

**Economics 172**  
**Issues in African Economic Development**

Professor Ted Miguel  
Department of Economics  
University of California, Berkeley

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Lecture 27 – May 1, 2007

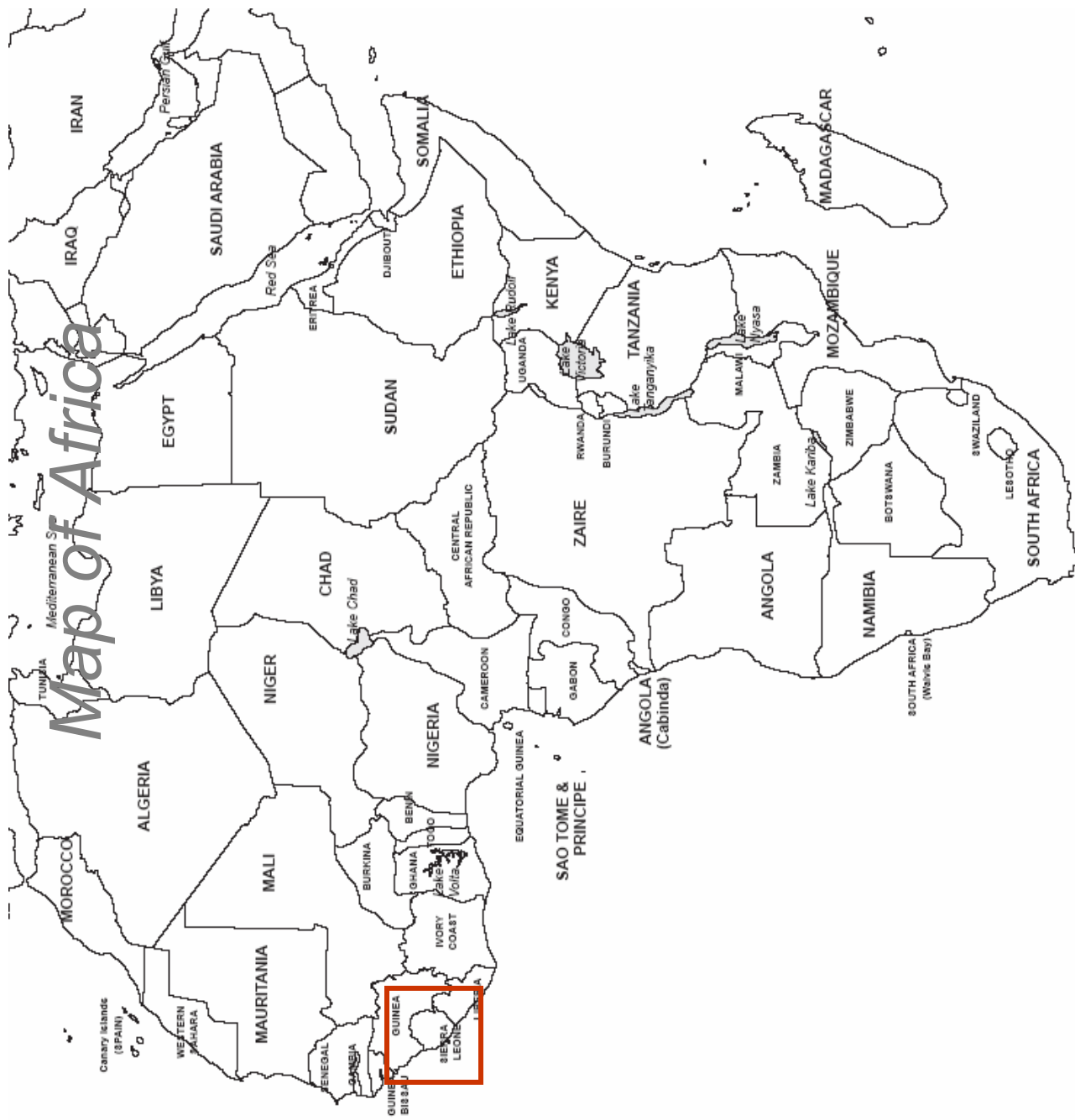


**Outline:**

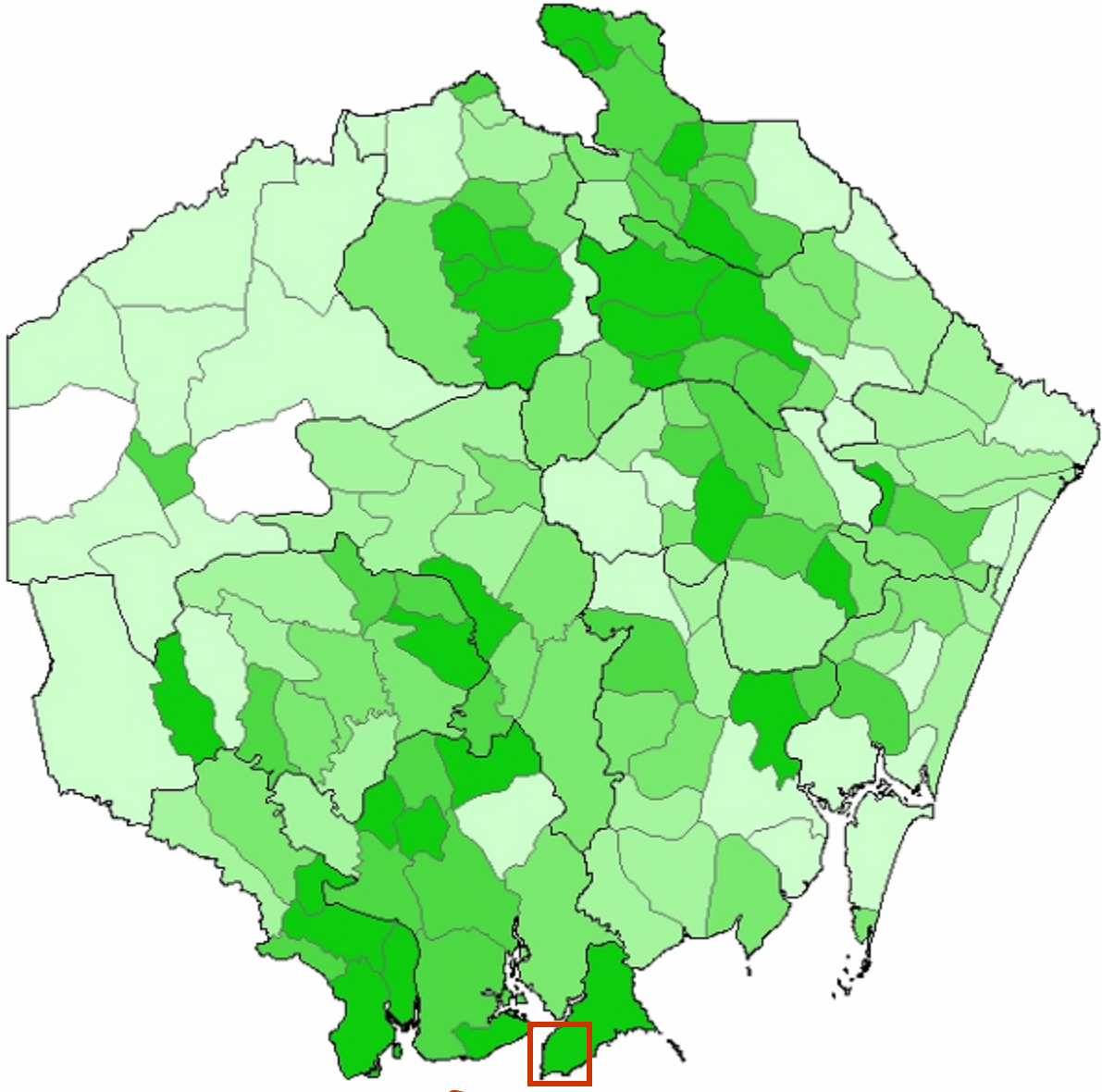
- (1) Keen (2005) on Sierra Leone**
- (2) The Sierra Leone Civil War (1991-2002) and its aftermath**

## Politics and Violence in Sierra Leone

- Basic historical timeline:
  - 1787: Freetown established by the U.K. as a settlement for freed slaves, and a U.K. protectorate
  - 1896: all of Sierra Leone becomes a protectorate



*Map of Sierra (with 1985 Population density)*



*Freetown*

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  - 1928: Slavery officially abolished
  - 1937: Native Administration established, with great authority, lifetime posts, high salaries to Chiefs



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  - 1928: Slavery officially abolished
  - 1937: Native Administration established, with great authority, lifetime posts, high salaries to Chiefs
  - 1950s: Diamond boom spurred internal migration, and enriched mainly elites (i.e., Chiefs, Lebanese)
  - 1948, 1950, 1955-6: Popular revolts against chiefs

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- Stevens aggressively installed northerners (Temne, Limba) in power, crushed the SLPP, and made Sierra Leone into a one-party APC state. He shut down the country's profitable railroad to the south-east, cutting off trade between Mende regions and Freetown

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- Political intimidation through a “shadow” security service (“Special Security Division”): student protests were brutally suppressed, labor unions outlawed, newspaper offices blown up
- Corruption and patronage politics was extreme: a political culture of greed became the norm from chiefs all the way up to ministers

## Post-independence politics and policy

- Agricultural marketing boards (for coffee, cacao) offered very low prices in the 1970s-1980s, and this led to extensive smuggling
- Increasing corruption in the mining sector and fishing sector, and agricultural pricing policies, led to dramatic decreases in revenue: by 1985-6 domestic revenue collection was just 18% of 1977-8 levels!



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- As a result spending on services collapsed by the 1980s: Sierra Leone was nearly last in the world on most measures of health (infant mortality rate) and education (literacy, attainment). Spending on development only 3% of the overall budget in 1984
- Sierra Leone was ripe for political unrest when Stevens was replaced by Joseph Momoh in 1985



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- After Siaka Stevens stepped down in 1985, and the total economic collapse of the late 1980s, Sierra Leone experienced a brutal civil conflict 1991-2002: at least 50,000 killed and over one million displaced
- Bellows and Miguel (2006) estimate the relationship between conflict intensity and later local institutional, political, and economic outcomes in Sierra Leone

## The Sierra Leone Civil War (1991-2002)

- Fighting started in the eastern Liberian border but eventually affected the entire country
  - Radical dissidents trained in Libya, led by Foday Sankoh, formed the Revolutionary United Front (RUF). RUF was allied with Charles Taylor in Liberia

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  - Radical dissidents trained in Libya, led by Foday Sankoh, formed the Revolutionary United Front (RUF). RUF was allied with Charles Taylor in Liberia
- The Sierra Leone Army (SLA) was corrupted by the mid-1980s, with officer positions going to the highest bidder. Collusion between rebel Revolutionary United Front (RUF) and SLA meant that most violence was directed against civilians rather than at each other

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- RUF attackers massacred chiefs and elders, destroyed public buildings, displaced civilians
  - Recruits often attacked their home villages. Many children were forcibly recruited
- The Civilian Defense Forces (CDF) were locally organized and financed militias that successfully fought off the RUF/SLA in some areas
  - CDF's were organized around traditional secret societies, including Mende hunter groups
  - New institutions formed in response to the violence



## Causes of the war

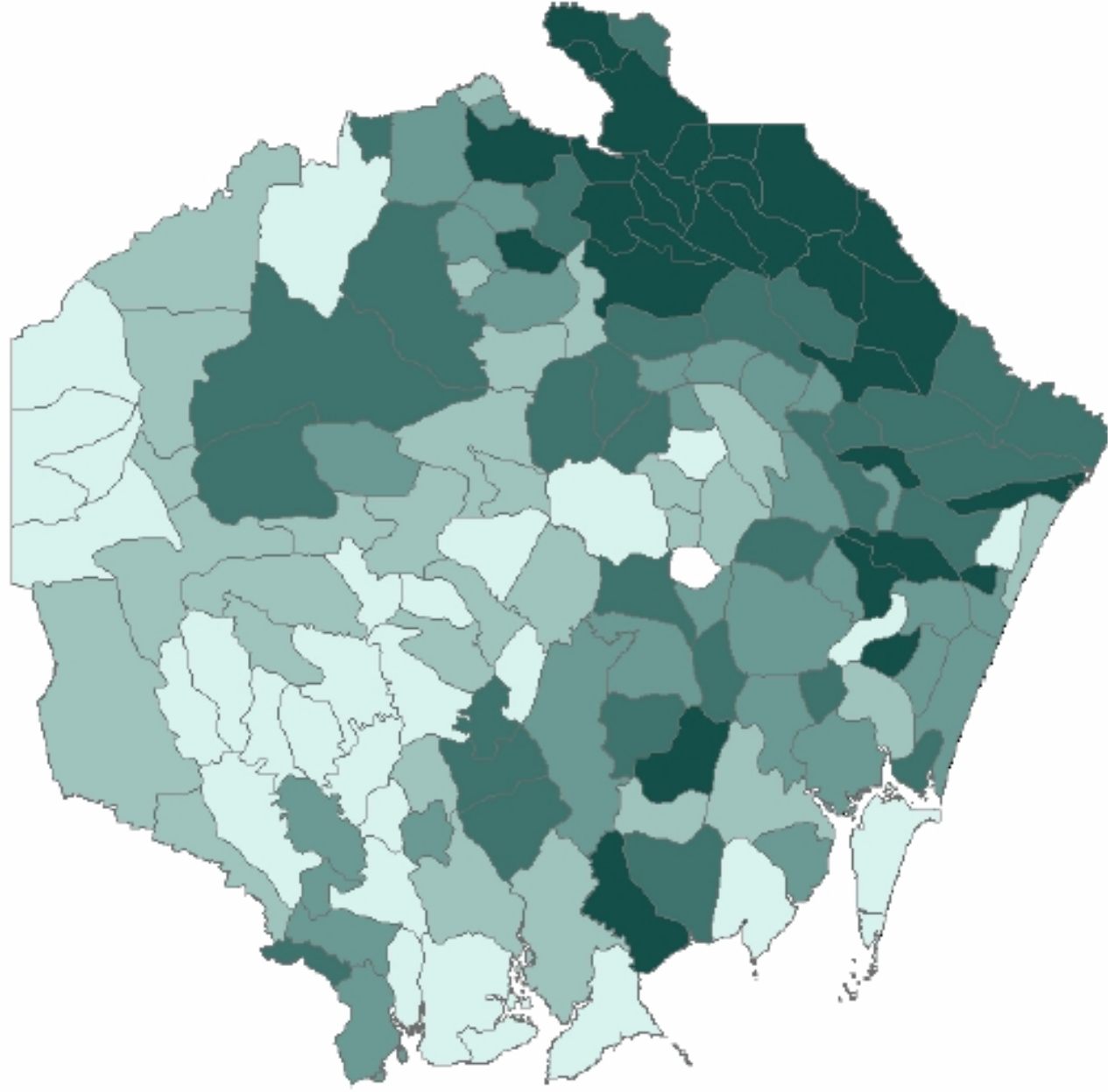
- Diamond smuggling financed group leaders and arms purchases, and armed groups often fought over control of the mines
- Deep underlying grievances against the state also fed the violence: Sierra Leone was second to last in the 1990 UN Human Development Index, and public services had completely fallen apart

GDP per capita		GDP per capita		Highest value during 1975–2003	Year of highest value
US\$	PPP US\$	Annual growth rate (%)		1975–2003 (PPP US\$)	
2003	2003	1975–2003	1990–2003		
149	548	-3.3	-5.3	1,139	1982

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics

	Mean	Std dev
Panel A: Conflict Victimization <sup>a</sup>		
Was anyone from this community injured/maimed during the conflict?	0.47	0.21
Did anyone from this community die as a result of the conflict?	0.68	0.22
Did any member of your household die as a result of the conflict?	0.39	0.22
Were any members of your household injured/maimed during the conflict?	0.26	0.15
Were any members of your household made refugees during the conflict?	0.53	0.31
Conflict victimization index ( <i>average of the above variables</i> )	0.46	0.17
Panel B: Conflict Reporting <sup>b</sup>		
Number of attacks and battles in chiefdom, 1991-2002	9.41	9.70

Figure 1: Conflict Victimization Index



## Where was the fighting in Sierra Leone?

- Local diamond mines, higher prewar incomes are both positively associated with local attacks and battles, “greed” as a driving factor
- Is Sierra Leone condemned to perpetual poverty as a result of the war?

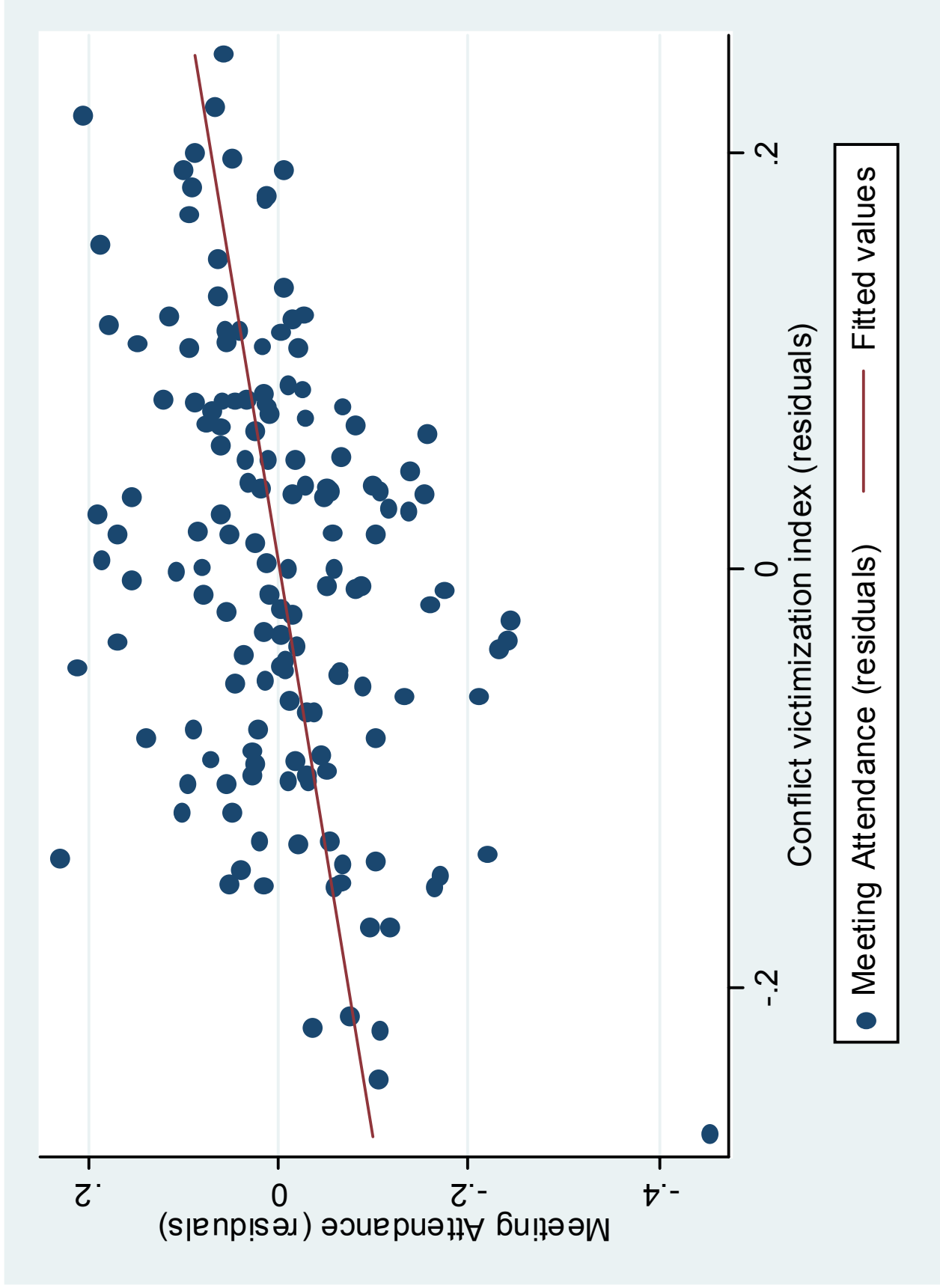
## Conflict intensity and post-war recovery

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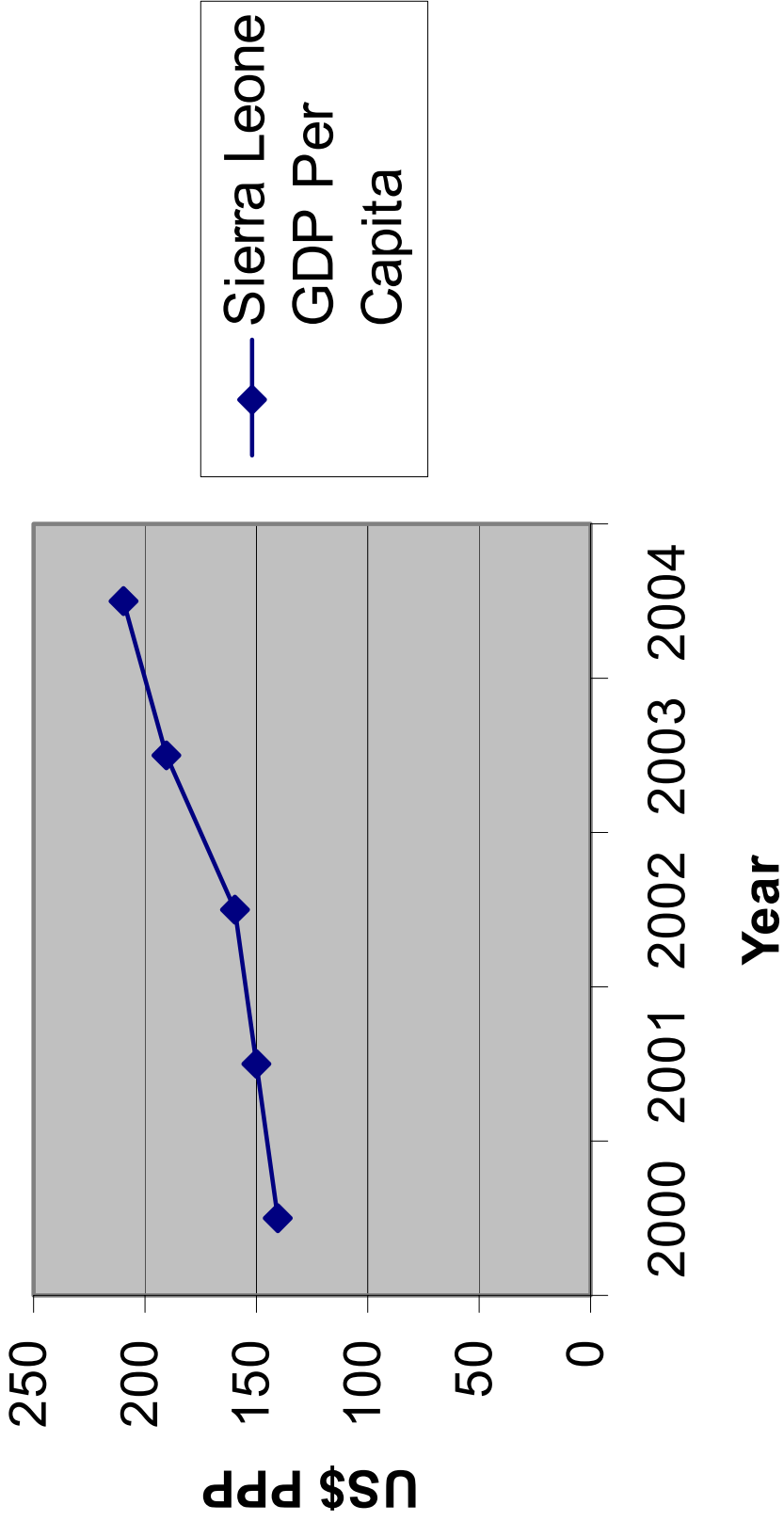
- Conflict victimization is – surprisingly – positively associated with several measures of postwar political mobilization, including community meeting attendance, voter registration, community group membership
  - And there is no significant negative relationship between conflict exposure and postwar 2004 socioeconomic outcomes (per capita consumption, schooling, child nutrition)
  - Partial recovery from the war appears to have been very rapid (within only a few years)

Figure 5: Community Meeting Attendance and Conflict Victimization (residuals)





# Sierra Leone GDP Per Capita



## The bottom line

- We find no lingering adverse effects of civil war violence in Sierra Leone on local living standards or institutions
  - Several measures of political mobilization / collective action are somewhat better in areas that experienced more violence during the conflict
  - 60% of 2005 IRCBP respondents claim that the war positively impacted community cooperation
  - Institutions, norms, and organizations forged during war persist into the postwar period

# Implications

- More speculatively: did the Sierra Leone civil war generate new – and possibly stronger – local institutions? Local governments?
- Keen (2005) claims the war increased political awareness and mobilization, especially for youths
- Ferme (2001, p. 228): “[Sierra Leoneans] have sometimes turned [social instability] into a creative, though violent, opportunity to refashion themselves vis-à-vis their own institutions”

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- Uncertainty over the July 2007 Presidential elections

- For next time: readings on Botswana, Africa's best-known success story

# Whiteboard #1

# Whiteboard #2

# Whiteboard #3



# Whiteboard #4

# Whiteboard #5

