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Partnerships for post-conflict recovery: An analysis of the resettlement and reintegration of internally displaced persons in Sierra Leone

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Damien Mama

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List of Abbreviations

AFRC	Armed Forces Revolutionary Council
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
DFID	Department for International Development
ECHO	European Commission Humanitarian Office
ECOMOG	Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group
GoSL	Government of Sierra Leone
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
INGOs	International Non Governmental Organizations
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IRR	Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction Model
LWF	Lutheran World Federation
MSF B	Médecins Sans Frontières - Belgium
MSF F	Médecins Sans Frontières - France
MSF H	Médecins Sans Frontières – Holland
NaCSA	National Commission for Social Action
NCDDR	National Commission for Disarmament Demobilisation and Reintegration
NCRRR	National Commission for Reconstruction, Resettlement and Rehabilitation
NFIs	Non-food Items
NGOs	Non Governmental Organizations
NPFL	National Patriotic Front of Liberia
PHU	Peripheral Health Unit
RUF	Revolutionary United Front
SIDA	Swedish Development Agency
SLA	Sierra Leone Army
SLIS	Sierra Leone Information System
UN	United Nations
UNAMSIL	United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
UNOCHA	United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
WFP	World Food Programme

Introduction

The phenomenon of internal displacement gained momentum over the past decades due to recurrent outbreaks of conflicts, the occurrence of natural disasters and the effects of development projects. Its complex nature sets important challenges to national governments, humanitarian agencies and development promoters. Thus, problems of protecting and reintegrating Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) arise as they do not get proper assistance from their national governments whose capacity is very limited. Efforts of the international community have been influential in setting guiding principles for adequate protection and resettlement of IDPs within their national borders. In Sierra Leone, the decade-long civil war has been destructive in various dimensions including the displacement of large parts of the population with its subsequent effects on families and communities. In the midst of more than a million people internally displaced, basic economic and social infrastructures were destroyed. The resettlement and reintegration operation became therefore important to allow displaced people going home and rebuilding their shattered lives. It is against this backdrop that the present empirical and qualitative research took place. It intends to analyse the resettlement and reintegration of IDPs in Sierra Leone in terms of actors involved, related policies, and problems encountered. The major hypothesis that guided the research process suggests that there are gaps between the intended policies/strategies and the actual work done during the resettlement process in the one hand and between the projects implemented and the actual needs of the displaced in the other.

The document is structured around five chapters. The first chapter introduces the theoretical and methodological framework. Under this chapter, the research problem and questions are stated, the research methodology is presented, and internal displacement related literature is reviewed. The introduction of the Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction Model (IRR) provides the theoretical perspective through which resettlement problems are analysed. The second chapter provides an overview of the conflict and displacement impacts on Sierra Leone. The third chapter helps to understand the broad policy guidelines under which IDPs returned to their homes after long years of displacement. This chapter also presents the actors involved and their respective actions taken during the five major phases of resettlement in Sierra Leone. Following the presentation of the work done by resettlement actors, the actual risks faced by resettled IDPs are analysed and confronted with the risk identification component of the IRR model. This is done in the fourth chapter before depicting IDPs' response strategies in chapter five. This main part is followed by a conclusion that reviews the major findings of the research exercise. Specifically, the research questions are answered, the major hypothesis tested and further research preoccupations raised.

Chapter one: Theoretical and methodological framework

This chapter of the master thesis describes the theoretical and methodological framework of this study. First, it gives an overview of the research problem describing the background of the resettlement and reintegration process in Sierra Leone. Second, the chapter introduces a critical literature review covering the conceptual clarifications of displacement, causes and regional dynamics of displacement, coping strategies used by the displaced during their flight and resettlement and reintegration patterns. Third, it presents the theoretical framework based on the Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction (IRR) model. Finally, it describes the methodological approach including the methods and periods of data collection and analysis.

1.1 Research problem and hypothesis

1.1.1 Problem statement

Sierra Leone has been affected by a ten-year destructive conflict marked by a total disruption of the development process in the country. More specifically, the country has been confronted with the following:

- A large-scale displacement of civilian population part of which became IDPs or refugees.
- A large-scale destruction of homes and livelihoods.
- The disruption of economic structures, which exposed the majority of the population to extreme poverty.
- A profound erosion of civil authority leading to a large scale insecurity and disorder.

The long peace process that involved international and sub-regional organizations was finally crowned in May 2001 by a peace agreement creating conditions for a broad set of peace initiatives including the demobilization of combatants and progressive restoration of civil authority over the country. Therefore, the civilian population could return to their homes and rebuild their shattered lives, as the areas were being liberated and accessible. (GoSL, 2002:9)

During the year 2002, national elections were peacefully held, the vast majority of internally displaced people have been resettled and 62% of registered ex-combatants have been provided with reintegration opportunities (op. cit.). The resettlement process is a component of a broad post-conflict reconstruction process that involves many international and local actors.

This master thesis intends to look at the IDPs resettlement and reintegration component of the recovery process by analyzing the partnerships put in place, the potential policy gaps and the responses developed by the resettled population. This will be done on the basis of the following research questions.

1.1.2. Research questions and hypothesis

The following questions have guided the research process:

1. Which institutional arrangements were made for the resettlement and reintegration of IDPs?
2. Which actors were involved in establishing these arrangements?
3. Which conditions were created in terms of policy-making and implementation for the return and reintegration of the displaced population?
4. What are the major problems faced by the resettled IDPs upon return in their communities?
5. What are the local responses to the bottlenecks or challenges of the resettlement and reintegration process?

On the basis of these questions, the major hypothesis guiding this research suggests that, there is a gap between policy guidelines and the satisfaction of the internally displaced persons' needs in the field. The policy gaps are two-fold: the gap between existing policy guidelines and projects implemented in the field on the one hand and the gap between projects implemented and the needs of the displaced population on the other.

1.2. Literature review and clarification of concepts

1.2.1. Literature review

The current literature review is limited to a few titles that the author has accessed among a growing number of publications on population displacement. The literature on internal displacement and resettlement is flourishing as the problem of involuntary displacement is raising global concern following the growing number of displaced people in the world. Because of its complexities and devastating effects, involuntary resettlement has not been a preoccupation for only academic scholars but also for humanitarian and development practitioners, which makes the literature on the subject an open ground for both. In this document, a distinction will be made between publications related to conceptual considerations of displacement, causes and regional dynamics of displacement, coping strategies used by the displaced during their flight, and resettlement and reintegration patterns. The last point will be particularly stressed because it is at the core of the master thesis.

For conceptual considerations, some authors have touched on various aspects of population displacement but a few of them focused on the clarification of the central concept of migration. Petersen (1958) made an important contribution in this regard with his *General Typology of Migration*. The paper intended to "bring together into one typology some of the more significant analyses of both internal and international migration,

as a step toward a general theory of migration" (p. 256). It distinguished four types of migration which he termed as follows: primitive migration, forced migration, impelled migration, free migration, and mass migration. *Primitive migration* is a movement related to man's inability to cope with natural forces. For example, the moving of pastoral communities looking for natural grazing lands for their cattle can be a type of primitive migration. *Forced migration* involves not ecological pressure but the state or some functionally equivalent social institution. In this case, the migrant does not detain power to decide whether to move or not. But in case the migrant detains such power, the paper suggests that this type of migration would be called *impelled migration*. It therefore means that forced and impelled migration are both rooted in the intervention of an external actor who influences at various degrees the decision of moving. For example, the fact that a government is physically removing people by force from their areas of residence induces a forced migration process because the displaced people have no power to decide whether to leave or not. Conversely, when the same government issues some discriminatory laws to encourage a social group to leave a country or a given area, this can be called impelled migration because the people that are encouraged to move still detain a certain power to leave or remain despite the detrimental legal environment. *Free migration* rather stems from the will of the migrant considered as a decisive element. This will was less important in the case of primitive, forced or impelled migration. The paper gives the example of overseas movements from Europe during the 19th century and pointed out that free migration does not mean un-forced migration (p 263). It is rather for individuals seeking novelty or improvement. The last type was termed *mass migration*, which can also be understood as a further step of free migration. It is a result of collective impulse involving many people at once. In this case migration becomes a collectively accepted pattern which commands people's behaviour. According to Petersen, it is distinguished from the other types of migration because the migratory force is a social momentum, meaning, the principal cause of migration is prior migration. An example is the Swedish migrations to America during the 19th century. In his article, Petersen provided more conceptual details by further differentiating sub-components of the above mentioned types of migration. Displacement is considered as a type of forced migration. But for the purpose of this master thesis, further considerations need to be taken into account in order to understand population movements due to conflicts and wars. The publications dealing with causes and regional dynamics of displacement will help to further understand these conceptual insights.

The causes and regional dynamics of displacement have been analysed by a number of authors who contributed to a comprehensive volume on internal displacement edited by Cohen & Deng (1998). The book provides a picture of the phenomenon at the global level. It stresses regional specificities in terms of scale, complexities and policy responses offered by international organizations and national governments. It specifically suggests an explanation of the growing internal displacement that is mainly due to the multiplication of internal conflicts also linked to the end of the cold war. As a result, the civilian population has no choice but to seek safer areas for protection, which constitutes a major challenge for the international community as national governments usually fail to provide adequate protection for the internally displaced. The book also describes who the internally displaced are and the major

factors that come into play when displacement occurs such as ethnic strife, political manipulation, and severe and pervasive human rights abuse. The authors acknowledge that internal displacement implies legal challenges and they introduce a discussion on the available legal framework. The book further reviews the institutional arrangements to address internal displacement and underlines the role of non-governmental organizations, regional organizations and the United Nations. Finally, recommendations are made to improve the protection of internally displaced persons.

With reference to coping strategies, Vincent & Sorensen (2001) made a detailed compilation of response strategies developed by the internally displaced during their flight. The book examines experiences from Africa, Asia, Latin America and Europe. The contributions published in this book resulted from empirical research carried out in various IDP settlements in these regions. The UN guiding principles on internal displacement served as a basis for the research framework. Hence, the IDP response strategies were categorised as follows:

- a) protection strategies which consist in the strategies that protect the right to life, the right to personal liberty, and movement related needs;
- b) subsistence strategies that improve access to basic needs and services and increase employment opportunities and other economic activity;
- c) strategies that provide access to education;
- d) civic strategies that improve access to or public participation in community, government and public affairs, strategies that provide access to documentation, and strategies that protect or maintain family unity, social identity and culture; and
- e) strategies that protect property in areas of original residence. The case studies showed the varying character of strategies according to the social, cultural and geographical contexts.

Despite this diversity, some common characteristics remain which comprise positive and negative coping strategies described along the above-mentioned categories. For example, the authors mentioned prostitution as a negative strategy and categorised small businesses as positive strategies. Although the book offers little theoretical insights, it paints inspiring realities that help understand IDPs own responses to their conditions.

Achieng (2002) complements Vincent & Sorensen (2001) with a paper that introduces the gender dimensions of coping strategies applied by Kikuyu Internally Displaced Women from Burnt Forest in Kenya. Through her actor oriented approach, she found that internally displaced women are transforming their "home but away from home" (p. 1) meaning that "there exists a trans-local relationship between home here and home there" (p. 1). As they consider the new 'home' as 'home', internally displaced persons develop coping strategies which modify the traditional gender relations and consequently shift power relations between men and women.

The author further argues that internally displaced persons, especially women, are not 'vulnerable' as usually perceived but "can re-group and re-orientate themselves to new situations that face them by building new social and economic networks and strategies that are embedded in their life worlds, therefore bringing about transformation and their empowerment" (Achieng, 2002: 8)

Concerning resettlement, there are some important publications most of which deal with development-induced displacement. The publication edited by Oliver-Smith & Hansen (1982) categorised forced migration by the factors that induce the movement. These are classified as follows: socio-political upheavals, natural disasters and planned removals. These distinctions of forced migration provide a further understanding of migration as previously categorised by Petersen (1958). The contributions to this book cover the three types of migration and their subsequent resettlement experiences from different regions in the world.

Similar studies have been published by Cernea & Guggenheim (1993) through what they called 'anthropological approaches to resettlement'. The book comprises various case studies and offers some theoretical insights to resettlement. It focuses on development induced displacement whereby the authors pointed out the important differences between displacement caused by development projects and other categories of population movement. Involuntary resettlement due to civil strife is unplanned and people can still return to their homelands when the conflict is resolved. In the contrary, resettlement due to development projects is a result of planned political decision embedded in national ideologies which makes the displacement permanent. Cernea (1993) pointed out that these differences also induced the emergence of two branches in social science research on resettlement, one dealing with development-induced resettlement and the other with conflict-induced resettlement. He deplored that "the two bodies of social science research do not speak to each other" (p.375). Therefore, the author pleaded for more collaboration between researchers involved in involuntary resettlement as they can help each other and share some common tools. This idea has been further developed by Cernea (2000) with the Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction (IRR) model for population displacement and resettlement. This model is a theoretical approach to resettlement which suggests that population displacement is a multi-faceted process characterized by the following main components: landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalization, food insecurity, increased morbidity, loss of access to common property resources, and community disarticulation. The model recommends that resettlement policies should take these main characteristics into account in order to be successful¹.

This reviewed literature offers various and useful elements on displacement and resettlement. However, there are still few publications dedicated to the analysis of post conflict resettlement and reintegration of IDPs which is the object of this master thesis.

1 The model will be further explained in the next section of this paper.

1.2.2. Clarification of concepts

For the purpose of the present research, the following concepts need to be clarified: Policy gap, forced migration, internally displaced persons, post-conflict recovery, and resettlement and reintegration.

Policy gap

The term 'policy' is variably used by politicians, civil society activists, journalists, academic scholars etc. Hogwood & Gunn (1984) attempted a classification of different ways in which the term 'policy' is used. They came up with nine ways in which the word is used as follows: policy is used as 1) a label for a field of activity, 2) an expression of general purpose or desired state of affairs, 3) a specific proposal, 4) decisions of government, 5) a formal authorization, 6) a programme, 7) an output, 8) an outcome, and 9) a theory or model². This classification has been quoted in order to show the complexity of the term 'policy' before even referring to its 'gaps'. Within the boundaries of this master thesis, the use of the term 'policy' refers to a set of objectives, guidelines or strategies aimed at changing the current situation. As such, policy making is not limited to governments but can also be made by international organizations, non-governmental organizations, community groups etc. Therefore, policy gaps would be defined as gaps between what is intended and what is needed in the one hand and between what is intended and what has been achieved in the other.

Forced migration

Petersen (1958) distinguished four types of migration: primitive, forced, impelled, free and mass, as already described in the previous section. He further suggested four sub-categories of forced and impelled migration: flight, displacement, slave trade and coolie trade. From the perspective of the causal agent, forced migration is due to socio-political upheavals, natural disasters, or planned removals (Oliver-Smith & Art, 1982: 1). Hence, migration becomes a way of escaping from the detrimental environment and a threatening situation. "In sum, forced migration is distinguished from voluntary migration by the diminished power of decision [to move] in the former, sometimes reaching an extreme in which the forced migrants are totally powerless" (Oliver-Smith & Art, 1982: 2). In a situation of war where civilians are targeted, they will have little choice other than moving and searching for safe areas either within their country of current residence or outside. Population displacement due to civil wars is a typical type of forced migration. In this document, the concepts of forced migration will be interchangeably used with displacement and dislocation.

2 The reader may fruitfully refer to Hogwood & Gunn (1984: 3-31) to get further details about each type.

Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs)

According to the UN guiding principles on internal displacement (UNOCHA, 2001)³ “internally displaced persons are persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee, or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized state border”. This definition contains two main aspects. First, IDPs are not people who voluntarily leave their places of residence but are rather *forced to flee* because of an external cause that ranges from armed conflicts to natural disasters. Second, they move to an area still within their country of residence and have not *crossed an internationally recognized state border*. If they cross a state border and enter another country, they would no longer be IDPs but would become refugees. As Hyndmann (2000: xvi) pointed out, “only marginal differences of time and space may distinguish and IDP from a refugee”.

Post-conflict recovery

Conflicts usually develop through different phases diversely described as sequential or cyclical. From a cyclical point of view, Engel & Mehler (2000) distinguished four phases: 1) stable peace, 2) unstable peace, 3) high tension, and 4) open conflict. From a sequential point of view, the OECD Development Assistance Committee (DAC, 1997: 14-15) also identified four main phases which are difficult to separate: 1) situations of submerged tensions; 2) situations of rising tensions; 3) eruption phases of open confrontation and violent conflict; and 4) fragile transitional and post-conflict situations. In both distinctions, it is clear that there is a time of open confrontation and a time of respite which can be temporary or long-lasting depending on the country and the interests in play. The post-conflict situation is basically the phase under which conflicting parties are engaged in the process of finding durable solutions to the conflict and furthermore recover from the destruction induced by the conflict. The recovery process fall under this situation and involves many interlinked components which include but are not limited to economic, political and social dimensions.

Resettlement and reintegration

Resettlement is a process, usually under the assistance of the state, private sector or other development organization, of moving people from their area of residence to another considered to offer alternative conditions. It can occur when a state or a development agency decides to move people from their place of habitual residence and (re)settle them in another area as a result of a development project such as dams, city planning or other public infrastructures. Cernea (1993) indicated that in this case, change of residence is permanent for the resettled population who has no chance to go back to their original home. Resettlement can also occur in case of

3 This definition has been stated in the introduction of the guiding principles available at http://www.reliefweb.int/ocha_ol/pub/idp_gp/idp.html: accessed on 12/11/2002.

natural disasters or civil strife, in which case it is not a planned and intended action. Here, the movement is mostly from a place of provisional residence - where the displaced were forced to move to - back to the habitual place of residence. As the displaced people return to their place of habitual residence, the conditions are often not the same and they need to be re-integrated into their communities. Therefore, reintegration is a major component of the resettlement process. It comprises not only social aspects but also economic and political aspects. Access to property, community services and means of production is a necessary condition for a sustainable resettlement. That is why the concept of resettlement is associated here with reintegration.

1.3. The Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction (IRR) model as a framework

1.3.1. Description of the IRR model

The theoretical framework of the present research is drawn from the Impoverishment, Risks and Reconstruction model developed by Cernea (2000). This model is used for the following reasons. First, although developed for development-induced resettlement, the model offers useful tools applicable for conflict-induced resettlement as most of the problems raised are common to both groups of displaced people. Second, there is no other theory on resettlement which can be used for problem diagnosis and policy analysis as it is intended in this master thesis. The UN guiding principles on resettlement are more a framework for legal protection needs of the IDPs than a decision-making tool for resettlement and reintegration. Third, the model has yet to be broadly tested in the post-conflict situations as the author claims that it is applicable both in development-induced displacement as well as conflict-induced displacement. Finally, the impoverishment angle through which the model was developed offers useful tools to analyse the situation of the resettled population in Sierra Leone that is one of the poorest countries in the world.

In constructing the model, Cernea (2000) pointed out that population displacement is a multi-faceted process characterised by eight simultaneous components: landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalization, food insecurity, increased morbidity, loss of access to common property and services, and community disarticulation⁴. These impoverishment processes are potential risks and not necessarily the actual ones depending on the situation. As put forward by Cernea (2000:19), "all forced displacements are prone to major socio-economic risks, but not fatally condemned to succumb to them".

4 The details provided about each of the components below are mostly drawn from Cernea (2000). Any other source is indicated in the text.

Landlessness

Displaced people face a major problem of access to land during their flight and also after they have returned back to their communities. During their flight, the host communities don't have enough land to satisfy the needs of additional people. As people in agrarian countries usually depend on land for their livelihood, land scarcity plunges them into insecure situations. For conflict induced displacement, the return back home does not guarantee direct access to the land as "...individuals may encroach on the land of those who are absent and combatant groups may formally or informally distribute 'vacant' land to supporters" (Cohen and Deng, 1998: 24).

Joblessness

The displaced population usually faces the risk of losing wage employment. Unemployment and underemployment among the displaced often continue after they have been physically resettled. In development-induced situations, project promoters often fail to provide appropriate compensation to those who previously owned private small enterprises as main source of income. While fleeing a conflict, the coping strategies developed by IDPs during their flight are not adequate to create sustainable livelihoods. Upon return, the risk of remaining un-employed or under-employed is still high.

Homelessness

Forced displacement implies by definition loss, even if it is sometimes temporary, of one's home. Loss of shelter can be temporary when alternative houses are provided. But like in the case of loss of land, IDPs who have fled their homes may not have access to their previous homes when they return as they are generally destroyed or are occupied by others.

Marginalization

Marginalization encountered by the displaced is both economic and social. It occurs when families get into what Cernea (2000: 26) termed a "downward mobility path" that means loss of economic power, loss of confidence and a drop in social status. Since displacement disrupts the current situations, many people find themselves in lower social conditions than before displacement occurred. Marginalization can occur during the flight – in host communities – as well as after resettlement when displaced people are back in their communities without recovering their previous social and economic ties.

Food insecurity

Displaced people are exposed to food-related risks. Closely related to the other impoverishment processes, food insecurity is characterised by temporary or chronic undernourishment. It results from the fall of local food production due to land scarcity. Also, especially in the case of conflict-induced displacement, the provision of

food by international agencies does not always meet the entire needs of the initially targeted people.

Increased morbidity and mortality

The health situation of the uprooted population is threatened by lack of proper infrastructure and access to health services. Social stress caused by displacement and psychological trauma are accompanied by various illnesses which impose high risks on the displaced. "The lack of food, clean water, and proper sanitation, along with the outbreak of disease and shock cause a significant increase in the mortality rate [within the displaced population]" (Cohen & Deng, 1998: 25).

Loss of access to common property and services

Common property resources such as pastures, forested lands, water bodies, quarries, etc. constitute a main source of income and livelihood sustenance for many poor people, especially the one who owns no assets. Displacement from the place of habitual residence isolates the people from these services and the pressure on these resources and services in the host communities reduces their availability. The displaced communities also have difficulties to access public services such as schools.

Social disarticulation

One of the major risks of forced displacement is the fracture of the social fabric. Communities are torn apart and family members can be separated from each other. As a result, the loss of what constitutes their social capital leads to serious declines in people power to face their new situation. This has long-term consequences on the displaced population. It is more acute in the case of conflict-induced displacement where families may be shattered by the effects of civil strife than in development-induced displacement.

Cernea (2000: 31) indicated that these impoverishment risks are interconnected but have different intensities, that means, risks vary according to the affected population and the site circumstances. In other words, a risk may not be experienced by a group while another one is seriously affected by it. For example, women and children suffer more severe impacts than other social groups. Also, indigenous and tribal groups are much more exposed than the general population to impoverishment hazards. According to Cernea (2000: 32), the host population is also exposed to impoverishment risks due to the massive inflows of displaced persons which create a pressure on local resources.

The author of the IRR model further argues that the model is a "self-destroying prophecy" since it is a guide towards addressing predicted problems that displacement creates. As such, "... a risk prediction model becomes maximally useful *not* when it is confirmed by adverse events, but, rather, when, as a result of its warnings being taken seriously and acted upon, the risks are prevented from becoming reality, or are minimized, and the consequences predicted by the model do not occur" (op. cit.: 33).

Therefore, the model conveys a “policy message”, that is, displacement risks can be counteracted through a policy response, and a “strategy message”, that means, specific plans are required in order to mitigate displacement-related risks. The policy response and planned strategies should involve the participation of all relevant actors including the displaced population, government and non-governmental organizations. More importantly, the IRR model states that risk reversal should consist of the following livelihood reconstruction components:

- From landlessness to land-based re-establishment and from joblessness to re-employment;
- From homelessness to house reconstruction;
- From social disarticulation to community reconstruction, from marginalization to social inclusion, and from expropriation to restoration of community assets and services; and
- From food insecurity to adequate nutrition and from increased morbidity to better health care.

1.3.2. IRR model's applicability to IDP resettlement

The IRR model as presented above is used as a tool to analyze the post-conflict resettlement of IDPs in Sierra Leone. The applicability of the model to conflict-induced displacement has been discussed and Cernea (2000: 18) suggested that the model's potential for extension should be exploited and “mechanical application” avoided. An empirical test has been made by using its diagnosis function to analyze the problems faced by the resettled population in Sierra Leone and its problem-resolution function to analyze policies that have guided the resettlement of IDPs. In other words, the IRR model helps to identify the impoverishment risks in some selected resettled communities and cross them with the policy response provided by the government of Sierra Leone, international organizations, and local partners.

1.4. Research methodology

1.4.1. Field research

A two-month empirical field research was carried out in the Western area and the Eastern region of Sierra Leone from mid-June to mid-August 2003. Data were collected by using a qualitative research approach. A qualitative approach has been chosen to carry out this research because of the nature of the topic and types of data needed. First, the research intends to identify problems that IDPs face during the resettlement process and development agencies' response to those problems. Therefore the stakeholder's individual perception and interpretation of those

problems needs to be understood by the researcher. This can only be achieved if the respondents are given the opportunity to answer in their own words. Second there was not enough background knowledge on the resettlement of IDPs in Sierra Leone which would help formulate meaningful answer categories necessary for close ended questions. Third interactive interviews with open ended questions have the advantage of broadening the scope of data collected by providing explanatory elements useful for understanding the different dimensions of the resettlement process both at policy makers’ level as well as on the beneficiaries’ side. As a result, guiding questions were designed in the sense of identifying stakeholders’ perceptions in order to facilitate the analysis.

Interviews were held separately with the following actors in the resettlement process: governmental bodies, international agencies, and local NGOs that have been involved in the resettlement process. The interviews permitted the identification of projects that were implemented in the field and the perceptions that these actors have on the resettlement process. Also individual and group interviews were held with IDPs who were still awaiting resettlement or were already resettled in their areas of return, which facilitated the identification of risks faced and responses developed by the displaced population. In addition to interviews, the data collection process also involved direct observations. It consisted in observing interviewees in their environment, which helped check the validity of the collected information.

1.4.2. Data analysis

Data collected from the field were analysed in three main ways: analysis of the existing resettlement and reintegration policy, analysis of problems faced by IDPs, and crossing of the problems with policy guidelines in order to find potential gaps.

Analysis of existing resettlement and reintegration policy

The major components of the resettlement strategy that was laid down in the main policy document were analysed. The analysis approach was based on the policy analysis method introduced by Dunn (1994: 62-63). This author identified three approaches to policy analysis: empirical, valuative and normative as summarised in the table below.

Table 1: Three Approaches to Policy Analysis

APPROACH	PRIMARY QUESTION	TYPE OF INFORMATION
Empirical	Does it or will it exist? (<i>facts</i>)	Descriptive and prescriptive
Valuative	Of what worth is it? (<i>values</i>)	Valuative
Normative	What should be done? (<i>action</i>)	Prescriptive

Source: Dunn (1994: 63)

The answers to the first two primary questions helped answer the first three research questions seeking to analyse the stakeholders and their policies. The third primary question which deals with the normative part of policy analysis – what should be done? – will be answered through the identification of policy gaps.

Analysis of problems faced by the resettled population

Once the problems faced by resettled population were identified, they have been analysed along the lines of the eight components of the Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction model. This resulted from the data collected from interviews that have been analysed using the content analysis methods as introduced by Russel (2000). This method consisted in defining variables and using them to construct data tables showing the cases and their associated variables. This process allowed the categorization of data in order to find patterns for analysis and see how categories and sub-categories were related. It has been an ongoing process throughout the field research until the writing phase.

Cross analysis of policy contents and problems faced by the resettled population

The cross analysis of policy contents and problems faced by the resettled population helped to identify the hypothesised policy gaps.

1.4.3. Research difficulties and limitations

The field research was characterised by four important challenges and limitations as follows:

First, the fact that rural communities in Sierra Leone do not speak English requested the use of local interpreters. As a result, interviews took longer than planned and important details were difficult to obtain. Also, translations made by local interpreters were not always accurate and may affect the quality of this work. Second, some key interviewees were not available due to holidays and /or important professional occupations. This unavailability of interviewees has also been reinforced by the rainy season that disturbed many appointments. The author was aware of this reality but could not change the schedule of the field research as it falls under the academic calendar of the MA programme. Third, distances between villages where interviews took place were very long without any public transport facility. Assistance obtained from some international agencies helped solve this problem in part. Fourth, there was sometimes a major difficulty to establish the link between impoverishment risks and resettlement because poverty was already rampant in Sierra Leone before the outbreak of war.

This chapter has exposed the theoretical and methodological framework. It specifically stated the research problem and hypothesis, reviewed the accessed

literature, presented the IRR model and introduced the research methodology. The next chapter will provide an overview of the conflict and displacement impacts on Sierra Leone.

Chapter two: Overview of the conflict and displacement impacts on Sierra Leone

The attack launched by a handful of Revolutionary United Front (RUF) fighters on the eastern Kailahun district in 1991 spread all over Sierra Leone and created an intricate political instability difficult to control and contributing to large-scale destruction and displacement. In relation to this background, this chapter intends to a) explore some explanatory factors of the conflict; b) present patterns of displacement, and c) analyze the peace process that offered conditions for the return of displaced population.

2.1. Explanatory factors of the conflict in Sierra Leone

2.1.1. State failure and social exclusion

Sierra Leone became independent from Great Britain in 1961. After six years of transition consecutively under the first prime minister, Milton Margai (1961-1964) and his half brother Albert Margai (1964-1967), the country faced its first political turmoil in 1967 during general elections amidst Margai's attempts to establish a one-party rule (Smillie et al., 2000:11). In 1968, Siaka Stevens who was the apparent winner of the elections was invited to power by a group of army officers after a coup. He was later confirmed in office by elections that followed. He progressively consolidated his power based on violence, corruption, intimidation, and political and social exclusion, that means, the political system in place was favorable only to a handful of people connected to the government and its networks.

At the beginning, the economic and social indicators of Sierra Leone were promising. From 1965 to 1973, cocoa production, one of the major bases of the economy, was expanding at an annual rate of 4 percent against an annual population growth rate of 1.9 percent. Average personal incomes were also rising and primary school enrollment doubled between 1961 and 1973 (Chege, 2002: 151). Conversely, the political structures were weakening and the resources were diverted into satisfying power greed. In 1977, Siaka Stevens declared the one party state, banned opposition parties and set harsh conditions for his opponents. His groomed successor, Joseph Momoh, to whom he handed over power in 1985, pursued the state of hazardous governance and transformed the country into a fragile ground for civil strife. Inflation rose from 2.1 percent in the 1970s to 50 percent in 1980s and economic growth dipped to 0.7 percent (op. cit.: 152). The state was unable to gather taxes and redistribute resources beyond its own network's clients (Lord, 2000: 6). The army, badly trained and only encouraged to protect the rotting government, was unable to secure the country's borders and provide security for the people. Marginalized youths became vulnerable and were easily utilizable for evil political aims. "The long years of neglect of youths in the development programmes of successive governments in Sierra Leone has been widely acknowledged as a major cause of the war. Indeed, during the dictatorial rule of the APC [All People's Congress], youths were groomed in violence and used as hired thugs in election

campaigns but abandoned afterwards and left to sink into drugs, crime and other vices on the margin of society. By the time of the outbreak of the war, the conditions were favourable for manipulation and mass mobilization of such marginalized members of society into organized crime and violence”⁵ (Lord, 2000: 7). These groups then became the handy recruitment source for the RUF which defied Joseph Momoh’s government in 1991 by attacking the eastern and southern borders of Sierra Leone.

In April 1992, Momoh’s government was overthrown by a 28-year Capt. Valentine Strasser who was later removed from power in January 1996 by his Chief of Defense Julius Maada Bio. In the wake of this instability, elections were held and Ahmad Tejan Kabbah was elected. In May 1997, Kabbah was removed as a result of a military coup.

The political instability did not provide a conducive environment for any sustainable development policies, as the state was reduced to pursue short term goals involving mainly the management of recurrent crises. Besides, the successive governments in Sierra Leone were incapable to deliver basic services for the people further than the few connected to the political system. As a result, the state turned out to be a mere shadow of itself, and the people of Sierra Leone have been sinking into deep poverty while the country’s natural resources were used to feed political factions.

2.1.2. Conflict diamonds

Sierra Leone is a very rich country with an economy based on the export of diamonds, iron ore, bauxite, timber and rutile. The country has extensive arable land, good rainfall, cash crops like cocoa, coffee and palm kernels, and rich tropical marine resources. During the first years of independence, these resources have contributed to maintain a steady economic growth and reasonable levels of income. In the 1960s and 1970s, diamonds dominated the economy, amounting about 70 per cent of the country’s foreign exchange earnings (Gberie, 2002: 6).

Unlike the other sectors, diamond trade was the main attraction for legal and illegal miners and became very difficult to control by state actors. The first Sierra Leonean diamond was discovered in 1930 under the British colonial rule which, five years later, granted the De Beers’ Sierra Leone Selection Trust exclusive mining and prospective rights over the entire country for 99 years (Smillie et al., 2000). Progressively, the number of illicit miners grew, as the local populations were not sharing the wealth generated by the diamond trade. Their number was estimated at 75,000 only in Kono district by 1956 (op. cit.). Progressively, illicit diamond trade networks expanded beyond national borders. Many analysts⁶ suggested that sierra Leonean diamonds were smuggled into international markets through Liberia and in exchange for weaponry. Diamond rich areas were the early targets of the RUF rebels following their first attacks in 1991. In 1992, they captured the diamond rich Kono

5 Dennis Bright, youth worker in Freetown

6 Refer to Gberie (2002), Smillie et al. (2000), Global Witness (2003)

district for the first time and then for longer periods in 1995, 1997 and 1999 (Gberie, 2002: 3). The decade long war has been fueled by illicit earnings from the diamond trade. A UN report suggested that RUF's diamond trade is estimated at something between \$25 million and \$125 million a year (cited by Gberie, [2002: 2]). Moreover, diamonds have created cleavages within communities and diverted people's attention away from other sectors of production such as agriculture⁷.

Smuggling diamonds into international markets has been eased by the volatile political situation in Liberia where Charles Taylor was acting as a strong supporter of Sierra Leonean rebels.

2.1.3. Liberia factor

Internal factors play a great role in Sierra Leonean conflict. But the proximity of the volatile political situation in Liberia has been a major source of encouragement for RUF rebels. Analysts said that Charles Taylor, a Liberian rebel leader who became later president in 1997⁸ met Foday Sankoh⁹, the RUF leader, for the first time in the late 1980s. The two were rumoured to have made a deal according to which Sankoh and the RUF would help Taylor to power in Liberia and in return Taylor would support the RUF in Sierra Leone (Berman & Sams, 2000: p. 111). Charles Taylor's support for the RUF was also motivated by his anger against Joseph Momoh's government in Sierra Leone. In fact, Momoh's government provided a military base for the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) forces in 1990 to restore peace and order in Liberia when Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) combatants were advancing to Monrovia in order to throw Samuel Doe's government.

The movement of refugees across borders was an easy way to smuggle weapons into Sierra Leone with the blessing of the Liberian warlord Charles Taylor. The longer the Liberian conflict was lasting, the safer RUF rebels were since they could easily use Liberia as a transit for exporting diamond which was the main source of buying weapons (Global Witness, 2003: 7). Charles Taylor acted as "mentor, trainer, banker and weapons supplier" for the RUF from its early days until the official end of the war in 2001 (Gberie, 2002: 2).

Even though the conflict in Sierra Leone may be further explained, it is important to point out that the above-mentioned explanatory factors are the core ones. Despite its

7 In May 2002, during a field visit at the diamond rich Kono district, the author saw many youths digging all over and inside houses, the street and the bush in search for diamonds. "You can become very rich when you find a small piece of diamond, that's the reason why we are doing this", said a 35 years old man who has been restlessly searching for diamonds over the past years but found none.

8 Charles Taylor remained in power until August 2003 when he was offered asylum in Nigeria and forced by international community to resign in order to facilitate the formation of a transitional government amidst a dreadful civil conflict in the country.

9 Foday Sankoh has died in prison in July 2003 after his indictment on charges of war crimes by the UN Special Court in Sierra Leone.

ethnic diversity¹⁰, “Sierra Leone did not experience the ethnic fratricide that is often blamed for state collapse in Africa before or after independence” (Chege, 2002: p 148). Rather, the conflict broke out following political, social, and economic decay in the country.

The war has completely eroded civil authority, induced thousands of killings and human rights violations, and forced more than a million people to seek refuge in and outside Sierra Leone.

2.2. Patterns of displacement¹¹.

2.2.1. Major causes of internal displacement

Internal displacement in Sierra Leone is a result of warfare with its consecutive forms of violence. It started in 1991 when the RUF attacked the eastern and southern provinces of Sierra Leone. From a handful of army men, the RUF was progressively manned through forced conscription and diverse forms of human rights abuses. Human rights organizations reported that factions were employing devastating methods to progress. Looting and vehicle commandeering were used to supply food and other subsistence goods in the bush. Rape, abduction, flogging and torture helped to force many women and children into rebel factions, the former as bush wives, and the latter as combatants. Increasing forms of atrocities also included massive amputation of hands and feet whereby victims either died or became handicapped for life.

By running away from these atrocities, civilian population was massively uprooted in search for safe heavens. In some cases, destruction of houses and property also motivated population movement. The first towns captured by the RUF rebels, were systematically destroyed. Assessment missions in Kambia, a northern town of Sierra Leone at the Guinean border, revealed that more than 75% of houses were destroyed (UNOCHA database, 2003). Similar destruction levels were also noticed in Kailahun, the first town attacked by RUF in 1991, and Kono, the diamond rich area.

Massive killings and human rights violations, destruction of property, vandalism of health and education infrastructure, and erosion of civil authority induced unsafe living conditions and forced people to move.

10 Sierra Leone is mainly populated by Temne, Mende and Krio, and a number of Lebanese traders who have been involved in the country's political and economic move since independence.

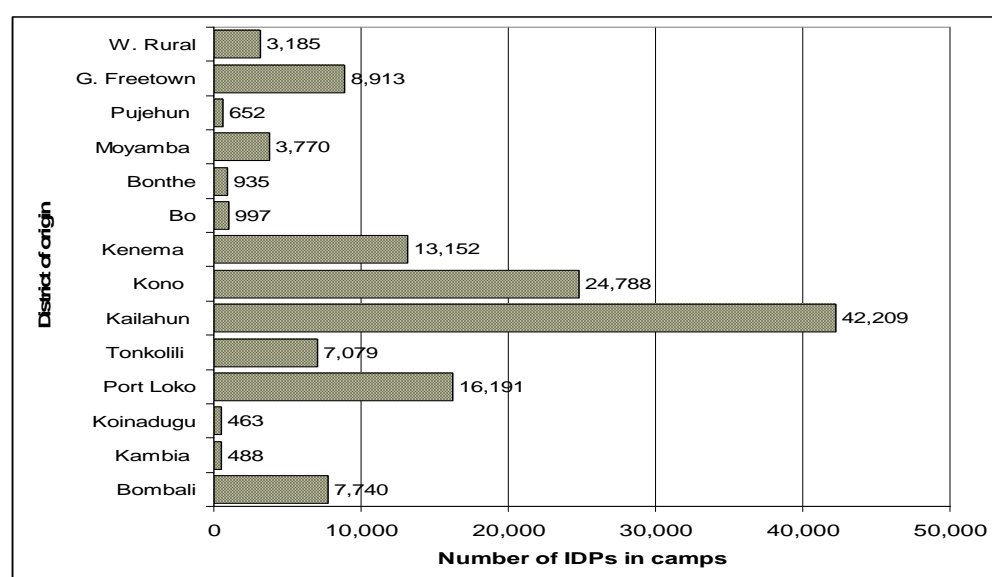
11 Displacement in Sierra Leone has occurred in two forms: a group of people who seek refuge outside Sierra Leone, mainly in neighboring West African countries, and the other within Sierra Leone. An estimated population of 14,848 Sierra Leonean refugees were living in other West African Countries, left alone approximately 80,000 living outside camps and not officially registered with UNHCR (UNOCHA database, 2003). But the main focus of this paper is internal displacement. Therefore, this paper will not elaborate on refugee population.

2.2.2. Internal displacement facts and figures

In Sierra Leone, internal displacement figures have developed unevenly as the conflict itself was characterized by dynamic changes in geographical areas controlled by governmental forces or rebel groups. Thus, displacement was not a one-time movement. People move back and forth as the security situation changes in their respective areas of origin and/or destination. In 1999, the government of Sierra Leone published a report that identified three types of IDPs based on geographical origin: a) IDPs originally from the same settlement within the same chiefdom, b) IDPs from other chiefdoms within the same district, and c) IDPs from other districts (Global IDP database, 2003: 42).

In 1994, the total number of IDPs in Sierra Leone was estimated at 700,000 or more. In 1995 the estimated figure increased to one million and later decreased to 800,000 at the end of 1996 (Global IDP database, 2003). In this group, there are people who are registered and others who are not, some living in camps and some others in host communities. A total estimation of IDPs within Sierra Leone has amounted over 1.2 million (NCRRR, 2001: 4). In 2001, after the beginning of peace initiatives, an inter-agency IDP census revealed that more than 130,000 IDPs were living in camps. The distribution of IDP camps residents per chiefdom is shown in the chart below.

Figure 1: Distribution of IDPs in camps by district of origin



Source: UNOCHA database

As the chart shows, camp inhabitants are mostly from Kailahun district with 42,209 IDPs equivalent to 32% of the total. Kailahun is followed by Kono with 24,788 IDPs that corresponds to 19% of the total. These figures can be explained by the rebel occupation and the intensity of the fight since the two districts have served as major battlefields. Kailahun was the first town to be captured by RUF rebel groups and Kono was fought for because of its diamond-rich fields.

Apart from IDPs living in camps, there is a large number of unregistered displaced people who are living in host communities and with relatives. It is in this context that the peace process started.

2.3. The peace process

2.3.1. Abidjan peace process

With the help of Nigerian troops who were leading the ECOMOG in Liberia in 1993, Executive Outcomes, a South African private security company contracted in 1995 by Valentine Strasser, and Kamajors who are organized traditional hunters, the Sierra Leone Army made advances and the RUF suffered serious losses, which forced them into a peace process. This peace process was openly and effectively initiated by Julius Mada Bio at the beginning of 1996 just after the palace coup perpetrated against Valentine Strasser. At the negotiation tables in Abidjan, the RUF rejected the scheduled elections and refused to cooperate in case a president would be elected. Despite RUF's demands, presidential elections were held in February 1996 and Ahmad Tejan Kabbah was elected. He later pursued the peace negotiations with the RUF in Côte d'Ivoire until a formal signing of a peace accord on 30th November 1996 in Abidjan. The peace agreement included the immediate cessation of hostilities, general amnesty for RUF members, withdrawal of Executive Outcomes, disarmament and demobilization of combatants, reduction of the size of Sierra Leone Army, and the transformation of RUF into a political movement. The implementation of the peace agreement fledged and progressively collapsed (Gberie, 2000: 19).

In the course of this uncertain process, Kabbah was overthrown by an army officer Johnny Paul Koroma in May 1997. He immediately fled to Guinea and Koroma called RUF to join the newly established Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC). The RUF accepted the offer and the military junta composed of AFRC and RUF stood in power until March 1997 when they were toppled by Nigerian-led peacekeepers. Kabbah was then restored into power. A volatile situation remained until the RUF/AFRC coalition launched a deadly attack on Freetown in January 1999. Efforts to push them away with the help of regional peacekeepers claimed the life of more than 5,000 people mostly civilians and induced new waves of displacement (Global IDP database, 2003:11).

2.3.2. Lomé Peace Accord

In May 1999, peace talks resumed between the RUF and the Kabbah government in Lomé. Foday Sankoh was released from prison in order to take part in the Lomé peace negotiations that were structured around military, humanitarian and political aspects. The Lomé peace agreement, signed on 7 July 1999, called for immediate cease fire and a broad set of peace initiatives such as power sharing, reconciliation, immediate release of war prisoners, DDR, repatriation and reintegration of displaced

population, etc. But the implementation of these agreements appeared to be difficult due to divergences between conflicting parties over the terms of the accord. Foday Sankoh was granted a title of vice-president but complained of having no power. The RUF initially was reserved with regard to the mandates of United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL) and ECOMOG (Bright, 2000: 31).

The euphoria consecutive to the signing of Lomé peace agreement waned as the parties were not willing to abide by the terms and spirit of the text. Also, some analysts suggest that the Lomé peace talks marginalized some important stakeholders such as AFRC and soldiers of the former Sierra Leone Army. It is in this context of suspicion that the international community, led by the British government decided to intervene and enforce peace. Backed by the British troops in 2000, the Nigerian-led ECOMOG booted the RUF and its allies out of strategic areas and forced them into the peace agenda that would lead to stability and progressive restoration of civil authority in the country.

This chapter provided an overview of the conflict and displacement impacts in Sierra Leone. Firstly, an introduction to the conflict in Sierra Leone was made by pointing out the major explanatory factors such as state failure and social exclusion, conflict diamonds and the proximity of Liberia confronted with a long civil war. Thus, Sierra Leone conflict does not fall into the classical ethnic division blamed to fuel conflicts in Africa. Secondly, the chapter described the patterns of internal displacement and its major causes. It appeared that displacement figures in Sierra Leone has been uneven and are closely related to the dynamics of the conflict in the country, that is, the level of displacement is associated with the intensity of the fight and the level of destruction and human rights abuses. Thirdly, the chapter summarized the peace process that created conducive environments for the return of displaced population. The next chapter will provide analytical elements on the policy framework set to facilitate the return and reintegration of internally displaced persons.

Chapter three: Actors and policy responses to resettlement of IDPs

The resettlement and reintegration of the displaced population was part of a broad recovery process in Sierra Leone after the official end of the war in 2001. As such, it plays an important role for the revival of communities and the progressive reconstruction of the country. Against this backdrop, the present chapter will 1) depict the major actors of the resettlement process, 2) synthesize and analyze the baseline strategies and guidelines for resettlement 3) and expose the major phases of the resettlement process.

3.1. Major actors of the resettlement process

3.1.1. International actors

There is a large number of international organizations working in Sierra Leone on reconstruction and recovery. The group is composed of multilateral and bilateral cooperation agencies and international NGOs. Some major multilateral agencies such as World Bank, European Union and United Nations support humanitarian relief, reconstruction efforts, and economic and social reforms. ECHO supports programmes in the field of Primary and Secondary Health Care, Immunisation, Water and Sanitation. Among the bilateral agencies, there are DFID that has been instrumental in supporting the government of Sierra Leone in the field of resettlement, reintegration and reconstruction, SIDA that funded programmes to rebuild destroyed communities, and USAID for the restoration of civil authority and good governance. (UNOCHA database, 2003)

The involvement of international actors in the resettlement process in Sierra Leone started prior to the actual beginning of the resettlement. They have been supporting the Government of Sierra Leone in designing and implementing policies before, during and after the war. This support for the country, especially during the conflict, caused some dilemmas with regard to the necessity or morality of humanitarian actions in rebel held areas and even in the whole country during the rule of military coalitions. Multilateral cooperation agencies such as the UN were influenced by their traditional contradictions and took time to implement necessary actions to end the war. The ten-year duration of the civil war that caused massive displacement was, among others, a result of traditional tergiversations of the international community. But in 2000 these barriers were levied and international actors' involvement became more effective with the massive intervention of British and UN troops that compelled factions into fruitful dialogue.

Concerning the resettlement itself, there were few organizations and agencies that initiated or implemented targeted projects in direct relation with resettlement. Some of these organizations were in charge of coordination, some others of camp management, transport and food supply. For example, UNOCHA has been instrumental in facilitating the resettlement process in Sierra Leone by providing strategic framework and planning tools, bringing in past experiences and facilitating

productive consultations between key actors involved in the process, including national actors. It was also in charge of housing and facilitating the management of the Sierra Leone Information System (SLIS) that was a focal point for managing information pertaining to the resettlement process. IOM has provided logistical facilities for the return of internally displaced population, and UNHCR, in charge of refugees, provided repatriation support and protection for returnees.

3.1.2. National actors

National actors are mainly government agencies and local implementing partners of programmes and projects funded by the international community. As internally displaced persons, unlike refugees, fall under the responsibility of the government in place, the government of Sierra Leone has been the key actor in defining a policy framework and enforcing important measures for facilitating the process. The resettlement operation has been overseen by the National Commission for Social Action (NaCSA). NaCSA is a governmental structure granted with autonomy and direct reporting to the office of the President. It was formerly called National Commission for Reconstruction, Resettlement and Rehabilitation (NCRRR) that was a ministerial-level government commission tasked to coordinate post-conflict humanitarian, relief and reconstruction. The mission of NaCSA is to ensure safe transition from relief to sustainable economic growth and development by creating conditions for effective involvement of communities in the development process. As such, the resettlement and reintegration of the displaced population was an important part of its agenda widely supported by international donors¹².

Concerning the other national actors, there are a number of local NGOs involved in camp management, and implementation of resettlement and reintegration projects as defined in policy guidelines.

3.2. Baseline strategies and guidelines for resettlement¹³

3.2.1. Main principles of resettlement in Sierra Leone

The national resettlement strategy designed and agreed upon in December 2000 has been revised in October 2001 as the process was progressing and new challenges were faced. The Sierra Leone resettlement strategy was the core document pointing out the main principles, listing the beneficiaries and packages to be received, describing the global approach and defining the planning and monitoring bodies. The

12 As of late 2002, NaCSA was receiving funds from: African Development Bank (ADB), Department for International Development (DFID/UK), Government of France, Government of Sierra Leone (counterpart funds and HIPIC funds), Islamic Development Bank, United Nations Development Programme, United Nations High Commission for Refugees, and World Bank (www.nacsa-sl.org, accessed on 10.10.2003)

13 This part of the document is drawn from NCRRR (2001).

resettlement principles as defined by the resettlement strategy can be summarized into four main principles as follows.

Resettlement under safety and dignity

It is planned that resettlement takes place when areas of return have been declared safe and that the displaced population can return without any major risks. Also, the displaced population may choose their area of return within Sierra Leone, which means, they are not harassed to depart and to go where they don't feel safe. Conditions to be met are among others, avoidance of family separation, welcoming by local population and national authorities, restoration of self-confidence and self-esteem. Governmental agencies and organisations involved in the resettlement process are asked to facilitate the choice by providing necessary information on the safety of the area where IDPs wish to go.

Integrated resettlement and reintegration of IDPs, refugees, and ex-combatants

The resettlement process is a broad frame that encompasses the reintegration of IDPs, refugees, and ex-combatants. As such, account is taken of all components in a way that projects and actions are not isolated.

Full and timely information of beneficiaries

Beneficiaries of the process are supposed to be informed in a timely manner. They should be aware of the different principles and procedures with related rights and obligations, in order to ensure access to their respective entitlements.

Close monitoring to ensure effectiveness

The monitoring of the process is an important part of the process. This is to ensure that appropriate actions are taken and that procedures and principles are properly followed. (NCRRR, 2001: 3-5)

On the basis of the listed main principles, the resettlement strategy described the specific beneficiaries and indicated resettlement packages.

3.2.2. Beneficiaries and packages

The resettlement process includes a broad range of war affected population beyond the number of registered IDPs. Beneficiaries of the process as introduced by the resettlement strategy are also unregistered IDPs, displaced returnees, repatriating refugees, ex-combatants and their dependants, and existing resident population.

Unregistered IDPs constitute 15 % of the total displaced population and are not entitled to targeted resettlement assistance as registered IDPs and returnees. But when there is evidence of their living in camp environments, they are entitled to transport facilities to resettle in designated areas. They may also benefit from community-based support projects and vulnerable groups within their category may be provided with food aid through employment-based safety net schemes, school feeding programmes and therapeutic feeding in case of acute malnutrition. (op.cit.: 6).

Refugees and returnees are entitled to full resettlement packages in accordance to UNHCR operation plans. Once disarmed, demobilized and discharged, adult ex-combatants are offered transportation allowance to return to their area of resettlement and child soldiers are provide with interim care support and actions are taken for reunification with their families. Vulnerable groups include female-headed households, pregnant and lactating women, separated or abducted women, mentally and physically handicapped, orphans, infirm, and elderly (NCRRR, 2001:9). Existing resident populations are also taken into account and benefit from community based support projects including training, agricultural support and income generating schemes.

The resettlement package comprises food rations and non-food items (NFI). Registered IDPs and returnees are entitled to food rations for two months. and a number of NFIs¹⁴.

The food ration varies according to the size of the household but NFIs are given irrespective of the number of beneficiaries in the household. The resettlement package is a transition safety net that facilitates the return of displaced population into their communities.

3.3. Coordination mechanisms and partnerships

For an effective implementation of the resettlement strategy, planning and monitoring bodies are created. These bodies are integrated into a structural frame that facilitates coordination mechanisms and partnerships to ensure an efficient resettlement process. The major planning and monitoring bodies are the following: National Resettlement Assessment Committee, District Resettlement Assessment Committee, Western Area Resettlement Assessment Committee, Resettlement Steering Committee, and Resettlement Working Groups (op.cit.: 23-35).

14 Non food items package is composed of the following: 2 cooking pots, 5 plates, 5 cups, 7 spoons, 1 knife, 1 lantern, 1 jerry can, 2 mats, 2 blankets, and two soaps (NCRRR, 2001: 18)

3.3.1. Resettlement Assessment Committees

The resettlement assessment committees are in charge of assessing each chiefdom within the country and advising national authorities on the safety and readiness of the areas of return. There are district resettlement assessment committees¹⁵ in charge of making recommendations to the national resettlement assessment committee¹⁶ that reviews them and then endorses or rejects them. The national resettlement assessment committee defines guidelines through which district level committees may operate. It is chaired by the Commissioner of NCRRR and meets on a monthly basis. The composition of these assessment committees includes key institutions such as:

- The police for their role in keeping civil security
- the army for the effective control of borders and areas traditionally held by rebel groups
- UNAMSIL for its overall role in supporting governmental structures, strengthening international presence and providing military troops in charge of securing the country as a whole.
- UNHCR for defining operational plans and facilitating the return of refugees from neighbouring countries
- UNOCHA for coordinating humanitarian affairs and managing the Sierra Leone information systems
- Traditional authorities (paramount chiefs) for their role in mobilising communities and restoring civil authority that has been eroded by the ten-year political instability and civil strife. (op.cit. :23-30)

Chiefdoms are assessed by taking into account a set of criteria defined by the national resettlement committee. An area is declared safe when the following conditions exist:

- Absence of hostilities
- Ongoing disarmament
- Law and order maintenance by the police
- Security maintenance by UNAMSIL
- Unhindered access for humanitarian agencies and NCRRR staff
- Sizeable spontaneous return of displaced persons (IDPs or refugees)
- Presence of district and local administration

15 The membership of the district assessment committee is composed of: NCRRR Regional Co-ordinator / District Supervisor (Chair), District officer (Ministry of Local Government), Officer-Commanding District – Police, NCDDR Representative, Council of Paramount Chiefs Chairman, UNAMSIL Representative, UNHCR, UNAMSIL Human Rights, UNOCHA, and IDP Representative.

16 The national resettlement assessment committee is composed of: NCRRR Commissioner (Chair), Ministry of Internal Affairs Representative, Ministry of Local Government Representative, National Security Adviser, NCDDR Executive Secretary, Inspector General from Sierra Leone Police, Chief of Defence Staff of Sierra Leone Army, UNAMSIL Representative, UNHCR, UNAMSIL Human Rights, UNOCHA, Western Area Council for Displaced Persons Chairman.

Areas that meet these conditions are publicly declared safe and displaced people may start going back to their homes (op.cit.: 31)

3.3.2. Resettlement Steering Committee

The Resettlement Steering Committee¹⁷ is a national-level body charged to prepare and disseminate policy guidelines and procedures with regard to resettlement matters. It also advises and supports resettlement working groups. As a monitoring body, the resettlement steering committee oversees the general implementation of resettlement related policies, evaluates their efficiency and ensures that displaced people are resettled in safety and dignity. As such, the membership is slightly different from that of the other committees. It is composed of representatives of NCRRR, UN humanitarian and displacement related agencies, and representatives of national technical committees on shelter, education, health, water and sanitation, agriculture, NFIs, and child protection.

3.3.3. Resettlement Working Group

The resettlement working group¹⁸ is the focal point for resettlement planning and coordination including the phase down of assistance in camps and host communities. The working groups formed at regional level are charged to:

- Coordinate the distribution of start-up packages to resettling population;
- Manage the information flow within and between departing areas and resettling areas with regard to support mechanisms put in place and safety in resettlement areas;
- Assess critical gaps and inform the Resettlement Steering Committee on the phase down process;
- Ensure that food security plans are followed and make recommendations on further mechanisms to assist vulnerable groups;
- Encourage the income generating activities for the benefit of displaced population.

17 It is composed of NCRRR Senior Representative (Chair), NCDDR Senior Representative (Reintegration), UNOCHA Representative, UNHCR Senior Staff Member, UNAMSIL Civil Affairs Representative, Committee on Food Aid (CFA) Representative, Representative of National Technical Committee on camp management Senior representative of transportation agency, Representative of National Technical Committee on agriculture, Representative of National Technical Committee on water and sanitation, Representative of National Technical Committee on health, Representative of National Technical Committee on education, Representative of National Technical Committee on shelter, Representative of National Technical Committee on NFIs, Representative of National Technical Committee on child protection, and Representative of IDPs.

18 It composed of the following members: NCRRR District Supervisor (Chair), NCDDR Reintegration Officer, UNOCHA Representative, UNHCR Representative, UNAMSIL Civil Affairs Representative, Senior representative of key operational food aid agency, Senior representative of key operational transportation agency, Senior representative of key operational camp management agency, Senior representative of key agency (agriculture sector), Senior representative of key agency (water and sanitation sector), Senior representative of key agency (health sector), Senior representative of key agency (education sector), Senior representative of key agency (shelter/NFI sector), Senior representative of key child protection agency, and Representative of IDPs.

These structures created are assigned with the task of conducting and overseeing the resettlement process in its different phases (op.cit. :33-35)

3.4. Phases of IDP resettlement

UNOCHA distinguished five major phases of IDP resettlement. The first phase covers the period from April to June 2001, the second phase took place from December 2001 to February 2002, the third phase from March to April 2002, the fourth phase in June-July 2002, and the final phase took place in November and December 2002. (UNOCHA, 2003:1).

3.4.1. Phase 1

As part of the first phase, an IDP census took place in all camps in the country. Drop-off points were identified and resettlement cards were issued following information and sensitization campaigns.

The first phase of IDP resettlement was consecutive to the effective implementation of the cease-fire and the positive conclusions of assessment missions that declared some areas safe. The first places to be declared safe were located in the Western Area that has been mostly controlled by government forces throughout the conflict. Progressively, other areas have been declared safe and the resettlement process has expanded. During this first phase, 44,899 IDPs resettled in the following areas: Freetown & Western Area, two chiefdoms in Port Loko District, 12 chiefdoms in Kenema District, and the Southern Province (UNOCHA, 2003:1).

3.4.2. Phase 2

The second phase of IDP resettlement started in December 2001 and ended in February 2002. The number of IDPs who resettled during this phase was estimated at 8,891 and their destinations were in Kambia and Port Loko District towards the northwestern part of Sierra Leone. Kambia district is located at the border with Guinea and therefore has served as battlefield for fighting factions. It seriously suffered from its strategic geographical location and most inhabitants has fled to Guinea as refugees. IDPs who resettled in Kambia district were roughly 500 (UNOCHA database, 2003). Conversely, Port Loko district was home for larger number of IDPs totalizing 16,191, that is about 12% of camp residents in 2001.

3.4.3. Phase 3

In March 2002 assessment missions declared more districts safe for resettlement. The DDR process was almost completed and the restoration of civil authority was on a steady move. A year after the formal cessation of hostilities under the control of

international troops, the Sierra Leone population was gaining confidence that the war was actually over. As a result, many people indicated their wish to return immediately to their areas of origin once the latter have been declared safe. A total of 158,360 people registered to resettle. For logistical reasons it was not possible for all to move at the same time as transport facilities were not available. Therefore, voluntary resettlement was encouraged and agencies coordinated the distribution of resettlement packages.

The third phase took place amid preparations for parliamentary and presidential elections in Sierra Leone. These elections were supposed to create a conducive environment for safety and confidence that would further encourage people to move back to their homes. The resettling population was expected to take part in the elections that were due in May. In April an estimated total of 114,728 IDPs were resettled. The third phase was then completed (op.cit.: 2)

3.4.4. Phase 4

The fourth phase of IDP resettlement took place in June – and July 2002. The peacefulness and smoothness of the elections constituted an additional incentive for the continuation of the resettlement process. Initially, the remaining caseload of IDPs was scheduled to resettle under this fourth phase. But the shortage of NFIs in the country and disruptions induced by heavy rainfalls incited resettlement management bodies to resettle only 36,606 IDPs to Koidu, Magburaka, Makali and Masingbi and allow a fifth phase for the remaining caseload. (op.cit.)

3.4.5. Phase 5

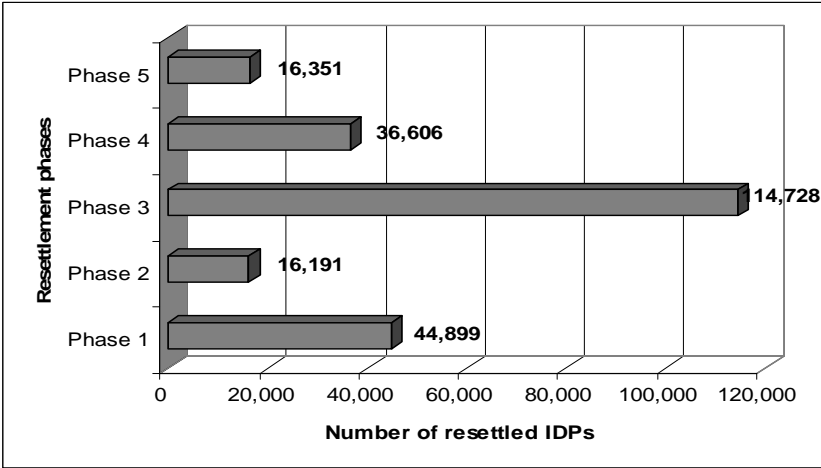
The fifth and final IDP resettlement phase took place in November and December 2002 with 16,351 IDPs resettled. This phase marked the official end of resettlement of registered IDPs. Most camps were successively demolished and closed as people were moving out. As some of the western area camps were still hosting IDPs awaiting relocation, the official end of resettlement has been questioned by a number of beneficiaries.¹⁹

3.4.6. Compared characteristics of resettlement phases

The number of IDPs resettled during the last phase was almost the same as that of the second phase as indicated in the chart below.

¹⁹ This will be elaborated on in the next chapters while analyzing interviews at National Workshop and Approved School camps.

Figure 2: Proportion of IDPs resettled during each phase



Source: UNOCHA database, 2003

Most IDPs, namely 50%, were resettled during the third phase at the time when the country was preparing for elections. It is also at this time that massive voluntary resettlement was encouraged.

In the different phases of IDP resettlement many actors have been involved, each playing a specific role. The actors’ roles are summarized in the following table:

Table 2: IDP resettlement agencies

Responsibilities	Principal Resettlement Agencies
Coordination	NaCSA and UNOCHA
Transportation	IOM with support from UNAMSIL, PAE & LWF
Health care	MSF-H, MSF-B, SL Red Cross, Ministry of Health & IOM
Food	WFP, CARE, World Vision & CRS
Non-Food Items	ICRC, CARE with support from UNHCR

Source: UNOCHA (2003:1)

As it appears on the table, there are five main fields of responsibilities: Coordination, Transportation, Health care, Food, and Non-Food Items. Each responsibility is specifically assigned to agencies that possess experiences and institutional capacity to carry them out. NaCSA as the government counterpart supported by UNOCHA insures efficient coordination mechanisms. On the same line, food pipeline agencies supply food rations and health care is managed by specialized agencies under the facilitation schemes of the Sierra Leone Ministry of health.

This chapter has described the major actors of the resettlement process in their specific roles, and pointed out that international as well as national organizations are partnering with the Government of Sierra Leone in defining policy guidelines and implementing projects for IDPs to resettle in safety and dignity. The major strategic frame for resettlement is the resettlement strategy that sets the major guidelines to be followed by the actors involved. These guidelines have recalled principles in conformity with the UN guiding principles on internal displacement that set international framework for the protection of IDPs. The chapter has also reviewed the five major phases of the resettlement process in Sierra Leone and made a comparative analysis of IDP caseloads that fall under the different phases. This analysis suggested that the phases took place in different contexts and benefited from different facilities. As the majority of the IDPs have returned to their homes through the resettlement process, they are facing the challenges inherent to rebuilding their shattered lives. The next chapter will therefore tackle the pauperization risks faced by the resettled IDPs.

Chapter four: Pauperization risks within the IDP population in Sierra Leone

This chapter introduces the pauperization risks faced by resettled IDPs in Sierra Leone and confronts them with the IRR model as described in the first chapter. The intention of this chapter is to test the main components of the IRR model. By talking about pauperization risks, reference is made to processes that contribute to worsening the social and economic conditions of IDPs and expose them to poverty. The descriptions made in this chapter are based on field observations and interviews made in Sierra Leone between June and August 2003.

4.1. Risks identification

4.1.1. Joblessness

The situation of joblessness started prior to the return of IDPs into their communities. When they fled their areas of origin for the first time and moved into camps and communities, it was a sudden change of status leading to the loss of existing jobs and sources of income. Public servants and private sector workers in Kailahun district – in the East of Sierra Leone – who escaped from RUF massive abduction and killings fled to neighboring cities under governmental control, mainly Kenema. The loss of jobs was the beginning of an impoverishment path that continued throughout years as long as the conflict was going on. Interviewees in Kailahun town described this process as “sudden and enduring”²⁰ leaving little margin of maneuver to the victims. Joblessness is not only losing one’s job, but it also involves a sudden drop in income and social status while responsibilities are increasing due the vulnerability imposed by war. Family heads in Mendekeima, a village located in Kailahun district, had to flee with their large families without being able to gather any resource to sustain themselves on the long way of displacement. Under the difficult conditions imposed by the flight, the displaced could not keep their family members close to them and satisfy their basic needs.

Long journeys in the bush often ended when there was an opportunity to enter an IDP camp or get assistance from a host community. In particular, camp life was a state of forced dependency on external food and basic needs suppliers as IDPs could not afford to buy things they needed²¹. The search for jobs away from home, where economic structures were disrupted and where thousands of people were facing similar situations was full of uncertainty. Many years of joblessness and heavy dependency on others were expected to end when IDPs return to their homes. Unexpectedly, many displaced people’s situation has not improved anyhow.

20 Melvin Sandy, mason, 28-Jul-03, Segbwema, Kailahun

21 Field interviews: Katumu Sam, Petty trading, 28-Jul-03, Segbwema, Kailahun
Gbessay Dauda, Farmer, 30-Jul-03, Mamboma, Kailahun
Baindu Koroma, Farmer, 29-Jul-03, Segbwema, Kailahun

Even though there is no reliable figure on the rate of employment of IDPs, interviews revealed that very few of them hold wage employment positions once they have returned. Months after they were resettled, some IDPs went through some community-based temporary employment, which is not sufficient to get them out of poverty. The scarcity of jobs in areas of return made many young IDPs move back to displacement areas, namely the main cities, where they expect to get some petty jobs. Some IDPs had returned back to their communities just to get the resettlement packages, sell them out and obtain the money necessary to go back to the provincial capitals²² or mining areas. The few remaining youths in rural areas complain of their conditions and think that working as watchmen or security guards in Freetown, Kenema and Bo is their dream, a job that only few of them can get. The process of restarting up a new life seems to be long and scary, especially for those who have had many years of displacement²³.

4.1.2. Homelessness (difficult access to shelter)

Homelessness is the obvious risk faced by displaced people on the move. Moving away from the house, spending weeks on the hard road to safe areas, and getting to unknown destinations, are important facts of internal displacement in Sierra Leone. The few lucky who could join relatives in neighboring villages or chiefdoms experienced promiscuity with its related risks. Similarly, life in camps was not better either.

At home, the level of destruction was very high. Indeed, the war in Sierra Leone had the particularity of being highly destructive. Looting and burning out houses was the approach used by RUF fighters and some wandering soldiers known under the name of 'sobels', that means, soldiers who work for Sierra Leone Army (SLA) during the day but convert into rebel factions during the night. Towns like Kono and Kailahun suffered extremely high levels of destruction. Kono was destroyed by 90% (IRIN, 2001: 1). In Kailahun for example, 83% (43,500) of the dwelling houses existing in 1991 were totally destroyed, and only 3% were intact at the beginning of 2002 - most of them reconstructed (NaCSA & OCHA, 2002:22). At national level, an estimated 52% of houses were destroyed in the whole country and only 1% of them were rebuild in 2002 (UN, 2003: 6). Returning to such areas contained the high risk of homelessness. During the resettlement process, NFIs included plastic sheets to set up temporary roofs while working on a stronger structure. For those who have not sold them out against some cash at the distribution points, the roofs made out of these sheets were not durable, exposing the beneficiaries to heavy rains.

To respond to the risk of homelessness, international organizations and governmental structures were supporting communities through shelter reconstruction programmes after the resettlement. Due to funding constraints, shelter

22 When the author was trying to meet some IDPs in Kambia district, he noticed that very few of those who were listed on the resettlement manifests were available in the designated villages. Interviewees said that the people who were not there went back to Freetown in search for jobs.

23 Field interview: Sao Lahai, backyard gardening, 28-Jul-03, Mendekeima, Kailahun

reconstruction programmes could not meet the entire needs. As a result, IDPs are crucially facing housing problems. Field observations in Sierra Leone suggested that resettled IDPs who have not benefited from shelter programmes are still vulnerable with regard to housing. Those who expect to refurbish their old houses were surprised by the level of destruction and could not afford to rebuild them since this would cost a lot of money. Also, IDPs expectations were very high when they were returning. Some claimed to have been promised shelter support while they were being encouraged to return to their areas of origin.²⁴ Back home, shelter programmes are selective and are directed to beneficiaries who fall under specific agencies' agenda and priorities. For example, International Organisation for Migration (IOM) shelter support is directed in priority to IDPs who have traveled in IOM chartered buses on their way from camps to distribution points²⁵.

4.1.3. Lack of access to health facilities

Access to health facilities is a generally shared problem in Sierra Leone, even before the outbreak of conflict. Before the return of displaced population to their areas of origin, the UN expressed fears warning against the inadequacy of existing infrastructure in light of the mass influx of resettlers. (UNSC, 2002:3)

During displacement, IDPs were confronted with daily health problems due to difficult living conditions in camps and host communities where there is a pressure on the existing infrastructure. Upon return in their communities, IDPs found a destroyed health infrastructure and the existing PHUs were not enough to cover the needs. In district headquarter towns, resettled population attend the available health units that do not always have needed services such as surgery. Mostly, people living in villages have to walk long distances to reach the first health center. As transport facilities are discouraged by the inexistence of practicable road infrastructure, people have no choice but transport complicated cases on rare bicycles or in a sort of hammock before reaching the nearest health unit. Most often, rescuing sick people in these conditions is uncertain. Pregnant women having difficulties to deliver are transported in such conditions in Kailahun district and often die before reaching the health centres operated by the International Medical Corp (IMC) and Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF.)

These problems are aggravated by the inexistence of proper water and sanitation facilities. Clean water does not exist in all areas. People are still using water sources that are not safe for drinking. Hand dug wells and boreholes constructed before the conflict were abandoned for long years and most of them have broken down. Efforts to solve the problem of access to water and sanitation are underway and are part of the broad recovery framework²⁶.

24 Field interview: Mariama Momoh, Farmer, 28-Jul-03, Segbwema, Kailahun

25 Field interview: Mangeh Sesay, Senior Operations Assistant, International Organisation for Migration, 24-Jun-03, Freetown

26 On 14th and 15th July 2003, the author was involved in the supervision of data collection in Kambia district for the pilote phase of an inter-agency water and sanitation survey.

4.1.4. Food insecurity

Food insecurity is a general problem in Sierra Leone. Malnutrition levels were already very high before the outbreak of war: in 1990, 35% of children were stunted, and between 27% and 29 % were underweight (Gosl & FAO, 2002: 34). The vulnerability study report in 2002 suggested that chronic malnutrition is prevalent in Sierra Leone and the drop of food production may increase the risk that food insecurity persists. Throughout the war, food insecurity was severe, and dependency on external food aid became a safety option for displaced persons. The daily rations without the staple rice disturbed food habits but people got progressively used to new food packages imported from donor countries. The two month food ration that they get as part of the resettlement package lasts less than two months due to family size and also to the sale in local market in order to get some cash for buying other commodities.

Food production in the areas of return takes some time because lands abandoned for many years need brushing and rehabilitation. The potential of producing food in sufficient quantities exist as Sierra Leone has good arable lands. But some beneficiaries use the seeds for immediate consumption and do not have any left to plant for future consumption (op.cit.: 41). Also, women who have lost their husbands have to bear the burden of insuring food security for the household. Rice yields need man power that does not always exist as elders and children are not able to cultivate. The young people who are to do the jobs are in search for quick and stable income generating opportunities. Besides, "the capacity of the resettled population to recover food security levels prior to the conflict is also compounded by competing needs, particularly in regards to shelter needs due to the high level of destruction of dwelling houses and limited cash available to meet basic needs" (op.cit.).

4.1.4. Community disarticulation

The disarticulation of Sierra Leonean communities was the immediate consequence of the war at the first place. Displacement and struggle for safety further shattered families and shook communities. The community cohesion based on family unity, inter-family linkages, and mutual help overseen by social organizations have been broken when people fled from their villages. During the flight, the elderly, the youth, women, and chiefs found themselves in conditions where traditional power relations were progressively questioned. As a result, the structures in place away from home were no longer the same and this influences the course of social dynamics after the displaced people have returned. Some village chiefs in Kailahun district have expressed their concerns about their lost of power and their inability to address community problems as they used to before the war. Family heads due to lack of resources and displacement life do not have proper control over their children. Family education is therefore insufficient and risks of banditry and refusal/failure to participate in community services are very high.

Besides, many displaced people are still having difficulties to restart a new life with their children and spouses killed during the war. And the drop in social status due to

long years of flight does not facilitate the continuation of positive visions and projects within the community. At the time of this research, community members expressed their nostalgia for a pre-displacement period when labor was available, initiatives were taken, and crops were grown at least for feeding and getting some cash. "Today, we don't know from where to start. You have seen the forest over there. At this place a few years ago, it was a coffee farm where we used to work. And rice was on this side. Now, as you can see, it is only the bush because the owner has been killed and his children have settled in Freetown and refuse to come back here."²⁷. Therefore, all the community dynamics over this farm and its consecutive income generating potentials are absent. Serious delays are therefore caused to the community revival and increase the risks of maintaining people in poverty. Therefore, community disarticulation is not only the loss of community members, but the disruption of community initiatives.

4.1.5. Lack of access to cultural resources

Another characteristic of the Sierra Leonean war is that the conscripted youths who were having grievances against established rules and social structures in place destroyed or profaned the related symbols. As an illustration, traditional chiefs were first caught and humiliated and symbols of these structures were destroyed²⁸.

In the absence of displaced people, many sacred sites were profaned and violated by rebel factions and could no longer host community cultural services. Also, warfare strategies led to commit crime, rape, and other human rights violations contrary to the shared community customs. Back in these communities, people believe that the unavailability of these sites at the moment causes serious disruptions in their community. But money constraints prevent them from buying necessary goats, cows, hens and other items to perform the sacrifices that would "wash" these sites and restore their sacredness. The restoration process includes the initiation of new members as some elders who were in charge were killed²⁹.

Already in their camp life, displaced people could not perform their usual rites as appropriate space was not available. Displaced people regret that parts of their cultural values were lost during the period of social, economic and geographical instability. For example, children are refusing to undergo initiation rites as they have grown up in contexts where such rites were not permitted or eased – for example in camps³⁰.

27 Mamie Musa, Farmer, 30-Jul-03, Mamboma, Kailahun

28 Field interview: Mustapha Gengbeh, Paramount Chief, 29-Jul-03, Peje West, Kailahun

29 Field interview: Salif Momoh, Farmer/spokesperson, 28-Jul-03, Mendekeima, Kailahun; Moino Pessima, cattle shepherd, 28-Jul-03, Mendekeima, Kailahun; Momoh Lansana, Farmer, 28-Jul-03, Segbwema, Kailahun

30 Some women in Kailahun mentioned that their children refuse to undergo genital mutilation practices because they were sensitized in camps. This transformation, although positive from the human right point of view, is deplored by the local population.

4.1.6. Loss of property

IDPs have been deprived of their properties during the looting and destruction perpetrated by fighting factions. Indeed, the loss of property started earlier than the time of resettlement. Interviews with some displaced people in the Western area suggested that many IDPs have decided to move when they saw their properties taken away by looters. The decision of moving away was then partly motivated by the fear for not being able to recover part or reconstruct their destroyed properties. Moving away was the only option left at least to save their lives. Also IDP camps were offering relative safety and were also supported by government and international agencies. As such, the availability of food and basic shelter facilities in these camps were important attractions for IDPs who have been deprived of their property and lost all income generating sources.

Property loss is also felt by IDPs when they return back into their communities. Cows, goats, food crops and other goods are no more there. "Before the war, I owned 11 cows, 19 goats, and a rice farm but everything was taken away from me by rebel groups"³¹. Getting these properties again is full of challenges and takes time and the risk of failing to do so is high. Interviewed families in the western area and eastern province of Sierra Leone expressed how they have been able to recover only small part of their properties as the biggest part has been either consumed or destroyed.

4.1.7. Problems of access to education.

Many areas, the Eastern and Northern provinces in particular, found their educational infrastructure completely destroyed by rebel groups. Schools were considered as a symbol of the central government and were therefore looted and burnt down. In rebel held areas, most, if not all, school buildings were left only with destroyed walls and covered with grass. Children who have fled with their parents were not always able to attend school, especially when the family had a complex itinerary moving from one place to the other as the security situation changed. Some children at schooling age when their parents fled to provincial capitals had the opportunity of starting school but were later removed from school in order to help their parents doing some petty jobs in order to sustain the family. After the war, education figures have improved in Sierra Leone with an enrolment rate of 57% (UN, 2003: 6). But the IDP population is facing different realities. For example in some areas where school infrastructure has not been rebuilt through the school rehabilitation programmes parents renounced sending their children to school because the nearest schools are

31 Moino Pessima, 28-Jul-03, Mendekeima, Kailahun

far from their villages. As the academic calendar runs from September to July, children who left school during the resettlement movement did not all go back³².

4.2. A test case for IRR model?

On the basis of the problems identified within the Sierra Leonean displaced population, this part of the chapter will discuss the major risks identification component of the model as presented in the first chapter.

An analysis of the risks faced by resettled IDPs depicts a picture of the impoverishment process in which they are involved in Sierra Leone. These processes have important similarities with the risks predicted by the IRR model. Interviews and observations made in the Western area and eastern provinces of Sierra Leone revealed that IDPs are prone to a number of risks that are related to their displacement. The process of displacement started when IDPs decided to flee their areas of origins in order to look for safe areas. Indeed, it was not a one-time movement. It was a complex process that took different facets. In most cases, people used different itineraries and tried many safety strategies depending on the intensity of fights and social conditions and facilities found in the host areas. Risks and processes that are considered here occur during the displacement, resettlement and reintegration time.

IDPs are not isolated groups in the communities where they have returned. They live together with former refugees, ex-combatants, and the people who remained in the areas despite the fights. Thus, the risks are shared at various degrees. These problems are being addressed at various levels by development actors through community based support programmes and policies that fall under the broad frame of recovery mechanisms. But financial resources constraints limit the scope of coverage and time factor influences the course of impoverishment trends, that means, the more actors take time to address the problems the higher are the risks of worsening.

The risks identification component of the IRR model is therefore applicable to the major components of conflict-induced displacement. However, there are some particularities that characterize the Sierra Leonean context.

Not all the risks predicted by the IRR model are necessarily applicable in the Sierra Leonean, at least in the areas covered by this research. These problems are the issue of landlessness and marginalization.

32 Field interviews: Jattu Kallon, Farmer, 28-Jul-03, Segbwema, Kailahun; Mahmoud Dumbuya, no profession, 27-Jul-03, Kailahun; Famata Berewa, Farmer, 28-Jul-03, Mendekeima, Kailahun; Morie Baion, Teacher, 30-Jul-03; mamboma, Kailahun
Lansana Jawad, Teacher, 28-Jul-03, Mendekeima, Kailahun
Moino Pessima, Cattle shepherd, 28-Jul-03, Mendekeima, Kailahun
Keima Sheku, Farmer, 30-Jul-03, Mamboma, Kailahun

Previous research work on conflict-induced displacement suggested, as predicted by IRR model that landlessness is a major risk faced by internally displaced people (Cohen & Deng (1998). Displaced people's land is sometimes encroached by other people in their absence and they face difficulties to recover their property when they are back. In the Sierra Leonean context, no persistent problems were faced with regard to land. IDP's houses and land that were occupied in rebel held areas were vacated without resistance by occupants through UNAMSIL mediation. The enrolment of former fighters in reintegration opportunity programmes for their economic self-reliance has contributed to curb potential problems and settled major disputes. Landlessness therefore, was a characteristic of the actual time of displacement. In fact, resettled IDPs said that problems related to land were only faced when they were away from their homes. Upon return, land related problems became less acute.

Concerning the process of marginalization, IDPs who have returned to their communities do not face any particular marginalization. In the contrary, they are welcomed by local authorities and community members. Being in their home areas increase their feeling of belongingness despite the economic challenges that they encounter. Marginalization is therefore a process that characterizes the displacement phase, that means, when IDPs are away from home.

In brief, resettled IDPs in Sierra Leone are exposed to a number of pauperization risks which are similar to the processes predicted by the IRR model. However, the Sierra Leonean context has its own particularities with regard to land issues and marginalization processes.

These risks are still present despite paramount efforts being made by the Government of Sierra Leone and the international community involved in the recovery process. The next chapter will focus on policy gaps and IDPs response strategies.

Chapter five: Policy gaps and resettled IDPs' responses strategies

The presentation of policy guidelines in chapter three has allowed seeing the general framework under which the resettlement of IDPs took place. From the intentions expressed to actions taken, there are a number problems and bottlenecks that needs to be reviewed in order to identify the entry points that should have been sufficiently taken into account or addressed. This chapter therefore analyses the gaps found and the strategies developed by the beneficiaries in order to face the challenges raised by the unsuccessful parts of the resettlement process in Sierra Leone³³.

5.1. Policy gaps and resettlement bottlenecks

5.1.1. Planning and implementation dilemmas

The resettlement in Sierra Leone has been declared officially over in December 2002 when the last phase has been completed. As prescribed by the resettlement strategy, the registration has stopped when resettlement started. So, new entries in the ranks of IDPs in camps were not properly tracked by agencies in charge as efficient control mechanisms were not in place. The problems related to planning and control mechanisms became apparent when the government declared that resettlement phased out and all camps should be progressively closed. The western area camps (National Workshop and Approved school in particular) became problematic. As of mid-August 2003, there were thousands of people who still claim to be IDPs and remain in camps where living conditions are worsening since humanitarian assistance has been stopped. The dilemma lies on the complex movement and mingling of real displaced population and homeless people searching for space in Freetown, a city that is confronted with housing problems. These people are considered by the government of Sierra Leone as non-IDPs while they consider themselves as left-out cases. To respond to the problem, it is envisaged by the Government of Sierra Leone to relocate the camp residents onto alternative sites but the process is still delayed since the government and displaced population has not reached a workable agreement.

33 The resettlement in Sierra Leone had important successes as well. For example, an interviewee from the Norwegian Refugee Council said that the Sierra Leone resettlement process has been the most successful that she has ever seen. (Mette Nordstrand, Head of Mission, Norwegian Refugee Council, 23-Jul-03, Freetown)

National Workshop Camp: IDP or homeless? The challenge remains

"The resettlement process has been hazardous and unfinished. We vehemently condemn NaCSA for having betrayed our rights", the national workshop camp chairman said during an interview in the camp in August. This statement translates the hunger of the camp residents toward the main governmental agency responsible for the resettlement process in Sierra Leone. Camp residents are estimated at 10123 people divided into three groups: a) long term residents equal to unregistered IDPs who came to the camp after registration took place, b) left-out cases who are registered IDPs whose names were missing on the resettlement manifest due to alleged list manipulations, and c) squatters who are homeless people coming from Freetown and its neighborhoods.

Some humanitarian workers believe that within the group of people still living in National Workshop, there is a considerable number of IDPs who have got their resettlement packages, went to their communities but came back again due the difficult conditions in place at their areas origin. Besides, most actors agree that the process of registration and verification was not efficient as some organizations involved in camp management activities did not have neither the institutional capacity nor the experience needed for such a complex exercise. As a result, the incoming and outgoing movements were not properly monitored and the management of resettlement manifests was flawed. Difficulties to control those who were in charge of the lists arose from the fact that food ration cards were designed without the photographs of beneficiaries. As a result, these cards could be easily sold out and numbers exchanged.

Against this backdrop, the living conditions in National Workshop are worsening. Promiscuity is acute and health risks are rampant. The huts that shelter people also offer good conditions for rats, lizards, cockroaches, mosquitoes, etc. whose presence worsen the situation. Joblessness in the absence of food assistance is forcing young girls into prostitution and unsafe sexual life that result in rising number of children and mothers. The withdrawal of humanitarian agencies and the shift of programmes from relief to recovery constrain resources and camp residents do not receive the assistance they expect.

From this description of the situation at National Workshop³⁴, it is clear that the problems related to large numbers of people claiming to be IDPs remain. Interviews with UNOCHA and NaCSA³⁵ revealed that these people are mainly homeless people who try to take advantage of the humanitarian situation in order to get shelter support and food assistance. Some of them are believed to have rented their houses in Freetown while living in these camps for free.

5.1.2. Improper sensitization

One of the major components of the resettlement process as defined by the resettlement strategy is proper and timely information of the beneficiaries. Interviews suggested that IDPs were not always properly informed. The distortion of information and their belated transmission to the displaced population raised unnecessary hopes, discouraged many beneficiaries, and left IDPs unprepared for restarting their new lives upon return. "We have been told in Kenema that our houses would be reconstructed once we go back to our villages. I have been here in Mamboma for six months but nobody came to assist us and my children have to join their uncle over there. You see where I am, exposed to all kinds of hazards...³⁶", a woman said in Kailahun District pointing at her approximate plastic roofed hut. A recent report published by MSF also raised some important sensitization problems. According to this report, IDPs have been falsely told that they were allowed to vote only in their areas of origin. This obliged many of them to return home too early, that means before the general elections in May 2002 in order to vote (MSF, 2002).

Information dissemination problems were also the source of the left-out cases during the registration exercises. Lack of information caused many IDPs not to be at designated areas for registration. As a result, the apparent information vacuum was filled out by a network of intermediaries. These intermediaries portrayed themselves as service providers who could help un-registered IDPs to get registered and registered IDPs to extend the list of their dependants. In the wake of such uncertainty, some IDPs were confused and spent their little resources in search for food ration cards.

During the actual movement from camps and host communities, there was insufficient information provided to IDPs on dates and time of transport to drop-off points. Mostly, it started too late and only part of the displaced population was properly informed.

34 Field observations and interviews: Amina Sesay, no profession, National Workshop, 03-Aug-03, Freetown; Francis Kanu, Camp chairman, 03-Aug-03, National Workshop, Freetown; John K. Tarawalli, Camp Secretary, 03-Aug-03, National Workshop, Freetown.

35 Abdourame Mansaray, Field Monitor, NaCSA, 11-Jul-03, Freetown; Johan Tucker, Senior Field coordinator, UNOCHA, 18-Jul-03, Freetown

36 Jenneh Musa, Farmer, 30-Jul-03, Mamboma, Kailahun

5.1.3. Insufficient respect of safety and dignity principles

The principle of resettlement under safety and dignity conditions was clearly enounced by the resettlement strategy. Once areas were declared safe by resettlement assessment committees, people were automatically encouraged to move either voluntarily or under facilitation schemes such as transport. The system put in place was characterized by the limited capacity of agencies involved to offer transport facilities further than drop-off points from where IDPs go back to their respective villages of resettlement. Therefore, many IDPs had to go long distances by foot, carrying their two-month food rations and NFIs. It has been particularly difficult for female headed families where women had to carry resettlement packages together with younger children.

As many resettlers went back home, they faced the harsh conditions imposed by the level of destruction. As such, the movement of people took place at the time when basic infrastructures and services were not in place. In total deprivation, displaced people went and started waiting for community support services³⁷. This support came in some cases and benefited large numbers of people while others remained out of reach.

The combination of problems discussed in this chapter, create doubts on the respect of safety and dignity principles. Exposure to high impoverishment risks reduces people's safety even though the actual fighting has stopped. The report published by MSF on the protection of the war affected population in the Mano River region provided further analysis of the resettlement process and drew a little glittering picture of the situation of displaced people in Sierra Leone. Against their situation, resettlers are developing specific coping strategies.

5.2. IDPs response strategies

IDPs develop various response strategies to cope with the situation due to gaps noticed in the implementation of resettlement and reintegration programmes. These response strategies can be categorized into three main groups: political strategies, community solidarity strategies and economic strategies.

5.2.1. Political strategies

These strategies consist in organizing themselves into lobby groups that can be credible interlocutors to the government of Sierra Leone and its international partners. At the very beginning, IDPs have often been organized, i.e. electing chairpersons to represent them during meetings and within planning and monitoring bodies. IDPs representatives have been included in resettlement committees and

37 One can ask whether community support programmes should precede the return of people or the other way round.

participated in most meetings and decision making bodies. As problems arose and their interests seemed to be jeopardized, people who considered themselves as left out cases therefore took initiatives to join larger organizations in order to defend their interests. In the western area, these people joined the Western Area Homeless Organization primarily created to defend the interests of homeless people especially in Freetown and its neighborhood. Discussions with camp chairmen at National Workshop and Approved School revealed that joining larger groups would be advantageous as there are chances to get satisfaction at least for housing needs. As the living conditions in camps have deteriorated, especially in the health and sanitation sector, camps residents consider shelter needs as most important since "having a roof brings a feeling of safety, the other things can follow"³⁸.

The formation of interest groups for lobbying and pressurizing decision makers has been the last resort used by IDPs living in phased out camps in the western area. These activities comprise media campaigns, meetings and resistance to NaCSA eviction plans.

5.2.2. Community solidarity strategies

Although war and displacement has disarticulated communities in Sierra Leone, community solidarity activities help to respond to increasing problems that community members are confronted with. Facing a high level of destruction of their properties and the absence of sufficient support from the government, the resettled population has identified ways to solve, at least partly, the occurring problems. Again, the sector of housing has been the first in mobilizing communities. In Kailahun district, community members found a rotating scheme of rebuilding houses with local materials such as wood, clay, grass, etc.. Many homeless returnees got temporary housing through these community initiatives. The existence of this potential is even integrated into the operation plans of some national and international organizations working in the shelter sector. Due to financial constraints, few community members benefit from shelter programmes. In order to minimize the cost and expand the coverage, funding agencies encourage communities to build the structure – wall – before getting zinc and nails needed for the roof. This strategy has helped to assist more people who would not be covered if agencies had to build all structures in definite and imported materials.

As part of community solidarity, resettlers who have no shelter facility upon return and who do not have the capacity of building – this is mainly the case of female headed families – are temporarily hosted by relatives in the community. Sharing housing facilities creates promiscuity but protects many against heavy rains and ardent rays of the sun.

Also, relations between communities allow them to share common property resources such as cultural sites for their traditional rites. In Mendekeima, interviewees said that they use neighboring communities to perform traditional rites

38 John K. Tarawalli, Camp Secretary, 03-Aug-03, National Workshop, Freetown

that could no longer take place in their village due to profane behaviors noticed during the war.

5.2.3. New waves of displacement

As many went back home to nothing, difficulties to cope with scarcity and destruction arose early. Loss of property, joblessness, homelessness, and the absence of health and education facilities discouraged large numbers of people, especially those who were doing some petty jobs in provincial capitals when they were living in camps.

Moving back into camps offers no guarantee to survive but expectations exist to get assistance from the government and humanitarian agencies. Without any qualification, it appeared extremely difficult to find a job in post-conflict Sierra Leone where economic and social infrastructures are being rebuilt. The female population therefore opts for feeding the growing prostitution market in major provincial capitals with Freetown being the major destination. These new waves of displacement are economically motivated and uncontrolled.

In this chapter, major policy gaps have been identified and analyzed. Despite its successes, the resettlement process has faced many challenges that lead to insufficient compliance with the framework defined by the resettlement strategy. Thus, problems were raised concerning the planning and implementation processes, proper sensitization of beneficiaries, and respect for safety and dignity principles. The chapter has also depicted the strategies developed by IDPs. A categorization of these strategies lead to the identification of three main groups of strategies: political strategies that mainly consist in lobbying and advocating, community solidarity strategies aimed at solving the crucial lack of housing facilities in areas of return, and new waves of displacement that are economically motivated.

Conclusion

Based on the empirical research done, the following conclusions may be drawn.

First, the resettlement strategy adopted in December 2000 and revised in October 2001 is the main policy and strategy document that guided the resettlement process in Sierra Leone. It defines the institutional arrangements needed to ensure security assessments and proper coordination mechanisms. This institutional arrangement includes baseline principles, coordination and monitoring bodies, and actors' areas of responsibilities to be covered along the following principles: a) close monitoring to ensure effectiveness, b) full and timely information of beneficiaries, c) integrated resettlement and reintegration of IDPs, refugees, and ex-combatants, and d) resettlement under safety and dignity. The resettlement process has been coordinated by the NaCSA, formerly NCRRR, which is a governmental body with close assistance of UNOCHA. A phased approach permitted a progressive return of IDPs into the communities as long as new areas were declared safe. The resettlement process therefore took place in five phases that started in April 2001 and officially ended in December 2002. Each phase was characterised by specific caseloads depending on the political and security context. In fact, during the third phase that took place from March to April 2002, 50% of registered IDPs were resettled just before the general elections scheduled in May 2002. In this way, the first three research questions are answered (chapter three).

Second, resettled IDPs are prone to a number of risks that are similar to IRR model predictions. The observation of IDPs in their areas of return, the comparison of the individual perceptions, and the use of previous surveys reveal that IDPs are confronted, in various degrees, to the following impoverishment risks: a) joblessness that faces people despite the need for agricultural labour in their communities; b) homelessness (lack of access to shelter) due to the high level of destruction and the limited coverage of shelter assistance projects; c) lack of access to health facilities as the existing health infrastructure is insufficient; d) food insecurity, since food production has been halted by immediate consumption needs and labor availability problems; e) community disarticulation that resulted from long years of displacement and other destructive effects of war; f) lack of access to cultural resources due to long years of abandonment of ritual sites and practices; g) loss of property as a direct result of looting and destruction; and h) problems of access to education due to limited facilities and disturbances engendered by the movement of parents and children in the middle of the academic year. Besides it has been mentioned that landlessness and marginalization faced IDPs only while they were away from their communities. Upon return, disputes were minor since fraudulent occupants vacated the land without resistance through community mediation schemes supported by the international community.

Third, there are policy gaps which are principally: a) uncontrolled movements in IDP camps with thousands of people claiming to be left-out after resettlement has officially been declared over; b) improper sensitization whereby IDPs were misled by some informants especially with regard to resettlement conditions in their communities and c) insufficient respect of safety and dignity principles due to

constrained transport facilities and inexistence of basic infrastructure prior to the return of the displaced persons.

Fourth, resettling IDPs develop their own response strategies to cope with the problems that face them. These responses consist of political strategies, community solidarity strategies and new displacement strategies. It has been pointed out that people who still claim to be IDPs in the Western Area utilise lobbying and political dialogue to compel the Government of Sierra Leone and its humanitarian partners to solve the crucial problem of homelessness. Also, community solidarity networks help to address some problems and people who are not able to cope with the conditions engage in economically motivated displacement.

The hypothesis of this thesis is therefore verified.

In brief, this research work has contributed to understand some dynamics that characterise resettlement in a post-conflict setting. Besides, this research showed that the IRR model primarily developed for development induced displacement also provides useful tools for problem analysis and policy planning in conflict-induced displacement. However, important questions arise when the identified risks are put in the broad context of Sierra Leone that is one of the poorest countries in the world. One could argue that the identified risks are not specifically related to displacement and that further research may be needed. From a policy point of view, the integrated approach adopted by resettlement and recovery actors seems to be realistic, despite constrained resources, as resident population, returnees, and other war-victims are not better off than IDPs.

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Appendix

Appendix 1: Guiding questions

a. Guiding questions applicable to organizations and institutions

Dear Sir/Madam

I am Damien Mama, student at the Institute of Development Research and Development Policy, Ruhr University of Bochum (Germany). I am writing my master thesis on the topic "Partnerships for Post-conflict recovery: An analysis of the resettlement and reintegration of Internally Displaced Persons in Sierra Leone". I would like to ask you some questions on your organization/institution's role in the IDP resettlement process. Your answers will be treated confidentially and your name will not be cited if you wish to be anonymous. Thank you for your cooperation.

1. Place + date
2. Name of interviewee (optional):
3. Title/position and responsibilities:
4. Name of organization or institution:
5. What is the role of your organization or institution in the recovery process?
6. For how long has your organization/institution been involved in the recovery process?
7. Does your organization have any policy on resettlement and reintegration of IDPs?
8. If not, to which policy do you refer while designing or implementing your activities or programmes?
9. Do you have any activity/project/programme targeting IDPs?
10. If yes, what are the major components of this activity/project/programme?
11. For how much does your IDP-related activity/project/programme account in your overall budget?
12. What timeframe does this activity/project/programme have?
13. Do you have any partner organization or institution for the activity/project/programme?
14. If yes, which organization/institution is it? What are the specific areas of partnership?
15. In which way does this partnership help you achieve your goals?
16. Have you planned any activity/project/programme that has not been implemented in the field?
17. If yes, what were the reasons?
18. In which way has your activity/project/programme achieved the needs of IDPs?
19. In which way has your activity/project/programme not achieved the needs of IDPs?
20. What are the major needs that have not been achieved? Please explain?
21. How do you think these needs can be addressed?
22. According to your organization/institution, what should be or should have been the major policy components of the resettlement and reintegration of IDPs in Sierra Leone?
23. Does your organization/institution have any report on your activity/project/programme?
24. May I quote you by name in my thesis or would you prefer to be quoted anonymously only?

b. Guiding questions applicable to IDPs

Dear Sir/Madam

I am Damien Mama, student at the Institute of Development Research and Development Policy, Ruhr University of Bochum (Germany). I am writing my master thesis on the topic "Partnerships for Post-conflict recovery: an analysis of the resettlement and reintegration of Internally Displaced Persons in Sierra Leone". I would like to ask you some questions on your experience as an IDP. Your answers will be treated confidentially and your name will not be cited if you wish to be anonymous. Thank you for your cooperation.

1. Place + date:
2. Name of interviewee (optional):
3. Age + Gender:
4. Have you completed any formal education? Which level have you reached?
5. What is your occupation?
6. Is your current occupation the only source of income?
7. If no, please list the other sources?
8. In which kind of housing do you stay?
9. How many persons are living in your household?
10. How many dependants do you have?
11. Have you owned any asset before displacement?
12. What are the assets that you still own?
13. Please describe your itinerary during the conflict?
14. What are the major problems that you faced during your displacement?
15. What are the major problems that other IDPs faced during their displacement?
16. Were you living in this area/village before displacement?
17. If no, why have you decided to move here?
18. When have you moved [back?] to this area/village?
19. From which organization or institution have you got assistance during your displacement?
20. From which organization or institution have you got assistance after you have returned?
21. What kind of assistance did you get?
22. Was this assistance helpful?
23. If yes: Which problems were solved?
24. If not: Which problems were not solved?
25. How have you dealt with or are you dealing with the problems?
26. Do you know other IDPs facing the same problem?
27. If yes, how are they coping with them?
28. What should be done for IDPs at this stage?
29. May I quote you by name in my thesis or would you prefer to be quoted anonymously only?

Appendix 2: List of respondents

a. Organizations

1. Abdourame Mansaray, Field Monitor, NaCSA, 11-Jul-03, Freetown
2. Alfred Sandy, Executive Director, CORD-SL, 24-Jul-03, Freetown
3. Aminata Sowa, Community Mob. Officer, NaCSA, 26-Jul-03, Kailahun
4. Andrew Choga, Chief of Mission, IOM, 24-Jun-03, Freetown
5. Asis Das, Medical coordinator, MSF France, 08-Jul-03, Freetown
6. Bob Moran, Emergency coordinator, CRS, 07-Jul-03, Freetown
7. Foday Sahoui, Child Protection Officer, World Vision, 24-Jul-03, Freetown
8. Jacquelyn Wright, Head of Delegation, IFRC, 30-Jun-03, Freetown
9. Jaykrishna Lal Karmacharya, Reintegration Programme Officer, UNHCR, 29-Jul-03, Kailahun
10. Johan Tucker, Senior Field coordinator, UNOCHA, 18-Jul-03, Freetown
11. Jonathan Cobba, Field Monitor, National Commission for Social Action, 26-Jul-03, Kailahun
12. Mangeh Sesay, Senior Operations Assistant, IOM, 24-Jun-03, Freetown
13. Marcella Willis, Microfinance programme coordinator, American Refugee Committee, 22-Jul-03, Freetown
14. Marvel Bloomer, Assistant Commodity manager, World Vision, 24-Jul-03, Freetown
15. Mette Nordstrand, Head of Mission, Norwegian Refugee Council, 23-Jul-03, Freetown
16. Solomon Conteh, Sierra Leone Red Cross Society, 21-Jul-03, Freetown

b. Internally Displaced Persons

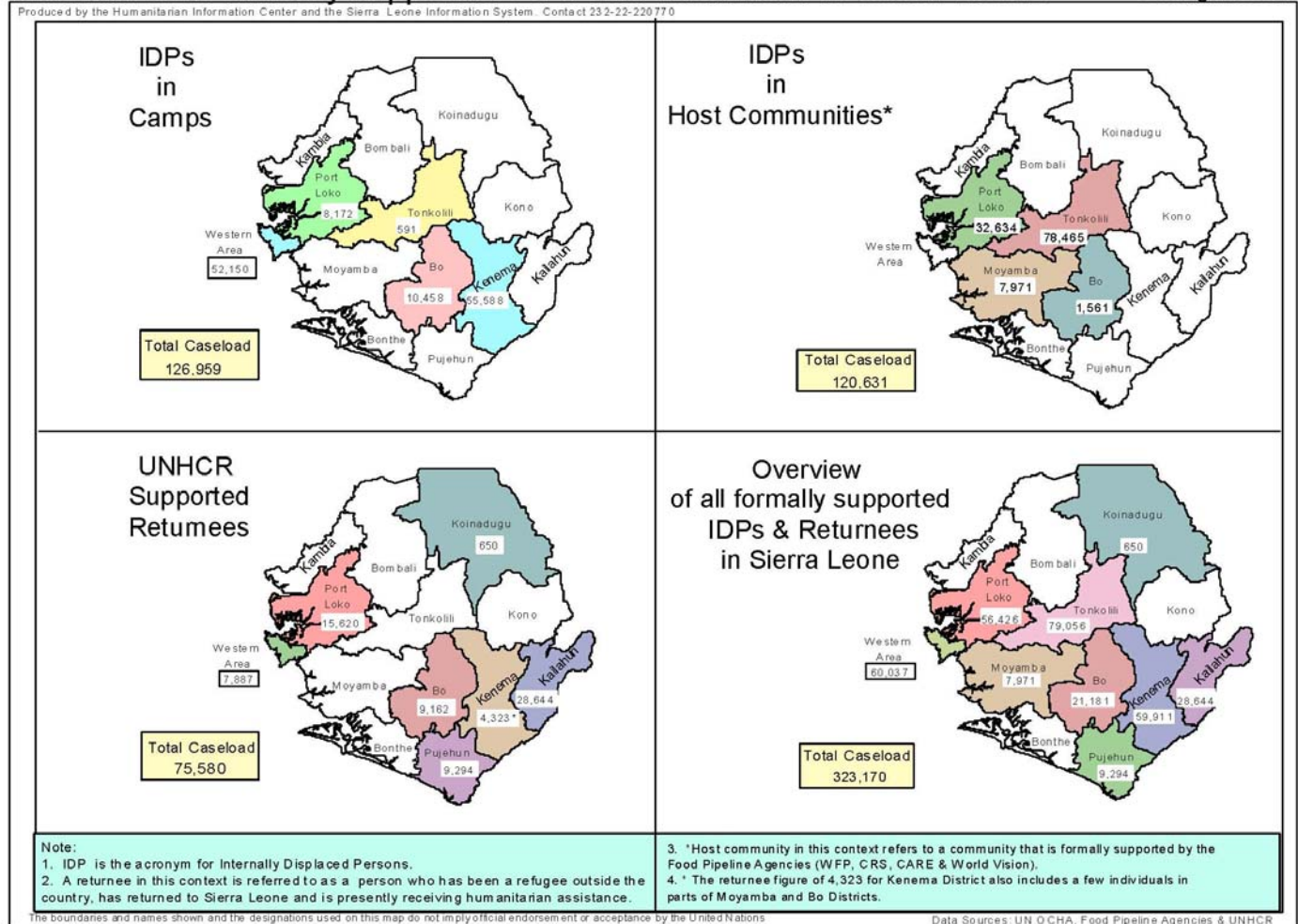
1. Aissata Conteh, Petty trader, 26-Jul-03, Kailahun
2. Aissatou Tengheh, Petting trader, Approved School, Freetown
3. Amadu Kallon, Farmer, 29-Jul-03, Segbwema, Kailahun
4. Amina Sesay, no profession, National Workshop, 03-Aug-03, Freetown
5. Aminata Kallon, no profession, 28-Jul-03, Segbwema, Kailahun
6. Baindu Koroma, Farmer, 29-Jul-03, Segbwema, Kailahun
7. Brima Saffa, Farmer, 29-Jul-03, Segbwema, Kailahun
8. Cecilia Swarray, no profession, 30-Jul-03, Mamboma, Kailahun
9. Famata Berewa, Farmer, 28-Jul-03, Mendekeima, Kailahun
10. Francis Kanu, Camp chairman, 03-Aug-03, National Workshop, Freetown
11. Fudie Bockarie, Farmer, 29-Jul-03, Segbwema, Kailahun
12. Gbessay Bockarie, Farmer, 30-Jul-03, Mamboma, Kailahun
13. Gbessay Dauda, Farmer, 30-Jul-03, Mamboma, Kailahun
14. Henry Baion, Farmer, 30-Jul-03, Mamboma, Kailahun
15. Issa Bangoura, watchman, 26-Jul-03, Kailahun
16. Jattu Kallon, Farmer, 28-Jul-03, Segbwema, Kailahun
17. Jenneh Belewa, Petty trading, 28-Jul-03, Mendekeima, Kailahun

18. Jenneh Musa, Farmer, 30-Jul-03, Mamboma, Kailahun
19. John K. Tarawalli, Camp Secretary, 03-Aug-03, National Workshop, Freetown
20. Jusu Sannoh, no profession, 28-Jul-03, Segbwema, Kailahun
21. Jusufu Jaward, Farmer, 28-Jul-03, Segbwema, Kailahun
22. Kadiatu Turay, retailer, 9-Jul-03, Freetown
23. Katumu Sam, Petty trading, 28-Jul-03, Segbwema, Kailahun
24. Keima Sheku, Farmer, 30-Jul-03, Mamboma, Kailahun
25. Lahai Mustapha, Chief Imam, 28-Jul-03, Mendekeima, Kailahun
26. Lansana Jawad, Teacher, 28-Jul-03, Mendekeima, Kailahun
27. Mahmoud Dumbuya, no profession, 27-Jul-03, Kailahun
28. Mai Kamara, 10-Jul-03, Freetown
29. Mamie Musa, Farmer, 30-Jul-03, Mamboma, Kailahun
30. Mariama Momoh, Farmer, 28-Jul-03, Segbwema, Kailahun
31. Matilda Vandy, House wife, 28-Jul-03, Segbwema, Kailahun
32. Melvin Sandy, Mason, 28-Jul-03, Segbwema, Kailahun
33. Mensah D.S. French, Camp Chairman, Approved School, Freetown
34. Moino Pessima, cattle shepherd, 28-Jul-03, Mendekeima, Kailahun
35. Momoh Alfred, Farmer, 30-Jul-03, Mamboma, Kailahun
36. Momoh Lansana, Farmer, 28-Jul-03, Segbwema, Kailahun
37. Momoh Senesie, Teacher, 28-Jul-03, Segbwema, Kailahun
38. Morie Baion, Teacher, 30-Jul-03, Mamboma, Kailahun
39. Morie Saffa, Farmer, 30-Jul-03, Mamboma, Kailahun
40. Mustapha Gengbeh, Paramount Chief, 29-Jul-03, Peje West, Kailahun
41. Nasu Sovula, Farmer, 30-Jul-03, Mamboma, Kailahun
42. Osman Jalloh, watch repairer, 27-Jul-03, Kailahun
43. Philip Dangha, Teacher, 28-Jul-03, Segbwema, Kailahun
44. Saffa Amara, Town chief, 30-Jul-03, Mamboma, Kailahun
45. Saidou A. Foullah, Secretary General, Approved School, Freetown
46. Salif Momoh, Farmer/spokesperson, 28-Jul-03, Mendekeima, Kailahun
47. Sao Lahai, Backyard gardening, 28-Jul-03, Mendekeima, Kailahun
48. Simbo Kobba, Farmer, 30-Jul-03, Mamboma, Kailahun
49. Tenneh Sesay, Farmer, 30-Jul-03, Mamboma, Kailahun
50. X1³⁹, Farmer, 30-Jul-03, Peje West, Kailahun
51. X2, no profession, 12-Jul-03, Freetown
52. X3, security guard, 30-Jun-03, Freetown
53. X4, Farmer, 30-Jul-03, Peje West, Kailahun
54. X5, Farmer, 30-Jul-03, Peje West, Kailahun
55. Yatta Kallon, Farmer, 28-Jul-03, Segbwema, Kailahun

39 The respondents who are coded with X refused to display their names

Appendix 3: Distribution of formally supported IDPs and returnees.

Distribution of formally supported IDPs and Returnees in Sierra Leone 04 August 2001



Abstract

The paper is a result of an empirical field research carried out in Sierra Leone from June to August 2003. It analyses the resettlement and reintegration of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) in Sierra Leone in terms of policies applied, actors involved and problems encountered. It also tests the Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction Model (Cernea, 2000) which has been primarily developed for development-induced displacement but claims to be applicable to conflict-induced displacement. Through the analysis of major policy documents on resettlement and interviews with IDPs, Government and international partners in Sierra Leone, the research has come to the following conclusions. First, IDPs in Sierra Leone are prone to a number of risks that are similar to that predicted by the IRR model: joblessness, homelessness, lack of access to health facilities, food insecurity, community disarticulation, lack of access to cultural resources, loss of property, and problems of access to education. However, landlessness and marginalisation are not part of the risks identified. Second, the resettlement process suffered insufficient sensitisation, insufficient respect for safety and dignity principles and some IDP camps were still populated by people who claim to be left out after the resettlement process had been declared over. Third, many IDPs have developed coping strategies as a response to the gaps identified. Those who could not cope in their communities resorted to new waves of economically motivated displacement. From a policy point of view, an integrated approach to resettlement that reverses the identified risks is paramount to rebuilding livelihoods in war-affected communities.