development. The framework also aims at restoring the political institutions such as government and security organisations as well as the promotion of human rights, the involvement of people in political activities and delivery of social services.⁴²

With post-conflict reconstruction, because the causal factors of the occurrence of conflict differ from one another, the approach to undertaking the concept also differs from one another. As such, the strategies to undertake the concept successfully does not have a clear-cut approach.

Somalia, Sierra Leone, Nigeria, Uganda, Rwanda and Liberia are some of the African states that have undergone post-conflict reconstruction after an end to their conflict. These states have collaborated with the international community to rebuild economic and social lives. The measures put in place are also meant to tackle the causes of the conflict to prevent reoccurrence. Although some challenges have come with reconstruction, there have been some successes that have been achieved as well.

2.5 Demographic Profile of the Republic of Sierra Leone

The Republic of Sierra Leone is a West African state that is bordered by Guinea to the north and east, Liberia to the south, and Atlantic Ocean to the west.⁴³ It has a total area of 71,740 square kilometres (km²), which is divided into a land area of 71,620 square kilometres (km²) and water of 120 square kilometres (km²).⁴⁴ The state has an estimated population of 6,163,195 which includes 78.6% Muslims, 20.8% Christians, 0.3% in other religions and a 0.2% with an unnamed religion and a population growth rate of 2.38%. Temne, Mende, Limba, Kono, Fullah and Creole are among some of the ethnic groups in the state with Temne and Mende being the two largest ethnic groups representing a combined 68.7% of the population.⁴⁵ Linguistically, it has English as its official language and many indigenous languages spoken by the people. 60% of Sierra Leone's huge youth population is below 25 years. The state is rich in natural resources such as diamond, bauxite, manganese, iron ore and also agricultural products such as coffee, cocoa and many others.⁴⁶ This makes it one of the most endowed states in the West African sub-region yet is one of the poorest. Sierra Leone is divided into 3 provinces and a Western Area with the provinces additionally divided into 12 districts and the districts also split into 149 chiefdoms.⁴⁷ The capital city Freetown is located in the Western Area. Major cities include Kanema, Bo, Koidu and Makeni. Figure 1 represents a map of Sierra Leone showing the Provinces, cities, airports and towns of the state.

Fig. 1: Map of Sierra Leone

Source: <http://www.un.org/Depts/Cartographic/map/profile/sierrale.pdf>

2.6 The Historical, Political and Socio-economic Outlook of Sierra Leone

The historical antecedents to the civil war provide an all-inclusive understanding of the activities that were prevalent from independence leading to the outbreak of the war in 1991. Sierra Leone was initially used as a trading point by Europeans, consisting of Portuguese, Dutch and French who traded in slaves during the 15th century.⁴⁸ It was settled by freed slaves who had been transported by the British in 1787 and later became a Crown Colony in

1808 around Freetown and established a protectorate over the hinterlands in 1896 to form Sierra Leone.⁴⁹ The Creole (*Krio*) ethnic group which was close to the British as a dominant class, emerged the most educated class and served the interest of the British.⁵⁰ Sierra Leone attained independence from Great Britain on 27th April 1961 with Sir Milton Margai as the Prime Minister.⁵¹ The establishment of Freetown in 1787, according to Hirsch, marked the beginning of the colonial era of present day Sierra Leone.⁵²

Sierra Leone has undergone many political transformations. The first legitimate party, the Sierra Leone People's Party (SLPP) which played an important role in the deliberation of the states' independence was formed in 1951 and led by Milton Margai.⁵³ His rule was strict and he relied notably on chiefs, old friends and British officials. After the demise of Margai in 1964, he was replaced by his brother, Albert Margai, whose effort to institute a single party system was aggressively opposed by the All People's Congress (APC) whose leader was Siaka Stevens.⁵⁴ Stevens and the APC which was formed in 1960 would later make a major impact, sought support from mostly young people who felt vulnerable under the SLPP government. They defeated the SLPP in a closely contested 1967 elections. Stevens was overthrown in a coup with power taken over by the National Reformation Council (NRC) but was later reinstated by some low-ranking army officers in 1968.⁵⁵

Stevens became the leader of Sierra Leone from 1968 to 1985 and within this period brought unity to the country although he faced some opposition and demonstrations from the citizens because of prevalent corruption and inflation.⁵⁶ Opposition members of the SLPP were imprisoned and by 1978, the APC declared a one-party system and during this time, any form of dissent against the government received fierce action by Stevens and his party who had become a centralised government.⁵⁷ Joseph Momoh succeeded Stevens after his retirement in

1985. He pledged to put the national interest first before anything else by including the people (citizens) in the process and also fight corruption.⁵⁸ The economy that Momoh inherited began to decline while hardship spread.⁵⁹ His inability to fix the hole-and-corner diamond trade which people secretly benefited at the expense of the state coupled with his unsatisfactory management of economic matters brought about misunderstanding between his government and the international community.⁶⁰ Subsequently, concerns with corruption, inept nature of the rule, among others, connected to the Momoh and his predecessor was what led to the civil war that ruined Sierra Leone.

2.7 The Civil War and the Destruction of Sierra Leone

The conflict that occurred in Sierra Leone was a civil war. Michael Doyle and Nicholas Sambanis define civil war as “an armed conflict that pits the government and national army of an internationally recognised state against one or more armed opposition groups able to mount effective resistance against the state; the violence must be significant, causing more than a thousand deaths in relatively continual fighting that takes place within the country’s boundaries; and the rebels must recruit mostly locally, controlling some parts of the country’s territory”.⁶¹ Owing to some well-known displeasure towards corruption and incompetence connected to the APC government, a group of rebels known as the Revolutionary United Front (RUF), in March 1991 using Liberia entered Sierra Leone to aggressively protest against the existing state of affairs and gradually escalated throughout the state.⁶²

Although there were several actors in the civil war, the RUF’s revolt destroyed Sierra Leone, causing killings, displacement of people, destruction of private and public properties, rape, among many others. One disturbing but prevalent incidence, especially in Africa, is the use of children called child soldiers to spread violence and according to Michael Wessells, these

child soldiers partook in RUF's cutting off people's arms and hands so as to silence them.⁶³ The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) also estimated the number of children used in this act to be up to 1000 and they fought on the side of the war factions with an equal number kidnapped into sexual slavery and forced labour.⁶⁴ The war relegated the gains made by the state in the areas of economic development such as education, infrastructure and health. 7,706 reports of the human right were put together by the TRC of Sierra Leone consisting of rape, amputation, forced labour and others.⁶⁵ The civil war attracted attention from the states and non-state actors in the international system. The civil war continued for a decade and ended in January 2002.

The civil war caused more than 50,000 casualties, displaced about 500,000 citizens together with the general destruction of the state's economy.⁶⁶ Foday Sankoh, the leader of the RUF had been trained as a guerrilla under Colonel Ghadaffi in Lybia. The revolution consisted of people who had been trained militarily in Libya, citizens of Sierra Leone living in Liberia mostly unemployed youth and combatants from the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) who had been hired to assist the RUF.⁶⁷ The civil war led to political instability. The Sierra Leone Army (SLA) which was supposed to protect the citizens of the state rather proved ineffective and had a connection with the RUF. This was because the SLA was not having the necessary resources or qualities to undertake their required mandate. In 1992, a group of young SLA officers staged a coup against Joseph Momoh's government and formed the National Provisional Ruling Council (NPRC) but their pledge to restore the state to calm was ephemeral.⁶⁸ The SLA and NPRC members sometimes had to forcefully remove people from areas that had diamond deposits so they could have access and steal them.⁶⁹ As citizens realised that they could not trust the SLA and the RUF, they formed the Civil Defence Forces (CDF) to protect themselves but at some point, they also committed some crimes.⁷⁰

Captain Julius Maada Bio overthrew his boss Strasser of the NPRC in a 1996 coup and with the 1996 elections held, SLPP's Ahmad Tejan-Kabbah won. Kabbah faced major problems such as ending the war and also fixing what has been destroyed including that of the army.⁷¹ He set up the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (NURC) to study and find the causes of discriminations against people by the government and also to fight corruption.⁷² In November 1996, Kabbah and Sankoh signed the Abidjan Peace Accord to establish a peace commission and ensure demobilisation and disarmament. The agreement also sought to involve the RUF in the political processes of the state but the agreement could not be effected as it broke down.⁷³ Major Johnny Paul Koroma headed the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) in a May 1997 coup to overthrow the Kabbah administration. This received worldwide criticism and action from states and international organisations such as Britain, France, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), UN and particularly ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) which helped return the rule to Kabbah in 1998.⁷⁴

The Lome Peace Accord signed between the RUF and the government of Sierra Leone in July 1999 made an important difference in the civil war as it saw the formation of the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL) to facilitate the disarmament process, enabled involvement of RUF members in political process including holding public office, established the TRC, the Disarmament, Demobilization and Rehabilitation (DDR) programme and also the pardoning of combatants. The most controversial part of the accord was the appointment of Foday Sankoh to chair the Commission for the Management of Strategic Resources, National Reconstruction, and Development (CMRRD).⁷⁵ The civil war finally ended in 2002 with the intervention of the British troops with support from UNAMSIL and other international bodies.

2.7.1 Causes of the Sierra Leone Civil War

A number of reasons have been attributed to be the cause of the conflict (civil war) that occurred in Sierra Leone. Understanding the causes helps in the post-conflict reconstruction policies of the affected state. It gives an idea of how situations can be contained and enable measures to be put in place to prevent another conflict from occurring from the same causes.

There are a number of scholars explained the causes of conflict in Africa, the Sierra Leone civil inclusive. It has been widespread that diamonds were the cause of the civil war. One strong proponent, Paul Collier establish that greed, which is the economic benefits that people get from war, especially when there is natural resource presence, overrides grievance issues such as ethnic difference as the causes for rebellion. He supports this with his findings which include the export of primary commodity, a large number of young men in the society and the level of education in the society to be directly related to the cause for rebellion.⁷⁶ He posits that people engage in civil war only when they know their financial or economic situation will improve even though there might be genuine grievances. His later research with Anke Hoeffler, “Greed and Grievance in Civil War”, buttresses his initial theory and assert that the risk of civil conflict is increased by the financial viability than by ordinary grievance which they regard as inadequate.⁷⁷

The RUF and the SLA, two of the factions in the civil war were motivated both by grievances and further intensified by the prospect of diamonds to finance themselves and weapons for the civil war. In as much as the incidence with the Sierra Leonean civil war is concerned, one might be swayed to tow the assertion of Collier and Hoeffler because of how the warring factions enriched themselves with the diamond that was available. Discovered around the 1930s, diamond became the backbone of the Sierra Leone economy, especially, in the late

1970s as it represented a huge chunk of the state's GDP.⁷⁸ Diamonds and other resources have contributed to the debates in conflict circles as to whether their existence, especially, in Africa is a blessing or a curse, hence the tag name 'resource curse'. The diamond has about four links to the conflict in Sierra Leone, namely, it been used as a motivation for violence, it helped to fund the violence, helped to intensify the war as a result of frustrations occurring from the same inadequate benefits from extraction of diamond and low tax revenue which the government was able to get from diamond mining.⁷⁹

There are other scholars who do not totally reject the economic factor in the greed and grievance theory but aver that natural resources, in this case, diamonds, did not begin the war but was rather used at a point to facilitate and sustain the war with some factions, especially RUF using it to purchase weapons from Liberian's Charles Taylor to fuel the war. Lisa Denny posits that the war was engaged in even in times when it provided no revenue and further positions her argument that, the war was caused by the incompetence and corrupt nature of the governing powers.⁸⁰ This can be realised from the coup and overthrow of governments that occurred where each regime blamed each other for corruption and mismanagement especially Stevens rule which was characterised by autocracy and bankruptcy of state institutions. This created distrust in his government resulting in driving people to demonstrate against his rule.

Robert Kaplan in his "The Coming Anarchy" article talks about the "New Barbarism". He posits that the cause of the war is attributable to the natural prehistoric, uncivilised and fierce identity of Sierra Leoneans and Africans in general. He is of the view that the deep-rooted character of Africans and Sierra Leoneans devoid of external actions was what caused conflict as it was exposed with regards the increased population of the state and the

awareness of the resource scarcity.⁸¹ It must, however, be known that the colonial history which impacted the governance system was what later resulted in the power struggle as a cause of the conflict was not captured in Kaplan's analysis. For instance, how the British government and its asserted 'favouritism' on the side of the *Krios* in areas such as education which the latter reciprocated by serving the interest of the former, called the attention of other ethnic groups who felt secluded and discriminated against.⁸² The British government also gave chiefs the authority through its indirect rule system resulting in instances where these chiefs used their power to subdue others and also because of this empowerment could use governments tax and properties to themselves and their families ensuing in the strong struggle for chieftaincy positions. After independence, some governments replaced chiefs who were supporters of opposition parties, and this created a problem as they lacked backing from the areas they took charge and these factors increased the resentment of people who later joined in the struggle against the governments.⁸³

The marginalisation and seclusion of the youth have also been said to be a cause of the civil war. The youth felt marginalised in the administration of the state. The term "lumpenproletariat" coined by Marxist theorists to describe the lowest class of people in society has been used to refer to the RUF members who are believed to have instigated the civil war in Sierra Leone. Abdullah has described them, the lumpens as "the largely unemployed and unemployable youths, mostly male, who live by their wits or who have one foot in what is generally referred to as the informal or underground economy".⁸⁴ They include young people who are not working and are susceptible to criminal behaviour, drugs and other social misconducts. The economy deteriorated in the 1980s and as the major employer of the workforce, the state could not employ many people in formal work. With this, Abdullah reports that even graduates could not find work with the government and as

unemployment increased generally, the lumpenproletariat number increased and protest and revolt against the status quo became the discourse among the youth.⁸⁵ This contributed to the RUF revolution in Sierra Leone.

From the above overview of Sierra Leone, it is made clear that concerns of politics and history which also constitute grievances have a link to the war while issues of greed linked to the natural resources as well have a link to the war, thus the confirmation that a multiplicity of factors led to the civil war.

2.7.2 The Impact of the Civil War on Socio-Economic Development

Sierra Leone's economy during the 1930s shifted from the dependence on agriculture to minerals of which most were located in areas that were poorly included in the economics and politics of the state and by 1960s minerals such as diamond, iron ore and bauxite were the major exports goods of the state.⁸⁶ In spite of this, economic growth deteriorated especially in the mineral economy accompanied by high reliance on aid to finance its budget during the 1980s under the leadership of President Stevens.⁸⁷ With the private sector dwindling, graduate students also faced difficulty in getting work in the public sector.⁸⁸ By the end of the war, much of Sierra Leone's economy was destroyed leaving thousands in disadvantaged situations. The key areas of development such as education, agriculture, health and employment were severely affected. The state has a promising future but issues of unemployment, underdeveloped education, weak infrastructure continue to hamper its development. These economic development variables are essential for economic growth in a state.

Sierra Leone has a rich educational history as a major player in education in West Africa. It established the first tertiary institution, Fourah Bay College, the first school for only boys, Sierra Leone Grammar School and the first all-girls school, Annie Walsh Memorial School in the years 1827, 1845 and 1849 respectively. These were principal institutions which trained doctors and teachers in the nearby Anglophone West African states.⁸⁹ It adopted the British method of education at independence, concentrated on the middle class and brilliant students in the cities who could go to school and secure work with government but this did not help the majority of people as it reflected in low literacy levels with less than 15 percent of children between ages 5-11 and 5 percent of children from 12-16 in secondary school.⁹⁰ Enrolment in primary education was approximately 400,000 in the late 1980s, then dropped to 315,000 at the beginning of the civil war in 1991.⁹¹

The civil war disrupted the education system and wiped out 1,270 primary schools with 67 percent of school-going age children out of school in 2001.⁹² There were difficulties with reconstructing schools, training teachers and educating the children who have never been to school before.⁹³ Some destructions were directed at schools which resulted in about 70 percent of children not able to go to school.⁹⁴ People could not even go to school as they feared for their lives. It should, however, be acknowledged that the government embarked on policy restructuring and reforms after the war to fix the sector. Policies such as Rapid Response Education Programme (RREP) and Complementary Rapid Education for Primary School (CREPS) were put in place geared towards improving the weak education system and enable people to return to school.⁹⁵

Education is closely related to employment. Low education levels result in lower employment opportunities, especially in the formal sector for the youth of Sierra Leone.

Obviously, because of the civil war and the casualties as well as the displacement of people, a lot of individuals lost their jobs. According to the World Bank, youth unemployment is one of the factors that led to the 1991 civil war in Sierra Leone and emphasise that about 800,000 youth between the ages of 15 and 35 are still searching for work.⁹⁶ An estimated 60% of Sierra Leone youth are structurally unemployed which is high among the West African sub-regional states.⁹⁷ This is a challenge for the government as it is the biggest employer of labour. Sierra Leone's unemployed comprises people who have the requisite skills and those who have little or no skills due to poor education or literacy levels where the latter faces the much challenge as they do not match up to needed qualifications to getting jobs.

Furthermore, apart from the economic cost of the war and the casualties and the displacement of people, the lives of citizens were highly targeted. Why would a rebellion which is meant to contest a government's incompetent rule over the state and its resources rather be turned against civilians, the same people the rebellion sought to liberate? The war, aside the death and displacement of hundreds, took on children as soldiers to fight in the war and rendered hundreds of people amputated, raped, assaulted or left with post-war traumatic and mental stress.⁹⁸

The civil war also left a deficit in the area of health and infrastructure. Infrastructure comprising problems of extending network, energy and water supply into rural areas characterised the war-shattered state. The conflict destroyed the health sector making provision and access a problem especially with food, clean water and basic sanitation supply a problem.⁹⁹ The war disordered the vaccination coverage as well as the processes which were used to prevent childhood diseases.¹⁰⁰ Even though the Ebola Virus Disease (EVD) had

occurred after the civil war and posed challenges, the civil war left some vestiges that were negative and thus to the healthcare sector.

2.8 Conclusion

This chapter has covered conflicts in Africa and how it has been caused by a number of factors. Irrespective of these factors, it has had a great toll on development, from fatalities to low economic growth. Post-conflict reconstructions measures are often put in place to correct and rebuild the economy and lives of people. In the quest to do that, states, of which Sierra Leone is one, have encountered difficulties that have often impeded the growth and development of the economy. One impressive progress in Sierra Leone has been its ability to maintain peace after the war to the extent of holding three post-conflict elections in Presidential, Parliamentary and local levels. Education levels, despite some achievements, continue to struggle in Sierra Leone. Employment suffers from similar problems. Chapter three examines the challenges of economic development faced by the state, particularly with education and employment in Post-Conflict Sierra Leone taking into consideration its high importance to the state.

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- ⁹² "Education in Sierra Leone and Its Struggling School System." *The Borgen Project*, 25 Jan. 2018, borgenproject.org/education-sierra-leone/. <https://borgenproject.org/education-sierra-leone/>. Assessed 17 June 2018.
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CHAPTER THREE

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT CHALLENGES OF POST- CONFLICT SIERRA LEONE AND THE ROLE OF THE STATE AND OTHER NON-STATE ACTORS

3.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the challenges of economic development facing post-conflict Sierra Leone which is an objective of the study using semi structured interviews. With adequate premise, it also looks at the roles and measures put in place by the state as well as non-state actors in improving development in the education and employment sectors. Moreover, it sheds light on some post-conflict reconstruction has been carried out in Africa and Sierra Leone with views from scholars who are abreast with peace and conflict studies. As already established, the state continues to suffer challenges with development. It has however made efforts, with the help of international actors, targeted at achieving peace and development. Although some successes have been achieved, there exist challenges impeding its development progress.

3.1 Post-Conflict

The explanation of the term post-conflict is sometimes complex. Junne and Verkoren define the term to be a conflict situation in which open warfare has come to an end.¹ The term normally is used in place of peace as far as conflict is concerned. Often at times, countries after the end of a conflict reverse into it. Bigombe et al. assert that 31 percent of states resume conflict within the first ten years of an end of conflict.² Collier also posit that about fifty percent of post-conflict states stand a high chance of returning to conflict within a decade.³ It is right to establish that reconstruction is effectively undertaken during post-

conflict situation when the factions that participated in the conflict have agreed to an end to the conflict. Consequently, post-conflict states receive support from both states and non-state actors in its stride to achieving reintegration of people, strengthening institutions and socio-economic development. Sierra Leone has ended its war with peace agreements signed between factions. It has embarked on the demobilisation, disarmament and integration of people and begun reconstruction together with states and non-state actors. We can therefore justify that Sierra Leone qualifies as a post-conflict state.

3.2 Economic Development and Conflict

“War retards development but conversely development retards war”.⁴ This means when there is development in a state, the possibility of the occurrence of a war or conflict is minimal, whereas conflict on the other hand obviously hinders development in a state. It has therefore been common in Africa to see such scenarios where conflicts have retarded growth in Sierra Leone, Central African Republic and Somalia and how development has resulted in less conflict in for instance, Mauritius. The economic development aspect of PCR seeks to return economy(ies) to a normal state after it has been ruined by conflict. Economic development is a major concern because it tends to ensure that the needs of people in a conflict affected zone are catered for where public goods such as education, health and employment measures are undertaken or taken care of. The concept of economic development has often been mixed to be the same as economic growth. Whereas economic growth has been referred to as an increase in aggregated output, economic development has been linked with issues of introduction of new goods and services, quality improvements, risk mitigation and the dynamics of innovation and entrepreneurship.⁵

Economic development also creates conditions for economic growth.⁶ When individuals are able to improve their capacity to a point where it enables them to participate in an economy, economic development can be said to have occurred as this provides the opportunity for the creation of innovative ideas.⁷ Institutions of a state should be able to implement policies that ensures the development of state and if institutions work better in a post-conflict state and with support from the international community, challenges that are linked with development can be minimised. The effectiveness of the social and economic institutions of a government influences economic development.⁸ Fitzgerald and Leigh also suggest that, "...economic development preserves and raises the community's standard of living through a process of human and physical infrastructure development based on principles of equity and sustainability."⁹ This buttresses the point initially made, that development retards war in the sense that, with equity becoming a principle engineered by economic development, it makes it less susceptible for a society to experience conflict.

In a quest to attain economic development, the private sector is very key and as such the government needs to make conditions that enables them to function.¹⁰ Together with non-state actors or international community, their role in a post-conflict state, where state capacity is weak, is much more important, especially with providing employment and promoting entrepreneurship, thus improving standard of living. Thus, what Addison proposes that, the interconnection of state and non-state actors including private sector in post-conflict state is very vital as it will help achieve a broad-based recovery from conflict.¹¹ The challenges of economic development have relegated African states to the bottom of the world recognised rankings such as the HDI as matters of health, education, employment, inequality and others continue to rig the states. One common thing that runs through the African states that are graded low on the HDI rankings have been the experience with conflicts.

In an interview with Dr. Ken Ahorsu of LECIAD, he describes how economic development is almost zero during and immediately after conflict.¹² He mentions that “when governments are unable to provide the necessary avenues and implement right policies for achieving economic development, individuals resort to other means that provides sustenance and these could be illegal or unethical since the processes regarded as legal is not satisfying their concerns”.¹³ Ahorsu with his expertise in conflicts in Africa reveals that studying the terrain of Africa, usually, post-conflict states make progress with maintaining peace relative to the provision of economic development and in the case of Sierra Leone, “there have been significant achievement with peace and security than with issues of health, education, infrastructure and providing employment”.¹⁴

3.3 General Measures to Address the Challenges in Various Sectors of the Economy

After the end of the Sierra Leone conflict, the state put in place programmes and measures to address the challenges that faced its sectors. These measures were to reconstruct and develop the economy, make public goods available and prevent a relapse of conflict. Successive governments have partnered with the UN, European Union (EU), African Development Bank (AfDB), Department for International Development (DFID), civil society organisations and a host of others to undertake these programmes. The following discusses the programmes and measures that were put in place including those that are currently ongoing:

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was created on July 7, 199 to provide a platform for both victims and offenders of human rights abuses during the conflict to share their stories and facilitate healing and also find out possible reasons why the state had to go through such disturbing times. It submitted its final report together with recommendations in 2004 to the Sierra Leone government and the United Nations Security Council. Among

others the TRC found that “the conflict represented an extraordinary failure of leadership on the part of all those involved in government, public life and civil society”.¹⁵ Based on the findings, the commission made recommendations such as the promotion of good governance, respect for human rights, restructuring of the security services, youth empowerment, among others to the government of Sierra Leone¹⁶

The Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration (DDR) process in Sierra Leone disarmed 72,490 fighters, discharged 71,043, and 63,545 former fighters partook in the reintegration process involving 6,845 child soldiers.¹⁷ It also implemented the Kimberley Process Certification Scheme (KPCS) and the Diamond Area Community Development Fund (DACDF) to better regulate trade in the states’ diamonds, one resource that facilitated the civil war. The Special Court in Sierra Leone was set up to try cases of those who committed serious crimes and violations of international humanitarian law since 30 November 1996 and during the civil war.¹⁸

Speaking on the issue of socio-economic development, the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSP) and the National Recovery Strategy (NRS) were instituted to address poverty reduction, economic growth, security and good governance. Rehabilitation and reforms of the various sectors of the state were captured in these projects. The Interim Poverty Strategy Paper (IPRSP) which was finalised in 2001 sought to be effected in two phases.¹⁹ The transitional phase (2001-2002) aimed at reconstructing the state infrastructure and improving the living standards of people who were poor including Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) whereas the medium-term phase (2003-2005) sought to address long-term development problems with security and accessibility in the state. The IPRSP contributed to the formulation of a full Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper for the long term.²⁰

The IPRSP and the NRS improved the socio-economic situation of Sierra Leone where the helpless were supported financially, security also strengthened with economic and social sectors further reformed.²¹ In nominal terms, about US\$994 million debt relief under the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) initiative was given to Sierra Leone by its creditors mainly led by the International Development Association (IDA) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in 2006 because of the remarkable progress made by Sierra Leone.²² This was as a result of the PRSP. Despite the progress made by Sierra Leone with the measures put in place, certain indicators and rankings showed that the state needs to do a little more especially with poverty still widespread.

Under the governance of President Ahmed Tejan Kabbah, in 2001 Vision 2025 was implemented to look into the challenges it faced after the civil war in order to have a better future for the state.²³ Vision 2025 thus concentrated on how to “attain a competitive private sector-led economy with effective indigenous participation, create a high quality of life for all Sierra Leoneans, to build a well-educated and enlightened society, create a tolerant, stable, secure and well managed society based on democratic values, ensure sustainable exploitation and effective utilization of natural resources, while maintaining a healthy environment, and become a science and technology-driven nation.”²⁴

In 2007, President Ernest Bai Koroma under his leadership instituted the Agenda for Change (2008 - 2012) to continue to tackle the difficulties and challenges of the state whereby he believed that a broad-based economic growth was the basic antedate out of poverty. This means that it was the second PRSP to have been undertaken to deal with the challenges that continued to exist in the state. Although these PRSPs made some achievements such as economic growth, macroeconomic stability and reduction in inflation, Sierra Leone continued

to be ranked low on the HDI of the UNDP in 2007 and 2008. Upon consultations with stakeholders, it was realised that the education, agriculture, electricity, transportation and health sectors were challenged and needed to be improved.²⁵ The government, therefore, implemented policies that focused on four pillars that it regarded as important to stimulate growth and reduction in poverty; energy, transportation, agriculture and human development.²⁶ Pillar one targeted the improvement in the management and regulation of the energy sector by providing power that is reliable and solidification of revenue collection and increasing. It also sought to complete the Bumbuna Hydroelectric project and develop new sources of power to connect the entire country which resulted in an increase in power grid generation from 170.5 GWh in 2010 to 175.7 GWh in 2011, an increase of 3.1 percent.²⁷

With a vibrant agricultural background, the second pillar sought to increase the quantity as well as the value-added productivity in agriculture and fisheries in order to help reduce poverty since many Sierra Leoneans were into agricultural and fishing activities. The pillar also recognised that the development of agribusiness was necessary because of the potentials it serves for food security, revenue generation and wealth creation. Among others the government aimed at increasing agricultural productivity especially among the rural poor areas, promoting varied viable agriculture through the private sector and improving research and extension services in agriculture.²⁸ Looking at how transportation was a key development area, the third pillar pointed to the development of a national road transportation network which will enhance the trade in goods and services, increase investment and economic activity. With this, it sought to prioritise the improvement in road, river and air transport. This also included the upgrade of the international and local airports.²⁹ The fourth pillar which focused on human development sought to tackle sustainable human development using

improved social services. These service deliveries, the agenda seeks to decentralise and deliver them closer to the citizens.

With regards to education, activities were targeted at improving access and increasing the completion rate, particularly for primary and junior secondary schools and making better extensive training programmes for teachers, providing enough education materials and better the improving the conditions of service for teachers. The government saw that the effective delivery of basic social services is critical for growth and reduction in poverty.³⁰

The progress reports for the Agenda for Change revealed that the policies put in place achieved considerable progress especially in infrastructure where it saw the construction of an 86km Freetown-Conakry second phase tarmac in 2011, a 164km Masiaka-Bo highway and a 64km Bo-Kenema highway in 2010.³¹ There was a 5.2 percent increase in annual GDP where production was expanded in all the major sectors, particularly, mining and agriculture. The health sector also made massive progress with the free medical care policy for children, pregnant and lactating mothers which further reduced poverty. Power generation and capacity was increased from 24MW in 2008 to 87.7MW in 2010 although revenue collection was a challenge. Power generation in the cities were expanded with more work still done on Bo and Kenema cities. The agriculture sector saw an increase in the production of crops such as rice, cassava, maize, groundnut among others. Works begun on improving irrigation to increase the low level of less than 2000 hectares to over 50,000 hectares in three major river basins of Tormabum, Komrabi Mamila and Gbondapi. The Government of India also assisted with 265 tractors and other agricultural machinery which was obtained under a Line of Credit.

Issues of capacity, low coordination between state ministries and ineffective distribution of funds for projects were the main challenges that impeded the achievement of the objectives.

Low input in technology, challenge with finance and transportation was however a challenge to entire success in the agriculture sector.³² In the education sector, access increased remarkably with more children attending school. The National Primary School Examination (NPSE) and Basic Education Certificate Examination (BECE) resulted in an increase in enrolment and passes for both boys and girls. Many primary and junior secondary schools were also built. There was, however, a challenge with the capacity of junior high schools to admit the many children who had graduated from primary school. Second, there was an inadequate number of junior secondary schools in some localities, inadequately qualified teachers in remote areas as well as accommodation to house these teachers.³³

MDG reports in 2010 disclosed that poverty was reduced from 70 percent in the year 2005 to 60 percent in 2010 when the Agenda for Change was implemented. It also moved 12 points upward in the UNDP HDI index for 2010. From 3.2 percent in 2009, real GDP grew by 5 percent in 2010 which was contributed by the mining, agriculture, construction, manufacturing, and services sectors. Inflation, however, increased from 12.2 percent by the end of 2009 to 16.1 in 2010. President Bai Koroma continued to the third PRSP called the Agenda for Prosperity (2013 - 2018) to manage social and economic development and achieve a middle-income status. It was also expected that the agenda will achieve a comprehensive progress with about 80 percent of the population living above the poverty line, attain gender equality, good governance and rule of law, an advanced infrastructure, macroeconomic stability with a thriving private-sector, progress in widespread employment opportunities and a population that is well-educated and healthy.³⁴ Despite achieving a decline in poverty from 66.4 percent in 2003 to 52.9 percent in 2011, issues regarding unemployment, particularly among the youth needed to be attended to.

The Agenda for Prosperity is built on 8 pillars. Pillar one focuses on the broadening of economic sections to achieve economic growth, encouraging women participation. The second pillar focuses on the management of the state's natural resources such as land, water, minerals, marine and oil and gas, which has the potential to drive economic growth. The third pillar concentrates on accelerating human development towards the accomplishment of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), now the SDGs. It does this through using “strategies that will accelerate human development, through improving education quality and access, providing extensive health services, controlling HIV/AIDS, providing safe water and improved sanitation, population policy including reducing migration to the cities and slowing fertility, and mainstreaming gender parity.”³⁵ The fourth pillar captures how Sierra Leone can become globally competitive and improve upon the partnership between the public and private sector by enabled by a business environment that is conducive, has adequate infrastructure and availability of credit. The achievement of this pillar is very important to Sierra Leone because a globally competitive state can be able to trade their services on the international market, attract FDI and increase general economic growth which can, in the end, provide jobs for its citizens.

Furthermore, the fifth pillar also addresses the high unemployment and underemployment that characterises the state where the informal sector employing the majority of people. Thereby policies and projects to improve this sector include the promoting of investment in small and large scale business, improving agriculture in order to generate employment, expanding skills, and ensuring an employment-friendly institutional framework.³⁶ The issue of social protection is the addressed in the six pillar. Among others, it addresses issues such as capacity building, solidifying the support for nutrition, healthcare and education.³⁷ Pillar seven, Governance and Public Sector Reform, deals with improving good governance, peace

and security, access to justice as well as the effective capacity in the public sector to facilitate sustained growth, the creation of employment and reduction in poverty.

The above measures such as the PRSPs and Agendas for Change and Prosperity have sought to improve economic growth and development of Sierra Leone. Despite the successes achieved, there is more to be done towards achieving the development objectives of the state in health, education, unemployment, private sector development, agriculture among others. In a quest to attain, by, 2035 middle-income grade, these measures or programmes have been undertaken by successive governments to overcome hurdles in the aforementioned sectors. Specific measures for education and employment, as an objective of the study, is tackled below.

3.4 Challenges of economic Development in Post-Conflict Sierra Leone

The civil war that hit Sierra Leone created difficulties in the development of its sectors. Surprising as it may sound, some of the current challenges that Sierra Leone faces seem to be the very same issues that formed grievances leading to the war: issues of corruption, education accessibility and youth unemployment. The state remains exposed to a number of unattended pressures that are very dire to its economic development. Inadequacies in its education sector and youth employment provision have left a huge population of the state, mostly youth, unsatisfied with the government's efforts at addressing development issues. It is said that "job creation projects are among the most effective means of stabilizing communities and keeping the peace, immediately after conflict".³⁸ Education has been said to be an important contributor to economic development.³⁹

3.4.1 Challenges with the Education Sector and its Ramifications for Economic Development

In capturing the challenges that Sierra Leone faces with the education sector and its ramification on economic development, which is an objective of the study, it is realised that the education sector has been greatly affected. Access to quality education is regarded as a vital tool for the development of a state. Sierra Leone runs a 6-3-3-4 education system where primary education spans for six years, the junior high school for three years, three years of either technical vocational education or senior secondary education and a final four years for university or other tertiary education. It is realised that much of the education focus has been on the primary and junior high school because it is where many issues with enrolment and quality are common, although the tertiary also suffers some challenges. These challenges impede its economic development attainment.

In an interview with Ambassador Kabral Amihere, former High Commissioner of Ghana to Sierra Leone and part-time lecturer at Fourah Bay College, he identified that the civil war destroyed the education sector where many people could not attend school.⁴⁰ He specified that “Fourah Bay College was physically not destroyed but effective administration of the institution run down”.⁴¹ He further stated that the civil war caused many lecturers to flee to neighbouring states causing inadequacies in state institutions, particularly, Fourah Bay College. Girl child education was severely impacted where “many girls got pregnant and had a disruption in their education”.⁴²

Currently, teenage pregnancy and early marriage continue to typify the state. About 60 percent of girls in the state marry by the age of 18 years.⁴³ This has put the future of girls at risk where pregnant girls are disallowed from attending school and are prone to becoming school drop-outs because of the stigma associated with being in the same class with their

colleagues.⁴⁴ This results in the probability of girls resorting to working voluntarily on farmlands that belong to their families and further block their chances of better future employment.⁴⁵ The consequence of this situation will be a future where positions of authority in both state and private entities are likely to be occupied mostly by men while women empowerment will be low.

Equality in education also increases the education level of women. The education of women has a strong impact on economic development as it increases income and human capital of a state.⁴⁶ The economic impact of an absence of income for women can indirectly affect the GDP growth of Sierra Leone. Also, a disparity in education against girls is likely to reduce future income parity. Lastly, the SDGs Goal 4 expects to “ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all” hence a disparity in education would also disrupt its attainment.

Moreover, since education marginalisation is said to have been one of the factors leading to the war, it then poses a probable threat to the security and peace of the state. If citizens continue to suffer challenges that the government is not addressing with this sector, it is possible for people to accumulate grievances and rebel against the state in an effort to get government to fix the problems they face. Barakat Sultan, et al assert that “when large numbers of young people are denied access to education, the resulting poverty, unemployment and disaffection can act as a powerful recruiting ground for armed militia”.⁴⁷ A conversation with six (6) teachers from the Government Model and Divine Glory schools in Freetown and Wellington respectively revealed that government policies have made it easier to have access to education but some citizens are still not interested in going to school.⁴⁸ They further mention that, “many of them happen to be people who were attending

school when the war occurred and after it ended have not been interested in continuing because some feel they have outgrown the school going age.”⁴⁹

One other challenge that faced the education sector in Sierra Leone was its inability to meet the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) Goal 2 which is to achieve a universal primary education by 2015.⁵⁰ The UNDP documents that Sierra Leone could not attain this goal entirely because pupils dropped out of school before their last grade of primary school and recorded 76 percent out of the set retention target. Children who are disabled also use their condition and lack of facilities that assist them to study to stay out of school.⁵¹ The difficulties with access to primary school and poor teacher management also contributed to the failure to achieve the goal. Moreover, a 64.3 percent literacy rate for school children between the ages of 15-24 was recorded. One of the targets, achieving gross primary enrolment, was however accomplished with a substantial difference of 25 percent more than the expected target.⁵²

Another challenge that confronts the education sector is the problem with the state's capacity to fund projects. The inadequate funds prevent the state from undertaking projects that will ensure effective increase in enrolment and the provision of quality education. In a conversation with teachers from the Government Model and Divine schools, they confirm that over the years, projects such as renovation of infrastructure, provision of textbooks and tables and chairs have not been effective. This is because successive governments do not have the financial capacity to undertake these projects, although other international organisations have contributed funds to it.⁵³ If the provision of these are not available, it leaves the sector frail.

With the relationship between education and employment, a probable effect of the lack of education to some extent, is its impact on employment opportunities that are available. It is discovered that majority of the youth are unskilled and illiterate and as a result are not able to meet the requirements that are needed for a number of jobs, mainly the ones that demand some considerable literacy.⁵⁴ The implication is a difficulty for these unemployed to have access to incomes to sustain themselves and also decrease the representation of Sierra Leoneans occupying positions of authority in government and private businesses. The sad truth is, due to the poverty levels in Sierra Leone, most individuals cannot afford to pay fees or even afford transportation to school. Parents rather send their children out in the streets to sell and make money.⁵⁵ Another challenge has been with examination malpractice where examination questions get leaked to students and parents usually at a price.⁵⁶ The ramification of examination malpractices is that students end up completing school without actually understanding what was being taught them and as such can end up becoming ‘toothless bulldogs’ who can only say that they have acquired education but in reality, cannot practice it.

Teachers form a major component of the education sector and as a result, their role is indispensable. Therefore, the success of the education sector in Sierra Leone, to some extent, depends on teachers. In an interview with an official from the High Commission of Ghana in Sierra Leone, he specified that, “poor working conditions such as inadequate accommodation facilities, lack of motivation, delay in salaries for teachers prevent them from contributing their best to the sector”⁵⁷. This has resulted in instances where teachers who have been trained in a particular field have not reached the required performance level to efficiently contribute to the development of the education sector.⁵⁸ This was also confirmed in the conversation with the teachers from Government Model and Divine Schools where they

mentioned that, salaries are not paid on time and more so, are insufficient to take care of their families, which reduces their enthusiasm to teach well. They criticize “the absence of a regular professional training programmes to upgrade their skills, the lack of effective loan facilities to supplement their insufficient incomes, the lack of basic technology like computers to facilitate teaching and learning and inadequate accommodation facilities.”⁵⁹ The motivation of teachers is very key in creating a conducive environment for learning hence when there is a low motivation for them, it can affect the performance of students. In the long run, a lack of motivation for teachers is likely to reduce the productivity of teachers and eventually the entire learning environment.

More so, many teachers in Sierra Leone lack the required qualifications needed to teach in schools.⁶⁰ In 2016 UNICEF recorded that 41% of male and 28% of female teachers lacked the formal teaching qualification or teaching with a qualification below the required standard.⁶¹ This can have an effect on the quality of what teachers teach students because they do not possess the requisite knowledge to teach. The MEST also reports that the state lacks a national system that initiates teachers who are new to the teaching career.⁶² This initiation is very vital because it enables teachers to be abreast with the education system to know how they can contribute their best to it.

The government through the MEST reports that some successes such as the creation of additional 812 schools between 2011/2012 to 2015/2016 and increase in enrolment to 1,981,273 in 2016 from 1,765,188 in 2011/2012 had been achieved. It, however, records poverty has been one of the challenges which has deterred people from going to school because of their inability to pay for the levies and other costs associated with pursuing education. Much concentration has also been on Western Area where Freetown is located

than on the other regions, especially towns in the remote areas. The former has received more facilities than the latter. Also, issues with disability among children was reported as a challenge which made some children stay out of school. According to the Annual School Census Report of 2015, 25,339 students out of 1,841,252 reported issues with disability.⁶³ It must be taken into consideration that as normal as it might happen, the Ebola Virus Disease (EVD) outbreak also affected the education sector when some schools were closed down to prevent the spread of the disease and deal with the outbreak. This affected people's ability to go to school and so at the end when the EVD was eradicated, the enthusiasm to go back to school was reduced and so affected the enrolment numbers.

Furthermore, Dr. Fiifi Adu-Afful reveals that "education increases the economic development of a state and adds up to the development rankings of that state."⁶⁴ Dr Adu-Afful further points out that UNDP rankings have already proven that Sierra Leone is underdeveloped based on indicators of which education is one.⁶⁵ This implies that if the current challenges in the education sector are not addressed, the development rankings of the state will continuously fall. A fall in development rankings will affect the state's recognition in the international world. When an individual is educated, he has a comparative advantage over those who are not. For instance, when it comes to employment, the educated have an advantage over the non- educated in getting employed.

3.4.2 Measures put in Place in the Education Sector

The government in partnership with development partners have put certain measures in place aimed at addressing the education sector challenges. Some of these measures are included in the Agenda for Change and Prosperity, PRSPs among others.

The previous Education Sector Plan of 2014-2018 put measures such as the construction of more schools especially in the rural areas, charging reasonable fees and persuading people to pursue education by using traditional elders resulted in an increase in enrolment.⁶⁶ The Education Ministry in 2010 deleted about 1000 names of people referred to as ghost teachers who never existed but received salaries.⁶⁷ This is a good measure because it will make some monies available for other educational projects. The Education Ministry and Ministry of Finance and Economic Development (MoFED) have also dedicated departments that will observe the progress made in the education sector towards achieving the SDG goal 4. This will make it easy to track the areas of the sector that needs urgent attention.

The MEST of Sierra Leone made it a policy for all schools to have facilities that makes it easier for the disabled to have access to education. As such toilets and ramps that are disabled-friendly for the physically challenged are to be put up in all schools.⁶⁸ This is a right step in the right direction as it will remove the barriers that prevents the physically challenged from attending school.

The 2018 elections saw Sierra Leone's new President, Julius Maada Bio of the SLPP vouch his government's commitment to implementing the free basic and secondary education which will not only increase access but improve quality as well. This free education was in nonetheless put in place by the MEST in the Education Act 2004 but President Bio seeks to improve and advance it. The programme is expected to take off in September 2018 and cater for some projected 2,141,356 students. With an allotted amount of Sierra Leonean Leone (Le) 1.04 trillion to the education sector in the 2018 budget, which is an increase from Le 275.3 billion in the 2017 budget by the previous government, it shows the governments readiness to tackle the challenges of the sector.⁶⁹ This amount is expected to cover teachers'

salaries, the free basic and secondary tuition and feeding programme and textbooks and reading material. It has made provisions to subsidize university fees and waive the fees for university application. This is a right step by the government since it will increase the enrolment numbers of the tertiary institutions in the state.

An increase in human capital is an important feature of economic development.⁷⁰ Education has a strong link with the economic development of a state because of its contribution to human capital and individual income. Since human capital and individual income are directly related to economic development, an increase in education will affect economic development. The measures put in place by successive governments especially the current one to improve the education sector seem viable and with the political will to undertake this activity, Sierra Leone can achieve equal distribution of quality education and achieve the SDG education Goal 4. On the whole, it is realised that the education sector has made some significant improvement since the end of the war.

3.4.3 Challenges of Youth Employment and its Ramifications for Economic Development

As one of the objectives of the study to find out the challenges facing Sierra Leone, the youth employment sector of Sierra Leone has been described to be one that suffers major setbacks. During the war, development levels were low and was ranked last in the UNDP development rankings with HDI of 0.048.⁷¹ After the war, the struggle continues to be associated with it. A challenge with high unemployment is likely to distract the peace and development in a state.

The Sierra Leone National Youth Policy and the National Youth Commission Act 2010 define youth of Sierra Leone as those between the ages 15 and 35 years where this group represents approximately 34 percent of Sierra Leoneans.⁷² About 70 percent of these youth

are either unemployed or underemployed, according to the UNDP.⁷³ This is among the highest in West Africa and the world in general, thus its low ranking in UNDP HDI. Kabral Amihere indicates that there was massive unemployment mainly among the youth at the end of the conflict because no serious economic activity existed and this continues to characterise the economy. He again reveals that as people sought to reintegrate after being displaced by the war, the pressure on the government to provide jobs increased.⁷⁴ This is a challenge because once these grievances or pressures are unmet, individuals might engage in social vices such as drug abuse, prostitution, gambling and robbery which will in turn become detrimental to the state.

UNDP reports that about 60 percent of Sierra Leoneans live on less than US\$ 1.25 daily with unemployment and poverty pervasive mainly among the youth.⁷⁵ The challenges such as underemployment, substandard working conditions and low pay-paid jobs characterise the employment sector.⁷⁶ In a focus group discussion with eight (8) unemployed, students and employed citizens to understand the challenges that they face with employment, they attested to the fact that there is indeed a problem getting employed. One, aged 28 years and unemployed for three years after completing tertiary, attributed the cause of his unemployment to favouritism and partiality, especially with public recruitment.⁷⁷ If public recruitment becomes 'to whom you know', the ramification is that, it can lead to hiring the wrong person which is likely to result in a loss of productivity in public sector and an additional cost of hiring another person to take up similar duties that couldn't be done by the former employee. This challenge is a replica of what occurred during the 1980s when you had to know someone to get public sector employment.

Furthermore, there are a few avenues available in Sierra Leone that offer opportunities to get work experience. Internships are only allowed in the final year of tertiary education and this does not give students enough experience to meet the job market specifications. This challenge is the same after completing school, where there is not a viable national system to absorb graduates to gain work experience.⁷⁸ A 27 year old mentions that finding work in the private sector is much easier than the public sector, but the enabling environment that makes it easier for private to flourish and increase its employment capacity is not encouraging.⁷⁹ The lack of internship opportunities for students while schooling does not give student the chance to experience practical work and gain the necessary skills for job market.

Lack of employment further poses a barrier to revenue collection or its improvement. Dr. Afua Yakohene, a research fellow at LECIAD also specifies in an interview that one challenge with employment is a continuous reduction in government revenue. If the government do not create employment opportunities for the youth, it inadvertently affects its revenue base.⁸⁰ Yakohene continues that, “if people have work to do, they end up paying taxes on their incomes or profits monthly and in improving their living standards, they also end up expending the money in the same economy which tickles down to the government in forms of taxes and duties paid on goods and services”.⁸¹ This will end up increasing the revenue of the government of the day. In an absence of the above, the state loses a lot without noticing.⁸²

The agriculture sector suffers from inadequate capital to start farming, dependence on rain and not irrigation practice, lack of application of sophisticated technology for improved productivity and low fertilizer use.⁸³ This challenge results in low productivity hence do not make it an attractive area for the youth to go into. Revenue from its mining sector have

equally been low because weak measures, monitoring systems and strategies have characterised the sector resulting in low tax revenues to increase government capacity to employ the youth.⁸⁴ Similar challenges continue to exist for its sectors such as tourism and marine resources.

Other social ramifications of the rise in unemployment is the incentive that it creates for people to engage in social vices such as robbery, trafficking and prostitution. Once these vices provide economic benefits and is able to cater for their economic needs, individuals will engage in it. This is confirmed in an interview with an unemployed and poorly educated woman who indicates that she has engaged in prostitution after the war because it has been able to sustain herself and her siblings' education.⁸⁵ Although there exist some form of peace and security currently in Sierra Leone, the huge unemployment serves as a danger and a 'feed' for potential combatants.

Jesmed Suma, a policy research analyst indicates another challenge to be the lack of needed skills and training that the labour force possesses.⁸⁶ The educational levels of many people are below the standard required for most formal work and so they tend to lose out on employment opportunities. Furthermore, there is a challenge with the increasing labour where supply is unequal to its demand.⁸⁷ The Sierra Leone 2015 population and housing census revealed that a high number of people who were self-employed as well as those engaged in the informal sector comprising fishing, forestry and agriculture sectors receive fairly low remuneration.⁸⁸ In 2016, it was also noticed that the mismatch between the programmes taught in universities and the needs of the job market have contributed to the high unemployment rate in the state. Hence upon completion of school, graduates find it difficult to secure work because the training they received has little value for the work they seek.⁸⁹

Furthermore, entrepreneurship in Sierra Leone is not one of the best in Africa as it ranks 135 out of 137 in the world and 28 out of 30 in sub Saharan Africa.⁹⁰ The report compares it to Kenya where the field has been able to provide employment to 7.5million people and creates 92% of new jobs every year. Entrepreneurship is one of the drivers of private sector growth and development in a state. Challenges with finance and human capital are described as the major hurdles to entrepreneurship in Sierra Leone.⁹¹ As a result ability to start up an entrepreneurial activity has been taken up by foreign influence, that is, the Lebanese and Chinese nationals.⁹² This creates a condition where the GDP growth of Sierra Leone is indirectly affected because the foreign nationals repatriate their profits to their home country.

As experienced, young people have been in the frontline of electoral violence and other conflicts in Liberia and Sierra Leone⁹³ The TRC reports also found out that the exclusion of the youth from state participation also contributed to youth disgruntlement that made them become part of the RUF.⁹⁴ If the state does not address these challenges, the citizens lose the trust for government capacity to cater for its people.

3.4.4 Measures Put in Place in the Youth Employment Sector

The Ministry in charge of Labour and Social Security's has a strategic plan 2009-2014 that regards youth skills and employment creation as very important and targets 250,000 new employments, 50,000 innovative businesses begun, and improved skills for 10,000 people. Since the end of the civil war, there have been measures and policies put in place by both state and non-state actors to improve the employment sectors and reduce the challenges thereof. These plans and measures have been adopted to boost the employment situation and offer substantive opportunities for employment. Successive governments have prioritised the employment needs of the state even though it continues to face persistent challenges. The

Government of Sierra Leone's (GoSL) Agenda for Change and the Agenda for Prosperity from 2008 to 2012 and 2013 to 2018 respectively which is part of its national development agenda relates to the measures for change in the employment sector.⁹⁵ It seeks to implement policies that create and provide more avenues for employment.

The 2012 Sierra Leone Local Content Policy's sought to "promote growth and development of the domestic private sector by creating linkages with the large domestic and foreign firms through the utilization of local resources and products, and to promote the integration of the Sierra Leoneans in all economic activities".⁹⁶ Among others, one of its major objectives is to "promote employment of Sierra Leonean citizens through participation in the private sector". This policy put in place measures to improve the employment situation in Sierra Leone by prioritising the employment of Sierra Leoneans than that of foreign nationals in projects implemented by locals or foreigner.

The Agenda for Prosperity which builds on the Agenda for Change is designed to beat down the economic development challenges of high unemployment by focusing on private sector development.⁹⁷ In trying to better the employment prospect, the Agenda for Prosperity has the approach of "augmenting the quality of, and access to, basic and secondary education for all children, to develop human capital in the longer term; and establishing programmes to develop skills of the current young adult labour force, including Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET), special basic education programmes, and mechanisms for enhancing managerial, administrative and entrepreneurial skills".⁹⁸

The Agricultural sector has been seen as one sector that can actually be a remedy for the unemployment that exists in the state. The current government led by President Bio have

prioritised the sector and is planning to increase its agricultural capacity and this could create employment. It also seeks to introduce better conditions of service for people to encourage people to look for jobs rather than engage in illicit activities.

3.5 The PCR Concept as Applied in Sierra Leone

The causes of conflicts in Africa have been multiple and multifaceted which has invariably affected economic development. States become weak at the end of a conflict and in an effort to rebuild peace and development is constrained by a number of factors. The involvement of non-state actors is significant in order to supplement the role that the state is expected to play in the process. In an interview with Dr Phillip Attuquayefio, a Senior Research Fellow at the LECIAD, he indicates that “the concept of reconstruction is very important but has been more deceptive than honest in its application”.⁹⁹ He adds that the concept “lacks some form of intellectual acuity relative to the concept of Post-Conflict Development (PCD)” which he believes overrules the former. Attuquayefio is of the view that if the extent of development that will occur after conflict will go beyond what was present during the pre-conflict state, then the concept of PCR is inadequate.¹⁰⁰ During post-conflict periods, mechanisms by both the state and the international community are towards improving and maintaining security. Concerning what he thinks as important conditions for PCR, he indicated that most PCRs have focused on the security of the institutions that make up the state rather than on the citizens of the state.¹⁰¹

On the issue of the success achieved with PCR in Sierra Leone after the conflict, Dr. Festus Aubyn of Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Centre (KAIPCTC) allude to the fact that “while some African states such as Sudan and the Central African Republic have had a relapse of conflict, Sierra Leone has not since the end of the civil war”¹⁰². He continues that

African post-conflict states have been able to put in place legal instruments that have checked human right abuses, promoted transparency and ensured peaceful elections, hence has been successful.¹⁰³ While Dr. Attuquayefio confirms that Sierra Leone has been able to achieve a “two turnover” test where it has seen an incumbent party and its successor been voted out of office without affecting the democratic disposition to be an achievement¹⁰⁴, Dr. Ahorsu is also of the view that the withdrawal of the UN peace troops from the state signifies a success story which means Sierra Leone has some capacity to take control of its affairs.¹⁰⁵ Judging from the above discussion, the point can be made that Sierra Leone has to a large extent made progress with PCR especially in the aspect of maintaining the peace about 15 years after the civil war ended.

Peace is a prerequisite for economic development to occur and as such its absence will be an environment characterised by chaos which prevents people from conducting business transactions, attending school or seeking medical care. However, despite the fact that peace has been kept for a long time in Sierra Leone, the slow economic progress and its manifestation in the various sectors of the state continue to challenge the successes achieved by the PCR process.

3.6 The Contributions of Non-State Actors to Education and Employment

This section discusses one of the objectives of the study to find out the roles that non-state actors play. The UN and its specialised agencies like the World Bank, IMF and UNESCO, the Plan International Sierra Leone, the European Union (EU), Civil Society Organisations (CSOs), NGOs and among others have contributed to PCR in Sierra Leone. Dr. Ahorsu attests to the indispensable role that these non-state actors play and confirm that usually states capacity is weak immediately after a conflict, thus the need to involve them in the rebuilding

process¹⁰⁶. From the transition out of fragility to sustainable development, these organisations have assisted states with their policies and projects that they undertake. UNESCO, the World Bank, IMF and Plan International have helped Sierra Leone with its economic development particularly with employment and education. The following also indicates the measures that non-state actors have taken to improve the two aforementioned sectors.

There is, therefore, the need to have a strong relationship between the state and these other non-state actors. Mr Mathew Sandy of the IMF resident office in Sierra Leone confirms that “the collaboration between the government and the organisation is close and transparent to the extent that memorandum of financial and economic policies has been signed between the two which allows the former to own the IMF programmes initiated after the war”.¹⁰⁷ In an interview with Mr. Mansaray Kemoh, a Senior Economist of the World Bank Group Sierra Leone, he states that coordination depends on the level of government commitment to the priorities and programmes and further points out that the current government is committed to their association.

The NEPAD African PCR agenda talks about the problematic relationship between the two, specifying an ‘unequal power balance’ concerning their relation.¹⁰⁸ It further justifies that a stable relationship between the two is one of the determinants of a successful PCR process, but external actors face the challenge of finding reliable internal actors with which it can partner to implement policies effectively.¹⁰⁹ This unhealthy relationship poses a threat to the success of the implementation of reconstruction policies undertaken together by both the state and non-state actors and in an interview with Dr. Attuquayefio, he buttresses that the roles of non-state actors are very critical, especially the UN and its specialised agencies without which PCR cannot be successful. Issues of mismatch regarding coordination, competition,

interest, repetition among these non-state actors and the affected state have however often been the challenge.¹¹⁰ An unfriendly relationship between the state and non-state actors will not make the reconstruction effective.

The provision of aid is very critical for reconstruction and as realised in Sierra Leone, a lot of aid has been disbursed by the World Bank, IMF and other institutions. Some institutions have also provided support in terms of technical assistance. The World Bank through the IDA played a major role in liaising with other development partners to restore public goods for citizens which helped IDPs as well as former fighters in the war to reintegrate.¹¹¹ The World Bank works with other development partners to support the fight against poverty and promote economic development in Sierra Leone. In 2016, the World Bank approved a US\$ 15.5 million to support health service delivery and support Sierra Leone's health sector and assist the government undertake its health sector recovery plan towards improving healthcare quality as well as maternal and child services.¹¹²

On improving education access, the World Bank confirmed its US\$40 million support to assist the free education programme of the 2018 newly elected government of Sierra Leone through the Focusing Resources on Equity and Excellence in Education Project (FREE Education) to increase quality in childhood, primary and secondary education. It is also meant to develop the skills of individuals through the technical and vocational training and skills for productive sectors such as agriculture and mining.¹¹³ Mr Mansaray cites that "the World Bank's projects on employment is focused on youth empowerment and skills development through training and matching grants".¹¹⁴ Mr Sandy confirms that the IMF has been able to facilitate the setting up the National Social Security and Insurance Trust in Sierra Leone to provide retirement pension plans of all working class.¹¹⁵

The Global Partnership for Education granted an amount of US\$17.9 million to Sierra Leone in executing its education sector plan to improve learning in schools and check its progress. This is supplemented by DFID and the World Bank with an amount of US\$2.46 million and US\$10 million respectively.¹¹⁶ Another education project of World Bank in 2014 saw among others the building of fifty early childhood education classrooms and toilet for fifty primary schools, the delivery of 2.5 million additional books and 56,000 teachers' guides to all primary schools in the state, and releasing of performance-based grants to 284 primary and secondary schools in Sierra Leone.¹¹⁷ These assistances improved access to education in the state by reducing the challenges it faced.

In 2010, the World Bank through the Ministry of Finance and Economic Development (MoFED) embarked on the US\$20 million Youth Employment Support Project (YESP) project which sought to attend to the high unemployment that had characterized the state which was seen as not just economic but as a political and security risk.¹¹⁸ With its objective “to increase access to short term employment opportunities and to improve the employability of targeted youth”, Component one, referred to as ‘Cash for Works’ tackled works that will provide short term employment and training to the youth while encouraging women participation. Component two which is the ‘Skills Development and Employment Support’ concerned itself with helping young people who either had set up a business or had the intention to set up one. It targeted both the urban youth with both low and high level of education and the rural youth as well.

Component three provided technical and financial support to NAYCOM and GoSL to develop policies impact evaluations of activities. Component one augmented household income benefitting more than 36,000 people, with 16,000 of them being women. Component

two benefitted about 9600 people which improved the lives and incomes of themselves and their families remarkably, developing their employment skills. YESP has been more productive when contrasted with other comparative projects.¹¹⁹ The point must, however, be made that the government of Sierra Leone played a role in the implementation of the above as this was captured in its Agenda for Prosperity which sought to develop programmes that are directed towards improving the youth unemployment situation and development in Sierra Leone.

Moreover, the 2018 World Bank's US\$ 22 million Sierra Leone Skills Development Project is expected to add to skills development in Sierra Leone to make the youth more employable. With the objective to "increase access to demand-led skills training and build the foundations for a demand-led skills development system in Sierra Leone", the project is targeted at benefitting among others, young people who are searching for work, workers and owners of businesses in the formal and informal sectors, students and workers in public and private sector and government agencies who are interested in developing their skills.¹²⁰ Mr. Mansaray indicates that the organisation supports the GoSL to implement its national development programme priorities in areas such as health, agriculture, education, infrastructure and private sector development in order to unlock productivity and inclusive growth have been achieved.¹²¹ This goes to confirm the point made by Dr. Attuquayefio concerning the critical roles non-state actors play in rebuilding post-conflict states.

The World Bank has also assisted with creating an enabling environment for businesses to thrive. Growth and employment creation becomes a challenge in conflict-affected states and as such donors and governments see a vibrant private sector as very essential to the creation of employment.¹²² The World Bank has helped private sector development in conflict-

affected states by offering loans and beneficial products to the governments of these states.¹²³ Mr. Mansaray confirms that the World Bank support private of conflict states and in Sierra Leone, it has funded the growth of its sectors that are important for development especially investment in agriculture which accounts for about half of the state's GDP.¹²⁴ For instance, the Bank begun a project in 2007 called the Rural and Private Sector Development Project with the objective "to improve efficiencies along the value chain of agricultural commodities with higher benefits flowing to producers" and benefited about 56,000 traders, private sector agro processors, and farmer organisations as against a project target of 50,000 people, out of which 45 percent improved their incomes. It captured domestic marketing improvement, agricultural export production, support to farmer-based organisations and technology improvement which improved the production and growth of agriculture and food security. Prior to the project, average income each recipient received was valued at US\$332 (US\$0.91 per day) which was less than that of the poverty line of US\$1.25 daily. This amount increased to US\$602.29 per annum, equal to (US\$1.65 daily).¹²⁵

In relation to creating employment in the private sector, the ease of doing business is very much important, in that it is with this that the private sector can actually survive. The World Bank's ease of doing business ranks Sierra Leone 160 out of 190 states. It is also ranked as 165 out of 190 for registering of a business, and 182 out of 190 for dealing with construction papers. It, however, has a better rank 83 out of 190 in starting a business.¹²⁶ On average this rank is not encouraging to investors who have an interest in situating a business in Sierra Leone.

Plan International, a development and humanitarian organisation, has been assisting with economic development in Sierra Leone concerning education access, good health and

livelihood and protection of children from abuse and mistreatment, especially with girls. In 2017, the organisation contributed significantly to economic development in Sierra Leone where it trained 1041 teachers, taught 594 community members in safeguarding children and trained 74 health workers and volunteers.¹²⁷ In 2013, it embarked on a Girls Education Challenge project together with its partners including the MEST geared towards girl child education where it supports 21,600 girls including 2,052 children with disabilities who were likely to quit school in a number of Junior Secondary and Primary Schools in five rural districts in the state. The organisation also tackled gender-based violence with the educational institutions through activism and creating awareness.¹²⁸ Plan International continues to help girls in Sierra Leone to save money to pay their fees and also to fight against child marriage.

The German Corporation for International Cooperation (GIZ)'s Employment Promotion Programme (III) through the Ministry of Labour and Social Security aims to promote youth employment through local economic development from 2016 – 2020. This is in line with the government's Agenda for Prosperity, which seeks to support the private sector and the employment situation in agriculture by improving entrepreneurship among people through training and skills development. The programme seeks to develop the skills of 10,000 young people and 12,500 farmers and people who want to transform ideas into concrete businesses.¹²⁹

UNICEF, UNESCO and AfDB have also contributed to the promotion of peace and stability and economic development of Sierra Leone by supporting education and youth employment after the civil war. Currently, UNICEF together with its partners has established about 100 locations that assist 3,000 young girls who live in areas where pregnancy and child marriage is high. The organisation also supports girls to fund their education through Girls' Access to

Education (GATE) project.¹³⁰ The AfDB's ENABLE Youth Project in 2016 sought to empower the youth to take interest in agripreneurship that will generate income for themselves through agriculture. The programme sought to “Identify and address supply-side labour market challenges that hinder employability of youth; Improve Labour demand (youth employment) in Agribusiness; (iii) Provide institutional and regulatory support for reducing barriers to entry for youth in Agriculture.”¹³¹

While Mr. Mansaray outlines some of the challenges the World Bank faces in Sierra Leone with education and youth employment to be poor teacher training, low teacher emolument, a high number of unemployed youths, a high level of illiteracy and limited funding, Mr Sandy of the IMF indicate macroeconomic instability in the form of high inflation, high fiscal deficit, high interest rate and exchange rate depreciation, low policy buffers to limit the influence of the organisation to address the structural impediments that support private sector growth and employment. These challenges have a negative impact on the economy of the state and there poses a threat to its development.

Indeed, the above contributions show how indispensable the role of these non-state actors in Sierra Leone is. Technically and financially, they have provided assistance to the stability and economic development of Sierra Leone despite the existence of some challenges.

3.7 Some Development Comparison

In the context of post-conflict development, comparing Sierra Leone to other post-conflict states like Rwanda, the latter seems to be struggling with economic development. Rwanda has made much progress since the end of the war and is actually one of the fastest growing economies in Africa and continues to work towards improving the economic development of

the state. This is however not to say that Rwanda does not suffer any setback in achieving economic development. Mention must also be made that Sierra Leone's sectors, to some extent, also suffered from the EVD outbreak. Despite the fact that Rwanda's political context have come with some criticisms from the international world, its economic indicators are rated higher than some post-conflict states in Africa including Sierra Leone. It has an overall 2016 HDI of 159 greater than 179 for Sierra Leone, which shows that its development (gross national income per capita, life expectancy at birth among others) is far advanced than the latter.¹³²

Evidence from World Bank indicate that Rwanda's economy is more conducive for business, thus ranks it 41 out of 190 states and 2nd in Africa for ease of doing business. Sierra Leone as mentioned already ranks 160th out of 190 and 30th in Africa. Cote d'Ivoire, equally a post-conflict states also ranks 139th out of 190 and 17th in Africa.¹³³ This is very essential to the creation of employment when business is able to operate in the right environment. In the end, because of this ease, businesses are able to better packages its employees. In terms of global competitiveness, the 2016-2017 World Economic Forum's Global Competitiveness Report, ranks Sierra Leone at 132 out of 138 states, behind other post-conflict states such as Cote d'Ivoire, Rwanda, Mali.¹³⁴

According to USAID, Rwanda's primary school enrolment stands at 97 percent. Does this go to say that Rwanda has better measures or policies than Sierra Leone or its institutions are better? Sierra Leone equally performs better than some post-conflict states like Burundi and Burkina Faso who have HDI of 184 and 185 respectively, lying beneath Sierra Leone's position of 179. Mr. Mansaray explains that, for the World Bank, the progress made by African states depend on the level of institutional development, the capacity of its public

service and donor/aid inflows. He continues that, the progress of states with reconstruction and development have thus been mixed; from Rwanda and Mozambique recording rapid progress to Sierra Leone and Liberia recording sluggish recovery.¹³⁵ Even though it is clear from the above that Sierra Leone has made little progress as compared to Rwanda, Sierra Leone's development progress have also been hampered by the EVD that occurred some few years back. The scholars interviewed confirmed that Sierra Leone and Rwanda have both made some progress after their war. The latter has however made much progress especially with economic development where aid has been effectively used to advance growth more than the former.

3.8 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the main objectives of the study, which has been to look at the challenges facing Sierra Leone with economic development, its ramifications and the role that non-state actors have played in advancing development, especially education and youth employment. It seeks to achieve middle-income by the year 2035. A critical review shows that non-state actors are very vital. The increasing population makes it incumbent on the state and its government to put the requisite measures in place to create avenues that provide employment for people and also improve education to expedite the state's economic growth and development.

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CHAPTER FOUR

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter summarizes the findings and draws conclusions on the challenges of economic development in post-conflict Sierra Leone. This chapter outlines relevant recommendations towards improving economic development in Sierra Leone, particularly education and youth employment. The study proceeded on the hypothesis that the measures put in place by the state in post-conflict Sierra Leone have improved the education and youth employment sectors. On the basis of the hypothesis, the study sought to explore as an objective, the challenges that impede economic development in post-conflict Sierra Leone in the education and youth employment sectors and its ramifications on economic development; the measures put in place by the state to address the challenges being faced with education and youth employment in post-conflict Sierra Leone; and to ascertain the roles played by non-state actors in reconstructing and developing the education and youth employment in Sierra Leone.

4.1 Summary of Findings

The study sought to find out the challenges of economic development in post-conflict Africa. It specifically focused on Sierra Leone and found out the challenges it faces with education and youth employment and its effect on the economic development of the state. A critical review of the subject revealed that conflicts in post-Cold War Africa have been multicausal and multifaceted. As such, it has often been very challenging in trying to address the root causes and the effect of the conflicts. It is realised that the abundant natural resources that abound in Africa interestingly have caused conflicts, particularly intra-state types. Sierra

Leone's civil war between 1991 and 2002 was equally multicausal and as scholars of Peace and Conflict studies assert, diamond had an influence in the civil war. Two crucial causes of the war which formed grievances among people and led to the civil war were issues with education and unemployment.

4.1.1 The Education Sector

The education sector suffers from challenges that are dire to its development. A careful investigation of the education sector revealed that there is a challenge with the quality of education which has undermined the education system, particularly the primary and secondary levels. Enrolment is another challenge. Despite measures put in place by successive governments to increase enrolment, the increase seems to be at a decreasing rate. Teenage pregnancy also exists and this has contributed to the low enrolment because pregnant girls are unable to attend school. It is realised that after giving birth, some of the girls do not return to school but rather engage in activities that provide income for themselves and their families.

Teachers in the primary and secondary schools complain of poor conditions of work which negatively affects their work. Issues with inadequate salaries, delays in salaries and inadequate accommodation facilities demotivates teachers. There are teachers who are unqualified to teach but through some means have obtained employment as teachers. Moreover, the education sector is unable to undertake projects due to inadequate finance. As such projects to increase quality and enrolment in schools have not been realised. There are also families who do not have a strong financial background and, as such, are unable to support the education of children.

Measures have been put in place by the government of Sierra Leone and the ministry of education together with non-state actors. The Education Sector's measures include, among others, construction of more schools that are disability-friendly especially in the rural areas, charging of reasonable fees and using traditional elders and chiefs to influence the people to go to school. The ministry of education has also embarked on deleting unqualified as well as ghost teachers from the nationwide teachers' payroll list. There is also a policy to make basic and secondary education free for all.

4.1.2 Youth Employment

Youth unemployment after the war keeps deteriorating. The lack of employment opportunities for the youth in Sierra Leone is as much a problem like the unimproved problem with education. Among others, the challenges in the youth employment sector include underemployment, substandard working conditions and low pay-paid jobs. Citizens complain that nepotism and partiality exist in the government sectors. There exist inadequate internship opportunities for the youth to train and improve their skills. However, it was revealed that the citizens also lack the requisite knowledge and skills to match up to the expectation of companies who are ready to employ. There is a mismatch between programmes or courses taught in educational institutions and what the job market demands.

The inadequate employment opportunities have indirectly affected tax generation which has led to a reduction in government revenue. The government also has limited entrepreneurship projects that encourage people to start a business. The high cost of finance and human capital is described as an impediment to entrepreneurship in Sierra Leone.

The Ministry of Labour and Social Security's strategic plan targets the improvement in the skills of the youth. The introduction of courses that meet the requirements of the job market are being introduced into educational institutions. The current government plans to open up the private sector and encourage entrepreneurship as well by offering regulations that allow the private sector to flourish. The use of the agriculture sector to provide employment and making the private sector attractive have been put in place to remedy the challenge. The unavailability of adequate funds to execute policies developed by the state has been a constraint to its implementation.

The measures that previous governments and the Ministries of Education, Labour and Social Security and Finance and Economic Development have put in place to correct the challenges that Sierra Leone faced after the war especially with education and employment has generated some successes. Policies and measures like the PRSPs, Agenda for Change and Agenda for Prosperity, Sierra Leone Local Content Policy have achieved great success such as increasing enrolment and access in schools and improving skills of the youth for prospective employment. It was found out that the TRC set up after the war to investigate among others, the causes of the civil war and the reintegration of people which it produced beneficial information that suggested means of building Sierra Leone.

A thorough analysis of the study showed that although both sectors have made some achievements, the education sector improvement has been enormous as compared to the creation of an enabling environment for employment for the youth. Many policies and measures implemented by the state sought to address the challenges of education more than that of youth employment. For instance, the new government led by President Maada Bio has implemented the free basic and secondary education to improve education access but there is

not much policies to tackle the enormous youth unemployment although agriculture has been promoted to be a remedy. While agriculture presents itself as the backbone of the state, it has not been able to absorb the jobless youth. The business environment does not make it encouraging for the private sector to thrive. Employment has also been slow because people do not possess the right skills for job acquisition.

A detailed assessment of the semi-structured interviews produced evidence that non-state actors including the UN and its specialised agencies, Plan International Sierra Leone, among others have equally contributed to the achievement of the successes of promoting education and providing employment opportunities. Much of this contribution came in the form of aid and technical expertise. One of such major contributors to Sierra Leone towards achieving its economic development goals has been the World Bank. Just like in Sierra Leone, these non-state actors have assisted post-conflict states in Africa in rebuilding what has been lost to the conflict.

The study noted that all things being equal, some post-conflict states in Africa have advanced more than others. Rwanda has made significant progress as compared to Sierra Leone. Comparatively, entrepreneurship promotion, private sector development, difficulty with education sector and provision of employment have been seen to be better in Rwanda than in Sierra Leone.

Additionally, it was noted that there is a strong relationship between education access and youth employment. The two are regarded as both a cause and a solution to the conflict. As already established in the preceding chapter of the study that captures the historical overview, two of the factors that formed grievances leading to the civil war is, a high unemployment

and weak education system. This is a possible ramification posed by the challenges associated with the two sectors. Sierra Leone seeks to achieve middle-income by 2035 and with the investigations arrived at, such as a high youth unemployment, lack of education access, a weak private sector environment among others, there is little proof that this can be achieved.

The research findings above have addressed the research question in chapter one to find out the challenges of economic development in post-conflict Sierra Leone, particularly education and youth employment, the measures put in place to address those challenges and the role non-state actors play in developing the two sectors in the post-conflict period.

4.2 Conclusions

African post-conflict states have had their economies destroyed which has negatively impacted economic development. As such Post-Conflict Reconstruction (PCR) as applied to post-conflict states as far back as the second World Wars have been known to be a relevant concept which when applied to conflict-affected states, can achieve the objective of consolidating peace and addressing the root cause of conflict, reintegration of combatants and displaced persons and advancing economic development. The government of Sierra Leone should be applauded for its strategic economic development policies although certain factors such as corruption and weak institutions continue to exist in the state. In addition to the aforementioned factors is an uncontrolled high expectation and frustration from citizens against a struggling government capacity. As such, the challenges have created a mismatch between citizens' expectation and government service delivery towards achieving economic development.

The study based on findings attest that the PCR concept has achieved a remarkable victory in rebuilding Sierra Leone although the concept has come with challenges as its critics point out. Economic development is very vital to Sierra Leone. Its absence is neither good for the provision of public goods, political institutions, religious and ethnic homogeneity and protection of the state against large-scale violence. Inadequate youth employment opportunities and an absence of quality education among the generation can be dire to the future of Sierra Leone's leadership and state management.

Considering the thorough results obtained from interviews and from personal (researcher) observations, the education sector has made considerable achievements where policies and measures have resulted in an increase in quality of education, enrolment rate and reduction in illiteracy rate. Likewise, youth unemployment has seen some improvement as opportunities have been created to reduce the increasing rate of unemployment. Based on this premise, the study upholds the hypothesis that the post-conflict measures put in place in Sierra Leone have improved the education and youth employment sectors. However, the policies and measures implemented by the state have focused more on education than the youth employment sector.

4.3 Recommendations

In the post-conflict setting of Sierra Leone, there have been measures and policies that have been implemented by stakeholders to address its challenges with its development. In a quest to achieve economic development with education and youth employment, the following recommendations are made:

4.3.1 Youth Employment

- Globally, entrepreneurship has been one sector that is reducing unemployment. It is recommended that Sierra Leone through its Ministry of Labour and Social Security and Ministry of Finance and Economic Development put in place measures and policies that heavily encourage entrepreneurship such as Start-ups to reduce the unemployment rate. This can be done through a reduction in taxes and easing the business regulation process. These policies will improve Sierra Leone's low ranking of 160 out of 190 states on the World Bank "Ease of Doing Business" to make it business friendly.
- Considering the challenge faced with finding work that gives job experience, it is recommended that state institutions, including its ministries, provide internship opportunities to give students work experience to develop their skills. A national system, just like the National Service Scheme in Ghana and the National Youth Service Corps in Nigeria, should also be created to absorb graduates at the completion of their tertiary education for at least a year in both state-owned and private institutions. This will offer the opportunity for work experience and enhance the profession choice of graduates.
- Although the agricultural sector's contribution to GDP is about 50 percent, most farmers are engaged in subsistence farming and rice production. The state needs to support the youth to engage in agriculture by providing easy access to capital and at a low interest rate, incentives for farmers such as farmer's awards schemes and intensify the activities of extension officers to educate farmers on best farming practices. It should also specialize in the production of rice, its major agricultural

produce, to amass a comparative advantage in the production of agricultural products. This can transform its agriculture sector into a large scale producing one to become an attractive venture and employment prospect area for the youth.

4.3.2 Education Sector

- The state should undertake a broad review of the conditions of service for teachers concerning their salaries, accommodation and skills development. Once conditions of services are looked at, it will encourage teachers to give up their best and also motivate others to go into teaching and fill up the low teacher-student ratio that has characterised the education sector.
- The state has made progress with increasing enrolment in schools. It should now focus on ensuring quality education by undertaking a regular evaluation of the education system to identify the specific strengths and weaknesses towards the development of the education sector.
- The state in collaboration with other actors including the media should embark on consistent publicity to sensitise parents, teachers and children in communities on the importance of education and the ramifications of its absence. Sensitisation can be in the forms of campaigns on televisions and radio, and community meetings against teenage pregnancy and early marriages. As such, these sensitisations will help children stay longer in school and improve their performance and correct these discouraging acts that affect the education sector.

4.3.3 Post-Conflict Rebranding

Sierra Leone should advertise its rich tourism sites and agricultural landscape on international television and other social media such platforms such as Facebook and Twitter to encourage more investment, thereby enhancing the nation branding. States brand themselves to give them a new status in the international system. It also makes a state globally competitive. Recently in 2018, Rwanda, a similar post-conflict state, has invested in sponsoring the Arsenal football team, one of the renowned football teams in the world. This is likely to attract investment and tourism opportunities.

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F. INTERVIEWS

Interview with a Six (6) Teachers from the Government Model and Divine Glory schools in Freetown and Wellingtonon 04 July 2018.

Interview with an official from the High Commission of Ghana in Sierra Leone on 15 July 2018.

Interview with Dr Afua Yakohene, a Research Fellow at LECIAD. Afua undertook a PhD thesis on Sierra Leone and Liberia and is abreast with issues of their development.

Interview with Dr Festus Aubyn, a Researcher at the Faculty of Academic Affairs and Research (FAAR) of KAIPTC on 30 June 2018. Dr Festus Aubyn Lectures Theories and Analysis of Conflict, Peace and Security and Migration, Citizenship and Conflict.

Interview with Dr Fiifi Edu-Afful, a Research Fellow and Deputy Programme Head of Peace Support Operations (PSO) programme at the Faculty of Academic Affairs and Research (FAAR) at KAIPTC on 30 June 2018. Dr Edu-Afful Lectures Migration, Citizenship and Conflict and also Youth and Conflict in Africa.

Interview with Dr. Ken Ahorsu, a research fellow and lecturer for International Conflict and Conflict resolution at LECIAD.

Interview with Dr. Phillip Attuquayefio, Senior Research Fellow of LECIAD and Editor of the Legon Journal of International Affairs on 29 June 2018.

Interview with Kabral Amihere, former High Commissioner of Ghana to Sierra Leone and part time lecturer at Fourah Bay College, Sierra Leone on 30 June 2018. He taught Media Management, Media Writing and Reporting courses under the Communication department at Fourah Bay College.

Interview with Mariam Bangura, a 30 year old unemployed citizen who lives in Kenema on 06 July 2018.

Interview with Mr Mansaray Kemoh, Senior Economist of World Bank Group Sierra Leone on 03 June 2018.

Interview with Mathew Sandy, Senior Economist of the International Monetary Fund Resident Office in Sierra Leone on 02 August 2018.

G. FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

Focus group discussion with eight (8) unemployed, students and employed citizens from Freetown on 06 July 2018.

APPENDIX 1: FOR PEACE AND CONFLICT STUDIES SCHOLARS

The specific objective is to investigate: **the concept of post-conflict reconstruction and its contribution to economic development in Africa, particularly Sierra Leone.**

1. What do you make of the concept of post-conflict reconstruction as applied to conflict affected states?
2. Post-Conflict Reconstruction has been undertaken in a number of conflict affected states in Africa. Can you kindly list some factors or conditions that you think are most important for post-conflict reconstruction?
3. Are you conversant with the conflict in Sierra Leone as well as the development it has made after the war?
4. How successful has the concept been in addressing challenges of economic development in post-conflict Africa and particularly, Sierra Leone?
5. Are you familiar with the development progress of post-conflict states in Africa? How would you describe the development progress of post-conflict Sierra Leone as compared to some other post-conflict states on the continent?
9. International institutions have been known to be involved in post-conflict reconstruction especially in Africa. How important are their roles in rebuilding a conflict affected state?
11. In your opinion, how long should international institutions involve themselves in the rebuilding of post-conflict states and why?

APPENDIX 2: FOR NON-STATE ACTORS

The general objective of this paper is to investigate the Challenges of economic development in post-conflict Africa: A case study of Sierra Leone particularly with education and unemployment after the civil war. The scope is from the year 2010 to 2018. The specific objective is: **To explore the role of non-state actors in the post-conflict reconstruction and improvement of education and employment in Sierra Leone.**

1. Non-state actors such as your organisation are known for their assistance with post-conflict reconstruction in Africa. How effective has the concept of post-conflict reconstruction been with the countries in Africa?
2. Which of the African countries would you say made most progress with post-conflict reconstruction and which ones faced the most challenges?
3. What is the contribution of your organisation to the economic development of Sierra Leone and especially with improving the education and employment situation?
4. What are the successes of the measures put in place to improve education?
5. What are the successes of the measures put in place to improve the employment situation?
6. What are the challenges your organisation faces with improving education in Sierra Leone?
7. What are the challenges your organisation faces with improving the employment situation?
8. How would you describe the level of coordination between your organisation and the state in an effort to develop the two sectors?
9. How do the state institutions facilitate or hinder your organisation's economic development assistance towards improving education and employment?

APPENDIX 3: FOR AMBASSADOR KABRAL

The general objective of this paper is to investigate the Challenges of economic development in post-conflict Sierra Leone particularly in education and employment after the civil war.

The scope is from the year 2010 to 2018. The specific objectives are:

1. What were the challenges you witnessed Sierra Leone face in the education and employment sectors of the economy?
2. As a part-time lecturer at Fourah Bay College, what were some of the challenges you experienced during when you taught at the University?
3. With your experience in Sierra Leone, how would you describe the level of coordination between the state and other non-state actors in their effort to improve education and employment?
4. How would you describe the enthusiasm with which people sought to pursue education or seek employment?
5. With the current challenges that Sierra Leone faces with education and employment, what would you recommend be done to improve the sectors towards economic development especially with your education experience in Ghana and Sierra Leone?

APPENDIX 4: FOR CITIZENS

The general objective of this paper is to investigate the Challenges of economic development in post-conflict Sierra Leone particularly in education and employment after the civil war.

The scope is from the year 2010 to 2018. Thank you for your assistance and cooperation.

(Circle that which apply):

- a. Parent**
- b. Student**
- c. Employed**
- d. Unemployed**
- e. Not attending School**
- f. Teacher**

For Parents:

1a. Are you employed?

1b. Are you able to cater for your children's education? What are your challenges?

For Unemployed:

2a. What has accounted for your status? Have you completed school and not getting work to do?

2a. How long have you been searching for work?

Not attending School:

3.What are the reasons why you are not attending school?

For Employed:

4a. What is your occupation?

4b. Are you working in the private or public sector?

4c. Which year did you get employed?

4d. How easy was it to be employed?

For Student: Please Circle one

5a. I am in:

- a. Primary**
- b. Secondary**
- c. Tertiary**

5b. What challenges do you face in school and in the general education sector?

For Teachers

- 6a.** Which level do you teach? Primary/Secondary/Tertiary
- 6b.** As a teacher, what are the challenges you are does the education sector face?
- 7. All:** What are the challenges you are facing in the education sector and employment sector?
- 8.** Which area has the most challenge? Finding work with government or private sector?
- 9. All:** What are your views on the measures put in place by the state to improve education and employment? Are they addressing your challenges?
- 10. All:** How difficult is it to get a job upon completion of school?
- 11. All:** In your opinion, what do you make of the assistance from the non-stat actors in developing the education and employment sectors?
- 12. All:** What will you recommend the state to do to improve access to education and employment?