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Review of capacity building measures of a GTZ reintegration programme in war-affected rural communities in Sierra Leone

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Foreword

This report is the result of a six-month project carried out by a German consultant team at the request of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ) – International Services. The German team members, except the team leader, were participants of the 39th annual training course at the centre for Advanced Training in Rural Development (SLE), Humboldt University Berlin. The team was composed of a nutritionist, a sociologist, an anthropologist, a historian and conflict analyst.

The project was carried out in close collaboration with GTZ-International Services in Sierra Leone and the regional office for West Africa I in Abidjan.

Interdisciplinary consultancy projects are an integral part of the SLE's training programme. The programme aims at preparing young professionals for assignments in bilateral and multilateral development organisations. It enables participants to obtain valuable practice in the use of action- and decision-oriented appraisal methods. At the same time, projects contribute directly to identifying and solving problems in rural development.

In 2001, the five groups of SLE's 39th course simultaneousls conducted projects in Ecuador, Malawi, the Philippines, Sierra Leone, and Sri Lanka.

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Executive summary

Sierra Leone has emerged from a ten years war in the beginning of 2000, which left vast material destruction, hundred thousands of refugees, mainly in Guinea and Liberia, a large number of internally displaced persons, many mutilated war victims and a large number of highly traumatised people. The different warring fractions to a large extent used child soldiers, who often had been induced into the war by the use of drugs and various methods of pressure. A result of the war is thus, that a large number of young people have not had any schooling and only learnt to fight. This factor together with the large number of unemployed youth without any perspective of professional training presents a major threat for the development of the country.

With the signing of the Lomé Peace Accord (LPA) United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL) and British troops were sent to Sierra Leone to ensure disarmament and the transfer of the country from war to peace until general elections. When the Peace Accord was signed about 40 % of the country were still under control of the Revolutionary United Front (RUF), which were to be disarmed and reintegrated into civil life following an agreed time schedule and in equal number as the Civil Defence Forces (CDF), including Kamajors, who had been supporting the government.

One of the main obstacles for an overall disarmament and peace was and is the interest in controlling the diamond digging and marketing, which is mainly concentrated in the northern and eastern part of the country. Disarmament in 2001 is an ongoing process, but slower than expected. Disarmament is also one of the main conditions for GTZ interventions.

GTZ can build on a deeply rooted confidence within the Sierra Leone society and government circles, based on experience from a former GTZ-project in the country. It is, however, confronted with a number of serious constraints within the emergency context, such as short-term donor funding and donor requirements and the need for quick response.

GTZ started working in Sierra Leone in 2000, at first providing shelter in suburbs of the capital Freetown. During previous experience in Guinea and Liberia GTZ developed a concept to working in crisis situations, which was applied in Sierra Leone. This ReAct-concept is a multi-sectoral approach to crisis situations, aim-

ing at quick impacts for war-affected communities and a high visibility to create confidence. The multi-sectoral approach of GTZ includes skills training, construction, income generating activities, agriculture and community services. The reintegration programme ReAct aims at long-term impacts mainly through capacity building measures and in-built peace-building activities. The main target groups are returnees (refugees and internally displaced persons), ex-combatants and the respective host communities. GTZ co-operates with two implementing partners, namely Bo/Pujehun Development Associates (BPDA) and Counterparts for Rehabilitation and Development Sierra Leone (CORD-SL).

This study on , which was commissioned by GTZ, aims at reviewing the GTZ reintegration programme ReAct and offering recommendations for further development of the programme. The results of this review result in a new concept paper. The findings are based on research conducted in four project sites, which are communities with former or ongoing project interventions, on interviews with GTZ-staff and management, and on information collected from different institutions and programmes at different levels. During the three months in Sierra Leone the SLE-Team organised, facilitated and evaluated two workshops, which offered some valuable information.

<ins>The institutional framework for reconstruction, reconciliation and reintegration programmes</ins>

The United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL), which was first deployed in 1999, in September 2001 was extended for another six months, because the disarmament was delayed. In November a consolidated interagency appeal (formed by Canada, European Commission, UNOCHA, European Union, Germany, The Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom, United States) asked for US $88.6 million for emergency assistance. Sierra Leone is still considered in a state of emergency: A large number of refugees and IDPs have not yet been resettled, but are still living in camps in and outside the country. Ex-combatants still have to be reintegrated into civilian life.

The major players in this state of emergency for reintegration activities alongside UNHCR, working with refugees, are the two national co-ordination bodies NCDDR and NCRRR. While NCDDR together with UNAMSIL is responsible for demobilisation, disarmament and reintegration of ex-combatants and former child-soldiers (actual disarmament and destruction of weapons is carried out by UNAMSIL, or sometimes international partners like GTZ, whereas NCDDR is re-

sponsible for sensitisation, registration and sreening) while NCRRR is mandated to co-ordinate emergency and medium term recovery efforts in Sierra Leone. It is the umbrella body for all activities of INGOs in the country, but it also works through national implementing partners. NCRRR works on the community level, giving special attention to the resettlement of IDPs and refugees. When ex-combatants and their dependants resettle in communities, NCRRR takes over from NCDDR.

NCDDR as NCRRR mainly rely on external funding, especially from the World Bank, the African Development Bank, the Islamic Development Bank, UNDP and UNHCR. An important programme run under NCRRR is the Community Reinte-gration and Rehabilitation Programme with the Emergency Recovery Support Fund (ERSF). NCDDR is closely co-ordinating with UNAMSIL: the

All bodies concerned with resettlement and reconstruction activities have formed the joint Resettlement Planning Committee, comprising representatives of NCDDR, NCRRR, UNOCHA, UNHCR and implementing partners. GTZ in Sierra Leone is one of the important implementing partners for UNHCR, for NCDDR and NCRRR.

The Government of Sierra Leone and the respective line ministries (the most im-portant one being the Ministry of Development and Planning) are considered rather weak. Institutional strengthening for government entities is an ongoing process.

Formal structures for local authorities exist in the accessible areas, but are not always very affective. Altogether the country is divided into 13 provinces with 150 chiefdoms. The acceptance of the local chiefs depends to a large extent on their attitude during the war. Some of the local chiefs are members of the National Parliament and reside more time in Freetown than in their chiefdoms.

Funding for emergency assistance is mostly short-term, normally between six and twelve months, as well as contracts of aid workers very often are short term. A Multi-Donor Trust Fund (MDTF) administered by the World Bank is at present and until declaration of end of emergency co-ordinating all donor funding.

The situation in war-affected communities

In the Western and Southern Area, accessible since 1999, the main destructions during the war occurred in the villages and in Freetown, but not so much in the regional centres of Bo and Kenema, which built up a strong defence against RUF. The level of physical destruction varies, according to interagency assess-ments. There are areas, in which 90% of the houses, all schools and health facili-ties had been destroyed. Access to villages is often difficult because of bad road conditions. Drinking water is often a problem, because there are no wells, or wells have been destroyed or neglected.

Agriculture always has been the main occupation, absorbing about 2/3 of the working-age population, traditionally concentrating on rice production (upland rice and IVS), groundnuts, cassava, sweet potatoes, oil palms and cattle. As a result of the war cattle had almost completely disappeared, a large part of the agricul-tural areas neglected or devastated. Food production is one of the important is-sues.

The main diamond mining areas are mainly in the Eastern and Northern Prov-ince, where the control of diamond mining and marketing has been one of the reasons for the prolongation of war, but diamonds are also to be found in other parts of the country. Some communities in the Southern and Western Province are engaged in diamond mining. Sometimes this leads a neglection of agricul-tural activities, absorbing especially the work force of young men.

Out of an estimated population of 4.5 million inhabitants more than 1 million fled to country to go to Guinea or Liberia, and about half of the (rest) population were internally displaced. No exact data is available concerning the number of refu-gees still living in camps outside the country, the interagency consolidated ap-peal 2002 for Sierra Leone (November 2001) stated 247.590 IDPs still in camps. The situation in Guinea and Liberia influences the resettling process directly, refugees moving forth and back over the borders.

An immediately visible result of the war is the large number of mutilated persons. A more invisible result is a highly traumatised and uprooted population. The offi-cial slogan of "All Sierra Leoneans love each other" does not necessarily foster awareness building about consequences of traumata.

Assessment, conclusions and recommendations

Emergency situations especially crises after armed wars, develop specific dynamics and require adequate approaches: Any emergency aid aiming at a middle or long term effect for the population, has to take into consideration, that not only the physical destruction need repair, that it needs input for economic recovery, but in order re-establish social structures damaged by the war and to heal wounds it also needs social reconstruction and peace building.

GTZ through the reintegration programme ReAct seeks to combine these different components in a multi-sectoral and community-based approach, which includes the revival of agricultural activities, physical reconstruction and rehabilitation of community infrastructures, basic improvements in water and sanitation infrastructure, road maintenance and the development of income generating activities. As the organisation is operating mainly with short-term funding assessments of needs are often done by rapid appraisals, which are not in all cases representing a consensus of the major needs. To get a clearer picture of the different vulnerabilities and capacities within the communities, and ensure a gender sensitive approach, it would be advisable to use the more comprehensive inter-agency appraisal as basic data for the planning and organise a participatory assessment within the communities by the introduction of VCA and CAP. Such an approach may need more time before starting the project activities, but save time during implementation, because a larger part of monitoring the process is situated within the communities.

Staff is living in the communities for the complete project cycle implementing the activities together with community counterparts, who acquire new technical skills, which should help the community to take over responsibility after the end of project interventions. Normally the community based project activities in different communities within a distance up to 20 km are grouped around an epicentre. This epicentre normally is the place, where a Skills Training Centre is established, training community members and returnees (refugees, IDPs and ex-combatants) for nine months. Part of the training is taking place on construction sites within the villages, where trainees work together with community counterparts. To co-ordinate the different project activities and the participation of the community is a difficult task, because the project activities depend on funding and on planning within the different sections, whereas the rural population is following their own rhythm, which largely depends on the agricultural calendar.

Closer consultation with the community members and more coherence between the different sector activities would be needed to avoid frictions between conflicting interests.

The fact, however, that the staff permanently lives and works within the community is a model, which should be followed by other agencies. Although it is not always easy for the staff, because communication is often difficult, they are important for the forging of models of integration. Their attitude and the signals they send to the host community is an important factor in a society, where role models of social behaviour have largely been affected by the war. The organisation could further strengthen the positive impact of staff, by enhancing a code of conduct, which promotes such positive attitudes.

Community Services section is the first to move into project communities and normally the last one to move out. It has an important function in servicing the other sections, by motivating the community members for their own participation in project activities, and by promoting the establishment or rehabilitation of CDCs. These committees are to represent all groups within the community, including the returnees, should establish new democratic bodies for decision-making and should ensure the follow-up of activities after GTZ has pulled out. Of course the creation of CDCs does not automatically solve all problems of inequality within the communities. The process of establishing a CDC should be based on a careful assessment of the different groups existing within the community and "give a voice to the voiceless" such as women or part of the reintegrating population.

Peace building in war-affected communities is a process, which needs to consider the specific experiences of the different groups. The Community Services section has the leading role in peace building activities within the communities and within STCs. Sensitisation workshops, sports events, promotion of cultural groups or youth groups as well as integrating of opposed groups are important instruments to open dialogues, to reduce prejudices and to discover common ground. In a situation like Sierra Leone, which is post-war, but not yet stabilised peace, it is certainly important to reduce the potential of future conflict by neutralising the conflict potential represented by ex-combatants. Offering civil alternatives like skills training or integration into the community (groups) is therefore an important measure within the project activities. The danger, especially in a country like Sierra Leone, where officially everybody is already reconciled, may also be traced at the victims side, if there voice is not heard. Traumatic experiences

which find no space to express themselves, may create attitudes of defence or revenge, or may result in violent actions against others. The fact, that domestic violence in Sierra Leone apparently is growing, may be an indicator. To continue with peace building activities, work on reconciliation should therefore be continued. It should, however, help to rebuild social communal life and sustainable peace even more, of space be created for both sides to talk about experiences.

A complex programme like the reintegration programme ReAct is different from other programmes within emergency aid, which normally concentrate on one specific area. The project activities need to be planned, co-ordinated and monitored to ensure, that adaptations can take place without causing too much extra work on the management side. Flexibility is certainly an important factor in emergency situations in order to enable rapid responses. It may however reduce stress at different levels to rely on planning processes, which facilitate amendments where necessary, especially in an organisation, which is quickly growing in terms of personnel and budgets and related project activities.

Programmes like the reintegration programmes of GTZ in Sierra Leone show that even within an emergency context it is possible to develop activities in a way, which may lead towards sustainable development. The question which remains is, however, how far the lessons learned from former experiences and from this experience reach the donor's ears: As long as short-term funding for this kind of activities is prevalent, the discussion about bridging the gap between emergency and sustainable development and peace will remain theoretical.

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Abbreviations

ADB	African Development Bank
BMZ	Bundesministerium für Wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit
BPDA	Bo-Pujehun Development Associates
BPRDP	Bo Pujehun Rural Develpment Project
CATAD	Centre for Advanced Training in Rural Development
CAP	Community Action Plan
CCP	Commission for the Consolidation of Peace
C.C.S.L	Council of Churches of Sierra Leone
CDC	Community Development Committee
CDF	Civil Defence Forces
CGG	Campaign for Good Governance
CORD-SL	Counterparts for Rehabilitation and Development
CS	Community Services
DSA	daily subsistence allowance
DEA	Development Oriented Emergency Aid of GTZ
DED	Deutscher Entwicklungsdienst
EC	European Commission
ECOMOG	Economic Community of West African States' Monitoring Organisation
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EDF	European Development Fund
ERSF	Emergency Recovery Support Fund
EU	European Union
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation
GO	Government Organisation
GOSL	Government of Sierra Leone
GTZ	Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (German Agency for Technical Cooperation)
GTZ-IS	GTZ-International Services

HoS	Head of Section
ICG	International Crisis Group
IDP	Islamic Development Bank
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
IGA	Income Generating Activities
IMATT	International Military Training Team
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INGO	International Non-governmental Organisation
IGA	Income Generating Activities
IP	Implementing Partner
IVS	Inland Valley Swamp Rice
KfW	Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau
LPA	Lomé Peace Accord
M&E	Monitoring and Evaluation
MLP	Multi-Lateral-Programme
MODEP	Ministry of Planning and Development
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
MsF	Medecins sans Frontieres
MDTF	Multi-Donor Trust Fund
NCDDR	National Commission for Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration
NCRRR	National Commission for Rehabilitation, Resettlement and Reconstruction
NEC	National Electoral Commission
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NPLF	National Patriotic Front of Liberia
OCHA	(United Nations) Office for the Co-ordination of Humanitarian Affairs
PCIAS	Participatory Conflict Impact Assessment
PCM	Project Cycle Management
PIM	Participatory Impact Monitoring
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
PRCS	Palestinian Red Crescent Society

Glossary

Capacity building

Capacity-building in rural post-conflict communities means to develop and strengthen abilities and aptitudes of individuals and groups for future-oriented, responsible, comprehensive reconstruction and organisation of daily life in the communities. It is a multi-dimensional and multi-directional process of systematic learning how to cope with threats and to embrace challenges.

While the various sectors require specific skills, certain criteria are relevant for all sectors: Capacity building means to support people's initiative and self-drive, their ability to identify specific needs and priorities in given situations and to respond to them appropriately and effectively. Capacity building aims at reducing vulnerability and dependency. In a post-conflict situation, capacity building means in particular to strengthen people's ability to work with conflict in a non-violent and peaceful manner.[1]

Emergency Aid (Nothilfe)

Emergency aid as described by BMZ includes measures exceeding mere humanitarian aid (aid to survival) that do not yet have to comply fully with high standards of sustainability required for development co-operation. Emergency aid measures form part of an international coherent and consolidated overall concept of crisis response. Measures already have structural impact, shall lead to longer-term programmes and avert extensive negative long-term effects of the crisis. (cf. BMZ, 1996, 3)

Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs)

The report uses the definition of the term IDP as stipulated by NCRRR:

"Persons or groups 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 generalised violence, violations

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[1] Development theorists have produced a number of definitions for "capacity building". While building on these, the SLE-Team found it necessary to come up with a more tailor-made definition suiting the ReAct approach. (cf. Eade 1997, 171; Eade & Williams, 1995, 9, quoted in Eade, 1997, 23 ; Burnett & Johns, 1999, 1; Land, 2000)

of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an international recognised State border." (NCRRR IDP Policy Document, Freetown 2000, 6)

Multi-sectoral

A multi-sectoral strategy approach includes interventions in various areas such as, among others, agriculture, income generation, construction and rehabilitation of infrastructure in order to address the need for comprehensive reconstruction of community life. These interventions are closely inter-linked, reinforce each other, starting from programme development and design up to implementation. A multi-sectoral approach makes use of the specific knowledge of the various disciplines, thus inspiring more appropriate and original solutions for complex issues.

Ownership

Ownership means that participants (individuals, groups, organisations) develop a sense of responsibility for, initiate and take over full control of project activities and results, which they regard as the outcome of their own efforts. Ownership is the process of adopting and internalising new impulses, re-appropriating and transforming indigenous knowledge into locally adapted activities, responding to needs expressed by all concerned. Ownership is about equal sharing of responsibilities and benefits among all members of the community (women and men, young and old and so forth, according to their specific strengths, potentials and needs).[2]

Participation

Participation refers to people having and knowing about the right to shape decisions affecting their lives. In order to participate effectively, all stakeholders affected from any intervention need to be equipped with the capacity to inform and influence decision-making processes. This requires transparency of all parties involved in any process.[3]

Peace-building

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[2] cf. e.g. Ellerman, 2001, 19, 24

[3] cf. e.g. Eade, 1997, 4

Both, the UN and GTZ/DEA have developed comprehensive definitions of the term "peace-building". ReAct being a community-based approach, relates to various aspects mentioned in both definitions. This will be described and analysed more closely in chapter ……(Beschreibung ReAct).

UN definition: undertaking programmes designed to address the causes of conflict and the grievances of the past and to promote long-term stability and justice (quoted in: Responding to Conflict, 2000, 14)

GTZ definition: "Peace building concerns the whole process of establishing or re-establishing the network of social relations that facilitate the peaceful resolution of a conflict. This may include measures to stimulate economic development or social justice as well as initiatives for the reconciliation of opposing parties and the strengthening of common loyalties, and projects to encourage co-operation and 'inter-cultural learning'." (Mehler & Ribaux, 2000, 33)

Strategic alliances of peace, community cohesion, grass-roots level, acceptance, willingness to work for compromise, fostering justice, equity and promoting human rights, non-violent environment and symbols, violence-free culture, equal opportunity and access (see also Mehler & Ribaux, 103)

Reconciliation

Reconciliation is the process of restoring communication and peaceful relations between conflicting individuals, groups or factions who have inflicted psychological and/or physical violence upon each other. Reconciliation being the cornerstone for peace building involves to show readiness to listen to the grievances, to reveal the truth about acts of violence. Mutual acceptance of responsibility for the past, restoration of the dignity of those injured and of justice are paramount for reaching reconciliation. It is aimed at forgiveness and healing. Reconciliation being a deeply personal issue is therefore a delicate and unique process in different circumstances. The process requires a safe space, where individual suffering is embedded in the overall context of a torn society. The promotion of reconciliation calls for a deep understanding of the current local situation, the ability to identify and support local capacities for peace.[4]

Refugees

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[4] cf. e.g. Responding to Conflict, 2000, 132 f.; Mungoven, 2001, 31

With a number of definitions for the term "refugee" being developed, this report will use the UNHCR definition, as stated below: *(check this!)*

Reintegration

Integration and reintegration is the social and economic process of facilitating and supporting the return of internally displaced persons (IDPs), refugees and ex-combatants to their home or transitional host communities after war or civil strife. With special respect to ex-combatants, reintegration signifies the process following demobilisation and disarmament, including the change to civilian status and the provision of avenues to work and live in the civilian economy and society. Reintegration also means to strengthen the capacities of communities receiving returning population by supporting economic recovery and the restoration of social services. A comprehensive strategy for (re-)integration aims at promoting acceptance of returning population, a sense of unity and reconciliation and the identification with the vision of rebuilding peaceful communal life together. On all levels, national, regional and local, (re-)integration requires a coherent policy geared towards sustainable development. [5]

Section, sectional

ReAct programme activities focus on the sectors of agriculture, income generation and micro-enterprise, construction and rehabilitation of community infrastructure, skills training, community animation and social services. Activities are designed, planned and implemented via specific organisational units, the so-called sections, comprising section staff specialised in the respective areas and a sector-budget.

Sustainability

Originally, the term "sustainability" refers to managing environmental resources in a manner to safeguard them for future generations. In a broader context a specific set of criteria is believed to enhance sustainability: Interventions aimed at long-term success and longevity should support autonomous activity of all stakeholders, promote equity, equal access and opportunity to gain one's own liveli-

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[5] cf. e.g. GTZ Programme Team Demobilisation and Reintegration, 1997, 23; NCDDR, 1999, vii; NCRRR, 2000, 5 f.

hood and to respond to external pressures. People have to be empowered to take charge of their own development and to adapt to change. Sustainable interventions strike a balance between conflicting interests and have to be checked against their likelihood to cause negative side-effects. [6]

Quick Impact Projects (QIPs)

Quick impact projects within the ReAct concept aim at building confidence and hope by producing quickly visible material results of rehabilitation and reconstruction of communal infrastructure. QIPs are meant to address immediate needs of communities during the transitional phase from war to the consolidation of peace. They also aim at creating pull-factors for speedy return of IDPs, returnees and ex-combatants. QIPs include the transfer and upgrading of basic skills needed for the physical and social reconstruction of communal life and the provision of a base for economic self-reliance. [7]   (vgl. WHILE/ UNHCR!!)

Rehabilitation

Rehabilitation in the context of ReAct means the repair of communal infrastructure, road systems, water and sanitation facilities and agricultural sites.

Economic recovery

Economic recovery at community level in a situation following an emergency means that the economy is stabilised to an extent where the population can meet its basic needs in terms of food, shelter, primary education and health care. Dependency on external aid and vulnerability are significantly reduced. Marketable surplus is being produced, local market systems are revived, accessible and offer a diversified range of basic goods for consumption. Barter economy is gradually being replaced by an increase in cash economy. At this stage, economic recovery is the starting point for economic consolidation, and eventually for further development.

Psycho-social recovery

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[6] cf. Eade, 1997, 5; Lavergne & Saxby, 2001, 7-9; Ellerman, 2001, 11)

[7] QIPs ursprünglich von ReAct entwickelt? Jetzt UNHCR Format, Antwort auf flexing the mandate by UNHCR (längerfristige Aktivitäten mit Kurzzeitfinanzierungen) ➔ Fabio nach Herkunft fragen!

Psycho-social recovery is the process of rebuilding psychological stability among individuals and within society following traumatising situations. A secure, economically safe and stable living conditions are a prerequisite for psycho-social recovery. It involves the possibility of and room for dealing with traumatic experiences and the reduction of the level of aggression by addressing conflicts and threats in a non-violent manner. An indicator for psycho-social recovery is active participation in shaping community activities, the creative development of alternative visions of own and society's future. Individuals take up initiative, roles and responsibilities again. Family reunification, the (re-)establishment and reinforcement of family and social ties and (re-)integration of returning population form the framework for psycho-social recovery.

Self-reliance

Self-reliance signifies the ability, capability and capacity to gain sufficient income to satisfy day-to-day needs. These are identified and addressed autonomously and appropriately. Self-reliance means to have achieved a state of stability where adaptation to change is seen as a challenge, not as a threat. Independent decision-making and self-esteem are characteristics of self-reliant individuals, able to cope with external pressures, seeking help when necessary, embracing the future.

1   Introduction

Enhancing the reintegration of thousands of Sierra Leoneans uprooted during the war between 1991 and 1999, rebuilding community life, reconciliation between groups and individuals and economic recovery are still Sierra Leone´s top priorities. Disarmament and rehabilitation are a felt need and prerequisite for this reintegration process and are necessary to obtain a sustainable peace.

When GTZ came to Sierra Leone in 1999 it built on two experiences: the project activities in emergency situations in Guinea and Liberia and the GTZ-experience in Sierra Leone before the outbreak of the war in the project for seed multiplication and rural development. The experience of working in emergency situations with rapidly changing situations and the need to react accordingly is a solid professional background for quite a number of the international staff. In Sierra Leone GTZ can build on the confidence of people in the rural areas, dating back to the old GTZ-projects.

Since the beginning of 2000, funded by both the German Government (BMZ) and the UNHCR, GTZ has been implementing reintegration projects in 30 communities the Western Area under government control. The projects include components such as agriculture, rehabilitation (schools, health posts, water wells, sanitation facilities, markets, shelter, court barriers and so on), skills training, income generating activities, and the promotion of peace and reconciliation.

The approach and implementation strategy developed by GTZ in Sierra Leone are designed to produce a quick impact in an emergency situation by multi-sectoral and community based activities. and highly visible results required to contribute effectively to post-war recovery. This is considered a necessary method to rebuild confidence and to establish a base for future sustainable development. A major emphasis is put on capacity building at all levels, from beneficiary communities to local implementing partners. The planning and implementation of project activities depend on donor funding, which is – due to the defined emergency situation – normally short-term funding for six months up to one year. Therefore the assumption was:

> Project activities and capacity building measures depend on donor funding rather than on the defined needs of target groups.

Participation of the community and the level of destruction are criteria for the se-

lection of communities. The integration of refugees, internally displaced persons and/or ex-combatants is the entry point to the communities, because these are the main target groups defined by donors for reintegration programmes. Communities benefit from project activities indirectly, when they are ready to integrate the main target groups:

> The focussing of capacity building on ex-combatants, returnees and refugees may cause tensions between them and the host communities.

The concept of GTZ for reintegration implies the establishment or reinforcement of local structures like Community Development Committees (CDC), in order to guarantee the participation of community members during the project activities, the maintenance of project facilities and the future development of the communities. GTZ needs an organisational structure as partner in the communities and is sometimes hesitant to use traditional structures like the chief system, because these structures have been disqualified to a certain extent during the years since independence. A CDC is considered the better alternative as a democratic body with certain criteria like being elected and representative for different local groups within the community. The assumption is:

> Local structures have been affected by the war and need to be replaced by democratic organisms like a CDC.

Time constraints and dependency on short-term donor funding need flexibility and rapid responses by the management of GTZ. Confidence building, social cohesion in war-affected rural communities, mobilisation of self-help capacities and reconciliation need time. The question of how to bridge the gap between short-term donor requirements and long-term sustainable development based on self-help capacities of the communities and sound democratic and participatory structures was an important focus. The team therefore analysed how the multi-sectoral reintegration programme of GTZ as perceived by the beneficiaries and the results in comparison to the planned activities. The team was commisioned to make a

REVIEW OF CAPACITY BUILDING MEASURES OF THE GTZ-REINTEGRATION PROGRAMME IN WAR-AFFECTED RURAL COMMUNITIES IN SIERRA LEONE and was asked to come up with recommendations for changes or amendments which might further improve the concept and the im-

plementation. It is clear however, that the observations are based on a selection of project activities in a number of communities, and may not fully represent the reality of the ReAct-programme. The communities for this research were selected in a joint planning process with GTZ-management, based on the criteria, that there should be communities, where GTZ had already pulled out and communities with ongoing activities.

The approach was multi-sectoral, assessing, in how far the sectors's contributions are complementary, with a special focus on Community Services and Skills Training, because these two sectors have the closest links to all the other sections. At all times the team tried to take into consideration, in how far project activities are gender-balanced, because it is one of the declared aims of GTZ to represent gender as a cross-cutting issue in all activities. Some crucial questions such as the land issue on agreement with GTZ were deliberately left out from this research, because at the moment this is not an important issue within the project and because it would have needed some in-depth and lengthy study.

In order to assess the organisational structures, management procedures in relation to the programmes and the organisational culture and philosophy, the SLE-Team interviewed management and staff and had several joint planning sessions and workshops.

2 Background to the Report

1.1   The historical, socio-political and economic context

Sierra Leone – „mountain of the lions" – was the name given by the Portuguese to this country, bordering Guinea and Liberia, on the western coast of Africa.

The statistical data available - and probably not very reliable - may only inappropriately describe this country endowed with rich natural resources, whose population is thus among the poorest of the world. Sierra Leone, with a surface of about 72.000 sq. km (about the size of Bavaria or South Carolina), has an estimated population of 5.0 million people. Two years after emerging from a devastating civil war about 80–90% of the population are supposed to live below poverty line. About 45% of the population is between 0-14 years of age, illiteracy is at a rate of about 80% for women and 60% for men over 15 years. There is no official unemployment rate, but the estimations vary between 68 and 90% (UNOCHA, 07/24/01).

Sierra Leone's economy for a long time even before the war has been characterised as shaky and subsistence oriented, in spite of the favourable conditions for agriculture and fishery and the enormous richness in natural resources. Agricultural production is predominant in the country, absorbing about 2/3 of the working-age population in subsistence agriculture, traditionally concentrating on rice (upland and Inland Valley Swamp rice – IVS), groundnuts, cassava, sweet potatoes and cattle. "In the period proceeding World War I, there was much expansion in export crop production, with traditional kinship obligations being manipulated to mobilise labour and capital. Big men traders and chiefs took advantage of the absence of European businessmen and the Hut Tax War[8] setback of the Rio traders to make substantial gains in this produce trade. Peasants expanded their production of palm kernel, kola, rubber and rice to take advantage of the economic recovery." (Conteh-Morgan, Dixon-Fyle, 1999, 46). Cash-crop production later on also included coffee and cocoa.

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[8] To meet the expenses of colonial governance and reduce the burden of the British taxpayer, a flat-rate tax per homestead was introduced in the Protectorate in 1898, which led to a widespread uprising in different districts, mercilessly punished by the British.

Colonial agricultural production clearly emphasised cash crops over food crops and agriculture's great capacity for supporting and feeding more people was being marginalised. This trend was reinforced with the strengthening of the mining sector: While in 1929 all exports were agricultural, 4 years later minerals already made up 21.5% of total exports and in 1940, mineral exports - gold, iron ore, chrome ore, platinum, diamonds, bauxite, rutile - averaged 70% (Conteh-Morgan, Dixon-Fyle, 49). Mining, until 1948 dominated by European companies, later on giving limited concessions to a small number of Sierra Leoneans, mainly belonging to the Krio[9] and the Lebanese, expanded the labour market and had a pull-effect for cheap labour mainly from the neglected northern part of Sierra Leone and for unemployed youth from Freetown. The merging of a cross-cultural industrial labour force and the ensuring of privileges for a small literate elite in exploiting the mines after abolition of slavery had long-term repercussions, which still showed in the strives after independence until the years of civil war.

British colonial rule in Sierra Leone was characterised by 'divide-and-rule' principles, in order to undermine whatever potential there was for national unity and interethnic identification. It mainly exploited the alienation of an elite fraction of the Krio community, which deepened the suspicions between them and other ethnic groups. The beginning of the 50s saw eruptions of popular protest in different parts of the country, partly because of very poor working conditions and growing economic gaps between the mining areas and other parts of the country. There was also growing unrest against a chief system, installed by the British to support colonial structures.

When Sierra Leone became independent in 1961, the new rulers tried to build a nation devoid of a nationalist myth. But after the death of Sir Milton Margai, the first head of state, the following governments, oscillating between military regimes and one-party civilian authoritarian regimes, have not really been able to legitimise their rule. They also largely failed in developing legitimate, efficient and well developed institutions, which might have been able to respond to the ethno-regional and class interests of Sierra Leone society. Policy was mainly directed towards maintenance of power and of personal and regime survival. Clientelism

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[9] The Krio were a group of freed slaves from different British colonies, who had been invited to London. When they started to constitute a "black poor problem", the British government decided to resettle them in the Province of Freetown, where the first settlers arrived in 1787. After abolition of slavery in 1807 this black settler community was quickly growing.

as a relationship between unequals and political patronage, including the distribution of public jobs or specific favours by party politicians in exchange for political support, became predominant.

The burden of patronage has also been reflected in the persistent balance-of-payment problems and the austerity measures demanded by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) since 1979. From 1980 onwards Sierra Leone was struck by major economic problems, resulting in a decline in income, high external debt and decline in agricultural production. The value of mineral exports also went down. All these factors together with inappropriate domestic policies resulted in a deep economic crisis and political stagnation. By the end of the 1980s the inflation rate had reached 80 %, public services were seriously affected or non-existent, higher education saw a serious brain drain of teachers and lecturers to the neighbouring countries. A military leadership under President Momoh made attempts to combat corruption and to marginalise the stalwarts of informal economy, but the efforts soon were politically and economically paralysed.

In 1991 rebels crossed into Sierra Leone from Liberia, supported by Liberia's leader of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPLF), Charles Taylor, who declared themselves freedom fighters. The Revolutionary United Front (RUF) under Foday Sankoh, in a context of a deteriorating economy and effects of austerity measures were welcomed by many Sierra Leoneans. The rebel operations first targeted the mining areas.

The spill-over of the Liberian war was quick and had devastating effects in both countries and for the whole region: It resulted in 47 % of displaced Sierra Leoneans until 1996 and more than a million refugees in Guinea and Liberia. The RUF in the beginning were confronted by a small and corrupt army, the Sierra Leone Army (SLA), but soon Civil Defence Forces (CDF) were established to protect the villages, and the traditional hunters, the Kamajors, entered the scene. Civilians, however, were the main victims of this war, which was characterised by mutilations of arms and legs and other atrocities, mainly by members of the RUF, but also by the other parties. The war has also gained fame because of the many child-soldiers, who were forced into fighting. The unsolved problem of unemployed youth without any perspectives of learning or professional careers was also fostering it further. The most affected areas were the main agricultural and gold- or diamond-mining areas, which together with the refugee problem, and the

large number of internally displaced persons, further aggravated the economic crisis.

The RUF had never articulated long-term political goals. It called, however, for elections and recognition as a party, but in the 1996 general mullet-party elections, which were won by Ahmed Tejan Kabbah of the Sierra Leone People´s Party (SLPP), the RUF were not represented. A first peace-accord of November 1996 between the RUF and the Kabbah-regime failed to be implemented. In May 1997 the Kabbah-regime was overthrown by an alliance of RUF and members of the army. This May 25th coup d'état was accompanied by a lot of looting, robbery and destruction, mainly in Freetown, where young fighters from the bush and young economically deprived soldiers united.

On 2nd June, 1997, Nigerian ECOMOG (Economic Community of West African States´ Monitoring Organisation) forces tried to overturn the coup by bombarding the SLA military headquarters. Soon after, ECOWAS (Economic Community of West African States) agreed to impose economic and political sanctions against Sierra Leone, put in place a naval and air blockade and resorted to a forceful removal of the military junta. In February 1998 the political crisis in Sierra Leone erupted into a full-scale war between ECOMOG and the junta forces, which ended with the clearance of junta forces and the reinstatement of President Kabbah in March 1998.

In the beginning of 1999 the RUF attacked Freetown again and killed an unknown number of people. This time the British army intervened. In July 1999 finally the Lomé Peace Accord (LPA) was signed, which foresaw a step-by-step disarmament, reintegration of ex-combatants, refugees and internally displaced persons, as well as general elections and relief, reconstruction and rehabilitation activities. A UN Peacekeeping Mission in Sierra Leone (United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone, UNAMSIL) was created and deployed. In May 2000, however, the peace process experienced a serious setback, when RUF took hostage some 500 UN-soldiers.

Elections originally scheduled for March 2001, were several times postponed, the current election date is now set for May 2002. With public discussion heating up on the issue of unconstitutionality[10], legislators finally put an end to the debate by

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[10] Rapid opinion polls by Radio Talking Drums revealed considerable opposition of the public to have elections postponed. A planned demonstration of youth movements was called off in Sep-

a parliamentary decision at the beginning of September. The National Electoral Commission (NEC)[11], which replaced an Interim National Electoral Commission in March 2000, has come under pressure to pave the way for smooth, comprehensive and timely voter registration[12], voter education, an appropriate polling system and sufficient time and access for all political parties to campaign.

Various stakeholders and organisations of civil society such as C.C.S.L. and Campaign for Good Governance (CGG) have expressed serious concerns as to the ability of the NEC to guarantee a transparent and fair election process.[13] Elections are to be held in a "violence free atmosphere", hence the connection of the polling date to the progress of disarmament and access to rebel controlled areas of the country.[14] Other constraints faced by the NEC are dependency on external funding, logistics and communication. By the time this report was compiled, voter registration had not started, although scheduled to begin by 15th September (NEC, 2001, 4-7). However, in Freetown first campaigning activities could already be observed by the SLE-Team.

2.2 Stakeholders in Rehabilitation and Reconstruction

Some thirteen months after the May 2000 incidents, when 500 UN soldiers were taken hostage by RUF during the last days of ECOMOG troops present in Sierra Leone, an incident that posed a serious threat to the Lomé Peace Accord (LPA) of July 1999[15], the SLE-Team arrived in a country between war and peace. The

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tember with police saying they would not by able to guarantee public order.

[11] The NEC consists of four electoral commissioners for the administrative Western, Southern, Northern and Eastern Areas of Sierra Leone and a Chief Electoral Commissioner chairing the Commission. NEC Commissioners and the Strategic Planning Committee drew up a Strategic Plan for the period of 2001 to 2005 in January, detailing the schedule and strategic goals of the Commission (cf. NEC, 2001).

[12] This is especially difficult with regard to IDPs, refugees and disabled persons.

[13] see ICG, 2001b, 17-19; authors' interviews members of C.C.S.L. and SLADEA in July 2001

[14] "The government, Revolutionary United Front and UNAMSIL have agreed that there will be no election until after complete disarmament." (President Ahmed Tejan Kabbah, 26th August 2001, AFP) By the end of November 2001 disarmament was behind again (OCHA Humanitarian Situation Report, 6th – 30th November 2001).

[15] GTZ expatriate staff was evacuated to Abidjan, but project activities which had started in March 2000 were continued by local staff. Refer to ICG, 2001a for details on the Lomé Peace

United Nations had taken up the responsibility of supporting and sustaining the peace process by extending its engagement in Sierra Leone from an observer mission (UNOMSIL)[16] to the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL), authorised by the UN Security Council in October 1999 with UNSCR 1270.

Alongside the UNAMSIL the U.K. and Canada have sent a significant number of military advisors (International Military Training Team, IMATT) to support the SLA in training.[17] On 30th March 2001 the Security Council authorised an increase in the number of troops up to 17.500 and the number of observers up to 260.[18] UNAMSIL is mandated to run operations until presidential and parliamentary elections[19] are held. UNAMSIL is further mandated to provide security for and support the National Committee for Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration (NCDDR) in the disarmament process by the collection, registration and destruction of weapons.[20]

Accord, which was brokered under intense pressure of the U.S. and signed only reluctantly by President Ahmed Tejan Kabbah. Following the May 2000 incidents, the Abuja Cease-fire Agreement was signed, Foday Sankoh, the RUF leader arrested in Freetown, the hostages released and a significant number of British troops deployed in Freetown to protect the city.

[16] UNOMSIL: United Nations Military Observer Mission, as established by UN Security Council Resolution No. 1181 of July 13th, 1998, had the mandate to monitor and report to the compliance of human rights and international law and to advise the Government of Sierra Leone in addressing human rights obligations.

[17] The British-Canadian IMATT comprises 100 trainers (90 from U.K. and 10 from Canada. Canadians arrived in Sierra Leone in November 2000 and were to remain for one year (cf. www.britaincanada.org News Release dated 29th January 2001 and British Ministry of Defence: Frequently asked questions about the UK's involvement, updated 4 August 2000 [www.mod.uk/index.php3?page=477]).

[18] Cf. ICG, 2001a, 16-20; UN Security Council Resolutions 1270 of 22nd October 1999 and 1346 of 30th March 2001. In his 11th report on the UN mission in Sierra Leone the UN Secretary General recommended the extension of the UNAMSIL mandate for another six months (Eleventh report of the SG on the UN Mission in Sierra Leone, UNAMSIL. UN Security Council Document S/2001/857, 7th September 2001, § 62)

[19] Current President Ahmed Tejan Kabbah's five year term started in 1996 and officially ended in February 2001. The constitution allows for an extension of six months in a situation of emergency. However, it is discussed controversially whether another extension of six months is unconstitutional.

[20] "UNAMSIL's mandate is to assist the Government of Sierra Leone to extend state authority, restore law and order and progressively stabilise the country, and to assist in the promotion of the political process, leading to a renewed disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration program. The mission's current tasks include providing security at key installations in Freetown and southern Sierra Leone; facilitating the free flow of people, goods, and humanitarian assistance along specified roads; safeguarding and disposing of arms collected from ex-combatants; and assisting Sierra Leone's law enforcement authorities in the maintenance of law and order." (cf. U.S. Department of State Fact Sheet, Bureau of International Organisation Affairs Washington,

An estimated 45.000 combatants from RUF, the SLA, Civil Defence Forces (CDF) and "Kamajors"[21], including around 5.000 child-soldiers, were to be disarmed by May 2001, had the process been on track. But in October 2001 UNAMSIL and representatives of the RUF and the GOSL reaffirmed their willingness to speedily complete the exercise, already severely delayed.[22] Delays have been caused by the agreement of the conflicting parties in the LPA to balance the number of disarmed combatants on both sides so as to keep a balance of power and by the lack of sufficient demobilisation centres.[23] The modes of the disarmament process having changed since the inception of the exercise[24], the current procedure for adult ex-combatants is as follows:

Sensitisation campaigns using radio, TV, drama, facilitated by NCDDR and some NGOs precede the actual disarmament process. After handing in their weapons, ex-combatants are registered, screened (medical and physical fitness, fitness to join SLA) and undergo a pre-discharge orientation session[25]. The encampment

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DC, April 12, 2001)

[21] Traditionally hunters; often incorporated under CDF structures

[22] In December 2000, the Co-Director of the London-based organisation Conciliation Resources Guus Meijer observed: "[…], the DDR programme has so far, notwithstanding some minor successes, largely been a failure as well, due to a variety of factors such as lack of political will, lack of resources, and weak planning, especially with regard to the R = reintegration aspect. Most effort went into encampment and disarmament, but field workers complained about the top-down, Freetown-centred approach, slow pace, bureaucracy and political corruption." (Meijer, 2000, 2) Disarmament in Moyamba District, for instance, where MLP planned to start a Skills Training Centre (in Rotifunk) was scheduled to start mid-August and actually started 27th August only.

[23] Authors' interview with Sulley Sesay, NCDDR Information and Sensitisation Officer, Freetown 8th August 2001

[24] Following elections in 1996 until May 1998 the disarmament process was facilitated under the auspices of the then Ministry of Reconstruction, Resettlement and Rehabilitation. Disarmament activities were interrupted during the so-called nine months "interregnum". Following the May 2000 crisis, the payment of Transitional Safety Net Allowances (TSA) to discharged ex-combatants was suspended by the World Bank (one of the main funding agencies for NCDDR), the reason being the alleged involvement of ex-combatants in the skirmishes in Freetown preceding the arrest of Foday Sankoh (authors' interview with Sulley Sesay, NCDDR Information and Sensitisation Officer, Freetown 8th August 2001).

[25] Pre-discharge orientation sessions include counselling on civic rights and obligations, national reconciliation, health care, drug abuse, basic literacy and numeracy, future socio-economic reintegration support and how to gain access to it and job finding techniques (cf. NCDDR, 1999, 6 and authors' interview with Sulley Sesay, NCDDR Information and Sensitisation Officer, Freetown 8th August 2001).

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period has progressively reduced from one year down to one month at most. Many ex-combatants, especially ex-CDF based in their local communities do not stay more than 2 to 3 days.

For those who do not opt or are not qualified for SLA or do not join the Sierra Leone Police (SLP) a civilian reintegration plan offers the following options: to enrol for formal (primary and secondary) education. School fees are paid and ex-combatants are provided with school uniforms. They can also opt for vocational or skills training courses. Prior to discharge from the demobilisation camp they are equipped with some basic provisions and transport allowance to return to their home or transitional communities of residence. They are then supposed to report to the nearest regional offices to register for 60.000 Le monthly for a duration of six months at most as a daily subsistence allowance (DSA)[26], in case they have enrolled for training courses.

Wives of ex-combatants can get micro-credit for petty-trade. Special programs are designed for child-soldiers who are discharged to Interim Care Centres.[27]

Upon discharge previous adherence to RUF or CDF/Kamajors or SLA becomes obsolete as a category informing target group definitions of support programmes. Once a district fully disarmed, UNAMSIL moves out and SLA together with SLP take over manning check-points and are responsible for maintaining security in the area.

GTZ being one of NCDDR's main partners in providing post-discharge services to ex-combatants (skills training), is dependent on the progress of the disarmament process in their set-up of Skills Training Centres (STCs), if funded through NCDDR who requests a 100 % of the trainees to be ex-combatants. In spite of this requirement GTZ decided to mix ex-combatants and trainees from the host communities as a measure to integrate the two groups and thus promote an understanding between them. Under pressure to start activities in Rotifunk and in Mange Bureh from various ends, the opening of the STCs was only possible on 10th August (Mange Bureh) and beginning of November (Rotifunk) due to the delay in disarmament, causing confusion about GTZ-activities especially in Rotifunk

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[26] On Monday, 8th October 2001, some 1000 ex-combatants staying in Freetown near the SLE-Team's residence, went on rampage (sic!) for fear not to receive reintegration benefits (cf. OCHA Humanitarian Situation Report 1st – 15th October 2001)

[27] For details refer to NCDDR, 1999, 6-7 and Annex A (iii) and C

(Bumpeh Chiefdom, Moyamba District).

NCDDR focussing on ex-combatants and child-soldiers, the National Commission for Reconstruction, Resettlement and Rehabilitation is concerned with the civilian population. In distinction to the Ministry of Planning and Development (MODEP, long-term development), NCRRR is mandated to co-ordinate emergency and medium-term recovery efforts in Sierra Leone. It is the umbrella body for all (I)NGO-activities in the country.[28] However, this does not apply for GTZ due to its status in technical (bilateral) co-operation. The pre-war GTZ/Bo/ Pujehun Rural Development Project (BPRDP) agreement with the GOSL was actually never cancelled.

NCRRR works on the community level, giving special attention to the resettlement of IDPs and refugees[29]. When ex-combatants and their dependants resettle in communities, NCRRR takes over from NCDDR. NCRRR also mainly relies on external funding, especially from the World Bank, the African Development Bank (ADB), the Islamic Development Bank (IDB), UNDP and UNHCR[30]. One of the most important programmes run under NCRRR is the Community Reintegration and Rehabilitation Programme with the Emergency Recovery Support Fund (ERSF).

In line with standards for funding appraisal set by committees of the donors to ERSF, OCHA, line ministries and INGOs decide on project approval upon recommendation from regional offices, where project proposals have to be submitted first. Complex approval mechanisms can cause serious delays in releasing funding for emergency and rehabilitation activities. NCRRR is one of the most important partners for GTZ.

To ensure smooth co-ordination, all bodies concerned with resettlement and re-

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[28] Although work permits for expatriate NGO staff have to be processed by Immigration and MODEP, NCRRR is the body to receive applications and to facilitate processes. Participants at the INGO-meeting on July 31 complained about the struggle for competence and resolved to take up this matter in a joint effort.

[29] Please refer to the glossary for a definition of both terms, based on the NCRRR and UNHCR definitions of the respective terms.

[30] During the authors' interview with NCRRR Information and Sensitisation Unit on 3rd August 2001, it was announced that plans exist to transform the Commission into a multi-donor-trust fund in the long run.

construction activities have formed the joint Resettlement Planning Committee, comprising representatives of NCDDR, NCRRR, UNOCHA, UNHCR and implementing partners of programmes. Figure 1 illustrates the co-ordination set-up.

Both bodies suffer from severe constraints in terms of logistics. While responsible for the co-ordinated collection and update of population statistics, field officers often face difficulty in securing transport to visit their regions of operation.[31] District offices are often poorly equipped and some areas of the country are not yet accessible. While hostilities have ceased in the country (with small incidents of hostilities occurring in some parts of the country), not every district has been declared "safe" yet.[32] Only then, UNHCR and NCRRR can allow resettlement of returnees and IDPs. Most rehabilitation and recovery programmes are initiated at this stage, while basic emergency health services and relief is being supplied also before.

2.3 Brief description of GTZ in Sierra Leone

GTZ in Sierra Leone is administered by the GTZ West Africa I Office in Abidjan, which is part of GTZ-International Services (GTZ-IS) in the GTZ headquarter in Eschborn. GTZ-IS at present has 70 offices worldwide, and is implementing 370 projects a year in 80 countries. The main focus of GTZ-IS lies on multi-sectoral reforms and transition processes which are implemented for public-service clients in Germany and international clients such as financial institutions, the European Commission, governments, development agencies and globally active private corporations.

In Sierra Leone the organisation started working in January 1999 with emergency assistance after the rebel invasion in Freetown, mainly providing shelter. In 2000 GTZ for a short time had to freeze activities after the May incidents in Freetown.

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[31] During a rapid appraisal mission to Kambia District in September NCRRR field officers of Kambia district accompanied MLP staff to communities in their areas of operation they had not been able to visit before due to logistics constraints.

[32] "Areas are declared safe for resettlement by both the District and National Assessment Committees comprising representatives from Government Line Ministries, NCRRR, NCDDR, Local Authorities, UNAMSIL, UNOCHA, UNHCR, and representatives from the National Council for Displaced Persons." The following conditions have to be met: stability and peace in a chiefdom for an extended period of time, disarmament, maintenance of law and order by police, presence of UNAMSIL and/or SLA security forces, unhindered access for NCRRR and humanitarian agencies, presence of local authority functionaries, spontaneous return of IDPs and refugees to the area. (cf. UNOCHA Humanitarian Information Centre, Freetown, Sierra Leone)

2.3.1 Vision and mission of GTZ in Sierra Leone

The vision of GTZ in Sierra Leone is sustainable peace in the country as a condition for long-term democratically sound development. Peace is considered as social cohesion of different groups within war-affected communities and based on social as well as economic recovery.

The mission of GTZ therefore is contribute to peace building and stability in the country, enhancing the self-reliance of the defined target groups which comprise resident members of the selected communities as well as potential returnees (internally displaced persons, refugees and ex-combatants), addressing the major rehabilitation, reconciliation and reintegration needs of war-affected communities.

2.3.2 Goals and strategies of GTZ in Sierra Leone

The overall goal of GTZ Sierra Leone is to contribute bridging the gap between emergency and sustainable development.

The strategy developed to reach this goal is the application of the ReAct-concept, meaning "Rehabilitation, Reconciliation and Reintegration Activities". This concept, which in more detail is described in chapter 3, is a multi-sectoral approach, combining complementary ingredients from the sectors of Agriculture, Skills Training, Construction, Income Generating Activities and Community Services. It is a community based approach, applied in selected war-affected communities, implemented by field staff, which is either GTZ staff or staff contracted through one of the implementing partners of GTZ, namely BPDA or CORD-SL, in close co-operation with community counterparts. It operates through a Quick Impact (QIP) approach, to reach quickly visible results, and uses largely standardised intervention packages.

The assumption is, that by ongoing capacity building through community counterparts the communities will develop knowledge and self-reliance, thus establish ownership and that this will be steps towards the possibilities of sustainable development.

In order to ensure the institutional framework for such a development GTZ rehabilitates or promotes the establishment of new Community Development Committees (CDCs).

2.3.3 Structure of the organisation

GTZ in Sierra Leone is operating through a head office in the capital Freetown, which contains a management team with programme manager, head of finance department, head of reintegration programmes and M&E-unit; further on the heads of the five sections (Agriculture, Skills Training, Construction, Income Generating Activities, Community Services) and of the logistics department closely co-operate with the management team. The general administration for the whole project is also to be found in the head office. A liaison officer is supporting the management team.

In Bo a regional office contains part of the staff working with the five programme departments, as well as staff for logistics.

In Wellington, close to the capital Freetown, there are a workshop belonging to GTZ and a store house.

GTZ contracted 2 implementing partners, BPDA and CORD-SL. The first one is the successor of a former GTZ-project in the BO/Pujehun region, with a head office in Bo. CORD-SL is a relatively new organisation (founded in 1999) with the head office in Freetown and several regional offices.

2.3.4 Social reality of the organisation

The structure of GTZ in Sierra Leone has been developing from a small core team, which had already been working together in Guinea and Liberia into the present structure, which – since beginning until the end of the research period, has constantly undergone changes. These changes will be described more in detail in chapter 4 of this report. The structure is characterised by a flat hierarchy within the management and the level of heads of departments or sections. Within the departments and sections decisions are taken relatively autonomous, once the general strategy and guidelines are defined by the management. The regional structure in Bo and the workshop are directly reporting to the management team.

The whole organisation shows a high degree of identification with the vision, mission and goals of GTZ for this programme and staff is very committed. Speed and complexity of interventions are stress factors for the staff. In chapter 4 some of the consequences are described.

The management style is co-operative and flexible, which is considered as an important condition to enable quick responses to changing conditions and challenges arising from an emergency context.

2.3.5 Specific tasks and functions within the organisation

The management is responsible for external relationships, including relations with GTZ West Africa, GTZ headquarters in Germany, the different donors, the governmental structures of Sierra Leone. It outlines the ReAct-concept and the vision and mission of the organisation and is responsible for the co-ordination of financial and programme planning, administration, monitoring and evaluation. The management, namely the programme manager is responsible for acquisition; the actual proposal writing is often delegated to the deputy programme manager, members of the M&E-team and sometimes to HoS. The management is responsible for the selection of implementing partners and the negotiation of contracts with them. The management also has the final decision on staff recruitment and feels itself responsible for questions of staff welfare, as there is no personnel department, and the financial handling of the organisation.

The liaison officer is mainly responsible for the linking with the government an national and regional level, e.g. the respective line ministries and the co-ordinating bodies, with the local authorities, when the organisation enters new regional areas, but also networking with other organisations.

As rehabilitation, reconciliation and reintegration is in the centre of GTZ-activities, the reintegration department, which is the largest department, is considered as the core unit of the organisation. The other departments serve reintegration with their respective specific inputs (fuelling finances, controlling success, allocating transport and material).

2.3.6 Processes and procedures within the organisation

Until the end of the reporting period there were few standardised processes and procedures for co-ordination, information, decision-making, planning, controlling and supporting:

Programme manager, finance manager and head of reintegration department have regular planning sessions normally once a week. Mostly the liaison officer

participates in these meetings to feed in information concerning government links or links with other organisations.

The M&E-unit sends representatives to these meetings more or less regularly and on a regular base participates in meetings of the reintegration department, which comprises the head of the department and the heads of sections and are scheduled once a month, or if need is there.

During the reporting time the M&E-unit was developing formats for planning and controlling; chapter 4 and five will give some insight onto the ongoing process.

The logistics department meets with the management team and/or with the reintegration department whenever the need is felt.

There is no specific schedule for personal contacts with the regional office in Bo, but a regular radio communication, and visits from Freetown to the field level are normally including a visit in Bo.

2.3.7 Assets of the organisation

The two offices in Freetown and Bo are easily accessible, fully equipped and operational.

GTZ has a rather large fleet of vehicles, however transport often is a problem: As GTZ is also handling the transport of returnees on behalf of UNHCR and the national co-ordinating bodies for reintegration, a large part of the fleet capacity is bound to this task. Furthermore the disperse project sites in different regions are not easily accessible and the trips to these sites are often time consuming.

As GTZ in Sierra Leone is handling a multi-lateral programme, finances have to be acquired from different donors like UNHCR, EU, financing institutions and national co-ordination bodies. The organisation up to the end of the reporting period had to operate with short-term funding, normally between six and twelve months. The different funding periods are often overlapping in the implementation of project activities.

2.4 Bridging the gap between emergency and sustainable development

"The helpers can use indirect and autonomy-compatible enabling approaches to bring the doers to the threshold; the doers have to do the rest on their own and that is what makes it their own development." (Ellerman, 2001, 41)

While it is often acknowledged that humanitarian assistance and relief are not automatically followed by development, little common understanding exists how to facilitate the transition from emergency to more development oriented interventions. Once the immediate crisis overcome, international interest and media attention slackening, donor funding for emergency aid drying up, the population affected from war or calamity might still be in a critical state of incapacity to cope with all constraints and pressures. This is due to the fact, that the potentials of the state to sustain – an often fragile peace and to provide for basic needs for its population are limited and can hardly be sufficiently built during a short-term emergency intervention. And this is not the mandate of humanitarian assistance and relief, anyway. However, project development, appraisal and decision-procedures on development funding have their own slow pace, and rarely are agencies able or willing to back-up emergency interventions with longer-term follow-up measures.

It is therefore necessary to ensure that programming for emergency interventions takes into account and addresses the danger of leaving a gap when phasing out. Terms such as "transition" or "continuum" or "development orientation" characterise the debate around this topic.[33] Quick intervention/impact projects[34] (QIPs) have earlier been embraced as the way out of the dilemma and were later ques-

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[33] Sphere Project, 2000, 8; UNHCR WHALE, 2001, 9; GTZ Arbeitsfeld Not- und Flüchtlingshilfe, 1998, 5-7, 20 ff.; BMZ 1996, 1; BMZ, 1997, 15; UNHCR, 1994

[34] „QIPs, developed by UNHCR in Nicaragua, were an attempt to provide a solution for a large number of communities impacted by uprooted populations. The approximately 320 small projects were seen to be low-cost and effective in providing immediate, focused support at a cost of approximately US$9.6 million. Projects included replacing or repairing damaged infrastructure, investment in small livestock or other productive community enterprises. They were intended to serve as a bridge between emergency and development assistance. In particular, QIPs gave returning populations a chance to unite with others in the community, find employment to prevent further migration, and attempt to re-build their lives. However, the lack of follow-up and a larger framework in tins case made it difficult to build on the progress that they achieved." (cf. UNHCR, June 1993, § 202)

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tioned again. With the distinction between rehabilitation and development converging the need arises to develop appropriate criteria to be applied to reintegration and other activities in the "continuum"[35] which ensure that these are geared towards sustainable development. No bridge can be built starting from the middle of the river.

The transition phase is characterised by fragility, the sword of Damocles looming in the air (or across the borders in refugee camps)[36]. It is important that initiatives taken in the "continuum" start immediately to support peace building, discourage a culture of violence and promote consciousness for human rights and civil obligations.

Aid agencies need to reflect carefully about own signals sent and structures used. Community-based peace building has drawn significant attention in the international debate over the last years (e.g. the Life and Peace Project, the War Torn Societies Project, Conciliation Resources and others). Community based peace building starts at the grass roots level, working with local actors and opinion leaders, comprising leadership training and civic education for police, teachers, women groups etc. The potentials of this approach being obvious in the "continuum" situation, technical co-operation might have to examine whether to engage in such measures without compromising neutrality (Mehler & Ribaux, 2000, 105 ff.).

2.4.1 Prepare stakeholders for sustainable planning

Some of the central points usually raised in this context include whether and to which extent measures pre- or redefine administrative and other structures of community life. Do measures contribute to transforming war into civilian structures? Are measures contributing to reduce or to avert long-term negative effects of the preceding crisis? Do measures contribute to overcome the crisis and are likely to reduce future potential conflicts? Are they embedded in a national reconstruction and rehabilitation strategy and context?

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[35] The term has come under criticism during the past years, and its limitations are being discussed. However, so far an appropriate substitute for the term is missing. "Continuum" is therefore placed in brackets in this report.

[36] Cf. the rich experience from protracted (refugee) crises in Afghanistan/Pakistan, Sudan/Uganda/Kenya, Great Lakes Region or the Guinea/Liberia/Sierra Leone context itself

State institutions are usually weak after a crisis, and often a comprehensive national reconstruction policy is informed by initiatives taken by aid agencies rather than the state taking the lead in defining the policy (cf. Eade, 1997, 168 f., Smillie, 1998, 5). Therefore, aid agencies have to be conscious of the facts they produce on the ground forging ahead, while national longer-term initiatives drag behind, trying to keep pace and control through umbrella co-ordination bodies such as, for instance, NCRRR. In the context of Sierra Leone, where a legitimate government has been toppled and was later externally reinstated, relying strongly on outside protection and financial support, this kind of consciousness calls all the more for continuous consultation with and careful inclusion of [recognised and legitimate!] state bodies and civil society.

2.4.2 Reduce vulnerabilities, build and revive existing capacities

Not questioning that communities in a post-war situation who have been displaced internally, who have fled their country and return into this transition phase, need special attention and support, depending on aid often can result in people's initiative and self-drive being undermined rather than strengthened. In order to be able to respond to risks (re-)occurring and to sustain and continue rehabilitation activities after the end of some project interventions in the immediate emergency situation, communities need to revitalise and build on their potentials and capacities. Which are the most important weaknesses to be addressed? Smart interventions in this context seek to identify the most pressing gaps to be bridged (with outside help) while at the same time exploring the material and immaterial assets (such as local capacities and skills available) of the communities. Aid is subsidiary and does not necessarily have to cover and cater for the whole community.

Last not least, aid agencies and their personnel will eventually leave, communities (hopefully) stay, but only in an environment all had full control of from the start.[37] Why should people use a bridge they would have built with local knowl-

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[37] "UNRISD, Refugees returning home, Geneva, 1993, 1: '(...) saving individual lives, which is the chief priority of aid workers, may not be the chief priority of the people themselves... it is sometimes made to seem so by being presented as a deliberate choice between saving a "way of life" and saving "lives". The phrase "way of life" should in any case be understood in more than an economic sense. It comprises not just economic and material necessities but also the

edge and expertise elsewhere in the first place, knowing the river they used to cross for ages before? Hence, capacity building in this context means to prepare stakeholders for sustainable inclusive planning.

2.4.3 Take time!

Acknowledging the need for speedy response to address a multitude of problems communities in distress – a process which is started by immediate crisis response and relief – and to a create an atmosphere among the population that "things are developing for the better", it is crucial to provide enough time for a more continuous engagement in these communities. As was described above, the phase following immediate crisis response and the reach of a cease-fire is crucial in laying a foundation for sustainable development.[38] Having dwelled extensively on the type of preparation conducive to create an enabling environment for sustainable development during the transition phase, the case is now argued for reasonable time allocation. GTZ herself writes:

„Maßnahmen der Rehabilitierung nach Krisen oder Katastrophen tragen dazu bei, Wiederaufbau von Infrastruktur auf nationaler und lokaler Ebene zu initiieren und grundlegende gesellschaftliche Funktionen wiederherzustellen, die der Existenz- und Zukunftssicherung aus eigener Kraft notwendig sind. In der Regel dauern sie zwei Jahre." (Arbeitskonzept GTZ, 23, table 5.4)

Communities themselves know best about their time-schedules, periods of high

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basic value-premises which make an orderly and co-operative social life possible in the first place.' See also the Code of Conduct for the International Red Cross, 7: '[…]effective relief and lasting rehabilitation can best be achieved where the intended beneficiaries are involved in the design, management and implementation of the assistance programme.' 'Pour la planification et l'identification des programmes d'aide, la participation directe des populations réfugiées se révèle indispensable. D'abord pour une raison que nous pourrions définir d'"anthropologique": en effet, les exigences de la population déplacée ne correspondent pas toujours à ce que les humanitaires pensent être le mieux. En suite, une consultation avec la population est nécessaire dans la mesure où elle a une connaissance approfondie de sa propre réalité.' (quoted from: Artero, A.&d'Aoust, E., Droit International et Politique au Service de la Paix – Questions Juridiques et Politiques Liées aus Conflits dans l'Après Guerre Froide. CRED – Projet de Recherche N° 127, Université Catholique de Louvain, Département de Santé Publique, Louvain

[38] Haiti, one of the poorest countries in the world, has been beset by corruption and violence for the better part of the twentieth century. More clearly than most countries, Haiti exemplifies the 'merry-go-round' of bad governance, degenerative change, conflict and external intervention. Recent events also demonstrate the challenges faced by external agencies to break the cycle. A rush to act (timing) and ill-conceived projects (understanding) were exacerbated by in this case by too much, rather than too little, money – or alternatively too much too soon and too briefly (funding)." (Smillie, 1998, 7)

workload, when they can engage in rehabilitation and reconstruction activities, when they have to give priorities to farming activities to sustain their livelihood. Taking time therefore means to carefully plan timing of interventions together with the communities, allowing flexibility for adjustments. And finally, there is no reason why activities so crucial for building a solid foundation for sustainable development should be rushed with little consultation of the beneficiaries. Communities will only take real ownership of quality products that bear the signs of their own hands.

2.4.4 Respond to basic needs?

If basic needs of war-affected populations in terms of food, shelter and health care are not met at the start, any following intervention will face serious constraints and overload "beneficiaries" asked to rebuild their schools on an empty stomach. Food and cash for work have often been criticised – and GTZ does not use a food for work/ cash for work approach - but no convincing argument has so far been proposed to finally disqualify the concept.

2.4.5 Gender and environment

It is common knowledge that women and girls are usually among those suffering the most from any war and have carried heavy burdens into and back from the bush. While encouraging their special potentials, women's needs (wounds and traumata) have do be considered and addressed. In the same way, seeds of consciousness for environmental issues can be sowed at an early stage of interventions. Third and most importantly, gender sensitivity has to be a guiding principle woven into any intervention.

2.4.6 Create pull-factors and perspectives

A basic assumption necessary to ensure project success is definitely that peace prevails in the country. The basis for a continuation of the peace process will only be successful if the disarmament process is completed within a reasonable timeframe prior to elections and if war structures are being transformed into civilian structures.

This means in particular that para-military (such as Kamajors and CDF) and rebel groups (the RUF) are completely dissolved and transformed into civilian move-

ments[39] and that the state remains with the monopoly of military power, exercised by a military conscious of its mandate to protect peace and security and knowledgeable about human and civic rights. Between January 2001 and the end of November some 37,000 ex-combatants including 3,911 child soldiers have been disarmed on all sides.[40] Most of them want to either further their formal education or embark on skills training to start rebuilding a life away from war.[41]

While welcoming Skills Training Centres (STCs) in their communities, host communities are confronted with the paradox situation that the presence of those who wreaked havoc during the war and who might have been involved in human rights violations is now a criterion for aid agencies to select certain communities for project interventions. (This applies mainly for RUF members, because CDF and Kamajors were often regarded as defenders of the communities.)

2.5 A post-conflict situation? Consequences for GTZ

Economic recovery is pivotal to permit meaningful reintegration of returnees, ex-combatants and IDPs in the fabric of a cohesive society where all have a say, equal share of and access to common goods and public services. The rule of law and good governance will be crucial to create an enabling environment to foster communities' capacities for reintegration and development. The combat against corruption will have to be another important element for any government policy [42] for these assumptions to be realistic.

According to the UN Security Council criteria and seen the extension of the UNAMSIL mandate Sierra Leone is still in the "post-conflict situation".[43] Notwith-

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[39] UNAMSIL reported on Friday, 12th October 2001 that a gang of an estimated 30 (ex-) RUF soldiers has been launching hit-and-run attacks on communities in the Makeni area during the past two weeks (OCHA Freetown, daily calendar, Friday 12th October 2001)

[40] Cf. OCHA Sierra Leone Humanitarian Situation Report 6th – 30th November 2001. Some 45,000 ex-fighters are expected to disarm.

[41] Youths disarming in Moyamba town on August 27th mentioned that they were planning to enrol for schools or to register for training courses or had come from other towns such as Bo, where disarmament had not yet taken place in order to hand in their weapons and receive benefits to pay for tuition fees in time for the opening of colleges in September (author's interview).

[42] ICG, 2001b, 11 ff. NGOs in Freetown often complain about high kick-backs of up to 25 % of programme budgets in order to win tenders for rehabilitation projects.

[43] see UN Secretary General, An Agenda for Peace Preventive Diplomacy, peacemaking and

standing various doubts that can be raised against this assessment for some re-gions in the country, it implies consequences for the type of funding provided by governments and aid agencies. Classified as "emergency" funding is short-term (three to fifteen months) and restricted to certain measures deemed fit in this context.[44] In order to support the smooth transition from rehabilitation, recon-struction and reintegration into development initiatives, donors need to prepare for the release of funds earmarked for medium- and long-term development quickly. A donor conference and a multi-donor trust fund would be helpful in this respect.

As long as the situation is defined as such, the German Government / BMZ can channel emergency funds from budget line 686 25 ("Nahrungsmittel-, Not- und Flüchtlingshilfe") to Sierra Leone. However, the country has not been included in the list of BMZ partner countries for long-term development co-operation.[45] Therefore, GTZ in Sierra Leone cannot rely on the perspective of receiving fund-ing for mid- or long-term follow-up activities from their natural partner.

Working in this context organisations including GTZ meet special challenges in terms of marketing their approaches. Despite the difference in status as com-pared to NGOs, GTZ is under the same pressure as these to secure her share in the "emergency funding cake". None of the agencies can therefore plan longer-term projects but have to ensure cash-flow in continuous search for funds. For GTZ the need arises to reconcile a multi-sectoral approach (see chapter 3) with specific donor requirements in a so-called emergency situation, which means a transition period between war and peace. Here donors give special attention for reintegration programmes targeting to ex-combatants, IDPs, refugees and their dependants.

In so-called emergency situations, quick interventions shall produce quickly visi-

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peace-keeping, 17 June 1992, § VI. 55-57 (A/47/277-S24111)

[44] "Emergency aid" as described by BMZ includes measures exceeding mere humanitarian aid (aid to survival) that do not yet have to comply fully with high standards of sustainability required for development co-operation. Emergency aid measures form part of an international coherent and consolidated overall concept of crisis response. Measures already have structural impact, shall lead to longer-term programmes and avert extensive negative long-term effects of the cri-sis. (cf. BMZ, 1996, 3).

[45] Sierra Leone is considered by BMZ as a „potential country for cooperation" („potenzielles Kooperationsland").

ble results, thus helping to restore hope and confidence among affected popula-tions. Such situations are usually accompanied by strong media coverage and public interest, set free short-term money, which require to be accounted for by quick results.

2.5.1 GTZ in the context of German Technical Co-operation

Over the past decade national funds for development co-operation have reduced continuously. At the same time, the international perception of crises has under-gone significant change.

The second half of the 20th century and especially the 1990s have seen a series of global (UN-) conferences developing an integrative approach to human devel-opment, based on the acceptance and internationalisation of human rights as enshrined in the UN Charta and all pursuant documents, accompanied by the internationalisation of human rights and humanitarian law culminating in the UN Millennium Declaration. Affirming a strong commitment to protect the right to life particularly of civilian populations affected from armed conflict, natural or human-made disasters, the international community has recognised and embraced the ethical obligation to "prevent or alleviate human suffering arising out of conflict or calamity" (Sphere Project, 2000, 6)[46].

The international community has also recognised that emergency situations such as calamities and conflicts exceed the capacity of affected states and govern-ments to cope. Accepting the responsibility, the community has stepped up fund-ing to address arising needs.

German Technical Co-operation has responded to these new conditions by ex-panding the possibilities to tap "third party" funds as opposed to traditional bilat-eral aid by establishing "Multi Lateral Programmes"[47]. While traditional develop-ment co-operation is governed by the ethics of a non-profit culture, organisations providing relief have to reconcile the need for profit to sustain the organisational survival with the mission of humanitarian assistance. While still claiming to be-lieve in the non-profit character of development assistance and with national

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[46] see also Fues, 2001, 1; UN A/Res/55/L.2 of 18th September 2000, in particular paragraphs VI and VII)

[47] Meanwhile renamed as "International Services"

funds becoming more scarce, pressure mounts for GTZ to rely more on third party financing (secured by GTZ) in order to complement overheads and administration costs of bilateral programmes.[48]

Another contradiction faced by GTZ in Sierra Leone is the position within the overall GTZ structure, a structure developed to serve bilateral programmes (GTZ in Sierra Leone is linked to Division 426 Emergency and Refugee Aid.) This unclear relationship is dysfunctional and has far-reaching consequences for the backstopping of programme activities and for (expatriate) staff welfare (conditions and lengths of contracts, fringe-benefits, social security and so forth). With the programme in Sierra Leone GTZ adds a highly flexible, output-oriented and dynamic structure to the more slow pace and comfortable bilateral programme set-up.

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[48] Smillie argues that organisations with the dual mandate (relief and development) are often better placed to work in the "continuum" (Smillie, 1998, 76).

3   The reintegration programme ReAct

3.1   A brief outline of ReAct

As mentioned above the current crisis harrowing the three West-African countries Liberia, Guinea and Sierra Leone, has sparked off a protracted crisis of flight, internal displacement, return and resettlement in the region. Agencies involved in humanitarian assistance and emergency relief are confronted with the need of combining reconstruction of communities with reintegration and resettlement activities. GTZ has been providing refugee assistance and has assisted in reconstruction activities in Liberia as well as in Guinea since 1995/6, developing a multi-facetted strategy to meet the needs of their beneficiaries and to cope with short-term funding and time constraints in an emergency situation.

Gradually, this strategy was conceptualised[49] more clearly and named "ReAct" (*Rehabilitation, Reconciliation and Reintegration Activities* or *Rehabilitation and Reintegration Activity Centres*[50]). The current ReAct programme as implemented in Sierra Leone can draw on this extensive experience of a number of staff members in previous projects in the region, including the local knowledge provided by former employees of the bilateral integrated rural development programme in Bo and Pujehun districts of Sierra Leone (GTZ/BPRDP).

The overall goal of ReAct as formulated by the project is

"to address the major rehabilitation, reconciliation and reintegration needs of selected war-affected communities in rural Sierra Leone, by revitalising their self-help capacity".

The strategy has started to be operationalised to a limited extent within the framework of three first projects:

1. Emergency assistance funded by BMZ in Eastern Freetown, following the rebel invasion of the city in January 1999 and the consequent mass destruction;

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[49] Main conceptual credit is owed to Ferdinand Takatsch (Programme Manager GTZ-IS Sierra Leone), Fabio Germano (Reintegration Manager, GTZ-IS Sierra Leone), Berthold Bös (GTZ-IS West-Africa), and Sam Somah (Skills Training Co-ordinator GTZ-IS Sierra Leone) (cf. interview with Ferdinand Takatsch, 21st August 2001).

[50] During the study, a number of translations for the acronym came up. These two are the ones found in official documents.

2. Community based reintegration programme, also under BMZ funding, in 9 communities in the Southern Province, and Support to Amputees and War-wounded in Freetown;

3. Reintegration of returnees in 7 communities alongside Skills Training in the Southern and Eastern Provinces in partnership with UNHCR.

1. The defined target groups of these projects comprise resident members of the selected communities and returnees, to enhance their self-reliance and thus contribute to sustainable peace and stability in the country.

ReAct is a community-based and multi-sectoral approach[51] to emergency assistance, aiming at preparing the ground for longer-term development. In order to address various needs of communities in post-war situations, the ReAct programme includes the revival of agricultural activities, physical reconstruction and rehabilitation of community infrastructure, basic improvements in water and sanitation infrastructure, basic road maintenance and the development of income generating activities in the communities. Alongside with these, ReAct tries to re-build local self-help capacities for further reconstruction efforts by using rapid on-the-job and in-centre skills training in order to replenish and upgrade local supply of skilled labour (agriculture, masonry, carpentry and various other trades).[52]

The declared aim of all project interventions is to bridge the gap between emergency and development. They are not seen as sequential but complementary ingredients of an integrated approach, involving training and upgrading of skills, rehabilitation and production and income generation in all sectors covered by project interventions. Community based workers (specialised in community animation and development, construction, agriculture) transfer their knowledge (and new or improved appropriate technologies) to selected members of the communities. Once the project phasing out, the community counterparts are to replicate

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[51] Cf. GTZ-MLP West Africa: Rehabilitation and Reintegration Programs, Example Sierra Leone. Abidjan [2001, unpublished]; GTZ-MLP Sierra Leone: ReAct – Rehabilitation, Reconciliation and Reintegration Activities Sierra Leone. Freetown [2000, unpublished]

[52] Cf. GTZ Sierra Leone's proposal to BMZ for activities from March to December 2001: "Diese spontane Remigration macht die Wiederherstellung der sozialen und infrastrukturellen Mindestversorgung der Bevölkerung (z.B. Rehabilitierung / Wiederaufbau von Gesundheitseinrichtungen, Schulen, Trinkwasserversorgungseinrichtungen, Zufahrtswegen etc.) sowie die Stärkung von Selbsthilfekräften (z.B. durch Wiederherstellung von Arbeitsstätten und Förderung produktiver Fähigkeiten) vordringlich."

their skills, train and supervise others.

Communities are encouraged to take charge of their own affairs by the project's strategy to support the empowerment of local "community development committees" (CDCs). Communities are invited to nominate members (female and male) to serve on these CDCs which will be supported in order to address needs expressed by the community and to plan further activities. By encouraging the formation of (mixed) farming groups and other self-help groups, ReAct tries to support the development of community cohesion and the integration of returnees or internally displaced persons (IDPs).

The project seeks to achieve community participation in two ways:

2. joint identification and prioritisation of activities on site by communities and the project which are fixed in a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU), signed by the community representatives, the town and paramount chiefs, and the project

3. community contributions (local materials, water, sand, wood, labour)

The project seeks to give special attention to the needs of the various community groups such as women and men, youths and elderly, traumatised persons, ex-combatants a.o.) and to respond to their needs of psycho-social recovery. Trauma-counselling and social services are included in the programme's strategy. The programme is embedded in national reconstruction and rehabilitation strategies by liasing with national stakeholders and relying (in part) on funding from NCRRR and NCDDR.

This outline tried to summarise a variety of papers regarding the ReAct concept, availed to donors, the public and to the team, mostly serving a "marketing purpose". Some of the sectors mentioned are not fully considered in actual project interventions. The sectors health, water and sanitation for e.g. are mainly reduced to the – much needed – rehabilitation and construction of health posts and water wells. Health education, let alone the provision of medical services or nutrition do not explicitly form part of project interventions. With the concept constantly evolving key terms and strategies are often unclear and not sharply defined. Against the background of fast changing situations on the ground, the project is in a permanent need to adapt strategies and activities in the field. Some of the main constraints encountered are described below.

3.2 Major constraints identified in bridging the gap

The ReAct concept responds to a large number of requirements derived from the discussion around the "continuum", using the synergy effects of mutually reinforcing strategies in covering a wide range of community activities. In this respect, GTZ has a wide-scope approach in Sierra Leone. Many other agencies have more limited mandates. However, many potentials of the community-based approach, such as peace-building, working with trauma and even capacity building are not yet fully explored. The SLE-Team found that not only IPs had differing notions of the concept[53], but that also staff members at headquarter level were not always clear about central key terms, such as capacity building, peace-building, (re-) integration, sustainability among others in the context of ReAct (see chapter 5). We therefore take the liberty and opportunity to develop our own working definitions (please refer to the glossary) for key terms to which we will refer in case GTZ is vague.

While every section has developed more or less refined strategy papers, a comprehensive strategic outline or overall logical framework including appropriate indicators especially with regard to capacity building and reintegration was not available.

Recurring questions encountered during the study regarding the concept include

the identification of adequate project communities: size, number and region a. o. including the issue of satellite villages of communities[54]

the role of STCs: Are STCs to remain after pull-out or project or should they be transitional institutions for rapid injection of skills for quick rehabilitation and reconstruction?

the question of standard intervention packages versus the design of needs-oriented interventions: Massive community based interventions (sometimes

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[53] Cf. report of the "ReAct Workshop" held in Bo, 4th to 6th September 2001

[54] In Rotifunk and Moyamba, among the early communities to benefit from project activities, activities had to be confined to single sections. District headquarter town Kambia was regarded as too big for a ReAct cycle to be started there. The project now opts for a smaller community and the surrounding areas (Initial assessment mission to Kambia District 19th to 21st September 2001).

with more than 30 GTZ/BPDA/CORD-SL staff members on the ground, e.g. in the case where a STC is located in the project community!) for project periods ranging from six to twelve, probably 18 months with high level activities[55] are followed by intervention gaps with little support of communities by project staff and scarce follow-up. Beginnings carefully nurtured with a lot of motivation and commitment from all sides are suddenly abandoned for lack of follow-up funding and for new project sites due to needs for regional expansion in order to tap new funding sources.

the question of people reached by interventions: replication of activities against limited project inputs and timeframe

the task of reconciling and phasing a multi-sectoral approach including longer-term interventions (agriculture, income-generation and most issues of community services) and relatively short term interventions such as rebuilding infrastructure into multi-sectoral quick intervention packages.

networking: Competition for funds on the market collides with the need for close inter-agency co-operation and networking on the ground.

the weakness of state institutions such as line ministries to take over public functions (e.g. in sustaining schools and staffing health centres) after the pull-out of the project) hampers the prospects of the project to really achieve sustainable effects.

These are only a few of the constraints encountered. Chapters 4 and 5 will dwell more intensively on this issue.

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[55] In a workshop exercise Heads of Sections and other members of the management were asked to draw ReAct as a vehicle. One of them named his vehicle "the implementation bulldozer", self-critically drawing the attention to the danger of implementation without sufficient consultation of target groups. Nearly every section has different views on the timeframe needed to achieve results that will lead to development (one to three years) (workshop with GTZ Heads of Section, M&E and management, 18th August 2001).

4 Research framework and methodology

4.1 Introduction

As was described in the chapters 2 and 3, GTZ is a rapidly growing organisation with a high speed of interventions. After nearly 2 years of working in post-war Sierra Leone GTZ felt the need to reflect on the experiences within this emergency situation with the support of an SLE-Team.

Following the team leader's preparatory trip to Sierra Leone from 17th May to 2nd June 2001 the team elaborated a research design in Berlin referring to the preliminary Terms of Reference (ToRs), literature review and a study of documents provided by the project.

The general objective of the SLE-project as agreed upon in the ToRs was

to conduct an impact evaluation of the capacity building performance of the ongoing reintegration programme of GTZ, Sierra Leone, resulting in:

a specific recommendations and defined modules / management tools to improve the performance of the ReAct approach, and

a reviewed concept paper for external dissemination.

Access to the programme should be given by

looking into the project cycle (projects at different stages of implementation)

analysing the activities of the various sections such as agriculture, construction, income generating activities, community services and skills training and looking at M&E and cross-cutting issues such as gender and environment

considering management and co-ordination

The research plan was discussed and amended with the project management; basic common understanding regarding key terms such as capacity building and the main characteristics of the ReAct concept was achieved. The research process in Sierra Leone was very dynamic and the plan had to be adapted to the requirements of the project several times. The changes with regard to the originally agreed on goals of the research project were the result of discussions with the project management during several planning workshops.

Main research phases on the ground included an orientation phase focussing on guided interviews with GTZ management, staff and other stakeholders (such as representatives of main donor agencies, UNHCR, implementing partners and other national and international NGOs). Two short field trips to project communities still benefiting from project activities (Eastern axis, Zimmi axis, Northern axis[56]) and to communities where a first cycle of activities had already been completed (Moyamba axis) were undertaken to identify communities to be studied in more detail during the field research. Already at this stage, it became obvious that project staff including implementing partners (IPs) had differing understandings of the ReAct concept. It was therefore resolved that the SLE-Team facilitates a three-days workshop in Bo for IPs and GTZ staff after the field research to introduce the changes and amendments, which are constantly taking place and to work on a new common understanding of the ReAct concept (see chapter 3). The report including detailed descriptions of methods used is provided in Annexe 1. One of the main insights gained from the "ReAct Workshop" was a sometimes difficult communication and co-ordination among GTZ and field staff including IPs. GTZ and the SLE-Team found it necessary to make a further amendment of the initial research plan substituting the second field research originally planned with another workshop in Potoru. Facilitated by the SLE-Team it was focussing on capacity building with special respect to co-ordination and communication at axis level. The workshop documented (including methods used) in Annexe 2 counted with the participation of persons involved in project activities at all levels: community counterparts, community and axis supervisors, field co-ordinators, Heads of Sections, M&E staff, and management staff.

For the field research, the group split into three sub-teams. Two team members visited the Moyamba axis, the second team visited the Zimmi axis, where a Skills Training Centre (STC) was about to complete a first nine-months training cycle. One team member remained in Freetown to work with the management and undertook a second visit to the STC in Mange Bureh, the launch of which the SLE-Team had witnessed earlier.

The teams had the opportunity to interview members of Community Development Committees (CDCs), community counterparts, community members not directly

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[56] "Axes" in the context of ReAct combine a number of more or less neighbouring communities benefiting from project activities. Most of the communities on an axis are situated along a main road.

involved in project activities, women, trainees in STCs and other youth, chiefs and local authorities. Prior to the final presentation of results two days before departure, an analytical phase in Freetown, where recommendations were developed, concluded the field study. Feedback received during the presentation was considered in this report.

Methodological approach of the team

Observations and findings are reported sector-wise (Agriculture, Construction, Community Services, Income Generation Activities and Skills Training). Following a brief outline of the basic sectoral goals, observations regarding the implementation as perceived in the field are made. Due to the relatively short time since project activities started (in 2000) it is too early to really assess impacts, but some remarks regarding results achieved are made. Finally, the main traits of the organisational structure that was developed to implement project activities and to achieve sectoral and multi-sectoral goals are described. Strengths, weaknesses and resulting consequences are identified and will be analysed more in detail in chapter 5.

The main part of the observations is based on research in the field. Selected methods used during field research are described below and commented with respect to their appropriateness and results produced.

4.2.1 General approach

As mentioned in Chapter 1.1 the SLE-Team used a set of methods to gather information at community level and at management level of GTZ and at the level of other local and international organisations. Some selected methods are described in detail below, including the insights to be gained by these methods. The challenge was to find methods, which at community level take into account the high rate of illiteracy and the language barrier between community members and the SLE-Team, and at the management level reduce the complexity of the system so that a view of the whole can be gained without on the other hand simplifying the picture too much. The aim was that a good understanding of the detailed issues and problems should still be possible. The tools were mainly common research tools which were adjusted according to the context of this study.

4.2.2 Methods and procedures used during community workshop

Drama

During the fieldtrips the SLE-Team used "drama" as a method to find out about the communities' perceptions of the situation before, during and after the war. The community was asked to perform three short scenes showing daily life. Much more persons than expected wanted to be part of the drama-group and it lasted longer than the planned 30 minutes. The performance revealed a high need and readiness of people to express what happened to them during the war. It was obvious, that traumatising experiences were still very vivid. In one community the scene during the war lasted very long, showing realistic scenes of violence and even rape. The actors had been divided in three groups and it was surprising for the SLE-Team that the youth group had no idea what to perform in the last scene "after the war". In another village, the transition from the second to the third scene was introduced by the words: "… and then Mr. Fabio came and the war was over!" (deputy programme and reintegration manager of GTZ in Sierra Leone). Of course, this could be seen as a sign of appreciation for the presence of GTZ in general, but it may also have expressed the great hope and expectations raised with the appearance of GTZ in the community.

Timeline

The drama was followed by a timeline, which was carried out with a men's and a women's group. In this exercise a timeline was drawn in the sand or on a wall, dividing the length into a period before, during and after the war according to the significance, the different periods had for the participants. The participants were then asked to find symbols for the different periods and to explain their meaning to the others. The SLE-Team facilitated the exercise by asking questions about positive experiences, problems encountered and solutions found to resolve these problems. The intention was to find out about existing coping strategies and social networks in the village before, during and after the war. In one community the idea of separating the group into men and women was rejected by the community services supervisor. He asked the SLE-Team if they did not know what gender means: that men and women should always be addressed together and not be separated anymore.

Both men and women expressed very frankly what they had gone through.

Women complained about a loss of dignity in war times for different reasons: among other things women had no adequate clothing anymore. The lack of salt was very important for both, men and women. One of the most painful for some of them is however, that they still waiting for their children to come back, after they had been taken away by the rebels.

The timeline also revealed many (at first sight invisible) capacities: Before the war, women had collected money to give it to those who needed it most urgently; and had thus created their own kind of social insurance. They explained that they plan to re-establish this system as soon as the groundnuts were harvested. During wartime, women also applied their knowledge of traditional medicine and medical care, which was very much needed and useful to them and their children, because they had no access to any doctor or nurse while hiding in the bush. It was striking that this group of women did not mark the cease fire or disarmament as the end of the war, but rather the moment when they decided to gather and defend themselves against male violence. Every woman participated in the timeline and came out with a very clear description of her needs and the needs of women as a group.

Venn-diagrams

Venn-diagrams were used in order to gain an insight into existing groups and organisational structures in the communities. In one community there were many organisations e.g. micro-credit-groups which were very important to the community, but they had nothing to do with GTZ.

Power Flower

Power Flower as a method has been developed during the apartheid rule in South Africa by (unknown) trainers for non-violent action. The participants draw a flower with different segments for material or immaterial support systems, which give the individual strength and self-confidence:

In the Skills Training Centre in Zimmi the SLE-Team carried out this exercise with girls and boys, who should explain what gives them strength and supports them at this important moment leaving the centre. Although this method was new for the participants, they easily were able to adapt it to their situation, coming up with interesting results concerning their individual situations. The SLE-Team facili-

tated this exercise explaining the purpose and asking the participants to compare the results of the group of boys and of girls. A very lively joint discussion revealed that peace is one of the major conditions for all of them to get personal strength, but the connotations of peace were largely differing between men and women. This exercise can be considered an adequate tool to draw the attention to different needs and interests of men and women and thus help to create a better understanding for gender issues.

Communication exercises

During the field research the team observed that people very easily started talking even about difficult issues and experiences, once a personal contact had been established. In general the team felt, that people had a great need to be listened. Using listening and participatory communication techniques allows to enter into a relationship at equal level. This way of communication encourages the development and expression of own points of view and is a basis for ownership.

It cannot be stressed enough how important and valuable excellent language and cultural translation services offered by a member of SLADEA, the Sierra Leone Adult Education Association, has been for the study. Added value was SLADEA's rich experience with participatory methods in rural communities in the country and the organisation's special focus on the promotion of gender issues. Several techniques were used to explore perceptions and understanding of key-terms of the project's philosophy and concept: During one workshop participants were asked to explain to each other some of the major terms often used to explain the ReAct-concept, like e.g. ownership or capacity-building. The exercise showed that although everybody uses these terms regularly there was no common understanding, but many different explanations and meanings.

4.2.3 Methods used during staff workshops in Bo and Potoru

The methods applied during these two workshops are not described here, as the detailed workshop reports are included in Annexe 1 and 2.

4.2.4 Methods to explore organisational structures and relations

Single interviews

The purpose to conduct single interviews with the programme manager, the deputy programme manager, the financial manager, the head of the M&E-unit and the different HoS was to obtain an insight into their individual working areas and the perception of their individual role in the management structure and their contribution to the overall goals of the organisation. An interview took on average of 1 to 1 ½ hours and was based on the research questions developed by the SLE-Team during the preparatory phase. The results of the interviews were noted down by the interviewers. In a second step the analysed results of these single interviews were fed back into joint planning sessions with the management, inviting comments and drawing conclusions during the discussions.

Planning workshops

Planning workshops with the management staff were conducted to summarise results of single interviews and of observations of the SLE-Team during field visits. The planning workshops were normally facilitated by the SLE-Team. Feedback received during these planning workshops and conclusions drawn were used as a base for the planning and the adjustment of the next steps within the research project.

Within the planning workshops different tools have been applied to obtain or to cross-check insights gained through interviews or observations in the field.

One of these methods used was the "organisational vehicle": This exercise assumes, that an organisation is a system with a vision and mission and with an outside appearance, in which each member has a specific place, role and function. The image of a vehicle implies, that it moves or that somebody moves it, that the movement has a direction and a speed. It can also imply the existence of obstacles for this vehicle. Communication-patterns and mechanisms of co-ordination between different parts of the vehicle, symbolising the different organisational roles and functions, may also be deduced from this drawing exercise.

Some members of the GTZ-management were invited to visualise the organisation in an such an "organisational vehicle" and to explain their vision concerning

the co-operation within the system and with the implementing partners. The results of this exercise were surprising for the participants concerning the very different perceptions of the organisation revealed. The results and insights gained from this exercise will further be discussed in Chapter 5.2.

5 Main observations and findings

5.1 Observations and findings by sectors

Although GTZ in Sierra Leone uses a multi-sectoral approach for the reintegration programme ReAct (cf. Chapter 3), the SLE-Team decided to present the results of observations and findings first by sector which in a way reflects the reality of sectoral planning within the organisation. Connections or overlapping activities between the different sectors, controversial or conflicting interests between them are a hint for necessary co-ordination in planning and implementation and are further discussed in Chapter 5.2.

5.1.1 Agriculture

The objective of the agricultural sector as described in the ReAct concept is to design and implement a standardised intervention package for each community to reach food security. Agricultural activities include:

- Swamp rice development
- Production of food crops
- Tree crop rehabilitation
- Vegetable gardening
- Seed rice production
- Livestock restocking
- Construction of agricultural stores, tool banks and drying floors.

In a first phase all interventions should respond quickly to the need for food. This means that in case of delayed interventions swamp rehabilitation for example is replaced by quick unstructured sowing of distributed seeds (swamp and upland rice, groundnuts, cassava sticks, sweet potato vines and, especially for women, assorted vegetable seeds). In the next season the supported farming groups, farming families and individual farmers should produce their own seeds to repay half of the seed. In a last step market oriented farming should ensure income

generating by surplus-production, development of livestock and rehabilitation of permanent tree cropping.

Technical guidance and extension services for the utilisation of the inputs are provided by a team of supervisors and technicians, co-ordinated by an agronomist.

The following findings are based on a variety of individual observations; therefore no generalisation is intended and allowed, but rather to sensitise for possible negative side-effects and for positive potentials of GTZ agricultural activities:

Standardised project activities are positively correlated with little time for designing and planning and the implementation is easier to co-ordinate due to known facts. The project communities however are quite different in size, region, composition of population and therefore their agricultural background is different in kind and economic importance. Due to comprehensible reasons like higher yields without fertilisers and because no deforestation is needed, GTZ puts an emphasis on the development and rehabilitation of IVS rice, which is not always wished by the farmers, because the preparation of swamps is very hard work and time consuming. In this case there is a small scope to plant more upland rice than normal but IVS is still promoted as the main crop and the farmers do not always feel taken seriously.

At community level little knowledge is spread about the structure within the project schedule, although the agricultural staff on all levels has a common understanding and a well organised information flow about timeframe and contents of the implemented steps. Field visits by GTZ staff take place irregularly, so that the planning of the community based workers is difficult and sometimes the needed information not easy to get. Therefore field staff is under high pressure standing between the expectations of the community and of GTZ. They often feel insecure about what are they allowed to decide and what to do with difficult questions asked by the community.

In many communities there seems to be a problem with the starting point of the agricultural activities. GTZ mentioned January as the ideal month for beginning but many constraints like disarmament timeframe and finance constraints make this nearly unrealistic. The agricultural staff tries to make the interventions as conform to the seasonal calendar as possible but this is difficult to arrange within a multi-sectoral approach.

On the one hand planting procedures are less flexible than other activities. Late planting mainly results in lower harvest as was observed for vegetable gardening by GTZ during the field mission 26th to 29th of March 2001. If there is no time for burning the uplands a lack of fertilisers leads to stunted growth. On the other hand each section starts its activities following the own constraints. Community members are easily overloaded by the different communal activities they have to participate in. Due to the high level of food insecurity field work is the priority to most of them, but at the same time they are asked to participate in the rehabilitation of the primary school for example. Community supervisors often find creative answers to these problems and are committed by a rotating working plan where every day one group is responsible for cooking, others are working on the construction sites and still others do farming. Many people asked for food for work which is not offered by GTZ and which is incomprehensible for the communities.

Regarding the distributed seeds itself farmers criticised the small amount and bad quality. Not all vulnerable groups have access to the seeds and the way of distribution is unclear to some of them. It was also mentioned that the rice seeds were not enough to feed the families. Every project community receives the same amount of rice bushels; community size and amount of vulnerable persons are not taken into consideration. It is rather the already financed amount of bushels which determine the distribution process than the actual needs.

The concept of a seed-bank to be built up in the communities requires that after one season the farmers have to repay half of the distributed seeds to the communal seed bank to support satellite villages during the following season. But refugees and IDPs are still coming back to their host communities during project interventions and they also ask for seeds. It is understandable that the communities first support their own returnees before they answer the demand of neighbouring satellite villages.

In addition to lack of seeds human labour and the land tenure system are other limitations in the agricultural sector. Sierra Leone is a country of rich agricultural resources but due to displacement of farm families and many victims of war there is a shortage of labour for farming (FAO,4.2.2000). The land tenure system as a constraint was not mentioned by the community rather than GTZ as a result of a field mission in March where they stated that all future projects should address this problem. Due to time restrictions the SLE team excluded this aspect com-

pletely, though it is a highly explosive issue in the agricultural sector.

Existing agricultural potentials are insufficiently used to advance community development. The revival of the use of firewood plantation in Rotifunk, a formerly FAO-supported project, was not included in activities of the project during the first cycle of interventions already completed. Freshwater fish is an important factor in Rotifunk´s daily life. The economic potential of the river as a much used means of transport and communication is not taken into consideration so far.

5.1.2 Income Generating Activities

While incentive packages are designed to motivate community members to participate in communal rehabilitation and reconstruction activities, income generating activities are geared towards reviving the local economy, however, at present mainly confined to agricultural production (groundnut farming, vegetable gardening, livestock).

IGA specifically targets women and women groups[57] by offering loans for vegetable or rice production. The first loans extended are grants to the communities, meaning that loans are repaid to the respective CDCs, which will decide who should benefit from the next loan cycle. The funds are then to revolve within the community. Micro-credit is also extended for petty trade, e.g. in Zimmi for trade in fish. Loans are not necessarily disbursed in cash. Loan periods vary from three to nine months. CDCs have elaborated loan guidelines and fines in case of default.

In most communities visited the first loan cycle had not been completed, due to the rice and groundnut harvest only due by the end of August and in October. Seed loans (rice and groundnuts) extended to farmers are also repayable to CDCs in order to build local seed banks; the seeds are to be stored in community stores. IGA also seeks to provide opportunities for graduates of STCs to become self-reliant after completion of the training. To this end, IGA offers a (two week) training in basic business skills and market orientation aiming at the encouragement of students to form groups which can then qualify to obtain a tool kit as a start-up kit.

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[57] In Zimmi there is no specific women's programme, but IGA groups are mixed (meeting with CDC members, 16th August 2001).

IGA is perceived to come last in the cycle of project activities at community level, with changes gaining ground lately.[58] IGA staff working in close co-operation with community services supervisors also train local self-help groups in basic business skills.[59] IGA staff is also supposed to train instructors at skills training centres in basic business skills; they are thus enabled to transfer this knowledge to trainees throughout the training cycle and not only towards the end of the cycle. IGA also serve as a supplement to the provision of incentive packages and to manage the returns and redistribution of seed loans in the communities.

In Rotifunk a micro-credit grant of a total of 3.580.000 Le was disbursed to two groups of community members at an interest rate of 5 %, (Mosheribi Farmers Association and Momankineh Farmers Association with 15 and 17 members[60]), many of them male members of the CDC[61]. In Moyamba 15 women were selected to benefit from the first loan cycle after completion of construction activities and were eligible for individual cash loans of 174.000 Le for groundnut seeds, the sum being repayable to the CDC at an interest rate of 5 % after three months (1st October 2001).[62]

A detailed projection highlights the community's contribution in terms of providing land and labour (clearing, brushing, planting, weeding, harvesting and drying).

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[58] During the M&E workshop held in Freetown on August 17th and 18th, 2001, training and support to business groups was mentioned as main activity of "phase I" of project activities; repayment of loans and start of new groups were regarded as activities in "phase II".

[59] By 1999 the share of the small scale service industry in the job market in Sierra Leone accounted for more than 2/3 of all jobs available (self-employment and waged labour). This trend likely to continue during the following few years due to the political situation in the country, GTZ responds to the general trend in supporting small scale enterprise. However, GTZ also follows the trend observed by Kawa, that trades taught in STCs focus on carpentry, masonry, hair dressing and soap making, while neglecting other trades such as welding and metal works or arts and crafts, which could in the long run provide more opportunities in self-employment (Kawa, 2001, 7, 24).

[60] Beneficiaries in Rotifunk received groundnut seeds and a selection of tools.

[61] Loan agreements are countersigned by project management. In Rotifunk only two groups benefited from the initial phase of the micro-credit scheme. It remained unclear whether all self-help groups in Rotifunk were actually aware of the possibility to apply for a loan from the second cycle to commence in December this year. Muslim leaders seemed to be unclear about rules and repayment procedures for the two associations in Rotifunk (meeting with Muslim leaders in Rotifunk, 24th August 2001).

[62] Meeting with community counterparts in Moyamba, 27th August 2001

These contributions are budgeted and incorporated in the business plan for the farming project, and make up 43% of the total project costs.[63] In Yawyema on the Moyamba axis a loan was granted in June 2001 to buy a cassava grinding machine for garri production. Every two months the fifteen beneficiaries are to repay a fixed sum to the CDC. Community members being aware that one cassava grinding machine cannot serve all surrounding villages, the women's leader in Yawyema would like to see the 26 other satellite villages to benefit from the loan scheme in the future, too.[64]

While women in Rotifunk were hardly aware of the micro-credit scheme, of which only few of them had benefited, women in Moyamba (Salinas Section) cited these criteria for eligibility for loans[65]:

- Applicants have to have a leading role in community development
- Applicants must be honest
- Applicants have to be low income earners
- Applicants must be aware of the constitution of the CDC and of the rules and regulations of the micro-credit fund
- Applications have to be approved by the Paramount Chief and the Section Chief

Women also reported that copies of by-laws and the constitutions of self-help groups are kept by GTZ and by the CDC. They were aware that a fine of 5.000 Le was to be levied and an additional grace month could be accorded in case a loanee would not be able to stick to the original repayment date. Executives of the CDC will do the selection of next beneficiaries. CDC members in Moyamba Salinas Section reported about plans of community members to apply for loans to start maize farming (fast growing varieties and local varieties, also to be cultivated in swamps during the dry season). To serve the micro-credit scheme, the CDC has a finance secretary, a female treasurer and auditors. The Pt. Chief herself is guaranteeing loans. Loan agreements are drafted and signed in the presence of the Chief in Moyamba.[66] Similar functions exist within the CDCs on the

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[63] Projections and business plan provided by CDC members in Rotifunk on August 23rd, 2001. Net profits are expected to be range between 59 % and 62.4 % of the original total investment (community contribution plus grant).

[64] Meeting with CDC members in Yawyema on August 28th, 2001

[65] Women's meeting at UMC Salinas School, Moyamba on 29th August 2001

[66] Interview with CDC members in Moyamba on August 29th, 2001.

Zimmi axis, and the secretary, auditor and treasurer receive extra training to perform their duties.[67]

Although the Head of Section of IGA being highly accommodative of new project ideas being brought up by community members and very creative as regards possible small scale projects which could be supported, at present income generating activities are mainly focussing on loans for agricultural production and some petty trade, as mentioned before. A promising Arts and Crafts Centre in Zimmi that could offer a lot of opportunities to women too, still has to wait for a loan. In many communities the system of loan approval was not transparent. In Zimmi the axis supervisor simply distributed letters of consent or dissent to loan applicants, without giving detailed explanations of the decisions taken by the project.

Seen the scarcity of economic data at community level, it is not easy to assess the viability of small-scale projects, but it remains doubtful whether a loan to 17 women for petty trade in fish in the small community in Gissiwulo is likely to be profitable and sustainable in the long run. A systematic data collection to serve as a base for economic appraisal of loans is hardly possible under the given circumstances in post-war rural communities, but the SLE-Team observed that recent studies[68] were not considered by the project, either.

Due to short-term interventions of the ReAct project cycle a longer-term monitoring of business management and business records in the self-help groups is not institutionalised. While some communities (Moyamba) have developed mechanisms to cross-monitor the performance of self-help groups which have already benefited from micro-credit, the whole system is not at all transparent for others, therefore raising suspicion within the communities. During the capacity building workshop organised by the SLE-Team, IGA staff reported, that community members accused him of taking the money for himself, when they got no loan (see Annexe 2).

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[67] Interview of CDC members in Gissiwulo on 16th August 2001. Beneficiaries in Moyamba reported that they had received a two-day workshop regarding basic business skills (29th August 2001).

[68] A recent study on Vocational Training and Small Scale Business Promotion in Sierra Leone was not known to the project.

Although this is a common argument often brought forward by loan applicants, it was reported severally that loans are too small to really start up the business. Women in Moyamba had to supplement the loan in order to be able to buy enough seeds to cultivate the field prepared. In Rotifunk beneficiaries complained that credit was provided too late; therefore, farmers dropped the step of burning the brushed field, thus missing out on the necessary manure to obtain good yields.

Especially in Rotifunk, the SLE-Team got the impression that not the most needy were targeted with IGA, but that the Chief's entourage and CDC members had disproportional easy access to loans. It was discouraging for many loan applicants from Rotifunk and Moyamba to be denied a micro-credit after investing a lot of time and work in preparing fields for cultivation to be able to apply for loans in the first place.

A general need for better co-ordination and multi-sectoral planning especially with the section of Community Services was acknowledged by the project itself. A two weeks crash course in basic business skills for (mostly male) trainees in Zimmi might have doubtful results, taking into account the rather low level of literacy and numeracy among trainees.

5.1.3 Skills Training

As described by GTZ in Sierra Leone the objective is to teach basic skills at Skills Training Centres (STC) and at community level to reactivate and strengthen the beneficiaries' self-help capacities. For the duration of 9 months the trainees are trained in technical skills (masonry, carpentry, soap making, road maintenance and agriculture) which are closely related to specific rehabilitation needs of the local communities. Peace building, civic education, basic management and basic literacy and numeracy are integral parts of the curriculum.

The training consists of 20% in-centre training and of 80% on-the-job-training where the trainees reconstruct schools, roads, community stores etc.[69] At community level skills training stands for upgrading community technicians, commu-

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[69] In Yawyema community members said that trainees from Zimmi on assignment at the school construction site had not done a good job and that their young trainer did not seem to have authority over them. However, locals felt that the young trainer was qualified (Interview with community members in Yawyema, 28th August 2001).

nity counterparts and community members like farmers through extension services, constant professional guidance by experts and centralised workshops and formation of working groups comprising skilled and unskilled community workers at communal construction sides.

Until the end of October there were three STCs run by GTZ (Mange, Zimmi, Potoru) all visited by the SLE-Team for analysing the concept. During the field visits and in interviews and workshops it was obvious that the communities want the STCs. When it was sure for Rotifunk to get a STC the inhabitants of Roruks were very disappointed, because they also wanted one. In Zimmi the pre-registration for the second course started already before financing was guaranteed; the classes started as soon as funding was guaranteed. The registration is open for all those interested. There is often an excess of inscriptions, but experience shows, that a number of trainees drop out during the course anyway. In Zimmi one third of the female trainees dropped out during the course. There was, however, no systematic follow-up on the reasons, for which the women dropped out in such big number. The SLE-Team got the impression that the STCs in their role are sometimes isolated from other GTZ interventions, although on the other hand a close co-operation especially with construction is taking place for on-the-job training's. GTZ is however reacting very quickly to identified deficits. In Zimmi for instance a management course promoted by IGA was started with the trainees to support them on their way to self-employment only close to their final exams. The module has now been integrated into the curriculum for the second training cycle in Zimmi. Due to their character as institutions for rapid training links of STCs to a national vocational training concept (poorly developed anyway) are very weak.[70]

The timeframe for implementing such a training centre seems to be the most flexible one. While the STC was the starting point for GTZ interventions in Mange the planned training centre in Rotifunk is coming after GTZ already dropped out. Many useful experiences are taken over from former GTZ-projects in Liberia. But the experience of a large number of STCs organised by other institutions in Sierra Leone is insufficiently used.

In April 2001 the Council of Churches in Sierra Leone (C.C.S.L.) published its

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[70] By August Zi-Tec had not been recognised by the Ministry of Education according to a member of GTZ Community Services' section interviewed on 22nd August 2001).

study about STC nation-wide. Main findings were that the offered skills do not respond to the labour market, that for example carpentry, hairdressing and tailoring are oversubscribed and that refresher courses and skills upgrading is not provided (Kawa, 2001, 9ff). Each GTZ STC produced around 200 newly trained carpenters, hairdressers etc. to start working life in a restricted area. Neither does GTZ follow up on activities nor is a participatory evaluation done about the trainees' opinions.

Due to the donor guidelines the STCs put the main interest on the ex-combatants. Communities are forced to accept these former fighters if they want to have a STC for themselves: Focussing too much on this group and leaving the others a bit aside may increase the aggressive potential easily in particular if the reasons behind it are not transparent to all stakeholders, because they are not well informed about these donor requirements.

Transparency was also not given concerning the tool kit distribution in Zimmi at the end of the course. A few weeks before the official end of the course trainees and trainers were anxious about what kind and how many tool kits there would be. This uncertainty in addition to the observed pessimistic mood because of high risk of unemployment has conflict potentials which should not be ignored.

Many trainees hope to get employed by GTZ after the completion of their courses which makes them (especially women) extremely dependent on the trainers. The philosophy of GTZ in Sierra Leone is, that the trainees should rather be prepared for the general labour market; to offer them jobs within the GTZ-structure would rather keep them dependent on the organisation. This is very understandable, but the problem remains, that the perspectives for the trainees after finishing the course are very unclear.

The majority of the trainees and trainers are men and the offered courses are rather male oriented. For women only soap-making and hair-dressing are offered. In interviews at Zi-Tec (Zimmi) they complained that they were not enough encouraged by the trainers and that they would like to learn tailoring and garra tie and dye as well. For many of them earning money is the priority before setting up a family.

Trained skills are oriented towards needs of war-affected communities. The offered skills focus on the reconstruction of buildings and roads but not so much on maintenance and on the needed psycho-social skills: Though civic education and

peace building make up 20% of the curriculum, the status of these subjects is still unclear. GTZ recognised already that the staff is not enough trained in trauma counselling and conflict resolution and that there is a need to integrate these aspects as cross-cutting issues into all project activities. In Zimmi this gap is bridged by a highly motivated staff which organises sports activities for the trainees after work. Community Services here also play an important role in helping to form cultural groups. Gaining recognition for this kind of social activities however is difficult because of missing indicators for monitoring and evaluation (M&E) and difficulties for funding.

There is an ongoing discussion within GTZ and their IPs about the importance of soft skills (in comparison to technical skills) and how to teach and measure them. The main focus of most of the project activities lies on technical skills; some of the identified objectives however, like capacity building, ownership, reintegration etc. are difficult to measure. To integrate the training of soft skills into the methodology, instead of treating it as separate subjects in the curriculum, seems to be difficult especially in a directive school system. The teaching style in a way is contradicting the content when trainees should learn about civil behaviour, while they are commanded in a military like style as seen in Zimmi.

During the nine month courses many skills have to be trained. Due to the long war period the illiteracy rate is high so that many trainees need basic training here besides the technical skills. Courses are offered in English and also in local languages. For all these skills the time is quite short and as analysed by an independent consultant (Kargbo, 2001, 8f.) the results of the exams in literacy are quite weak. The SLE-Team, however, could also observe, that the recommendations of the consultant concerning literacy classes were immediately taken up by developing new modules and dividing the trainees for these classes according to their level of knowledge at entry of the course.

At community level the SLE-Team analysed that the success of the skills training is very heterogeneous in the different communities: In Moyamba and Yawyema the skilled and unskilled population explained that they have learnt a lot and that they are now capable to construct their own buildings. The only problem mentioned for such a self-help activity is to secure funds. In Gissiwulo a women's group organised the repair of the community well by themselves on their own initiative. Now the well is fenced and a well supervisor is chosen by the women to

guarantee a functioning well and clean drinking water. In contrast to this the trained counterparts in Rotifunk are not well prepared to take up responsibility for construction themselves and at present construction is done by companies.

5.1.4 Community Services

The main sectoral goals of Community Services are

to offer support services to other sections in order to integrate project activities into the social context,

to assist the communities to develop their social skills and to work for community welfare

and towards community cohesion by developing their self-help capacities and working on traumata.

Community empowerment is one of the major goals of the ReAct-concept - seen as instrumental for a sound sustainable development, in which communities can be self-reliable. The Community Services section is in charge of promoting or reactivating the Community Development Committee (CDC),which is seen as contributing to the community self-reliance. The CDC usually includes several sub-committees which should each send a representative (e.g. women's groups, youth groups, etc.)to the CDC-meetings. Therefore this committee is supposed to be a democratic, administrative structure, which will last. The idea is to enable the CDC to search for support of other agencies itself or identify or develop local strategies to solve problems without help from outside, when GTZ has pulled out. The CS supervisor of Gissiwulo thinks that the CDC-structure is very much appreciated because people prefer not to meet as a whole community for discussions but only send a few representatives.

Members of the CDC in Zimmi told the SLE-Team that they are formulating requests to Ministries on their own. It seems to be a structure, which is considerably empowered.

The SLE-Team observed that the foundation of a CDC is often parallel to other local structures and sometimes becomes a committee only formed to serve GTZ-project purposes. The CDC-chairman in Rotifunk is known as GTZ-Chairman. CDC-Members in Zimmi complained to be forced to join several meetings a week

for different agencies working in their community and asked for compensations for their work. In several communities (Rotifunk and Potoru), the CDC has been replaced by another structure, the Chiefdom Development Committee, which was not linked to GTZ co-operation. The chiefs in general are not supposed to be members of a CDC, but they should fulfil the function of advisors. Nevertheless, the SLE-Team was told in the communities, that chiefs sometimes are members and take decisions; the team however had no clear evidence of this.

The CDC is not always representative for all local groups existing in a community. Refugees and IDPs are not perceived as such ("We are all returnees!") and therefore their representation in the CDC is not ensured. In Rotifunk women are not invited to join the CDC meetings. Even if women are represented, they hardly ever speak in public and do not express their point of view. In Gissiwulo, only one woman is member of the CDC. From the point of view of the Community Services supervisor this cannot be changed anymore once the decision has been taken.

Although the initial survey assesses different groups in the community, GTZ under time pressure sometimes does not analyse in detail the potentials of those groups. In Rotifunk, local authorities and religious leaders, a nurse and a teacher do not feel sufficiently involved in the planning and implementation of GTZ-activities. There is no systematic analysis of those key-persons and their potentials by GTZ in Sierra Leone. Nevertheless, this is sometimes done individually by committed field-staff.

In Rotifunk a nurse has initiated sessions to deal with trauma, and is being asked for support every day with the number of clients still increasing, but she has no contact with any project activities of GTZ.

In Gissiwulo the CS supervisor herself is involved in conflict transformation at family level on her own initiative. Therefore she is very much accepted by the men and women in the community and she has become a member of the women group.

The procedures of renewal of the CDC are differing in the communities.

The Community Services section also aims at promoting local cultural activities by combining them with peace-building measures. Thus mobile peace-building

groups have been established. The launching of the Skills-Training-Centre in Mange was accompanied by dances, songs and role-plays of one of these groups. GTZ staff had written texts for the songs and the role-plays.

The population should be sensitised by Community Services section to encourage the ex-combatants to change behaviours and attitudes and get back to normal civil life. The SLE-Team was told, that the project planned to analyse community's perception towards the ex-combatants in Zimmi in order to know whether project activities in the communities needed adaptation. Later on, however, research concerning the reintegration of ex-combatants and their acceptance by the community was considered unnecessary because there had not been any obvious conflict for several months. Hence, the Community Services section just analysed the community's perception of technical skills the trainees had acquired in the STC.

The community participation on different construction and agriculture sites has to be encouraged and assured by this section. In some communities the active participation of the population was impressive (Potoru Axis). Whereas in other communities (Bauya) only women were working on the construction site because their husbands refused to continue their work. They were not satisfied with the content of the incentive packages. These women were complaining that they had to work hard, but did not get any further training. Women cannot get the same incentive package for their participation because their contribution by cooking, bringing water and sand is regarded as "invisible" work and not "measurable". GTZ has recognised the disparities regarding the rewards for men's and women's participation and is looking for solutions.

The Community Services section is in charge of distributing the incentive packages for the work on the construction sites in different communities. Persons who have worked for more than 30, 60 or 90 days qualify for a special incentive package (composition varying according to the number of days worked). But they are not always fully informed about the procedures and conditions. In some communities on the Zimmi axis, community members had already worked for more than 90 days, but they were not told that they had already qualified for the highest category of incentive packages.

Community supervisors justified the failure to notify community members saying that these might stop working if they knew. Taking up this question again during the ReAct-Workshop, there was a discussion about how transparent GTZ should

be.

5.1.5 Construction

The main goal of the Construction section is to realise the reconstruction or re-habilitation of basic social facilities such as market places, community halls (court barries), health posts, feeder and access roads, community stores, wells, latrines and drying floors in the different project communities. GTZ construction section normally sets up a standard package of interventions available for each of the project communities, which generally includes:

the reconstruction of a school building and the class rooms

the production of sets of furniture for pupils and their teachers

the construction of one water well at the school site

the construction of one VIP - latrine

and sometimes, if necessary and agreed upon in the MoU, a health post.

Construction field agents are based in each community, work jointly with the beneficiary groups and also liase with local authorities and the CDC as commu-nity - counterpart in a bid to build on the community's self-help capacities. For the construction section this means "on the job training" for selected community counterparts mainly in carpentry and masonry skills. The head of section in-formed, that it is extremely difficult to find skilled labour in the communities.

To facilitate the construction work, one carpentry workshop per community is constructed or rehabilitated. All workshops within GTZ are fully operational in the production of furniture for the respective community structures (both schools and health posts).

Normally the CDC provides the reliable labour and local materials for the different construction sites. It also ensures that all works are carried out according to the design/plan and specifications agreed upon and approved by GTZ/BPDA/CORD-SL.

In close co-operation between the Community Service section and the Construc-

tion section the CDC should ensure a proper operation and management of the community tool bank. The tools for construction as well as for agriculture should remain the property of the entire community and not become individual properties or assets.

Running a construction component in the ReAct concept requires regular moni-toring of all construction interventions, requiring a lot of human resources. During the field studies, the SLE-Team observed some shortcomings, which cannot be generalised, but may indicate where further improvements within GTZ activities on the construction sites are possible. Further improvements might lead to a bet-ter collaboration with counterparts in the project communities as is already exist-ing now at a general level:

In Yawyema for example, the health post and the school already had tears and drying marks at the walls and on the footings as well as leaking roofs, even be-fore the official handing over to the community took place. Another problem which came up in Yawyema was a very unsatisfied community, because of un-clear procedures for the implementation of different construction activities within GTZ. During several discussions with community representatives, they men-tioned that they still had got no information about the future of the newly con-structed health post from GTZ. Who would provide adequate equipment and guarantee that a nurse be posted for the health post? This might be an area for a closer co-operation between the Construction section and other sectors like Community services, in order to help the community understand, how to get in-formation, to network and to find solutions.

In Fanima the SLE-Team was confronted with an ongoing conflict inside the community. GTZ determined the interventions on account of the results from the initial survey and decided together with the local authorities of Fanima, that the community would need a health post. But this was actually not discussed with all local groups within the community and led to a conflict on several levels - primar-ily between the elders and the youth, because the youth expected a court barrie for meetings and discussions. Secondly the conflict was between the GTZ/BPDA community supervisors and part of the community, because the community su-pervisors had tried to push the community to build the health post against the resistance of many community members. And last not least these conflicts were reflected inside the GTZ staff on field level, because there was no flexibility or chance to change the construction plans and discuss the issue again with the community representatives. And of course it was not possible for GTZ to build up

the school, the well and the health post at the same time.

Another interesting information reported to the SLE-Team was, that MSF-Belgium already organised the medical support for Fanima and the surrounding communities based on old structures of the national health system. During an interview with MSF representatives in Bo, they mentioned that for Fanima there are definitely no plans and as well there is no need for a permanent health post. While reporting this information to GTZ, however, the team was informed, that it was MSF/Belgium itself who had strongly argued in favour of a health post in Fanima. Apparently MSF-staff had changed and within the organisation the decisions were not transferred to the new staff.

Finally the fact that GTZ was not able to react more flexibly resulted in a low community participation on the construction sites. The community supervisors reported that they feel overburdened and helpless getting no support from their superiors to handle this difficult situation.

Some kind of "compulsory participation" was observed by the SLE-Team on one school construction site in Bauya, Moyamba axis. Because of the poor quality and value of the incentive packages, the men of Bauya were generally not interested anymore to work on the construction site. This unsatisfactory situation was improved when GTZ in Sierra Leone and the local authorities agreed that the women of Bauya should complete the school building together with the GTZ counterparts instead of the men. However, the women reported that they were agreeing only reluctantly. In fact the women were only carrying water and doing other hard work at the construction site, but they were not allowed and involved in any skills training activities.

5.2 Observations and findings on organisational structures and management procedures

This chapter will concentrate on the internal structure of GTZ in Sierra Leone and communication procedures between the different hierarchical levels looking at roles and functions, decision making procedures, planning, implementation and monitoring of project activities. The overall concept, the vision and mission have already been described in Chapter 2 and 3. During the mission of the SLE-Team several changes within the structure of the organisation were observed, which tried to respond to felt needs and deficits defined by the management and staff

itself. The description of the organisational structures and management procedures must therefor be considered as a snapshot reflecting a brief period within the life of the organisation. We will however also try to describe the changes witnessed and analyse them under the question of relevance and consequences for the organisation.

Less than two years ago, in the beginning of 2000 GTZ started as a rather small organisation. But since it has constantly been growing in terms of budget, staff members, programme components and regional outreach.

In May 2001 the organisational chart of GTZ reflected an organisation with strong reintegration and logistics departments, headed by a small management team with auxiliary functions of M&E, Acquisition and Reporting, Finance, Administration and the Liaison office, represented by one liaison officer:

The Public Health sector at that time was non-existent, mainly for lack of funding and of personnel (see also chapter 6.6).

Acquisition and reporting had to be taken over by several staff members, including the Programme Manager, the Deputy Programme Manager and M&E staff, so that there was no time left for the development of a proper M&E system, although there were several attempts to introduce formats.

As the Deputy Programme Manager was dividing his time between this function and that of Head of the Reintegration Department, the different sectors within this department had to function as almost autonomous entities; meetings within the section were discussing main outlines of the ReAct-programme.

There was no clearly scheduled co-ordination procedure between reintegration and logistics department, which led to some weaknesses in the allocation of transport facilities.

As the programme was growing quickly without essentially new staff, staff members were under constant stress of a growing workload and the need to do everything at once.

5.2.1 Structural changes within GTZ between July and October 2001

Structural changes within the organisation were based on discussions within the

management team and needs identified by management and staff. The management had to handle growth of the organisation in terms of budget and staff.

The need to plan and implement the activities in a gender-sensitive way resulted in a newly created function within the Community Services section of a "gender-desk". Observations reported back from the project sites by members of the staff and the SLE-Team on the performance of GTZ resulted in a number of questions:

How could GTZ ensure, that activities of the different sections within the reintegration department be co-ordinated at community level?

Sometimes community members felt, that their participation at project sites of construction were overloading them, because they were not planned in co-ordination with the agricultural calendar (see also chapter 6.2).

On the other hand staff members of different sections sometimes felt interventions of colleagues as interference, because there was an understanding of „my section's responsibility" rather than a clear unterstanding of „our joint responsibility", although it was to be noticed, that the staff had a highly developed sense of identification with the ReAct approach as multi-sectoral.

How could the organisation make sure that a follow-up of activities after pulling out from a community be guaranteed, given the constraint of time available?

With short-term fundings for project activities the organisation, operating through the two implementing partners, has clear time limits for the activities. In some communities people did not understand, that GTZ had to follow schedules, because they were not involved in all stages of the planning. So they did not feel responsible to take up the thread when the community supervisors left, but rather waited for the organisation to do some more within their community.

How could GTZ handle the contradiction between multi-fold activities in the field and scarce transport facilities?

Planned visits in communities by one or the other staff member could sometimes not realise, because there were no cars available. On the other hand, it sometimes occurred, that the same community was visited by staff members of different sections on consequent days. Apparently nobody among the staff had a clearly defined function of co-ordinating the different leaves and the subsequent allocation of vehicles.

The answer to these questions was a new organisationel chart with the above mentioned „reintegration coordination team" which can be described as follows:

GTZ top management consists of the programme manager, the deputy programme manager, who divides his time between this function and the responsibility as head of the reintegration department and the finance manager: They together form a kind of directorate. A liaison officer is directly working with the management. An M&E-unit is supporting this management structure. The Heads of Sections of the reintegration department are responsible for the planning, implementation and monitoring of the section's activities, the budget allocation within the section, the co-ordination of the staff on different levels until the community level. The head of the logistics department is responsible for the co-ordination of his staff, the allocation of material and vehicles to the different project activities, and the co-ordination of the workshop activities.

The top management is responsible for the final decisions concerning all departments. Decisions in reality however were often delegated to the different departments. Decisions concerning central services, warehouse, workshop and fleet management are channelled through the head of the logistic department, decisions concerning the "reintegration" sections through the head of the reintegration programme. The field offices get their orders directly from the top management.

The management is responsible for external relationships and – in co-ordination with the heads of sections - defines the ReAct-concept, develops the vision and mission of the organisation and is responsible for the co-ordination of financial and programme planning, administration, monitoring and evaluation. The management, namely the programme manager is responsible for acquisition; the actual proposal writing is often delegated to the deputy programme manager, members of the M&E-unit and sometimes to HoS. The management selects the implementing partners and the negotiates contracts. The management also has the final decision on staff recruitment and is responsible for questions of staff welfare, since there is no personnel department. Finally, the management has the overall responsibility for all matters regarding to finance.

The head of the reintegration programme co-ordinates all activities of the reintegration sectors, feeds decisions of the management into his department and ensures cross-sectoral co-ordination of the reintegration programme activities. He is supported by members of the M&E unit and administrative staff.

The reintegration department depends on the logistic department for the alloca-tion of vehicles and material for the operationalisation of the project activities. There were, however, until the end of the reporting period, no clear co-ordination procedures between these two departments. Weakness of planning in this area sometimes resulted in a struggle for transport between the different sectors, which might be avoided.

Reporting is mainly done in a bottom-up manner: The field office in Bo, as well as the heads of departments (reintegration, logistics, finance) are directly reporting to the programme manager. Within the logistics department reports are chan-nelled from the fleet management via the workshop, warehouse, and central ser-vices to the head of the department.

The different interviews lead to the conclusion that a close co-operation between the finance management and acquisition is necessary to ensure cash-flow and correct time allocation for the different activities and to justify expenditures to-wards the donors, in order to guarantee further financing.

The fact, that the gender desk was established within the Community Services section underlined the already existing attitude in parts of the organisation, that the gender-issue was rather a task of the section, which was mainly held respon-sible for soft skills and not a cross-cutting issue.

5.2.2 Some weaknesses in management structure and pro-cedures

Throughout the constant changes taking place and the consequent mostly posi-tive results, some weaknesses still continued, which might be necessary to note:

- The exact position and functions of the M&E-unit during the reporting period until end of October 2001 are still unclear. M&E should have a central position in an organisation, developing M&E-procedures based on the defined goals and the planning of programme activities. Apparently the M&E-unit closely co-operates with the reintegration programme department and with the finance department, as well as the programme manager but there is no formalised co-operation with the logistics department. It was not absolutely clear, whether this unit was responsible for monitoring procedures concerning staff and per-formance of the implementing partners, or whether these implementing part-

ners should maintain their own systems. Nevertheless there were several meetings discussing possible agreements about monitoring systems of the three organisations.

- Information flow between the reintegration department and the M&E-unit was not formalised, planning procedures between sections not yet very clear. Some information from the field was stuck at the heads of sections level. Sometimes it was unclear what kind of information should be channelled from the field to the HoS, and in which way this information need to be synthesised between the different HoS in order to feed into the M&E-unit. So far, the head of the reintegration department gets the individual information from the differ-ent HoS or directly from the field. The amount of information gathered this way in the head office is so big, that a systematic analysis seems almost im-possible.

- The co-ordination between reintegration department and the logistics depart-ment, which is necessary to ensure timely allocation of vehicles for the differ-ent project activities in the field, does not function in an optimal way. Accord-ing to the observation of the SLE-Team there is no formalised planning pro-cedure between the reintegration department and the logistics department, but every HoS negotiates directly with the logistics department to ensure transport and allocation of material. The consequence is, that project activities in the field are not always implemented in a due timely manner (see Chapter 5.1).

The general understanding of the ReAct-concept differs quite a lot between the staff members. In part this may be due to the fact, that responding to quickly changing conditions, where every section has to take decisions on an every day basis creates factual new realities:

- Differing views were expressed on the role of the implementing partners. It was an open question, whether the implementing partners should take over after GTZ pulled out (in this case, capacity building of the implementing part-ners would be crucial) or if they should pull out at the same time as GTZ. Of course capacity building is taking place for the implementing partners: staff deployed by them participate in workshops offered by GTZ, there is a close co-operation with GTZ-staff on field level. But it was also witnessed, that in several meetings of GTZ and implementing partners the organisation tried to develop common solutions. It is however, also clear, that GTZ and implement-

ing partners are not only partners in the same reintegration programme, but are also competitors for donor funding, as both implementing partners, BPDA and CORD-SL, also implement their own projects.

- During a workshop with head quarter staff and management, the SLE-team asked them to present the ReAct-concept by drawing any kind of vehicle symbolising the ReAct-concept. This vehicle was to show their own role and function, the role of other parts of the organisation, the communication-patterns and mechanisms of co-ordination between the different sectors. The result was very interesting, because all the vehicles were different. One vehicle was very sophisticated, and the question was raised whether it was not easier to walk rather than to make such a complicated mechanism work. There was a boat, which was pulling the much bigger boat with the communities inside against the tide, threatened by high waves, but going upwards nonetheless. This drawing revealed a strong feeling of the enormous effort of the GTZ-staff to get the communities out of the dangerous situation against all obstacles. The donors appeared several times as being the fuel for the vehicle, making the engine run, but on another picture they were considered as a rather threatening factor to the ReAct-concept.

- The development of the overall programme is not only discussed within the management team, but in a very open way with the sections and opinions of staff are heard. But decisions during the implementation are often taken ad-hoc, which in the emergency context is often necessary in order to be quick. There were, nevertheless some shortcomings, which might have been avoided with a more formalised process for planning and implementation of projects.

- One question underlying quite a number of discussions within the organisation was, how much flexibility an organisation working in an emergency context needs in order to maintain the possibility of quick responses, and how much stability and fixed procedures are necessary to give the staff security, and to have instruments for a planned project cycle, allowing a regular monitoring based on comparison between planned results and outputs.

6   Evaluation of the Findings

This chapter contains an evaluation of the observations reported in chapter 5. Whereas the observations are structured by sections the evaluation is following the key words defined by GTZ defined to describe the vision and mission of the reintegration programme ReAct in the light of some of the current discussions on development. These key words are

- needs- and target group orientation
- participation
- reintegration
- capacity building
- peace building
- sustainability and
- gender

Following these key words which are as expression of vision and mission of the organisation, this chapter leaves the sectoral focus and describes, how the different sections contribute to the overall goal of the organisation and were amendments or changes might be useful. The overall question is, in how far the different cross-sectoral activities are contributing to bridging the gap between emergency assistance and long-term development. Options and alternatives are taken into account and discussed.

The last part of this chapter (see 6.8) evaluates the effectiveness of management structures and procedures in relation to the project activities and the planned goals.

6.1   Needs and target group orientation

The objective of GTZ in Sierra Leone is to respond to the needs expressed by the communities. Staff members have a wide range of experience from former project activities in war-affected communities in Liberia and and emergency a situation in Guinea. GTZ can also draw on the rich local experience from the former Bo/Pujehun Rural Development Project (BPRDP), which was carried out with technical and financial assistance from GTZ.

Before starting any project interventions, an initial survey is carried out to gather all necessary demographic, social and economic data. To ensure appropriateness and high quality of the ongoing activities a cross-section monitoring-mission

has been proposed by the M&E Unit. In addition to these regular reports about QIP progress once a month, reporting at community level twice a month and on project level every three months is proposed by M&E. (M&E Unit, 09.06.01, chap. 3.1-3.3). The proposed reporting formats contain an input and output list, quality and quantity considerations on two levels (technical and capacity building) and an analysis on planned versus achieved outputs.

This monitoring procedure should help to update information and to take the necessary steps for adaptation to changes and for fine-tuning the interventions. Target group and needs orientation should be achieved by,

- first, the presence of community based workers in the project communities

- and secondly by their close contact with their community counter-parts, who are representatives of the project communities.

Speed and flexibility of interventions are necessary at community level. Donors require the quick integration of gender and environment aspects. The community has a need and a right to be well informed about ongoing activities and planned steps. The CDC is expected to voice the concerns of the communities to GTZ. Hence, the CDC should also be involved in the planning, implementation and monitoring process including the prioritisation of future project activities.

Although the ReAct- concept is very promising and has a lot of potentials there are some weaknesses which need attention. For sure theoretically the communities are considered the main focus of all project activities. In practise however communities are often indirect beneficiaries, because only the presence of re- turnees (ex-combatants, refugees, IDPs) gives them access to project activities. This is not necessarily the decision of GTZ but happens, because donor funding for reintegration measures directly yields at these groups. A needs assessment is not always carried out with all community members and may not even be desir- able for GTZ in Sierra Leone, because it might raise expectations, which cannot be fulfilled by the standard project interventions. In the following analysis some critical aspects are pointed out in more detail.

Although groups explicitly targeted by GTZ project activities are ex-combatants, refugees and IDPs, and host-communities are regarded as indirect beneficiaries many project activities rather focus on host-communities than on one of the other

target groups (e.g. IVS rehabilitation, reconstruction of primary schools). GTZ explains this by the necessity to reactivate communal life for the returning popu- lation. The prevailing definition of target groups seems to be rather donor- oriented to ensure funding. While it obviously makes sense to support both sides (host communities as well as ex-combatants, IDPs and returnees), monitoring and budget reporting, particularly in the case of several funding sources, be- comes a complicated affair.

In the initial survey only the host-community is differentiated under aspects of gender and age. This does not take into consideration that most of the ex- combatants are young men whereas women and children make up the majority of the refugees and IDPs. In addition to that GTZ, donors and communities have a different notion about the target groups[71]

GTZ aims at responding to communities' needs in several ways but is confronted with various constraints:

- GTZ seeks to give communities the opportunity to express their priority needs. However, such a prioritisation process is time-consuming and difficult to real- ise in an emergency situation.
- Despite receiving information from the communities, project staff often real- ises the difficulty in avoiding preconceptions about communities' needs.
- GTZ therefore offers standard intervention packages based on previous ex- perience. The project faces the difficulty to find the adequate mix of interven- tions in a package for each particular community. Prioritisation is therefore re- duced to prioritising interventions which are part of the standard package.

The SLE-Team observed that these factors sometimes result in the target groups' dissatisfaction with the GTZ activities. The method used in the initial sur- vey does not give enough opportunities for the communities to air their views, the interview partners are not necessarily representing all vulnerable groups in the community and the ready given topics are related to the kind of intervention of- fered by GTZ anyway. In addition to that the survey puts more emphasis on short-term deficits than on long-term vulnerabilities and potentials:

The different self-help groups are listed but are not sufficiently involved in further

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[71] The SLE-Team observed, that community members tend to say, that they "are all returnees", whereas donors describe "returnees" as refugees (coming back from neighbouring countries) and IDPs (coming back from other localities within Sierra Leone). GTZ in the project activities does not clearly distinguish between different target groups, addressing the community compri- sing the returnees and ex-combatants.

project planning. For some needed information it might be necessary to use a variety of more indirect methods e.g. to get a more realistic picture about the distribution of power and decision making within the communities or to analyse more personal and hidden needs such as trauma counselling or advice for abused women. A different approach might prevent communities from producing "shopping-lists" too obviously.

The need for transparency was often expressed by the communities during field visits. The importance and the necessary level of transparency of project interventions for the communities does not always appear to be clear within GTZ staff. It is clear that not all information has to be transferred. But who should decide what kind of information is needed to understand the project activities and what kind of information might rather be confusing?

Many beneficiaries do not seem to have enough background information about the ReAct-concept: In Yawyema and Rotifunk even the local authorities and the CDCs have information gaps about the ongoing process. In this situation rumours easily breed. In Rotifunk, for instance, members of the community thought that the community supervisors ran away from their duties, not knowing that the project activities had actually been completed for the moment. A clear communication between GTZ-staff and CDC about the time-frame of interventions might have avoided this situation. Sometimes however information gaps occur, although GTZ relies on the CDCs as their local partner to guarantee complete flow of information regarding project activities. There may be different reasons for this phenomenon: The CDC may have interpreted given information differently from what was intended to pass on. Communication lines between the Freetown head office and the communities are quite extended and not always the information is transmitted directly from Freetown to the CDCs, but through different persons within the hierarchical line. So CDCs and community counterparts sometimes feel insufficiently informed about plans of GTZ. Communication between Community Supervisors and other project staff is sometimes difficult and time-consuming, due to the geographical situation and the lack of means of communication. Sometimes the supervisors are left in the communities for weeks without any possibility to contact the field office in Bo or the head office in Freetown. Lack of transport for axis supervisors often hampers communication flow. Irregular visiting schedules of field office of head office staff adds to this problem. GTZ recently has tried to find solutions for this situation by offering their field staff a

number of motor-cycles.

GTZ in Sierra Leone operates at high speed in all project interventions. This is mainly due to the constraints by short-term donor funding. It is certainly a difficult task to fulfil donor requirements on one side and respond to the needs of the community on the other side. But it may sometimes be necessary to reduce speed, so that the community is able to follow. Reduction of speed might also give a chance to carry out a more careful and participatory needs assessment. There may, however, be other alternatives to handle these constraints:

The vision of GTZ to contribute to bridging the gap between emergency and sustainable development (see chapter 2.3 and 3) requires a number of conditions like reaching the ownership of the target groups. War experience in Sierra Leone means the physical destruction of communities, the weakening of social structures often result in a loss of identity and self-respect, because moral standards have been changed.

War-affected communities are fragile, but they are not completely helpless as experience shows. (G. Perren-Klingler, 1995, 153-177, 277-295). People emerging from a war-situation are above all „survivors", which means that they have potentials, individually or as a group, which helped them to survive under extremely difficult conditions. Project interventions might therefore build on the self-help capacities of communities. No project intervention can solve all community problems, but if aid is seen as subsidiary, project planning and implementation should analyse vulnerabilities as well as strengths and potentials. GTZ need not do everything, but can build on these potentials, if they are properly analysed and taken into consideration during the implementation. Ownership may be reached, if the community members themselves feel responsible for the changes and developments within their community and do not expect to receive everything from outside (see also chapter 7).

Fragility of social structures demands for measures to strengthen social coherence: Granting inclusively for all members of the community in project measures may be an important factor to bring people together again. Activities as developed by Community Services and Skills Training to strengthen the understanding of civic rights and promote peace education can be considered important steps for community cohesion.

As the range of possible GTZ project interventions is of course limited, subsidiar-

ity with project interventions of other organisations might be a better way than choosing communities, where GTZ is the first one to arrive, and where all expectations of the community are geared towards GTZ.

Experience from other emergency situations after wars also show, that the satisfaction of basic needs such as shelter, food, basic education, health are important preconditions for a sustainable development. Taking first steps towards food security like in the Agriculture Section is important for the long-term development of the community, because once this basic need is satisfied, community members will have potentials available to concentrate on and participate in other activities rather than producing food for survival.

6.2   Participation

*"Participation refers to people having and knowing about the right to shape decisions affecting their lives. In order to participate effectively, all stakeholders affected from any intervention need to be equipped with the capacity to inform and influence decision-making processes. This requires **transparency** of all parties involved in any process." (see glossary)*

In order to bridge the gap between emergency and development, GTZ aims explicitly at supporting self-help-capacities and to empower the communities. After the project interventions the community should feel responsible for the results and for further development initiatives. Participation is a major condition to reach ownership, which in itself is the basis for taking up this responsibility. Thus, in an ideal case, it should be the decision of the local population what their goal is and by which means they intend to reach it; support from outside by project activities may then be considered subsidiary to the community's own efforts.

As mentioned above, GTZ seeks to achieve community participation by joint identification and prioritisation of activities on site by community members and project staff, which are then fixed in a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU), and by community contributions (local materials, water, sand, wood, labour). These community contributions are a condition, the communities have to fulfil in order to get project support.

There tends to be a contradiction between conceptual demands and realities in the field. GTZ aims at assessing the community needs in a participatory way, nevertheless, there are sometimes deficits concerning participatory steps in planning and evaluation of success. The possibility of community members to participate in decision making on project interventions is limited due to the standard packages GTZ can offer. Therefore, it is at least necessary to show to the community transparently the scope and limits of what can be influenced by them, and of what cannot be changed.

The SLE-Team was told, that the Community Services section undertook a Participatory Rural Appraisal exercise e.g. in Fanima which resulted in the community expressing the need for latrines and shelter. In the same community, however, a conflict arose between young and old persons concerning the prioritisation for a health-post or a court barrie. The community supervisor had to convince the population of something a considerable number of them rejected. This could have been avoided by including the whole community in the decision-making process discussing the conflicting interests of groups within the community and the possibilities and limits of GTZ-interventions.

GTZ is sending a clear signal inviting the communities to participate in decisions and activities by (re)establishing the CDC, which is considered to be a democratic and integrative organisational structure. The establishment or rehabilitation of the CDC reflects a principle of GTZ to strengthen local structures, which might guarantee to take over responsibility not only during the time of the project interventions. CDC workshops and integration of CDC members as counterparts in different project activities are capacity building measures targeted at this goal.

But the establishment of a CDC still runs the risk to have negative effects on the participation (inclusiveness) of all community members, too. Since the whole community has officially sent representatives to serve on the CDC, some of the community members are not sufficiently considered anymore, and therefore their voice is not heard. Returnees, for instance, are not always integrated. Thus, GTZ not only has to discover which groups are able to be involved in the discussion (representatives of the target groups) but also has to give room to the silent groups to express themselves.

If, as the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) formulates, participation means the equitable and active involvement of all stakeholders in the formulation of development policies and strategies and in analysis, planning, implementation,

monitoring and evaluation of development activities" the fact of non-represented or silenced groups in CDC-representation also need special "empowerment of the disadvantaged to increase their level of knowledge, influence and control over their livelihoods". When assessing needs and potentials, planning and taking decisions it may be advisable to divide groups, in order to get the opinion of the less powerful or voiceless.

Sometimes participation seemed to be reduced to physical and material contributions of the community on the construction site, e.g. provision of labour and sand on site. Although it is very understandable and acceptable that GTZ demands this kind of participation to avoid an attitude of passivity, it has to be clear and accepted by the community, why this contribution is important. And it has to be taken into consideration, that at certain times which need a lot of labour on the fields, it may be difficult to provide labour on construction sites. It may also be difficult to provide sand, if sand is not available in the community and not transport at hand to get it from elsewhere. If "participation" is forced on community members, it can no longer be considered as such. Participation cannot mean, that the technical and material assistance of communities agreed upon by GTZ and the CDC in the MoU is forced on community members by a number of representatives in the CDC. Participation involves the joint decision on what has to be done and who can do it. Forced contributions undermine the development of a sense of ownership for project results.

Every community supervisor working for GTZ has counterparts or even groups of counterparts to encourage community participation. This is a high potential of the project, which can help to lay a foundation for a sense of communal responsibility, while closely working together. But not always this potential is fully used. On the one hand the organisational structure of GTZ is not transparent enough to the counterparts, so that sometimes they do not really understand what they are expected to do and for what reasons. On the other hand, not every staff member of GTZ seems to take the counterparts seriously enough. An agreement on participatory planning, implementation and monitoring procedures within the whole project cycle and staff training on participatory methods and decision making procedures might be helpful to strengthen participation within the communities.

6.3   Reintegration

To reintegrate returning refugees and IDPs in communities of (transitional) residence and to create pull-factors for their return is the goal to which MLP seeks to contribute through the ReAct programme. GTZ is one of the biggest partners of UNHCR in his bid to facilitate the return of refugees by providing significant logistical support including the management of a transit station for convoys transporting returnees to various communities in the country. At the same time, ReAct also seeks to contribute to the reintegration of ex-combatants into civilian life. To promote mixed farming and self-help groups, joint classes in STCs, support families hosting IDPs and trainees, and various cultural and peace building activities are relevant activities at community level. At village level trainees of the STCs, including ex-combatants from all groups (CDF, RUF and ex-SLA) work together with local skilled and unskilled workers on assignment for some time. These are but a few aspects of positive examples and potentials for (re-)integration activities of the project.

While the provision of accommodation for trainees is a serious constraint for all parties involved, efforts to lodge trainees individually in host families in Mange seemed to work rather well after initial difficulties overcome through careful discussions between community members and project staff.[72] The

help and contribution to the rehabilitation of individual houses by trainees (including ex-combatants) is a meaningful contribution to the reintegration of ex-combatants into civilian life.[73]

According to project staff and community members, IDPs and returnees are given farming land by the communities. In none of the communities visited a lack of land was cited as a problem and all community members interviewed confirmed that land is availed easily. So on first sight enough land is available for the

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[72] Information provided by community services supervisors in Mange, 20th September 2001.

[73] It is of secondary interest in this context to mention that there had been conflicts about housing of ex-combatants previously who had to be convinced to leave an occupied private house by the town elders and the project. However, the project needs to be conscious about the additional burden in terms of housing put on a community with a STC. Since local youths from the communities are also benefiting from STCs, there is a likelihood that ex-combatants are welcome for this reason, too.

integration of returnees. But not all communities are ready to grant these return-ees the same conditions as their own people. Problems sometimes are arising, when decisions are taken within the community on when and in which order the different fields of original community members or of returnees are prepared.[74]

Shelter was mentioned as a main constraint to prevent people from returning home or to resettle in transitional host communities. Many refugees and IDPs still residing in transit camps send family members ahead to start building basic shel-ter before the whole family is transferred from the camp. However, returnee movements are sometimes difficult to monitor, and UNHCR complains about the rather common problem of refugees "recycling", that is trying to qualify several times for non-food-item packages and other benefits by registering in the camps again under different identities. Little follow-up is done as regards those groups of returnees who have been transferred from (transit)-camps to rural communi-ties.

In most communities visited, IDPs are represented on the CDCs according to information provided by the CDC members themselves.[75] In other project com-munities IDPs were members of local self-help groups. Problems occurred, when IDPs left the communities – and groups which had received credit leaving others the load to repay the loan – for other areas slowly opening up.[76]

Despite a number of positive signs as regards reintegration effects, IDPs and re-turnees[77] were hardly mentioned as specific groups present in the communities

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[74] It has to be noted that land tenure system and regulations were not a main focus of interest during the study. Access to land usually being a highly contentious issue and exclusion and marginalisation being an important conflict line leading to the crisis in Sierra Leone, a thorough study on land tenure systems and changes after the war including developing new systems and rules should be undertaken and esp. supervisors be sensitised accordingly.

[75] In Yawyema community based workers of other NGOs (Sierra Leone Red Cross Society) confirmed that IDPs had taken part in community works during GTZ activities (meeting with CDC and community in Yawyema, 28th August 2001; Red Cross staff member). If IDPs had good relationships with the local authorities there would hardly be problems, the team was told in Rotifunk (discussions with community members on 26th August 2001).

[76] This problem obviously occurred in Potoru where mixed local self-help groups lost members, thus endangering the whole set-up of IGA in the community (Head of Section, IGA).

[77] Used here in the official sense of UNHCR (a refugee returning to his/her home country). It has to be noted that local population who have been internally displaced or temporarily fled to the bush during attacks also often regard themselves as "returnees".

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by community members themselves (see also Chapter 6.1). If so, mention was often made of the fact that returnees had their own speaker. However, these few signs should not mislead to the assumption that IDPs and returnees are not per-ceived as such by the local communities any longer (are therefore "integrated"). The fact that in some communities on the Potoru axis IDPs were said to have cultivated the upper (dryer) parts of the swamps[78] or were cultivating separate groundnut fields rather suggests the contrary. Similar doubts occur with respect to the integration of young ex-combatants into the group of the local youths, e.g. in Roruks. The youth leader's previous function as a local CDF leader suggests that local youths are dominated by those who have been part of the CDF struc-tures.[79]

Structural difficulties arise for the project to monitor reintegration effects of project activities. First, demographic data collected with the initial survey are scarce and not differentiated enough according to specific target groups. Second, the base-line data are not (systematically) updated by project staff in the communities.[80] Not doubting the high level of respect shown towards often very young (and committed) community and axis supervisors, the question remains to what extent they can really convince and influence community elders and the chiefs to openly receive and welcome IDPs, ex-combatants and returnees. Last not least, the rather short project periods in the communities do hardly allow sufficient time for realistically observing reintegration effects. With GTZ operating the resettlement logistics the project might be well-placed to link these activities more strongly to the reintegration project.[81]

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[78] When visiting the swamps, the team observed that priority was given to work on parts of the swamp belonging to local community members/groups, while the upper part still had to wait (field trip Potoru axis, 13th and 14th August 2001).

[79] It is interesting to note in this context, that the group who regarded themselves as "youth" in Rotifunk did not participate in the last scene of the drama during the community workshop held. When asked for the reason they mentioned that they did not know what to show. Obviously, they did not see the option of referring to an important function taken up in the community after the war was over (Rotifunk community meeting, 25th August 2001).

[80] The problem of local statistics is shared: NCRRR staff also has difficulties in collecting rele-vant demographic data at community level – often for the simple lack of transport.

[81] The actual logistical resettlement activities seemed to operate rather dissociated from the reintegration programme ReAct.

6.4 Capacity Building

"[…] All activities are tailor-made to fit the priorities of each community, while utilising its own contribution to the highest degree. Building on the community's capacity at all levels is the conditio sine qua non of the entire approach, in that it guarantees ownership over the results achieved and provides for sustainability both from a social and economic perspective.[…]" (MLP West Africa, 2001, 8)

Placing capacity building at the core of the ReAct concept is the great potential of the programme, and at the same time one of the most difficult goals to monitor, since capacity building happens at all levels, in all sectors, at all times. If conceived as a multi-dimensional process of systematic learning, capacity building calls for continuous redefinition of its own meaning in a given context, not only sector-related, but here especially with a view of common aspects with other sectors. A joint discussion of capacity building might be an agent to forge a more multi-sectoral way of thinking in the project.

The timeline exercise in Potoru revealed that there was no clear understanding regarding of how to assess whether a worker can be classified as "semi-skilled". It was revealing that Field Co-ordinators and Heads of Sections did not mention "capacity building" on their timeline.[82] Perception of the term "capacity building" is mainly reduced to a rather material[83] and technical understanding (transfer of technical skills). It is doubtful whether all sectors agree that "capacity building" in itself is a programme service (or input) in the same way as providing seeds and tools or extending credit.

Although the project generally acknowledges that participation is enhanced if based on people's own choices, participatory appraisal planning methods are not used very widely by the project for various reasons mentioned above. Therefore, the project runs the risk of failing to notice local capacities, especially in the field of social organisation, motivational and attitudinal patterns.

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[82] Capacity Building workshop in Potoru from 25th to 27th September 2001, timeline exercise. Various groups had to depict their perception and vision of GTZ activities in the communities of the Potoru axis during this workshop.

[83] "Capacity building is not about personal computers or vehicles. It is about what you have imbibed in the person, that he/she can produce the link with e.g. the banking system, manage the seed bank etc." (authors' interview with Alfred Sandi, 3rd August 2001)

Repeated attempts of GTZ to develop indicators during the several months revealed significant differences between the various sections. Capacity building being a process, indicators might not fulfil their functions when reduced to measuring numbers (of trainees, of workshops held or else). At the same time a sensitisation for a future activity (e.g. the establishment of a revolving seed loan fund) is not yet an indicator of achievement in capacity building in itself. The number of workshops held does not guarantee that contents and knowledge transferred to the participants will actually be applied and adapted later on.[84] There are but few signs of systematic monitoring of capacity building within the project. However, some sections saw the need for process monitoring and monitoring of social change, such as attitudinal changes, behavioural changes, but it remained unclear what mechanisms were to be employed to monitor these changes.

The extent of capacity building of implementing partners was hard to discern. However, on the side of the IPs a clear need and wish for capacity building was expressed. Wherever possible, the project tries to enhance staff members' capacities through workshops and coaching[85].

With regard to capacity building a systematic analysis of staff capacities and adaptation of training needs to programme needs was observed in the section of construction and needs to be positively stressed. Currently, top level staff and engineers are jointly developing standardised planning and budgeting tools for the construction section based on long-term experience in the field and region, also in order to be able to react quickly to new demands in terms of project proposals.

By breaking down interventions in units and unit costs additional training needs are also to be identified (e.g. computer courses for easier data management), and at the same time assistant engineers are trained in skills needed to apply with private contractors or to run a small construction firm. Breaking down interventions into smaller units also helps in developing indicators for intermediate

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[84] cf. various drafts for monitoring and evaluation indicators for various sections circulating.

[85] Reference is made e.g. to the training in business skills and market entry received by instructors at STCs in Potoru and Mange to be able to transfer this knowledge to their trainees (IGA). Joint curriculum development with experienced external skills training consultants is a positive example for capacity building of staff members of IPs. The project regrets not to have the funds at present to systematically improve finance management and project acquisition of IPs with the help of external consultants (authors' interview with Ferdinand Takatsch, 21 August 2001).

steps and results which can be monitored, and serves to identify additional train-ing needs. Efficiency being seen as an important indicator for successful capacity building, costs are to be calculated per task, hence including time spent for the completion. Assistant engineers are actually asked to calculate what they save the project, thus developing a sense of efficiency and productivity.[86] Starting with the joint development of improved and standardised internal planning formats staff in the construction section is currently focussing on streamlining internal structures in order to be able to gradually shift from (hasty) implementation to improved quality and finishing with a view of taking over more supervisory func-tions in the future.

The function of human resource management not defined, there are deficits in systematic human resource development. While it is rather easy for young em-ployees to advance and make a career in this rapidly expanding organisation, capacities of employees are not systematically assessed and built. While ac-knowledging the potentials of local employees, no systematic use is made of these potentials in some cases.[87]

Taking over tasks such as sensitisation of communities to receive ex-combatants in their midst, to form farming groups, to form self-help groups for IGA, inform communities about the general approach of GTZ, supposed to prepare trainers in STCs how to deal with stress and aggression among trainees, how to contribute to peace building, how to manage community stores, how to train community counterparts and to develop accountable and transparent structures within CDCs and other social units, Community Services section has a large share in project activities, and many of these activities are crucial in terms of capacity building. Community Services section also has the most points where to link up with other sections. Members of the section deplored deficits in joint planning with other sections. Community Supervisors workshops are facilitated by Community Ser-vices, but other sections are hardly involved.

Skills Training section has also identified training needs among instructors in terms of transferring knowledge in basic business skills, responding by training of

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[86] Authors' interview with John Ivers, 8th October 2001

[87] It is frustrating for young, but field-experienced employees to be tossed around from Zimmi to Freetown and Bo for lack of a clear job description.

trainers programmes facilitated by IGA. While acknowledging that GTZ gives op-portunities to young graduates and building their capacities on the job, the SLE-Team observed that some of these young employees had difficulty in transferring technical and theoretical knowledge to practical needs. The capacities to adapt training methods to the special circumstances of youth hardly literate and numer-ate are still underdeveloped.[88] Instructors in ZI-Tec clearly expressed the need for training in adult literacy and trauma counselling.[89]

A number of positive signs as regards various aspects of capacity building were seen in the field:

In Zimmi CDC members reported that they had taken the initiative to approach International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) to supply materials for a sanita-tion project.[90]

The construction counterpart in Rotifunk was proud to report that he and other local masons had learnt from the construction community supervisor and claims to be the main brick layer in the community now. Although they would still need a supervisor to guide them in construction and carpentry activities, counterparts felt much more confident to embark on other construction activities, provided the availability of materials.[91]

In Moyamba CDC members mentioned leadership training as capacity building and were hoping to be able to benefit further from measures.[92] The CDC in Moyamba (Salinas Section) mentioned initiatives to plant trees as a wind-break. Various sub-committees (fishing, hunting, agriculture and others) and self-help groups are supposed to contribute to the CDC's upkeep and funding so as to de-velop into a body able to initiate small projects in its own right.[93]

However, financial and material capacities of CDCs were often mentioned as not

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[88] Interview with Rev. Kargbo on 16th August 2001; Kargbo, 2001, 10, 16)

[89] Authors' interview with ZI-Tec staff, 16th August 2001

[90] Meeting with CDC members in Zimmi, 16th August 2001

[91] Authors' interview with community counterparts in Rotifunk, 26th August 2001 and in Yawye-ma on 28th August 2001. The mason now trains other locals.

[92] Interviews held with community counterparts in Moyamba, 27th August 2001

[93] Meeting with CDC in Moyamba, 29th August 2001

sufficiently developed, since these have not been in existence for a long time.[94] In other fields the team learnt that neither in Bradford nor in Rotifunk anybody was trained by GTZ to maintain wells. Also in part due to poor relations with the community supervisor later transferred, systematic training in storekeeping had not taken place, members of the CDC in Rotifunk reported. The community did not have a functioning community store.[95] Similar observations were made in Moyamba Salinas Section and at the Harford School: Counterparts did not have keys to the stores, which seemed to be empty in most cases. They complained about an unclear handing-over.[96] Records of community stores were not available in any of the communities visited on the Moyamba axis. It is therefore hard to determine, to what extent capacity building in this respect was actually achieved. Selection for agricultural sites, usually done in co-operation with the agricultural supervisor, was poor in Rotifunk and had allegedly led to frustration within the community[97].

In none of the communities visited regular updates of the community database seemed to be made by counterparts together with supervisors. This seems to be a chance lost towards building local capacities for local administration. Community supervisors could, however, have an interest in keeping track of demographic changes within the communities for the purpose of monitoring reintegration effects.

In Rotifunk records of IGA groups were virtually non-existent (or withheld?). It is therefore difficult to comment on capacity building in this respect. However, IGA was not a main focus of the team's research, either.

Capacity building via quick impact seems to have some contradicting aspects. Seen instances of questionable quality in construction and doubtful statements of instructors regarding the capability of skilled and unskilled workers, but also trainees, to plan and design buildings on their own raises the question whether quick impact capacity building as a main goal is realistic, seen the limited re-

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[94] Yawyema, CDC meeting, 28th August and Zimmi, 16th August 2001

[95] Meeting with leaders of Rotifunk's seven zones, 25th August 2001

[96] Interviews held with community counterparts in Moyamba, 27th August 2001

[97] Meeting with Muslim leaders in Rotifunk, 24th August 2001

sources and time. Generally agreeing to the possibility and need, capacity building in this context requires all the more a systematic and clear strategy, which is flexible to be adapted to changing needs and potentials identified.

Based on experience from Liberia and Guinea GTZ in Sierra Leone is aware of the fact that at least 18 months training in technical skills would be advisable to achieve acceptable results, but donor policies represent a serious constraint. Without any doubt, the project leaves an impact in terms of capacity building even after a few months of project intervention and even after having pulled out. However, some of these changes go nearly unnoticed for lack of follow-up. A regular follow-up however might not only give a clearer picture of the positive impacts achieved by project activities, but might also be favourable for future planning of project activities, which could dwell on lessons learnt from previous experiences. Sustainability of some of the results (e.g. CDC empowerment) depends heavily on the commitment of local authorities and chiefs to embrace and support such new or revived institutions of community participation.

6.5   Peace building

"Peace building concerns the whole process of establishing or re-establishing the network of social relations that facilitate the peaceful resolution of a conflict. This may include measures to stimulate economic development or social justice as well as initiatives for the reconciliation of opposing parties and the strengthening of common loyalties, and projects to encourage co-operation and 'inter-cultural learning.'" (Mehler & Ribaux, 2000, 33).

Among the GTZ staff peace-building activities are mainly considered as the task of the Community Services section (see chapter 5.1.4). Community Services feel responsible for the establishment or re-establishment of social relations that promote peaceful resolution of conflicts. At first sight this appears as a rather short-sighted view of peace-building as merely envisioning the social reconstruction of the communities, strengthening the soft skills of the members. Peacebuilding is however a multi-faceted approach, where the development of these soft skills is as important as changing the situation which led to the armed conflict, thus including the changing of structures of economic and political injustice and of unbalanced access of different groups to political decision making and sharing of power.

People from all levels of society need to be involved in building peace (John Paul

Lederach, 1995, pp.201-22). To achieve a comprehensive approach for peace building it is important to identify "cultural modalities and resources" and to build an infrastructure for peace, which includes different levels of the affected population. Lederach describes three levels of the affected population, which have different potentials for peace building and require different approaches to promote peace, the grass root level, the middle level and the top level.

GTZ working at community level can and does make an impact at this grassroot level. At all project sites Community Services supervisors promote different peace activities, supporting the creation of youth groups, comprising youth from the different former warring factions, training community members in peaceful resolution of conflicts and teaching principles of civil and human rights.

Within the skills training about 20% of the lessons is dedicated to peace education. As mentioned in chapter 5.1.3 part of the trainers do not feel enough prepared to teach this subject and GTZ has started with a further training of trainers for peace education.

Reintegration of ex-combatants is an important goal for GTZ. The participation of ex-combatants or returnees in skills training is a precondition for the establishment of a STC, the percentage depending on the different donor requirements. Ex-combatants at many occasions are put into the centre of attention and are made "messengers for peace".

It may however be necessary to have a critical look at the effect of such an approach, although in the perception of many community member in the project areas there is a distinction between of former CDF-members of members of RUF. CDF are more often considered "our sons or daughters" defending their own communities, whereas RUF was rather experienced as a "enemies". Ex-combatants (RUF) may be sons or daughters or other relatives of community members; many of them have been forced to participate in the war, or have – in the case of girls, been misused as "war-brides". Nevertheless, they are not only victims, but were also perpetrators involved in war atrocities like killings, mutilations or burning of villages. The critical question therefore is, what message is transferred to members of the host communities, when a group, which has exercised and misused power on them, again "have the power" to attract project activities to the communities, which are badly needed by the whole community.

During the launching of the STC in Mange the ex-combatants sang peace songs, performed role plays and were speakers during the official opening, alongside with political representatives. The STC host-families who decided to accommodate ex-combatants, however, did not have a voice. A more balanced representation at this launching ceremony, including the host population, might have been a more positive signal than T-shirts worn by ex-combatants saying "Forgive and Reconcile". Forgiveness can be asked for by the perpetrators, but reconciliation is a process, which needs time and implies that the perpetrators admit what they have done to the others. Reconciliation also implies the restoration of dignity for the victims, which may be promoted by giving them a voice to express their pain.

"Where conflicts are heavily asymmetrical, it is especially important that the weaker side be supported first in formulating their own objectives, as there will otherwise be no "basis for negotiation" from which to address the conflict. But the stronger party also requires empowerment. In this case, however, the aim must be to raise awareness of the fact that integration of the disadvantaged groups is also in the objective interests of the stronger party." (Mehler & Ribaux, 2000, 125)

Develop project activities with ex-combatants like offering skills training or developing cultural or sports activities as happens within the GTZ-reintegration programme beyond any doubt is a very important step to consolidate peace in Sierra Leone. It will however be important to balance between the promotion of this group of people and considering the community members.

By considering peace building as an integral part of all project activities, GTZ contributes to the peace-building process in the country and thus sends a clear signal concerning the importance of this subject in the given context of Sierra Leone. In many organisations there is a danger of discriminating against women by ignoring practices of prostitution. Sometimes this is played down to be the "African way". A self-understood principle of any NGO or aid agency, it is all the more important to be highly conscious of incidents and practices discriminating against and dehumanising girls and women in a situation after a war during which many of them might have suffered from rape or other forms of sexual violence. If such practises are happening in communities and treated with ignorance, this might transfer the message to the community, that such kind of behaviour is acceptable. The introduction of gender as a cross-cutting issue (see chapter 6.7) may help to address such situations in a more adequate way. Any intervention should aim at supporting women's independence, restoring women's

dignity and self-esteem.

At different levels GTZ is sending very positive signals, especially through committed staff in the communities, which might be used to promote new peace images. Supporting reconciliation even in a private context is a clear message to the community: In Zimmi a. Community Services supervisor acts as mediator in cases of private conflicts and is teaching techniques to members of the community. GTZ should promote such good examples, encourage others to follow them and pay more attention to such peace constituencies in every community. There is great potential in every community and peace has to emerge from inside.

Being unclear in decisions and thus creating suspicion and mistrust among those concerned, may also be a negative signal and have an impact as possible new source of conflict: Before leaving the skills training trainees in Zimmi had been told, that contrary to what they had been told before, tool kits would not be given to individuals, but to groups. The reason for GTZ was, that they intended the promotion of group building among the trainees, so that they might stay and work together to have a better chance on the labour market. This lack of transparency caused a lot of discussion among the trainees and created jealousy and mistrust. „In all societies (...), there are numerous aspects of life which bind people together rather than separating them. A common history, culture, language and experience, institutions and values, economic interdependencies, as well as mechanisms and institutions and persons of conflict management in the widest sense are often already in place. These are the "local capacities for peace" or "peace constituencies" that should first be identified, then selectively promoted." (Mehler & Ribaux, 2000, 54). Their imitation should be stimulated.

In all communities such local capacities for peace can be identified. These may be people, who help others without asking for any reward, or intervene in conflicts to find peaceful solutions, or people who do not participate in scape-goating other community members. Sometimes these are persons, who are able to influence the public opinion. Some of these persons have functions within the communities and can thus make a positive impact. But not all of them are visible in project interventions. It might be useful for GTZ to identify and build on such persons or groups more systematically.

6.6 Sustainability

Due to the relatively short presence of GTZ in Sierra Leone and due to the fact that most of the interventions are still ongoing the already achieved impact and sustainability is difficult to measure. Nevertheless, in March 2001 a multi-sectoral GTZ mission went to 9 BMZ funded communities where GTZ had recently pulled out to analyse among others the sustainability or rather the short-term results of the interventions (Germano, 2001, 1 *(check this!) Welches Dokument ist das? Regine sucht nach korrektem Titel).*

The question of sustainability was analysed under two aspects:

Do the planned interventions in general contribute to sustainability especially considering the objective to bridge the gap between emergency aid and long term development?

Is the quality of the implemented activities high enough to achieve sustainability?

The idea is that the ReAct-concept is geared towards sustainable development through capacity building and socio-economic empowerment. The most suitable starting point for ReAct interventions in the communities may not be in the immediate emergency situation itself where food distribution and emergency accommodation is necessary but rather one step later, responding to immediate needs within communities, followed by a phase of consolidation before reaching economic empowerment (Interview with F.Takatsch and F. Germano, 07.08.01).

As described in chapter 5.1.1 GTZ focuses on food production and seed multiplication which is not always the first priority of the community. Of course increasing food production is much more sustainable than food distribution. But if the emergency situation is still prevalent a long term perspective may not really be helpful. The agricultural activities do respect different needs in the various situations, such as starting with rice-seed distribution prior to food diversification, tree-crop rehabilitation and seed multiplication. However, some communities might still be in need of mere food distribution. Due to food insecurity in many regions food is often needed immediately and not at the end of the next season. The quality of the observed agricultural activities was generally considered as good, high yields were expected or already harvested but there were also problems because of project timing which sometimes did not fit into the seasonal calendar. A well planned activity at the wrong time may thus not be better than an unstructured ad-hoc implementation at the right time.

The construction section focuses on the rehabilitation of schools, health centres, roads, tool banks, stores and community huts and the community participates with labour and local materials to reactivate the public communal infrastructure. Through Venn-diagrams in several workshops the SLE-Team found out despite the fact that the population had identified lack of shelter as their main problem this is normally not offered by GTZ. That means that the community spends their meagre time at the communal construction sites although their own accommodation problem is not solved. The team got the impression that the level of participation and motivation is negatively influenced by such phenomena and the question remained, if GTZ always offers the right interventions at the right time.

It is not sufficient to construct a building if it is unclear for what use and by whom it will be used. A rehabilitated health centre does not automatically help to ameliorate the health situation in the community if there are no drugs, furniture, medical materials and staff and no further funding is available. Sometimes quality was observed as something worth of improvement. It was mentioned earlier (see chapter 5.1.5) that there were signs of big cracks at the walls or leaking roofs (Yawyema: primary school, tool bank, health post) sometimes even before the handing-over to the community. The rehabilitated wells in Rotifunk and Bradford have only been functional for a very short time after completion. Nails were hammered beside the wooden beams at a community store under construction in Poturu during the time of the team's visit. In such a case even short-term success is questionable.

Questions coming up about the sustainability of construction activities in general during the observations of the team were:

Who will be responsible for the maintenance of the completed buildings?

As well as many other organisations, GTZ has encountered the problem to find the right positions for wells supplying fresh-water all year long.

Why does GTZ construct latrines without sensitising the communities about benefits and use?

But the SLE-Team also got also the impression that the need for better co-ordination and multi-sectoral planning is on the right track and changing extremely within the construction section, since the team was arrived. Ongoing with new structures the construction section works intensively on redesigning their

work. The section is intending to implement new construction and rehabilitation projects more carefully. The section started already with essential capacity building training for local staff coming up with innovative ideas like independent highly skilled "mobile teams", who will assist the community supervisors in their work. The reintegration department is also discussing new forms of incentive packages and new ideas for an internal monitoring and reporting system.

The rehabilitation of local structures after war requires a look into the previous structures and whether they were democratic. If not it cannot be the aim to re-build them but rather to support the community to find their individually adopted structure, where all community members feel represented and have a voice. The creation of a CDC may become an artificial and standardised intervention leaving existing potentials of local groups without consideration. In such cases the CDC will have difficulties to accompany the community through the rapid development phases. A goal should be, that the newly built CDC should still be apt to fit into regional and national government structures, once they will be rehabilitated. The question might be, what short- medium- and long-term links it can build with the district, regional und national administration bodies. GTZ preferably co-operates with CDCs. But at present not always it is taken into consideration that other development organisations implement similar structures, all of them besides the local authorities and that therefore some communities have one "CDC" for each of these organisations. For members of the CDC this is creating confusion and stress especially when they have to participate in more than one. However, prior to creating new CDCs pre-war structures could be explored in more detail, assessing, how they were created, whom they represent(ed), how far they are acknowledged, if their way of functioning is democratic. If accepted pre-war structures do not exist any more, the newly formed committees basically can be assessed using the same questions. Community Services initiated an assessment of CDC activities after pulling out of GTZ, which is already revealing doubts regarding the permanent character of the committees.

Ownership sometimes needs symbolic acts or rituals: It will probably not just happen because the community participates in the work on the construction site, offering labour or local materials. Taking over ownership not only needs the active participation as was already described, but also a symbol showing the others, that this now is theirs (their school, their well, their knowledge) Important rituals are e.g. official handing-over of the building and of the responsibilities for its maintenance. But rituals like opening ceremonies for SCTs, as normally or-

ganised with the presence of GTZ-staff and official representatives of the state, or handing over of certificates to trainees or after workshops are likewise important.

An often discussed aspect is in how far interventions should and can be based on local knowledge, if this knowledge is still available. Ten years of war and an enormous migration during this time also have caused a partly loss of local knowledge. In other cases this local knowledge may still be identified, but not accepted any more by the population. The general discussion about the advantages and disadvantages of thatched roofs as compared to zinc roofs in construction is very common and may serve as an example: Most agencies distribute zinc sheets for shelter. The communities very often prefer zinc sheets, as their application needs much less working hours on the construction site, and as they normally have a longer life time and thus must not be replaced every one or two years like thatched roofs. When asking the CDC in a community why they did not use thatched roofs any more, the SLE-Team was informed, that there was nobody available in the community or neighbouring communities who had the skills to thatch a roof. There is, maybe, not an easy answer to the question. For the moment using zinc roofs may be the best solution, because it is quick, but most probably the community will not be able to buy new zinc sheets, once they are damaged. But it might be an alternative to train students on the construction site not only in the application of zinc roofs but also of thatched roofs and to inform them about the advantages and disadvantages of both solutions.

Some other issues might be important to consider, when discussing whether project interventions are sustainable:

Up to what extent are project activities gender –sensitive and gender-balanced? (see chapter 6.7) Only two halves make a whole. Only if the different interests and needs of women and men are assessed and taken into serious consideration while planning and implementing project activities the long-term success and sustainability can be ensured. Women are an important economic factor, and their lack of access to and control over resources is a critical factor in social processes.

In which way are health and nutrition a concern within reintegration activities? The construction of a health centre is regarded as an activity in the health sector, but a health center does not yet ensure the health of the community. It also

needs a balance of nutrition, which can be promotoed by the introduction of diverse food crops, as offered by the Agriculture section, but it also needs a lot of sensitisation about hygiene, about environment – and this may be an activity of the Community Services section. Health and nutrition, only of regarded as cross-cutting issues and integrated into all sections, can contribute to a sustainable development of the communities. Health interventions such as sensitisation on HIV/AIDS, family planning, immunisation campaigns might be important as well in a long-term perspective. If GTZ cannot develop activities in this field, it might be advisable to co-operate with specialised health organisations such as the Red Cross and Médecins sans Frontières.

Sustainable nutrition security can only be achieved taking into account the multifold dimensions of the problem. GTZ lays emphasis more on aspects of food security increasing food production and promoting diversification of crops. GTZ seeks to improve access to food via the increase of   purchasing   power   and the rehabilitation of marketing infrastructure (feeder roads and local markets). The land tenure problem is analysed by project staff, but conflicts over land are insufficiently analysed.

To achieve a security of nutrition poverty reduction and simultaneous improvement of the status of women through access to education and income generating activities are as important as the overall improvement of the health situation and the access to clean drinking water. The construction of wells is therefore an important element within the ReAct-interventions to contribute to this goal. The same applies for IGA-activities.

Physicians and nurses in Poturu, Rotifunk and Yawyema explained that there are many malnourished children in the communities, with specifically lacking iron and proteins. Due to very poor medical services on the spot and lack of transport facilities to reach hospitals in neighbouring communities, women's self-help potentials are very important to decrease the number of malnourished children. A nurse in Rotifunk explained that she tries to fight the problem of malnutrition by educating mothers about health and nutrition; often her efforts are in vain and children die because their mothers have too much workload and no time to prepare special food for their children, let alone to come to the health post for regular monitoring of the health status of their children.

6.7   Gender as a cross-cutting issue

There is an interdependence between gender equality, social justice, peace-building and sustainable development: Agencies like GTZ in Eschborn, or the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA) stress that a gender perspective is an essential starting point for any strategy designed to understand and promote social justice in international development. Social justice in turn is an important condition for any peace-building activity and for sustainable development. Sensitisation for the importance of a gender perspective and planning and implementing project activities under this perspective are therefor important in any project. The gender issue cannot be a task limited to one section within a multi-sectoral programme, but has to be considered as a cross-cutting issue.

It has long been accepted, that before, during and after conflict men and women experience these situations differently. Women often even in open conflict situations have the role to preserve family links, to ensure survival and to maintain a social net against all odds. During open conflict women become victims in a different way than men, or sometimes in both ways. After the end of an open conflict women often become victimised again, because they become the target of men's frustration; domestic violence, or more precisely the violence against women, is extremely high in post-conflict or post –war situations. Very often they also become the victims of "the liberators"; the described phenomena are to be found in Sierra Leone as well.

But conflict also bears the chance of social change; often especially women, who suddenly had to take up sole responsibility during war time, have learnt to act independently. After the end of conflict – as experience in many geographic regions show – man-dominated society immediately tries to restore the traditional patterns of power. Third parties, agencies developing programmes should therefore be very careful not to support the discrimination of women involuntarily, e.g. falling into arguments like respecting cultural patterns should be more important than questioning gender roles. Participation of women should be encouraged and promoted, especially in decision-making. [98]

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[98] GTZ-Eschborn, Division 43 in 2001 published the policy paper "Towards Gender Mainstreaming in Crisis Prevention and Conflict Management", which offers some important guidelines.

GTZ is more and more aware, that the gender approach is an important issue which has to be integrated as cross-cutting in the overall programme and has therefore employed a staff member as gender specialist. It is however questionable if the position within the Community Services section is adequate to promote the issue as cross-cutting in all sections. The ReAct-workshop in Bo, facilitated by the SLE-Team, also gave evidence, that gender-awareness is not yet very well developed.

The following aspects might be important to be taken into account in order to raise gender awareness within the organisation and in the communities:

- The staff of GTZ and IPs should be sensitised on this issue first to be able to transfer the acquired knowledge to the project communities and to be capacitated to avoid own gender-biased signals sent to the communities.

- It is important to reflect gender-awareness also in organisational structures e.g. to raise the number of female staff also on a higher organisational level and to locate a gender-desk in close connection to the top management.

- The question to be tackled is, how to integrate a gender-approach into project activities. Thus, every step of programming, identification, formulation, implementing and evaluation has to reflect a gender-sensitive approach.

Sensitising the communities and the organisation on this issue is a delicate task. The term „gender" is commonly known to the staff, but the content is not yet clearly understood by everybody. For some persons gender means, "men and women always together" for others an "equal number of men and women in every case". Pointing out what was interpreted by the SLE-Team as gender-imbalance and injustice, the team easily got the answer, that there might changes were difficult, because of "African culture" and Islam. During the second workshop the question to one of the twelve male counterparts in the communities why women empowerment was important for the communities, was not answered. It is obvious, that although most of the staff know about the importance of a gender-approach in theory and many on a lower hierarchical level repeat it obediently, but they often do not know, how this approach could be realised in practise.

Up to the end of the SLE-Team's research there was no real gender-specific approach in the activities. The target-group was defined as ex-combatants, IDPs and refugees, but the assessment of target groups to some extent neglected, that men and women took completely different roles during the war (see also

chapter 6.1). Since the majority of ex-combatants were men, whereas most of the IDPs and refugees were women, the interventions have to be adapted to the different needs.

Some of GTZ activities specifically address women (IGA-measures, vegetable-planting and soap making in the Skills Training Centre). The aim of a gender-approach, however, cannot only be to offer separate training subjects to women, but has to consider the relationship between men and women. Other activities integrate women into a traditionally male domain such as masonry, which is an important step to question traditional role patterns. But such activities have to be guided by an assessment of the specific needs of women.

Integration of a gender-approach into project activities may not be limited to quantitative aspects, e.g. to raise women's participation in every section on a defined level (proposed for IGA 80% women, Agriculture 60%; Community Services 50%, Skills Training 40%, Construction 20%.; see Memo of 17th September 2001, Gender Balance and Gender based violence).

6.8 Organisational structure and management procedures

The post-war situation in Sierra Leone is characterised by quickly changing conditions. Any organisation working in such a context will develop its own dynamic. GTZ is undergoing a rapid growth in terms of financial volume, regional outreach of the reintegration programmes and new projects require a constant adaptation of the organisational structure and management. The organisation is showing great flexibility in responding to the various constraints and challenges described in the chapters above. Flexibility however might not be the only requirement for a fast growing organisation, the crucial question might rather be how much flexibility an organisation can afford in such a situation, and how much stability it needs in order to ensure enough security for a staff, which as in any emergency situation is working under specifically stressful conditions.

The SLE-Team analysed a number of weaknesses within the structure and the management procedures, which might be overcome by a number of structural amendments. As was already mentioned in chapter 4, up to the end of the team's mission, there was no defined instrument for project planning, monitoring and evaluation of project activities did not seem to be linked clearly. The former M&E-

unit had been integrated into a team together with the head of the reintegration department. Here the question arises, in how far the finance department and the logistics department are part of a monitoring system.

The roles and functions of the "reintegration team" have not yet been clearly defined. The reintegration co-ordinator as head of the R.C.T. still has a double function, including deputy programme management, while he should be co-ordinating the different sections of the reintegration department, in order to guarantee an integrated multi-sectoral approach. These two factors result in an overload of work for the deputy programme manager on the one hand. On the other hand, his assistance to the programme manager himself is badly needed to fulfil the multi-fold tasks of programme co-ordination, acquisition and co-ordination of staff.

The actual structure and the procedures and instruments very much depend on the strong commitment and on the professional experience, the adaptability and flexibility of management and staff. But, as far as the team could observe, it is not always very transparent for a part of the staff, especially when it comes to decision-making, and thus sometimes creates insecurity. In an insecure situation and under quickly changing conditions, however, flexible reactions towards these changes as well as some kind of security in terms of roles, functions and procedures seem to be important to ensure the functioning of the organisation. Overlapping tasks caused dissatisfaction among project staff; sometimes this was regarded as interference into each others fields of responsibility.

Up to now the fine-tuning of activities and the definition of the project proposals from the content side are mainly exercised within the section and in co-ordination meetings within the reintegration department, leaving out the finance department and the department of logistics. This means that allocation of vehicles, materials and money is not always harmonised with the planned project activities.

If the organisation would, however, introduce PCM as a steering and planning instrument, deriving the necessary inputs in terms of personnel, material and finances based on an assessment of needs and potentials within the communities and taking into consideration the possibilities of funds available, it would need an organisational structure, where the departments concerned could better channel their knowledge into the overall co-ordination. Better co-ordination between the sections might have synergy effects looking at the impact of the project interventions:

The information gathered in the community is not only helpful for one section, but might also help colleagues to understand situations and plan accordingly. Costs can be reduced, if the planning for the use of vehicles would be better co-ordinated. A cross-sectoral view on developments within the project communities might raise new questions, and enlighten new aspects of the same situation.

The different sections need an overview of the context, in which they are going to realise their project activities. They have to know, where activities might be over-lapping with activities of the other sections and need a co-ordinated planning, and they should have a clear understanding of budgets allocated to their respec-tive activities.

The finance department has to have a clear overview of the cash-flow needed within a defined time frame.

To co-ordinate the overall programme, the acquisition of the necessary funds to finance the programme and to allocate the staff needed, the management needs information from the different departments and the knowledge of funds available. The management in the end is responsible, that the vision and mission of the or-ganisation are put into practise, making best use of the expertise of the staff members. The management is responsible to integrate new project ideas and to ensure, that cross-cutting issues identified are trickling down within the organisa-tion.

7   Conclusions

Regarding the present situation in Sierra Leone as a whole it is clear that the root causes of conflict are far from being solved. Although disarmament is scheduled to be finished by the end of 2001, it is obvious that there are still too many weap-ons in the country and around, so that the danger of another armed conflict is not definitely finished. Social and political conflicts underlying the history of war in the country have not yet been addressed in a way to find solutions. Economic recov-ery is far from being reached. Rehabilitation, reconciliation and reintegration ac-tivities are therefore extremely important as a protection against the danger of new outbreaks of violence.

The multi-sectoral and community-based approach GTZ has chosen as strategy to contribute to stabilising the country, is definitely very promising and has an immediate impact in the war-affected communities. Although there are some short-comings in the implementation of the ReAct-concept, the concept in itself beyond any doubt is an adequate instrument to enable steps from emergency towards sustainable development and peace. As in any post-war situation it takes time to heal wounds, to restore confidence, to develop new peaceful atti-tudes towards problem solving. The combination of reconstruction within the pro-ject communities, using and developing their own knowledge, the promotion and development of democratic structures and of dialogue help to develop these re-quired new attitudes.

It is, however, very important to see, that confidence in such a context is very fragile. A careful handling of this situation means, that the processes are as transparent and participatory as possible, avoiding any kind of signal, which might strengthen the attitudes, which have been adopted as survival strategies in war time.

8   Recommendations

8.1   Introduction to the chapter

During the three months´ stay in Sierra Leone and working with GTZ the SLE-Team was very impressed by the potential of ReAct as a multi-sectoral approach for a reintegration programme, focussing on capacity building of war-affected communities in rural Sierra Leone. A highly committed international staff and a great ability to react flexibly and quickly to changing situations are important conditions for a successful accomplishment of the programme. The SLE-Team was also aware of the constraints GTZ is facing; these have been described above (see Chapter 1, 2, 3). The SLE-Team was focussing observations mainly on management and community level, thus comparing the ReAct-concept as it is perceived by the management and the implementation of the reintegration programme based on this concept in some selected communities. The team identified some gaps and deficits, which might be overcome by the introduction of the recommended measures. The SLE-Team also looked at the management structures themselves, which should facilitate a smooth realisation of the reintegration programme.

Not all recommendations have been described in detail, especially when they refer to methods generally known (like conflict analysis) or when they focus areas, which have been documented in depth elsewhere (like the gender approach). As there are organisations and individuals specialised for these areas in Sierra Leone and in the West African region, this report indicates some of them as potential partners in networking. The bibliography in this report may give some more hints for further reading material on these two issues.

A detailed description of VCA - CAP(Vulnerability and Capacity Analysis - VCA and Community Action Plan - CAP)is to be found in the Annexe 4. VCA is largely used as an analytical tool by Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies to identify realistic and effective disaster preparedness directions. One of the most comprehensive assessments was realised by the Palestinian Red Crescent Society (PRCS) in 2000 and a report published. It clearly states, in how far this method was helpful to make the concept and approach of PRCS known in the communi-

ties and to facilitate the community´s identification of their own needs and potentials.[99] VCA needs more time than a quick survey or a rapid appraisal in the initial phase of a project, which might cause problems for an organisation like GTZ mostly working under time pressure. It can, however, lay a solid base for the co-operation with a community and in the end save time for all stakeholders involved, because the community will be able to take over more responsibility.

During the presentation of recommendations for GTZ Sierra Leone prior to the departure of the SLE-Team, doubts were raised on how to follow one of the main recommendations: to introduce Project Cycle Management (PCM) within an emergency context. PCM is widely accepted and used as a planning instrument in development work, the advantages being:

-   management gets a reliable data base

-   goals and indicators defined serve the M&E unit to organise appropriate formats and M&E procedures

-   ownership of target groups is easier to achieve as they are involved in the PCM throughout all steps of PCM

-   follow-up procedures are an in-built element

-   reporting to donors becomes easier as the elements of the report can be gathered throughout the PCM.

Doubts raised mainly concerned time constraints within emergency aid. The recommendation will therefore concentrate on the question, how PCM may be broken down on community level within this emergency situation.

8.1.1 Identified deficits and gaps

Considering the strenghts and weaknesses of the multi-sectoral approach of the ReAct-concept GTZ has developed the general balance is very positive. Nevertheless the SLE-Team identified some deficits and gaps which led to the following recommendations:

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[99] For further information, see www.palestinercs.org, "Participatory Action Research Study of the Vulnerabilities and Capacities of the Palestinian Society in Disaster Preparedness"

Interventions do not always meet the needs of very heterogeneous target groups, because capacities and vulnerabilities are not sufficiently assessed, constraints not sufficiently taken into consideration. Needs assessments do not always consider the heterogeneous realities and need of the different groups.

Participation of target groups and beneficiaries does not necessarily include the identification of needs, the planning, implementing and monitoring of project activities. Ownership of target groups for the process and the results is thus not always guaranteed and this may create an obstacle for the steps towards sustainable development, which in the end can only be guaranteed by the target groups and beneficiaries themselves.

Although capacity building is one of the declared aims of GTZ and is an integral part of all planned project activities, some deficits were identified: The role of the implementing partners in capacity building measures is not very clear. Capacity building is not sufficiently based on a needs assessment and an analysis of potentials and requirements of the market.

Peace-building activities are built into different project activities and show some results. However, these activities are not always based on an explicit analysis of potentials for conflict or peace. Peace-building requires time and space for healing and rebuilding life. The awareness about possible negative side effects of signals and attitudes is not enough developed.

Reintegration of returnees (refugees and IDPs) and ex-combatants is the main focus of GTZ and shows remarkable results. Reintegration needs technical assistance as offered by the project interventions, as well as the promotion of acceptance from both sides - the host community as well as returnees and ex-combatants. In the latter part the SLE-Team identified weaknesses: The need to reintegrate ex-combatants into civil life sometimes gives too much attention to their needs and too little to the resistance and fears of the host communities which may became an obstacle for social cohesion.

Management structures have been developed for a small team and the procedures adapted to an emergency situation which needs flexibility and the ability of rapid response. With the expansion of programme and staff however, the structures and procedures no longer fully correspond to the necessities of planning and co-ordination, communication, decision making, monitoring and systematic evaluation:

Roles and functions are not always clearly defined, which in some cases leads to conflicts within the staff. Unclear roles and responsabilities can produce insecurity and stress.

GTZ is characterised by quick growth in terms of financial volume and number of staff. More staff and more money needs more internal co-ordination and clear procedures for decision making. At present the co-ordination between HoS is rather weak, except for individual efforts. Weak co-ordination between HoS in the reintegration programme result in contradictory messages to the staff in the field and to the communities and create confusion. In some cases it results in duplication of working steps.

Deficient co-ordination between the HoS of the reintegration department and the logistics department causes loss of time and money.

The highly motivated staff members are under constant pressure because of speed and workload. Time pressure and workload in combination with high motivation and sensitivity for the needs of the target group in an emergency situation can result in burn-out. Mechanisms of professional supervision and a systematic staff welfare and personnel development might promote coping mechanisms, but are practically non existent.

M&E procedures are not applied in a systematic way and difficult to develop, as long as planning is often more ad-hoc than systematic.

Cross-cutting issues like gender have already been identified as important and necessary components of the programme by the management and are requested by donors. Consequently GTZ hired a staff member for the introduction of a stronger gender focus into the programm. The necessary position of this „gender person" though are not yet embedded in the most efficient way in the organisational structure.

Chapter 8.2 defines, in which way VCA, CAP and PCM may be introduced into the different phases of a project cycle. The recommendation may appear contradictory at first sight, because the proposed methods need more time than the rapid appraisal approach, and time is always running short in an emergency situation. Taking into consideration, however, that a joint planning is not scheduled before the project activities started, every section will have to do their own planning anyway, which also takes time. Once the instruments are introduced and become a routine, they will be less time-consuming.

8.2   Concept and planning for community activities

A number of findings reported in the previous chapters can be tracked down to deficits in systematic planning, a diagnosis made by GTZ, too. In June, a so-called "Reintegration Forum" was held in Freetown to discuss improvements and restructuring in project planning, management and monitoring. A "reintegration management cycle" and detailed formats for monitoring and evaluation were pro-posed.[100] During the presentation of results of the SLE study in Freetown the team was asked to break down into more detail, how such a project cycle could look like for a project in an emergency situation.

Therefore proposals on how to practically introduce aspects of project cycle management at community level are made below. Classical models of PCM (as conceived by EU for example) do not apply to short-term interventions which characterise ReAct. Certain principles, however, do apply for any project man-agement, short or long term.

GTZ seeks to achieve ownership and sustainability of project interventions among others via beneficiary participation, community contributions and capacity building. Responding to the need for participation of beneficiaries at the earliest stage possible, this is an important strength of the project. The introduction of more participatory planning tools could still enhance this strength.

Any project cycle includes the following general steps of programming, identifica-tion, formulation of project interventions, implementation, monitoring and evalua-tion. Financing is an ongoing process characterised by different aspects through-out the cycle.

8.2.1 Programming and design of community activities

In the context of ReAct, the programming phase has been completed with the general ReAct concept paper being elaborated (see chapter 3). Central terms (such as capacity building in the given context, reintegration, participation and so forth) are defined. Needs for reformulation and adaptation are identified through-

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[100] Refer to the Memorandum, dated 8th June 2001 by the Reintegration Co-ordinator to all Heads of Section and the detailed M&E format table provided for this purpose. One output was a brainstorming about elements to form part of a reintegration programme cycle.

out the cycle. General assumptions regarding the general framework and condi-tions in which a reintegration programme such as ReAct is embedded, have been formulated and are constantly being revised. To this effect, a conflict analy-sis[101] at regular intervals is undertaken by the project management. In part, this conflict analysis exists in ReAct concept papers, but a systematic adaptation has yet to be institutionalised as part of a broader reflection process on project activi-ties.

Main goals are formulated, project policies and principles are defined and the overall strategy proposed to address problems is formulated. Sector goals and how they are inter-linked and could benefit from synergy effects, are described. Capacity building is described as the integrating focus of the ReAct approach. The general approach of ReAct is justified and the strategy proposed to address problems identified is regarded as relevant. An inclusive participatory approach (for host communities, returnees and ex-combatants) is proposed to achieve sus-tainability. Based on the situation analysis and an organisational assessment, feasibility is examined. Initial funding for the proposed project area is sought.

Some sections are currently breaking down their activities into simple units for easier budgeting. This approach seems useful and could be developed further. Other vital activities at this point include a careful definition of target groups. Al-though programmes in the emergency context are directed mainly towards ex-combatants, refugees and IDPs, GTZ aims at strengthening rural communities' capacities to reintegrate these groups. Rural host communities are identified by the project as important (indirect) beneficiaries. During the identification phase on site, i.e. in the communities, a detailed analysis of the target groups is under-taken, which is described below.

Clearly naming the actual beneficiaries could also lead to a stronger sensitivity as regards real integration effects of the programme, and to monitor who is actually benefiting from project activities. Furthermore, in a post-war situation it is impor-tant to avoid exclusionary effects of project interventions and to observe princi-ples of equity.

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[101] Refer to International Alert (1996): Capacity Building Workshops. Resource Pack for Conflict Transformation. London; Galtung, Johan (2000): Conflict Transformation by Peaceful Means. UNDP. Geneva; Responding to Conflict (2000): Working with Conflict. Skills and Strategies for Action. Birmingham, London

Target groups are very heterogeneous but this is not sufficiently reflected in the project activities. The majority of the ex-combatants is represented by young men but the small group of women is nearly left aside. Another well known fact is that refugees in their majority are women,[102] but this is not considered by the GTZ project interventions. To take this into consideration GTZ should differentiate the target groups under age and gender aspects and should adjust the programmes. At the moment only the present host communities are differentiated in the initial survey, not the target group itself.

8.2.2 Identification and planning of community activities

During the identification phase a detailed participatory analysis of the situation in the proposed project area is carried out, responding to the identified need to have beneficiaries participate at the earliest stage possible in the planning process of restructuring their own lives (see chapter 2). Relevance of the proposed interventions is based on a Vulnerability and Capacity Analysis (VCA) as described in detail below.[103] While an analysis of capacities is in itself a step to a feasibility study, GTZ could shape its interventions according to needs identified by the community that can realistically be addressed together with the project.

The SLE team noticed that general criteria for identification of new project communities are weak and that the methods used seem somehow superficial. To ensure a transparent and fair selection GTZ could participate more regularly in the interagency assessment which is done by a group of organisations, e. g. UNHCR, NCDDR, NCRRR. This would offer a good basis for future project networking and in comparison to an own assessment it would reduce the expenditure (time and finance).

One important finding is that in some cases there is a gap between declared objectives and project reality. The GTZ philosophy lays emphasis on a strong target group and needs oriented approach. GTZ should therefore take into account that a participatory needs assessment may need time, but is more favourable the

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[102] Mehler & Ribaux, 2000, 134

[103] Vulnerability and capacity analyses have mostly been developed in the Asian context to respond to rehabilitation needs after the frequently recurring natural disasters. Mary Anderson (1989) is proposing a general matrix for a VCA which we have attempted to adapt to the needs of ReAct.

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reach the defined goals. The SLE team therefore recommends a VCA (Vulnerability and Capacity Analysis). Every community needs its own VCA. The current system of satellite-villages and the axis-approach might consequently undergo changes and transform more into a cluster approach.

VCA is not a method itself, but is based on a variety of participatory methods which result in a VCA-matrix from where the information can easily be obtained by the GTZ management for further planning of interventions. The method analyses vulnerabilities, that means short and long-term needs, and also existing capacities, considering not only the physical-material aspects but also the more hidden social-organisational and motivational-attitudinal ones, which are otherwise in danger to be left aside. The different methods should be applied in a participatory way with representatives of the community. Positive experiences were made with venn-diagrams, drama and timelines (see chapter 2). All these methods should be used in each target group separately under gender aspects.

The use of these participatory methods might develop a dynamic of setting free emotions. This possibility has to be considered. But on the other hand, this method has the chance to come up with better results than a mere "shopping list". The project can possibly not to respond to all needs, and this is not even necessary, either. It is more a question of how to strengthen the communities' potentials, to support them with all interventions, the project can offer, but also to formulate and communicate the limitations to the communities.

Networking means to share responsibilities within one activity or to concentrate on a selection of activities and leaving other parts to other organisations. This can also mean that GTZ only goes into communities where immediate needs are met by other organisations. The adaptation of number and qualifications of local staff to what is needed in each community depends on the specific interventions and is a logical consequence. Standard intervention packages should be replaced by more flexible ones.

In a next step the VCA-matrix should be used by the management to design and plan a multi-sectoral proposal for a community action plan (CAP). Multi-sectoral does not mean that each sector itself has its own intervention but rather that all interventions are designed and planned with a multi-sectoral perspective. Due to the requirement to build up communal capacities the stakeholders have to be involved not only in the needs assessment, but in the whole project cycle including identification, formulation, implementing and evaluation, so that the commu-

nity's voice can clearly be heard and taken into consideration. After the CAP is presented at a public community meeting and discussed by community represen-tatives both sides have to sign the Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) al-ready used by GTZ.

The joint proposal developed by the project of how to address the problems iden-tified will also contain key indicators. They hint at how the project seeks to achieve sustainability of proposed interventions. The CAP will include key indica-tors developed by the community for the main goals defined. By formulating the CAP the community develops a vision for the village. With the prioritisation of ac-tivities in the CAP the community has identified the most relevant issues. The negotiation process regarding possible contributions of all sides (community and project) serves to determine (practical, material and financial) feasibility at this stage, detailed in the operational plan formulated and the budget detailed and secured. On the project side, cash flow needs have been identified. Transparent documents available and accessible to all involved, as well as the fact that the communities contribute is expected to enhance sustainability.

8.2.3 Implementation and monitoring of community activi-ties

Beneficiary participation is one of the main goals of GTZ's reintegration pro-gramme and acknowledged as crucial to attain sustainability and ownership of project interventions.

The SLE-Team therefore recommends another aspect of participation during im-plementation, namely Participatory Impact Monitoring (PIM). [104]. GTZ is working with a variety of self-help groups (SHG), with social bodies such as the CDCs, and of course with trainees in STCs. To build their capacities, to reduce conflict and to develop a sense of how to work with conflict in a non-violent manner, are main goals formulated by the project. Participatory, group-based impact monitor-ing, seeks to ensure transparent and reiterative reflection on targets defined by those implementing their own projects. They themselves set the pace and assess their own progress. Participatory monitoring is therefore a "continuous empow-

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[104] Wirkungsbeobachtung in der GTZ. Von der Projektfortschrittskontrolle zu Qualitätsmanage-ment, GTZ, 1996; Participatory Impact Monitoring, GTZ-GATE 1996

erment of people's groups" (DED, 2000, 189-191). [105]

Community based workers may facilitate the introduction of PIM and the devel-opment of indicators by the groups. They take part in regular group meetings to discuss progress made and observe behavioural, attitudinal and motivational changes (monitoring socio-cultural impacts and capacity building). A table (see Annexe 3) gives an outline of PIM tools which could be introduced with very little extra input at community level. At present community supervisors are also en-trusted with monitoring activities, but reports do not always reach Freetown on time and follow-ups are not systematically made. With PIM progress made is re-corded and analysed first and foremost by the owners of the progress.

Reporting to themselves and to the community leaves responsibility and owner-ship of the process with the participants and only secondary responsibility with the project. The discussion itself about achievements, mistakes made, lessons learnt and about success stories can also serve as a peace building instrument, strengthening community cohesion, provided the discussion process is open, peaceful and transparent. PIM has the potential to contribute to confidence-building, self-esteem and independence. The community supervisor will accom-pany the SHG to ensure smooth functioning of PIM, if necessary. The Commu-nity Supervisor may come in as a moderator or advisor, since PIM discussions may bring up contentious issues at times. The joint reflection sessions serve to compare monitoring within the SHG and results of socio-cultural impact monitor-ing of the Community Supervisor (see also DED 2000, 191).

At an early stage of implementation a special check on inclusiveness of the pro-ject ("Who is really benefiting? Is everybody on board?") is introduced. PIM also serves to assess whether project activities remain relevant to all involved, whether adaptations are necessary or changes need to be made. Once the start-ing point determined, PIM will also help to elucidate problems encountered on the way and to reassess the feasibility of the CAP. To promote sustainability at this stage quality standards (indicators) are monitored by participants and the project, training for maintenance is carried out and additional training needs are identified. Any of these evaluation steps also serve to fine-tune the next steps to be taken.

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[105] Deutscher Entwicklungsdienst, Aspekte der Organisationsberatung in der Arbeit des DED: dieser Reader enthält eine Reihe von Beispielen und Methoden aus der Praxis.

8.2.4 Evaluation of community activities

During the final evaluation several elements serve the goal of relevance: A new participatory CAP development will determine new priorities for the communities.

An external evaluation of capacity building and reintegration effects of the project will also assess whether the project activities have actually created pull-factors to return into the project communities. Lessons learnt (biggest problems encountered, wrong assumptions, need to continue?) and best practices derived will also reflect on feasibility.

Finally, a new VCA prior to the new CAP formulation will also provide information on capacities developed. Adjustments made during project interventions and a realistic new CAP can be assumed to indicate that the project will be sustainable.

If time and resources allow, a livelihood system analysis linked to the VCA (probably done externally) will inform about impacts the programme had in terms of preparing the ground for longer-term development, to reduce risks and to strengthen people's capacities to respond.

Every community needs its own VCA, satellite-villages and therefore axis-approach are questioned, rather clusters than axes may be needed.

A multi-sectoral view is advisable on every intervention. Taking into account the existing capacities not every section needs to be represented in each community in order to have a multi-sectoral approach.

Adaptation of number and qualifications of local staff to what is needed in each community (depends on the specific interventions).

Each step of identification, formulation, implementing and evaluation is transparent to the community.

GTZ only gets in when immediate needs have already been addressed.

8.3   Introduction of a Code of Conduct

All staff members are representing the organisation. Therefore every positive but also negative attitude is sending signals to the beneficiaries. The development of a corporate identity is important to send a clear signal to donors and one side and beneficiaries on the other side. One step towards such a corporate identity could be the elaboration of a Code of Conduct. A Code of Conduct will neither

necessarily change attitudes and behaviour of staff members automatically, nor convince donors of the credibility of the organisation, but the joint discussion of principles of a Code of Conduct may be helpful in raising awareness among the staff about the importance of a clear and positive image of the organisation and the need to contribute to this image building. It may also be helpful to strengthen the responsibility of every single staff member for the success of the organisation.

A Code of Conduct will neither necessarily change attitudes and behaviour of staff members automatically, nor convince donors of the credibility of the organisation. The joint discussion of principles of a Code of Conduct, however, may be helpful in raising awareness among the staff about the importance of a clear and positive image of the organisation and the need to contribute to this image building. Discussing the principles of an organisation which reflect in a Code of Conduct promotes stronger identification with the organisation. It may also be helpful to strengthen the responsibility of every single staff member for the success of the organisation.

The SLE-Team recommends the elaboration of a draft of Code of Conduct by the management. The following aspects should be considered:

In all projects, there is a danger of unwillingly reinforcing conflicts, especially in a post-war situation. This is even more important for community workers who stay 24 hours a day in the communities. Therefore it is worth to analyse the own performance, to find out about positive examples of behaviour and attitudes and discuss them, so that people might follow the example, and to pay attention to potential negative signals.

There is little self-respect and respect for the others in terms of time and personal resources; the staff is very committed, working very hard and under great pressure. Sometimes staff members are their not respecting own personal physical and psychological limits and still come to work, when they are ill, or regularly work during weekends, working days are often longer than eight hours. All this is implicitly also expected from colleagues. There is thus an increasing level of stress and discontent.

The SLE-Team observed that, confronted with high expectations and little support by others who themselves are stressed, staff members develop a tendency of defending themselves and their own performance. This may poison the team spirit.

Another observation that led to recommend a Code of Conduct was the sometimes authoritarian style of teaching observed. This teaching style hinders the transfer of the ReAct idea to empower the community.

In order to elaborate a Code of Conduct a discussion at different levels of work is proposed about what staff members like or dislike about their work, what they would like to change and what they could contribute to change situations. Further questions to be discussed might be the qualities and attitudes they consider as important for a good performance as professionals, as colleagues, or in the respective functions within the organisation.

The SLE-Team recommends that these discussions should result in rules, accepted by all and a definition of sanctions, if these rules are not respected.

The management might find ways of promoting and rewarding outstandingly good examples of promoting a positive organisational culture and image.

Control mechanisms (see Oxfam) [106] should be established, which help to internalise these rules.

Every new employee should agree to these rules.

8.4   Introduction of structural changes

As was already explained in detail in former chapters, the SLE-Team considers GTZ as an organisation with high potentials in terms of commitment, creativity and credibility. Nevertheless, the rapid growth of the organisation and new challenges require reflections about adaptations on the structural and management level. An adequate organisational structure should be the result of a joint definition of vision, mission and conceptual approach.

In order to strengthen the management structure, the SLE-Team recommends the organisation starts a reflection process, which might be facilitated by a professional neutral outsider. This reflections process should look at questions of corporate identity as well as structural changes or amendments.

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[106] Code of Conduct for emergency response work, Oxfam 1998

During this reflection process the following recommendations might be discussed and decided upon:

In order to support the programme manager an assistant programme manager should be introduced, who might concentrate on acquisition of project funds, channelling and synthesising information from the different departments, sections and levels and supporting the further conceptual development of the ReAct concept.

A M&E-unit should be directly linked to the programme manager and his assistant, thus supporting the steering and co-ordination of programmes and finances.

A personnel / human resource manager should be employed or appointed to assist the management in staff recruitment. This personnel manager should be responsible for the identification and elaboration of training's and for staff welfare in general.

Acknowledging that a gender approach towards programme and human resource management is an integral part of any emergency and development effort, a gender desk should be established at the general management level. This Gender desk should develop a strategy for mainstreaming the gender issue in close co-operation with the general management. It has to ensure, that instruments are elaborated for the integration of the gender issue into overall processes of PCM. It is recommended that the gender desk co-operates with personnel management to ensure that gender balance is respected in staff recruitment and other questions of personnel.

Following the introduction and recommended changes of the management structure functions, roles and responsibilities on different levels have to be redefined based on a participatory initial assessment. The programme management team should co-ordinate the redefinition of project development and implementation and the allocation of necessary inputs (material, finances, personnel).

The M&E-unit should accompany the process of planning, implementation and evaluation including the realisation of corrective measures within the project cycle. The team recommends that M&E plans, designs and supervises the procedures for a participatory impact monitoring (PIM).

Personnel management should establish criteria for the recruitment of GTZ and GTZ seconded staff. Personnel management should define functions and tasks of staff members at all different levels in close co-operation with the general

management and develop job descriptions responding to needs emanating from planned project measures and activities. It should ensure that roles, procedures and instruments for staff welfare are developed and supervised.

The management should define clear communication rules and define, which decisions to be taken, by whom, on which level. With the support from the M&E-unit a transparent reporting system should be developed. It may be advisable to organise workshops for staff members at different levels to introduce them to methods of PRA and reporting.

Time-schedules for regular co-ordination meetings at section head level together with the reintegration co-ordinator, and between programme co-ordination, logistics and finance department might be helpful. In any case it should be considered to follow up on timely completion of delegated tasks by the designated department, section, person.

The SLE-Team noticed, that a number of issues remained unclear between GTZ and the implementing partners. Co-operation with implementing partners should be based on criteria, references from others and an analysis of skills needed, indispensable potentials, potentials, which are important but not indispensable and consequences for further training. The team recommends:

Clear aims are defined for the selection of, co-operation and communication with implementing partners and consequently discussed with them,

Specific tasks, roles and responsibilities are defined for each workplace in accordance with the community needs and job descriptions elaborated,

Agreements with implementing partners are elaborated and communicated with the staff.

8.5 Peace building

Peace building activities have been discussed in previous chapters. The connection between peace building and the effect of images produced by positive or negative signals, was discussed under Code of Conduct. As peace building is crucial for the success or failure for any project intervention in a country like Sierra Leone, the SLE-Team considers a careful and responsible handling of this issue important. The SLE-Team recommends:

The positive and negative signals and side effects of each intervention concern-

ing peace building should be assessed and discussed regularly at different levels.

GTZ can demand more of themselves to support potentials for peace in a pragmatic way. Analysing own signals is a cheap, easily used measure to promote potentials for peace and to raise awareness in a gentle, modest way.

8.6 Gender-approach

To establish a gender-approach it is necessary to take into consideration that gender is an issue which leaves nobody indifferent, because we all are defining ourselves in one way or the other within our gender roles and are thus often defending our own interests and convictions. The recommendations therefore are,

The attitude concerning a gender-approach of local organisational structures especially of the CDC is analysed and addressed;

That men AND women are included in the analysis of problems, and prioritisation of project interventions. It could be necessary to do this separately, in case women do not express their point of view in the presence of the whole community. Men and women have to define their goals within the GTZ activities.

Women and men have to be integrated equally in the design of interventions.

The results of interventions, the impacts for men and women have to be evaluated. How are relations between men and women affected by GTZ project interventions? The potential negative side-effects of project activities on gender-balance have to be taken seriously. (Often in a situation of war, women are taking up new roles because they have to act independently from their husbands. It would be useful to find out what the potentially new won independence and responsibilities of women mean and how they might be supported).

If there are obstacles, which hinder the participation of women, activities should be defined aiming at reducing these obstacles. Factors, which are obviously increasing the participation of women should be supported. The influence of female supervisors in the communities can encourage women participation because these have other means to access to the female community and to create new role models. Thus one consequence could be to raise the number of female supervisors.

8.7   Networking

GTZ is working in a very complex and quickly changing environment and although a lot of professional expertise is accumulated within the organisation, GTZ might rely more on specific expertise of other organisations to exchange experience, adopt new methods, use training materials with a proven validity. Networking with other organisations might help to identify potential co-operations in the field of curriculum development, gender issues, conflict analysis and other specific tasks and to influence donor policies. The two existing network meetings INGO and SLANGO might be an entry point for the establishment of new and more organised contacts. Networking would also give GTZ a better chance to make the own concept of reintegration known and be considered as a good example for an integrated project approach.

The SLE-Team recommends:

- To attend INGO and SLANGO-meetings on a regular base;

- To consult SLADEA on local knowledge, adult education and environmental education;

- To exchange regularly with OCHA, using the documentation system available, using expertise in stress management and staff welfare, and using information channels to publish own experiences to a broader international public;

- To liaise with women organisations and gender desks of different national organisations like C.C.S.L. to exchange experience and material and to co-operate in training;

- To link with national organisations forming the Civil Society Network in order to broaden influence on the development of civil society;

- To organise discussion forums on specific topics like "gender and peace building", inviting national and international organisations in Sierra Leone for participation and thus use such forums for an exchange, for organisational learning, and for new contacts. As a positive side effect this kind of activity can contribute to form a new image of GTZ in Sierra Leone and internationally.

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