The Journal of Sierra Leone Studies - October 2015.

Editor: John Birchall

Welcome to The Journal of Sierra Leone Studies. This is the first Journal dedicated solely to Sierra Leone to have been published for a long time.

We hope that it will be of use to academics, students and anyone with an interest in what for many is a rather 'special' country.

The Journal will not concentrate on one area of academic study and invites contributions from anyone researching and writing on Sierra Leone to send their articles to: John Birchall for consideration.

Prospective contributions should be between 3500-5000 words in length, though we will in special circumstances consider longer articles and authors can select whether they wish to be peer reviewed or not. Articles should not have appeared in any other published form before.

The Editorial Board reserves the right to suggest changes they consider are needed to the relevant author (s) and to not publish if such recommendations are ignored.

We are particularly interested to encourage students working on subjects specifically relating to Sierra Leone to submit their work.

Thank you so much for visiting The Journal and we hope that you (a) find it both interesting and of use to you and (b) that you will inform colleagues, friends and students of the existence of a Journal dedicated to the study of Sierra Leone.

John Birchall

Content

In Memory

Professor John Hargreaves (1924-2015)

John Hargreaves was one of a celebrated group of then young academics, who in the years immediately after World War II, changed the ways in which the people and history of Africa, especially its western region, were researched and written on.
He rejected what had once been the widely held belief that Africans had little, if any, meaningful history of their own. The story of their continent began when Europeans first arrived and became recognisable and worth considering only when Colonialism had taken its hold.
John wrote fourteen books in total and in Prelude to the Partition of West Africa (1963) and the two volumes of West Africa Partitioned (1974 and 1985), he analysed the partition of West Africa and what had led to it. John demonstrated that even as European powers became more willing to use the Maxim gun to dominate Africans and assume political control, the actual outcome in many situations continued to depend on the African-European relationships that had gone before and upon the immediate African responses to European incursions, whether these be resistance or negotiation.
In West Africa: The Former French States (1967), which was followed by a volume of illustrative documents, France and West Africa (1969), John concentrated on African-French relations from the 17th to the 20th centuries. Whenever collaboration gave way to domination, Africans were often subject to what John dubbed "intolerable inequalities": His ways of writing on his chosen subject or topic was to search for the truth. He had what might be termed a liberal, even radical, outlook on many social and political questions. His interest in the descendants of freed slaves in Sierra Leone

was one which won him many admirers, both inside Sierra Leone and across the continent, Europe and the United States.
He also taught in West Africa, beginning at Fourah Bay College (now the University of Sierra Leone) in 1952 and later at Ibadan University, Nigeria in 1971.
It was whilst working at the former that he decided to introduce a wide-ranging Journal to be entitled The Journal of Sierra Leone Studies.
He became a Lecturer at Aberdeen University in 1954 and a Professor in 1962. He always encouraged as many of his students as he could to research their own peoples, so allowing them to contribute greatly to the local and international recognition of African history and especially that of West Africa as being an important subject to study.
His work will live on as a testament to someone who opened the eyes and minds of countless people – be they African or European.

His wife, Sheila survives him, along with their son, two daughters, six grandchildren and four great-grandchildren – they will sincerely miss him, others will thank them for being part of a life we all gained so much from.

Content

The language ecology of Sierra Leone - G. Tucker Childs, Portland State University, Portland, OR (USA)

Abstract

Many of Sierra Leone's indigenous languages are robust and enjoy some support on the national level. Mende and Temne, for example, receive government support in terms of materials having been created for developing literacy in those languages. Other Sierra Leone languages receive support in nearby countries, e.g., Mandingo (Malinké) and Kisi in Guinea. Three languages in Sierra Leone, however, receive no such support and will likely disappear in a generation, namely, the three South Atlantic languages Mani (Bullom So), Kim (Krim) and Bom (Bum). A fourth language belonging to the same group, Sherbro, the subject of an upcoming investigation, has similarly received no national support but may have enough vitality to survive longer than the others. The purpose of this paper is to characterize the present status and vitality of the languages of Sierra Leone, concentrating on the endangered ones, and to suggest some possible future directions for language management at both national and local levels.

Introduction

Some crucial facts about the world's languages are presented in an introduction to beliefs and ideologies in the documentation of the world's languages (Austin and Sallabank 2014:2-3). The authors note these trends as,

• people are switching from minority to majority languages
• governments promote a standard purportedly to achieve national unity
• computer and media technologies using world languages are rapidly spreading

They estimate that a language is lost every three months and that 50% of the world's languages will be lost in the 21st century despite the interest in dying languages and their revitalization (pp. 2-3). The general public may be aware that the world is losing languages at an alarming pace, parallel to the loss of ecological diversity and attributable to identical causes, e.g., Mühlhäusler 1995. Australia and North America present the two best-documented areas of language loss, where most of the indigenous languages have disappeared after colonization by Europeans.

> Australia is the continent "experiencing the most rapid and drastic effects of language loss" … 95% of the languages will be lost by 2088, 300 years after the colonists arrived" (Evans 2007: 343).

The vast majority of the languages in Australia have fewer than 100 speakers, a good indicator of language desuetude. In North America the situation is comparable.

> Almost all of the languages still in use are endangered: fewer children are learning them every year, as is the case in Navajo, or children are no longer learning them at all. Well over a third of the languages spoken at contact [with Europeans] have already disappeared. Another quarter are now remembered by only a small number of elderly speakers. Nearly all are likely to be gone by the end of the twenty-first century (Yamamoto 2007 referencing Mithun 1999).

Likely the same losses will soon be true of other linguistically diverse areas such as Papua New Guinea and the southern Pacific.

Analysts have speculated that Africa has lost many languages in the past, particularly with the "Bantu Expansion" beginning in 1500 BCE from an area around the Nigeria-Cameroon border to East Africa and all the way down to southern Africa (Blench 2006). In its wake many languages disappeared as their speakers were assimilated. This is most obvious with the group of languages known as Khoisan (known popularly as "click languages") in southern Africa. Present-day civil unrest, e.g., in the Nuba Hills of Southern Sudan, is leading to the demise of many more, be it the "socio-economically supported nationalist regime of language", "armed conflicts", or "the standard monoglot ideology of Arabicization" (Mugaddam and Abdelhay 2013).

Although the situation in Sierra Leone is not as dire as it is in other parts of the world, it is one worth considering. In the next section I provide a brief inventory of the languages of Sierra Leone. I then focus on the languages that are threatened and in the following section identify some of the causes both in the past and in the present. The last section speculates on the future and suggests some strategies for preserving Sierra Leone's disappearing languages.

An inventory of the languages of Sierra Leone

The total number of languages in Sierra Leone is roughly twenty.[1] Most of the languages belong to one of two major language families, traditionally labelled Mande and Atlantic, which at one time were thought to be part of a single macro phylum, Niger-Congo. Increasingly Mande is seen as a group independent of Niger-Congo (e.g., Dimmendaal Forthcoming), and Atlantic is no longer seen as a coherent entity. It has been split into two groups designated by the geographical terms North and South Atlantic (e.g., Blench 2006). The only North Atlantic language in Sierra Leone is Fula, the people representing relatively recently migrants from Guinea who have settled primarily in the north of Sierra Leone. Fula is not discussed below. The other languages in (1) all belong to South Atlantic.

[1] *Ethnologue* (Lewis, Simons and Fennig 2015), a standard reference, identifies twenty-five languages splitting several languages into multiple varieties and including Sierra Leone Sign Language.

(1) The South Atlantic languages of Sierra Leone

Boom-Kim (Bom, Krim)	Limba[2]	Gola
Kisi (Kissi)	Temne (Themne)[3]	Mani (Bullom So, Mmani)
Sherbro		

I discuss neither Gola nor Kisi, as both languages are not deeply involved in the overall speech ecology of Sierra Leone, although they are important, respectively, in Liberia and Guinea. Gola is the more endangered language of the two, being spoken along the inland border with Sierra Leone in the Gola Forest. As is the case with speakers of other South Atlantic languages, Gola speakers are shifting to Mende, a Mande language, the most rapidly spreading language in Sierra Leone.

Other Atlantic languages I do not discuss are vital and widely spoken, especially Temne (Themne), one of the most important languages of Sierra Leone with over a million speakers concentrated in the Northern Province. Nearby Limba is also widely spoken, although many of its speakers are shifting to Temne. Both Temne and Limba have government support.

Of the Mande languages, only Mende functions importantly in the speech economy of Sierra Leone with 1,480,000 speakers in a recent count (Lewis et al. 2015). It is the most widely spoken language in the country and indeed spreading,[4] spilling over into Liberia and expanding into non-Mende-speaking areas. Yalunka, Soso, and Vai are more widely spoken in the coterminous countries of Liberia and Guinea and closely related to Mende.[5] Kuranko and Kono are part of the Mandeng cluster, which includes Mandingo, the group being a relic of the collapse of the Mali Empire; none of the three is widely spoken in Sierra Leone.

(2) Mande languages

Kono	Kuranko	Loko
Mandingo (Maninka, Malinké)	Mende	Soso (Susu)
Vai	Yalunka	

The final category includes the minor language Klao, whose speakers originally came from Liberia, and the important languages English and Krio. Krio is the third most widely spoken language, a creole based on English used widely in the country as a lingua franca and the first language of a sizeable and historically important group originating in a repatriated slave population. It is the first language of a sizeable population (473,000 in one count (Lewis et al. 2015)) and a second language of many more. English is the declared national language.

(3) Other languages

English	Klao (Kru)	Krio (an English-based creole)

Most of the languages of Sierra Leone are relatively healthy, being learnt by children as one of their first languages and functioning in important regional speech economies. In the following section I describe the threatened languages of Sierra Leone, which are not so healthy.

Threatened languages of Sierra Leone

This section characterizes the vitality of several threatened languages of Sierra Leone, Mani and Bom-Kim, two languages on which I have conducted research. An additional threatened language, Sherbro, forms the target of upcoming research.

[2] One reviewer pointed out that the dialects of Limba have been analyzed as different enough to constitute separate languages.

[3] "Mabanta" has been sometimes listed as a language of Sierra Leone (Dalby 1963) but has lately been shown to be a register of Temne (Kailie 2007).

[4] A Mende colleague at Fourah Bay College remarked, likely somewhat facetiously, that the Mende were regarded as "the Chinese" of Sierra Leone because they were so numerous.

[5] These languages are also a product of the Mali Empire but involve a more complicated history, e.g., Dwyer 2005.

1.1 Case study I: Bom and Kim

Treated as separate languages in the past, Bom and Kim have been recognized as a dialects of the same language, renamed "Bom-Kim" (Childs To appear-b). Bom-Kim may form a dialect continuum extending beyond the traditional Bom and Kim areas to Sherbro Island and north to Moyamba District along the coast. Bom represents a chiefdom administratively, and follows a not uncommon practice of naming a language for a locale (Lüpke Forthcoming), likely a river in the case of Bom (the "Bum River" (see, e.g., Hall 1938), the present-day Sewa.

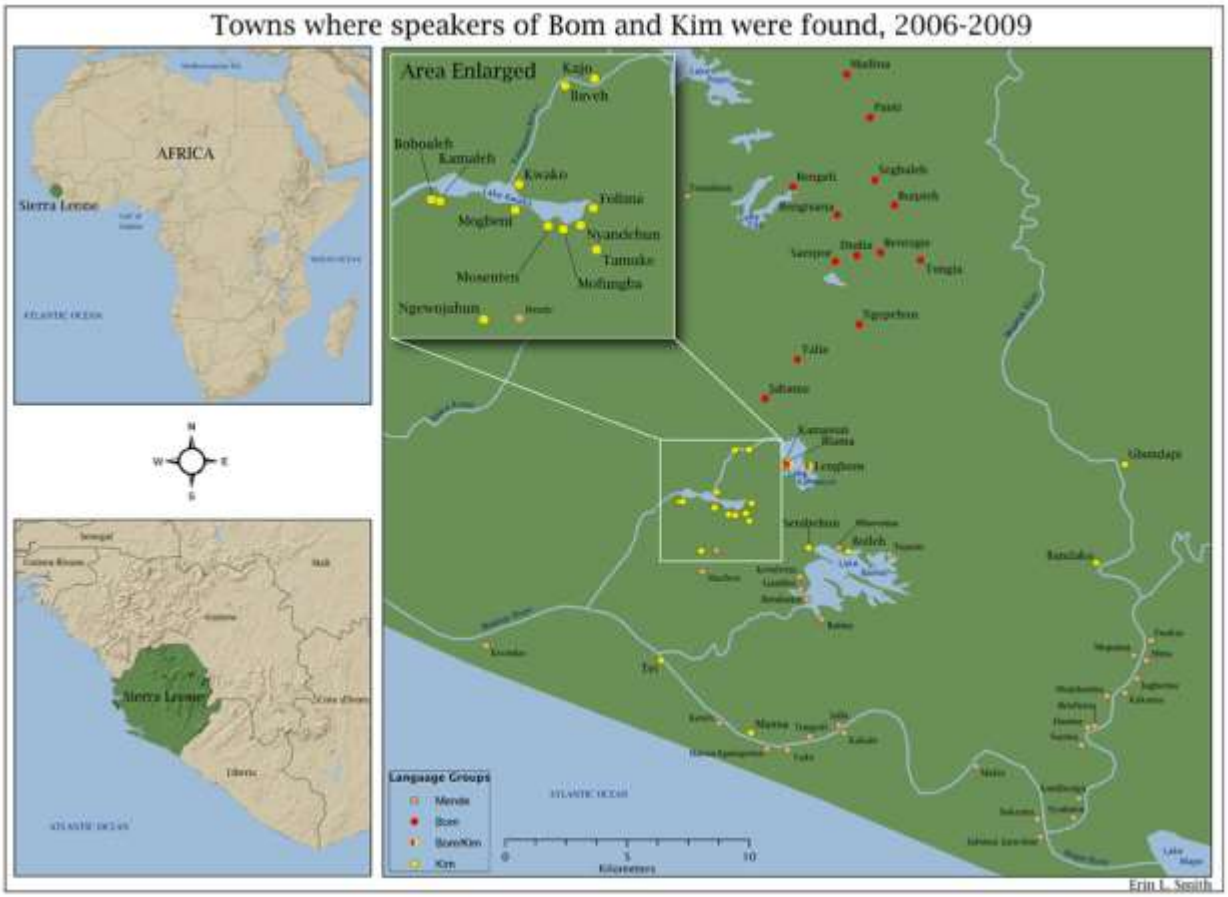
The language to which all Bom-Kim speakers are shifting is Mende, and all ethnically Bom-Kim people speak Mende, typically as their first language. No children are learning Bom-Kim; the youngest speakers we identified in our study (DKB, 2006-09) were in their fifties. The towns which were surveyed are shown in Map 1. It should be noted that no town had more than a few elderly speakers, some of whom had become only remembers (e.g.,Dimmendaal 1998).

Bom and Kim were considered to be separate languages by their speakers likely because of a relatively recent land battle and a telltale difference in the definite article. Linguistically, however, the two varieties are very close insofar as could be determined on the basis of aged speakers. They admitted to having no trouble understanding each other, and several speakers self-identified as Bom in one situation and as Kim in another.

Despite the enthusiasm shown for the language when project members arrived, we found very few speakers who controlled the variety enough to tell a story or play-act an interaction with another speaker (Childs 2012). The exception was the town of Sogbaleh, where we found a critical mass of speakers, mostly women, who actually used what they called Bom on a daily basis among themselves. They were a lively and entertaining group, who were quite proud of their language (and culture).[6]

Nonetheless, despite the speakers' enthusiasm the fate of Bom-Kim is irrevocable. As a spoken entity the language will disappear as soon as its speakers die. Its only preservation will be in the products of our documentation effort housed at the Endangered Languages Archive (ELAR) at the Hans Rausing Endangered Languages Project at SOAS, University of London, and at Fourah Bay College, the University of Sierra Leone.

[6] Just how entertaining can be understood by viewing the videos ("vlogs") produced by a Voice of America visitor to the project, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BHN6mDDlTqs (see also Parts 1-2 and 4) for further examples of video documentation.



Map 1 Documenting the Kim and Bom languages (DKB)

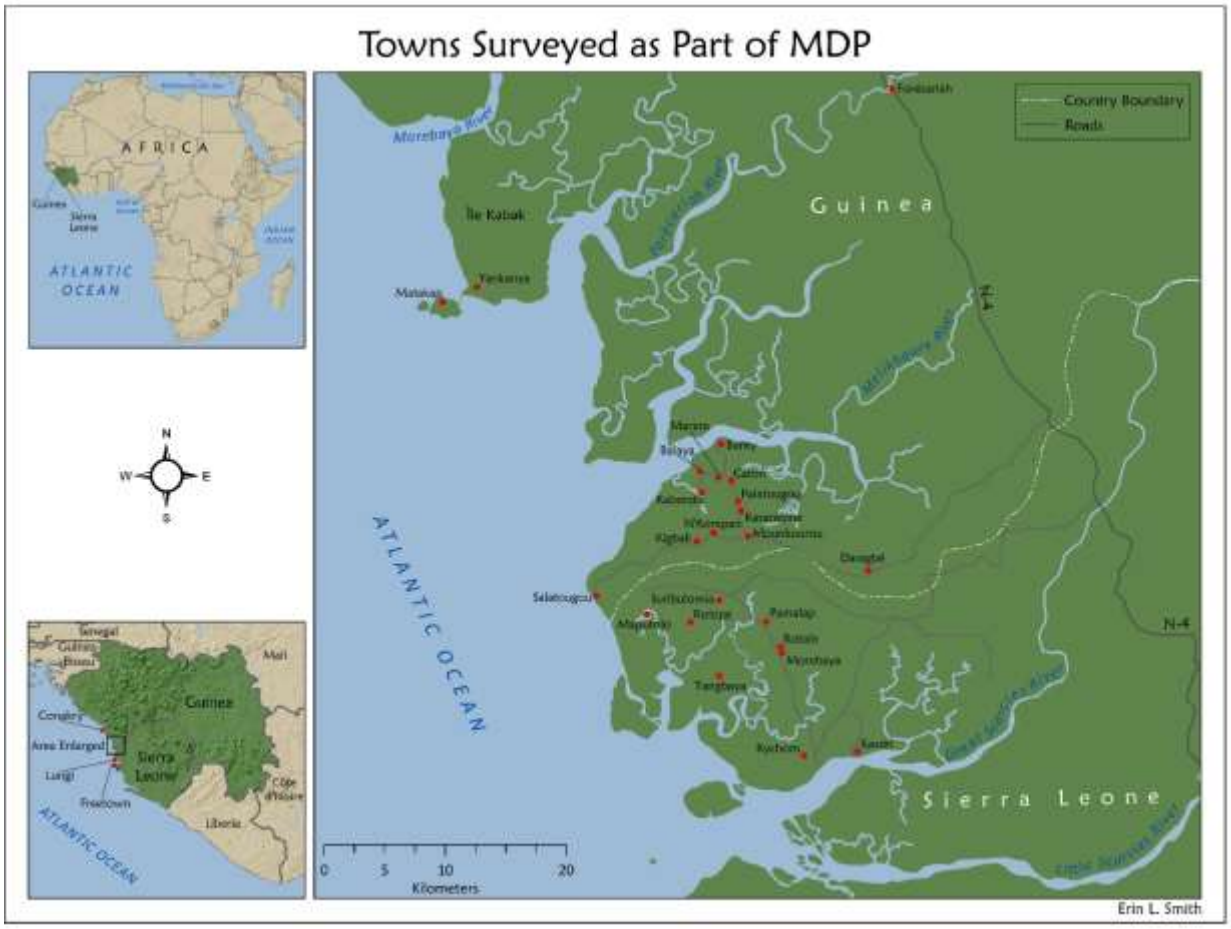
1.2 Case study II: Mani

The second study on which I report discusses a language straddling the border between Sierra Leone and Guinea, an area the colonizing French and British fought over. The eventual outcome was for the traditional Mani area to be split between two colonial entities and eventually two countries, an unhappy consequence for the Mani people and for their language, although there is much interaction along the coastal waterways even during the time of the civil war in Sierra Leone. It was originally thought that the Mani language was as defunct as Bom-Kim, but an offhand comment and a later investigation discovered an island on which children grew up actually speaking Mani.

In 2000 several colleagues from the University of Conakry and I embarked on a mission to document the Mani language, partially because Voeltz 1996 painted a rather glum picture of the language, reporting that there were few speakers under fifty. Thus there was some urgency to the enterprise. One component of the research was a pilot survey attempting to understand when and why people shifted. Another was to assess who spoke the language and in what contexts. The final picture, as added to later by more extensive work by a sizeable research team (described in Childs 2011), was glummer than originally surmised – the language, as with many of its congeners, stood no chance of survival (Childs To appear-a).

The Mani were the original occupants of the Samu region of Guinea and Sierra Leone, who lost territory to Soso interlopers in the north, who now completely dominate the region, at least on the Guinea side of the border. On the southern side it is both the Soso and the Temne who have taken over traditionally Mani areas with their languages forming the target variety of young speakers.

Mani was once spoken in a coastal area straddling the border between the Republic of Guinea and Sierra Leone: Map 2 shows the towns that our research team surveyed as part of the Mani Documentation Program (MDP, 2004-06) and later a project video documenting the Mani people and culture (VDM, 2011-13).



Map 2 The Mani Documentation Project

The area where Mani was historically spoken is certainly larger than where it is spoken today. At the beginning of the 18th century a Mani kingdom stretched from Freetown north to the River Pongo (Arcin 1907, as referenced by Diallo 1974:36). Oral testimony relates how it was an invasion by the Temne, specifically the kidnapping of the Mani king and the subsequent warfare that precipitated the fall of the kingdom. Contributing to the effects of the Temne attacks on the southern flank of the Samu was the more pacific but no less linguistically devastating advent of the Soso, who were themselves pushed into the Samu by the Fula in the 18th century. The forcible conversion to Islam of all Samu inhabitants came later at the hands of the not-so-pacific "Tourelakaï", a warlike Muslim Malinké (Mandingo) group on jihad in the 19th century (Diallo 1974:37).

The fate of Mani was obvious in a survey we performed of language attitudes. An anecdote illustrates the low esteem in which the language is held, even by ethnic Mani. Alia Fadega, an (ethnic) Mani elder on the island of Kabak (off the coast of southern Guinea), was questioned about the use of Mani in his town of Kakende. He told us that he had heard only the old people (*les vieux*) speaking Mani, and they did so in only a few domains. One domain was in speaking to their dogs; the second was when his grandfather would go to a large kapok tree behind the village and speak to what his grandfather called "*le diable, les fétiches*" (the devil, the fetishes), the target of condemnation by the local imam. It is likely the Mani conversation was directed at the ancestors, elders who had died and who had been demonized by Muslim proselytizers. This anecdote points to the devastating role that Islam has had on the indigenous languages and cultures of the Samu. Other practices include simply ridiculing the language in public to disallowing the traditional consumption of palm wine, the mildly intoxicating sap of the palm tree. The language was not allowed in the mosque although the majority language Soso was.

Childs 2004 shows some of the linguistic effects on Mani due to contact with the Mande language Soso. One sees, then, a language substantively changed by contact with the language and culture to which its speakers are switching. All speakers of Mani are bilingual, and most ethnic Mani are monolingual in Soso. We originally believed there was no hope for the language itself but we later discovered an island (literally) of Mani speakers on a remote tidal island (see Map 2), accessible only by dugout canoe.

Not all of the people on the island of Tangbaya, however, spoke Mani. There were both Mani and Soso towns on the island. Even in Tangbaya, the largest town on the island, containing the greatest number of Mani speakers, there were many monolingual speakers of Soso. The only monolingual speakers of Mani were very young and by the time they reached puberty, they all spoke Soso as well. For this reason we pressed ahead with a revitalization program that may have been misguided and doomed at the onset (Childs 2013, Childs To appear-a).

In this brief look at two languages of Sierra Leone, we see essentially the same consequent. One language (Bom-Kim) is further along than the other (Mani) on a path to disappearance, but both will be only historical artefacts in a generation as their speakers pass away. The question arises as to why this is so, the topic of the next section.

The causes of language death

Very generally one can say that the reason people stop speaking one language and start speaking another is socio-economic in its basis. People see no advantage to using a language they know or were born with and begin learning and using another. In Africa this is a relatively common process with fluid identities and few nationalist ideologies of the sort found in Europe (Lüpke and Storch 2013). A specific cause could be the pressure of a larger group, e.g., the Soso, the Temne, or the Mende; it could be the promise of a job in another area, e.g., diamond mining in Kono; it could simply be the draw of the city (Freetown).

In (4) I summarize the factors most important in threatening the less widely spoken Atlantic languages from Senegal down to Liberia, most of which are relevant to the Sierra Leone context. Notice that no one factor is criterial – it is rather the accumulated pressure of a constellation of factors in determining language shift and eventually language death. Because many of the small Atlantic groups, like the Bom-Kim and Mani, once lacked and may still lack sociopolitical organization beyond the hamlet or village,[7] they were less able to resist external pressures and in fact have a tradition of welcoming "strangers" (outsiders) into their midst (Brooks 1993).

(4) Factors contributing to language death within the Atlantic Group

Economic: the young seeking employment in the cities, on plantations, or in the mines
Demographic: the incursion of large and powerful groups, the Mande Expansion (e.g., Niane 1989), Wolof, Fulfulde, Malinké, Soso, Temne, Mende, etc.
Religious proselytizing: the spread of Islam (Fulɓe and Soso jihads) and Christianity
Militaristic: the Mandeng Empire, European colonization
Cultural: the welcoming of "strangers" by traditional societies, openness to external influences
Slavery (and pawning): trafficking and the abduction of young men and women from villages, the destruction of traditional practices and alliances
Neo-colonialization, especially in terms of extractive industries: gold, diamonds, iron ore, rutile, bauxite; "blood lumber"[8]; factory fishing within Sierra Leone's territorial waters
Globalization: involvement in the world's economy
Environmental (see the papers in De Busser and LaPolla 2015, especially the introduction De Busser 2015; Maffi 2005)

Each of the factors listed above has a Sierra Leone instantiation, as has been suggested in the case studies. Others can be mentioned. For example, during the DKB we could hear and see the Korean trawlers off the Sierra Leone coast. There was even an instance when a Korean fisherman came ashore and told the village fishermen that they should not be fishing in their own waters! A particular example of globalization is the sale of large plots of land to the Chinese, who established the Sierra Leone China Agricultural Development Company (SLeCHAD), a US $1.3 billion project for growing rice and rubber, thus taking away the local livelihood of small-time farmers. Because of the flood of cheap products from China, part of a deal made involving the construction of football stadiums and roads (all by Chinese workers), there is no chance for the development of local industries. Guinea-Bissau is the most striking example of the spread of the international drug trade, serving as an entrepôt for cocaine shipments to Europe since the 2000s (Earnshaw 2013), but also Guinea-Conakry as well (witness a drug bust (cocaine) in Boke in 2008). Such developments do not augur well for the future of threatened languages.

[7] In Sierra Leone political positions above the village are controlled by the state rather than determined by vote of the people. For example, among the peoples of the coast the paramount chief or king could come only from one of the royal families (Reed and Robinson 2013). In a recent election I observed, a history was fabricated for the government candidate, creating such an ancestry.

[8] "Blood lumber" makes reference to the selected harvesting of high-value hardwoods from the rain forest, destroying much of the forest in the process. The term arises by analogy with the term "blood diamonds", the term used to describe the mining practices that financed Charles Taylor and others.

Conclusion, the future

The prediction is that speakers will continue shifting to the more widely spoken languages, as has been found elsewhere in the world. Two apparent exceptions can be discarded as somewhat negligible to the inexorable process.

Some say that language diversity is maintained in the birth of new, mostly urban languages, such as those described in Kiessling and Mous 2004. These languages appear at nowhere near a rate sufficient to replace the loss of languages elsewhere. Furthermore, these new languages are symbolic of a western orientation, the high life of fast-paced urban culture, e.g., Childs 1997, Goyvaerts 1988, and sustain little of the culture tied to the disappearing languages. Finally, these languages often are simply divergent dialects or slang (Mfusi 1990), and/or displace or replace other varieties.

The spread of lingua francas in Africa, e.g., Heine 1969, has also been construed as somehow not affecting the status and viability of traditional languages. For example, it has been stated that "there have been surprisingly few reports of languages actually dying out; rather, the dramatic reports are of growth in lingua francas" (Mann 1990:1). Such statements fly in the face of reason and empirical facts, for as speakers increasingly adopt shared languages due to new communities of practice, the contexts in which their first languages are used decrease and consequently the languages fall into disuse and eventually disappear from their repertoires. In a few places a stable sort of multiglossia may obtain, i.e., with languages apportioned as to function. For example, a language learned as a child will be used within the home or in one's natal village (Mani/Bullom, Temne, Mende, etc.), a lingua franca in the market or on the job (Krio), and an exoglossic variety in school (English). The general pattern, however, in the communities with which I am familiar is for the village language to be forgotten in the city and not learned by the next urbanized generation.

Only rarely are home languages retained, as is the case with the less widely spoken Atlantic languages of Sierra Leone. The one possibility of survival is through stable bilingualism, as found in Senegal with the Cangin languages, e.g., Drolc 2003. Here all speakers are bilingual in Wolof and their mother tongue Cangin language, preserving the latter for use in the home and related contexts. Such a development is unusual, however, and is found with a few other North Atlantic languages (see Lüpke Forthcoming for an example in the Casamance region of Senegal).

A direction for future research is to assess the impact of the Ebola crisis on the peoples and the languages of Sierra Leone. Because traditional practices were so heavily disparaged by international and national authorities, it seems likely that the culture with which the practices are associated would have undergone some damage, just as pernicious as the mocking of local languages in the villages. Integrating treatment with local practices would likely have been more effective (Peters 2015).

The question arises as to whether any of the languages can be preserved. There are two levels at which action can be taken, national and local. The Sierra Leone Government has already taken some action in supporting indigenous languages. Indigenous languages that have already received support at the national level in Sierra Leone are Krio,[9] Limba, Mende, and Temne. With the help of external funding, schoolbooks for the elementary schools have been developed and teachers have been trained in these four languages. English remains the national language de jure but has been replaced in many spheres by Krio, e.g., at Fourah Bay College, for example, a national university.[10]

The second is at the local level, where the speakers and perhaps would-be speakers keen on preserving the language would spearhead revitalization efforts. If a language is to be revived, the ultimate source of energy for such projects is the community itself.

The form that revival or preservation would take is the same in both cases. Authorities or the community must guarantee the reservation of a domain for the threatened language, a (local) multiglossia (Romaine 2002, 2007). Thus, for example, Mani could be reserved for cultural events or for use in the home. Such domains seem a natural place for the language to be maintained. Otherwise the language and the culture of which it forms a part will be lost forever.

References

Arcin, André. 1907. *La Guinée Française: Races, réligions, coutumes, production, commerce*. Paris: Challamel.

[9] Note that Krio is here considered an indigenous language.

[10] This fact was brought forward when I served as an occasional guest lecturer in linguistics at Fourah Bay College, University of Sierra Leone, from 2005-13. Some students were unable to understand my lectures in English.

Austin, Peter K., and Julia Sallabank. 2014. Introduction to *Endangered Languages: Beliefs and Ideologies in Language Documentation and Revitalisation*. In *Endangered Languages: Beliefs and Ideologies in Language Documentation and Revitalisation*, eds. Austin, Peter K. and Julia Sallabank: 1-26. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press / British Academy.

Blench, Roger M. 2006. *Archaeology, Language, and the African Past*. Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press.

Brooks, George E. 1993. *Landlords and Strangers: Ecology, Society, and Trade in Western Africa, 1000-1630*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

De Busser, Rik. 2015. The influence of social, cultural, and natural factors on language structure. In *Language Structure and Environment: Social, cultural, and natural factors*, eds. De Busser, Rik and Randy J. LaPolla: 1-28. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

De Busser, Rik, and Randy J. LaPolla eds. 2015. *Language Structure and Environment: Social, cultural, and natural factors* Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Childs, G. Tucker. 1997. The status of Isicamtho, an Nguni-based urban variety of Soweto. In *Pidgins and Creoles: Structure and Status*, eds. Spears, Arthur K. and Donald Winford: 341-370. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

___. 2004. The Atlantic and Mande groups of Niger-Congo: A study in contrasts, a study in interaction. *Journal of West African Languages* 30, 2:29-40.

___. 2011. *A Grammar of Mani*. New York and Berlin: de Gruyter.

___. 2012. How to pretend you speak a dying language when you don't really know how to speak it: methodological worries in documenting dying languages. In *Proceedings of the 6th WOCAL World Congress of African Linguistics, Cologne, 17-21 August 2009*, eds. Brenzinger, Matthias and Anne-Maria Fehn: 75-90. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.

___. 2013. Doing what (you think) is right in the field: Problematizing the documentation of endangered languages. In *Lone Tree: Khoisan Studies in the Service of the Koon. Essays in memory of Anthony Traill*, eds. Vossen, Rainer and Wilfred H. G. Haacke: 91-108. Cologne, Germany: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.

___. To appear-a. Busy intersections: A framework for revitalization. In *Africa's Endangered Languages: Documentary and Theoretical Approaches*, ed. Kandybowicz, Jason. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

___. To appear-b. One language or two? Bom and Kim, two highly endangered South Atlantic :languages". In *Proceedings of WOCAL 7*, ed. Atindogbé, Gratien Gualbert. Cologne, Germany: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.

Dalby, T. D. P. 1963. Banta and Mabanta. *Sierra Leone Language Review* 2:23-25.

Diallo, Mahmoudou Kana. 1974. L'Ile de Kabak, Mémoire de Diplôme de Fin d'Études Supérieures thesis, Faculté des Sciences Sociales (Option : Géographie-Math), Institut Polytechnique "Gamal Abdel Nasser" (University of Conakry), Conakry.

Dimmendaal, Gerrit J. 1998. Language contraction versus other types of contact-induced change. In *Endangered Languages in Africa*, ed. Brenzinger, Matthias: 71-117. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.

Dimmendaal, 2011.Different cultures, different attitudes: but how different is "the African situation" really? In *Language Revitalization: An African Perspective*, eds. Essegbey, James, Brent Henderson and Fiona McLaughlin. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Drolc, Ursula. 2003. *On the emergence of bidirectional vowel harmony in Ndut*. Trenton, NJ: Rutgers University (WOCAL 4).

Dwyer, David J. 2005. The Mende problem. In *Studies in African Comparative Linguistics with Special Focus on Bantu and Mande*, eds. Bostoen, Koen and Jacky Maniacky: 29-42. Tervuren, Belgique: Musée Royale de l'Afrique Centrale.

Earnshaw, David. 2013. Guinea-Bissau: The Failed State you've Probably Never Heard of. In *St. Andrews Foreign Affairs Review*.

Evans, Nicholas. 2007. Warramurrungunji undone: Australian languages in the 51st millenium. In *Language Diversity Endangered*, ed. Brenzinger, Matthias: 342-373. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Goyvaerts, Didier L. 1988. Indoubil: A Swahili hybrid in Bukavu. *Language in Society* 17:231-242.

Hall, Henry Usher. 1938. *The Sherbro of Sierra Leone; a preliminary report on the work of the University museum's Expedition to West Africa, 1937*. Philadelphia: The University Press, University of Pennsylvania.

Heine, Bernd. 1969. *Status and Use of African Lingua Francas*. München: Weltforum Verlag.

Kailie, Martin J. 2007. *Research on Banta/Banda/Mabanta, a dialect of Themne/Temne: Its influence on ethnic descendants speaking Mende*. Freetown, Sierra Leone: Fourah Bay College, University of Sierra Leone.

Kiessling, Roland, and Maarten Mous. 2004. Urban youth languages in Africa. *Anthropological Linguistics* 46:303-341.

Lewis, M. Paul, Gary F. Simons, and Charles D. Fennig eds. 2015. *Ethnologue: Languages of Africa and Europe, 18th ed*. Dallas, TX: SIL International Publications.

Lüpke, Friederike. Forthcoming. Pure fiction - the interplay of indexical and essentialist language ideologies and heterogeneous practices - A view from Agnack. *Language Documentation and Description*.

Lüpke, Friederike, and Anne Storch. 2013. *Repertoires and Choices in African Languages*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

Maffi, Luisa. 2005. Linguistic, cultural, and biological diversity. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 34:599-617.
Mann, Michael. 1990. A linguistic map of Africa. In *Lexicography in Africa: Progress reports from the Dictionary Research Centre Workship at Exeter, 24-25 March 1989 (Exeter Linguistics Studies 15)*, ed. Hartmann, R. R. K.: 1-7. Exeter: University of Exeter Press.
Mfusi, Mmemezi Joseph Heracles. 1990. Soweto Zulu Slang: a sociolinguistic study of an urban vernacular in Soweto, M.A. thesis, Department of African Languages, University of South Africa, Pretoria.
Mithun, Marianne. 1999. *The Languages of Native North America*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
Mugaddam, Abdel Rahim Hamid, and Ashraf Abdelhay. 2013. Exploring the sociolinguistic profile of Tima in the Nuba Mountains of Sudan. In *Nuba Mountain Language Studies*, eds. Schadeberg, Thilo C. and Roger M. Blench: 297-324. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.
Mühlhäusler, Peter. 1995. On the relationship between linguistic and biological diversity. In *The Politics of Multiculturalism in Oceania and Polynesia*, ed. Myers, David: 154-161. Darwin: University of the Northern Territory Press.
Niane, Djibril Tamsir. 1989. *Histoire des Mandingues de l'Ouest*. Paris: Éditions Karthala et Arsan.
Peters, Melissa Minor. 2015. Ebola and accusation: Stigma and blame drive Sierra Leone's Ebola epidemic. *WARA Newsletter* Spring:12-13.
Reed, Tristan, and James A. Robinson. 2013. The Chiefdoms of Sierra Leone.
Romaine, Suzanne. 2002. Can stable diglossia help to preserve endangered languages? *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 2002:135-140.
___. 2007. Preserving Endangered Languages. *Language and Linguistics Compass* 1, 1-2 (March 2007):115–132. 10.1111/j.1749-818X.2007.00004.x
Voeltz, F. K. Erhard. 1996. *Les langues de la Guinée (Cahiers d'Étude des Langues Guinéennes 1)*. Conakry: Université de Conakry, Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines.
Yamamoto, Akira Y. 2007. Endangered languages in USA and Canada. In *Language Diversity Endangered*, ed. Brenzinger, Matthias: 87-122. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

The Colors of the Flag of Sierra Leone: An African centric Analysis

Abdul Karim Bangura

Abstract

This paper provides an African centric analysis of the colors of the flag of Sierra Leone, thereby making a substantial contribution to the literature on the topic. To do so, the following two major research questions are probed: (1) What is the history of the colors of the Sierra Leonean flag? (2) What are their African centric meanings? In order to provide substantive responses to these questions, the African centric research methodology is employed to ground the analysis. The findings delineated after the systematic investigation reveal that the African centric historical development and characteristics of the Sierra Leonean flag have overwhelmingly more positive meanings associated with the colors than negative, and even the few negative connotations are usually the result of distinct situations; from ancient to modern Africans, color was and is still deemed to be a vital element of the African worldview.

Introduction

The colors of the Sierra Leonean flag comprise a highly revered political symbol to Sierra Leoneans in the country and the Diaspora. The colors are green, white, and blue as shown in Figure 1. According to Armand du Payrat and Daniel Roudaut (2000), the shades of both the green and blue colors are lighter than those in British national symbols.

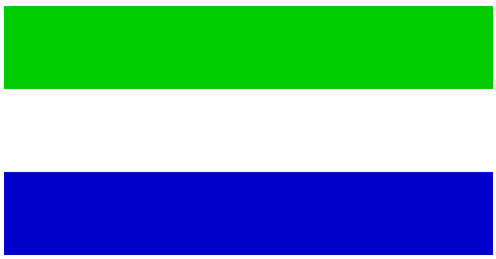


Figure 1: The Flag of Sierra Leone

While there are numerous brief descriptions, meanings and histories of the colors written on the Internet by sellers of merchandise bearing the colors, news reporters, authors of blog posts, vector graphic designers, and writers of lesson plans, only one very brief analysis of the colors by Whitney Smith in the *Encyclopedia Britannica* (2013) exists. I therefore seek to provide a more detailed and systematic analysis of the colors in this essay. This endeavor is important because symbols, as some scholars and I have observed, are critical in promoting social integration; fostering legitimacy; inducing loyalty; gaining compliance; providing citizens with security and hope; and yielding deeper dyadic, triadic and polyadic meanings (e.g., Edelmam, 1964; Jones, 1964, Merelman, 1966, Cobb and Elder, 1976; Elder and Cobb, 1983; Bangura, 2002a & 2002b). These same factors must have motivated the adopters of the colors of the Sierra Leonean flag.

Moreover, different colors have conveyed different meanings to Africans since antiquity. For example, as April McDevitt points out,

> In ancient Egypt, color (*iwen*) was an integral part of the substance and being of everything in life. The color of something was a clue to the substance or heart of the matter. When it was said that one could not know the color of the gods, it meant that they themselves were unknowable, and could never be completely understood. In art, colors were clues to the nature of the beings depicted in the work. For instance, when Amon was portrayed with blue skin, it alluded to his cosmic aspect. Osiris' green skin was a reference to his power over vegetation and to his own resurrection (McDevitt, 2014).

Another example is the *Kente* cloth. As the Midwest Global Group, Inc. notes,

> [The *Kente* cloth] has its roots in a long tradition of weaving in Africa dating back to about 3000 B.C. The origin of *Kente* is explained with both a legend and historical accounts. A legend has it that a man named Ota Karaban and his friend Kwaku Ameyaw from the town of Bonwire (now the leading *Kente* weaving center in Ashanti), learned the art of weaving by observing a spider weaving its web. Taking a cue from the spider, they wove a strip of raffia fabric and later improved upon their skill. They reported their discovery to their chief Nana Bobie, who in turn reported it to the Asantehene (the Ashanti Chief) at that time. The Asantehene adopted it as a royal cloth and encouraged its development as a cloth of prestige reserved for special occasions (Midwest Global Group, Inc., 2014).

The Midwest Global Group, Inc. adds that

> *Kente* is used not only for its beauty but also for its symbolic significance. Each cloth has a name and a meaning; and each of the numerous patterns and motifs has a name and a meaning. Names and meanings are derived from historical events, individual achievements, proverbs, philosophical concepts, oral literature, moral values, social code of conduct of conduct, human behavior and certain attributes of plant and animal life. Patterns and motifs are rendered in geometric abstractions of objects associated with the intended meaning (Midwest Global Group, Inc., 2014).

Thus, the major research questions probed in this essay are as follows: (1) What is the history of the colors of the Sierra Leonean flag? (2) What are their African centric meanings? Before providing answers to these questions, it makes sense to begin with a brief discussion of the African centric research methodology that undergirds the analysis to follow for those readers who may not be familiar with it.

African Centric Research Methodology

As I recount in my book titled *African-Centered Research Methodologies: From Ancient Times to the Present* (2011), from the late 1980s to the mid-1990s, many, and consistent, definitions of African centricity were proffered by Africanists. The first definition was by Molefi Kete Asante who defined "African centricity [African-centered] as the placing of African ideals at the center of any analysis that involves African culture and behavior" (1987:6). The second definition was by C. Tsehloane Keto who defined the "African-centered perspective [as an approach that] rests on the premise that it is valid to position Africa as a geographical and cultural starting base in the study of peoples of African descent" (1989:1). The third definition was by Wade Nobles who defined "Afrocentric, Afrocentric, or African-Centered [as being] interchangeable terms representing the concept which categorizes a quality of thought and practice which is rooted in the cultural image and interest of African people and which represents and reflects the life experiences, history and traditions of African people as the center of analyses. It is therein that the intellectual and philosophical foundation [with] which African people should create their own scientific criterion for authenticating human reality" exists (1990:47). The fourth definition was by Maulana Karenga who defined "Afrocentricity...as a quality of thought and practice rooted in the cultural image and human interest of African people [and their descendants]. To be rooted in the cultural image of African people is to be anchored in the views and values of African people as well as in the practice which emanates from and gives rise to these views and values" (1993:36). Finally, Lathardus Goggins II defined "African-centered [as being able] to construct and use frames of reference, cultural filters and behaviors that are consistent with the philosophies and heritage of African cultures in order to advance the interest of people of African descent" (1996:18).

From the preceding definitions, it is evident that African centricity presupposes knowledge of a commonality of cultural traits among the diverse peoples of Africa which characterize and constitute a worldly view that is somehow distinct from that of the foreign world views that have influenced African peoples. African centricity simply means that the universe is a collection of relationships, and an individual or a group being in that universe is defined by and dependent upon these relationships. Africans, prior to European and Asian dominance, and still to some degree now, considered the Cause or God as being a part of His creation while Europeans on the other hand considered God separate from His creation.

Furthermore, Asante suggests that in the analysis of what he calls the "three fundamental Afrocentric themes of transcendent discourse: (1) human relations, (2) humans' relationship to the supernatural, and (3) humans' relationships to their own being" (1987:168) that if done with an awareness of the interrelatedness of these themes, a greater understanding of the African being will be acquired. These themes are embedded in the following academic disciplines from an African centric perspective:

(a) *Psychology* is the study of the way in which the mind works and the manifestation of those thoughts into actions or behaviors while recognizing the distinct character of African thought processes and behavior. In particular, this suggests the predominance or greater use of the right hemisphere, the intuitive side, of the brain when compared with other peoples and its subsequent effects on thoughts and behaviors.

(b) *Anthropology* is the study of the physical, social, and cultural adaptation of African peoples to their ever-changing environment.

(c) *Theology* is the study of the way in which Africans define the Supreme Being that is responsible for the creation and sustaining of the universe and all in it and their relationship to the Supreme Being, God.

(d) *History* is the recording and studying of the relationships between events. From an African centric perspective, the African conception of time, cyclic as opposed to the European linear, must be used in application of this discipline in order for it to truly be considered African centric.

(e) *Linguistics* is the study of the way in which language is structured and its nature, as well as the particular way in which Africans conceive and represent the universe in their languages.

There are other areas of study in which an African centric perspective can and should be applied in order to grasp the impact that African cultures have had in those disciplines: Egyptology, literature, music, political science, psychology, anthropology, philosophy, sociology, mathematics, the natural sciences, etc. As in the African conception of the universe, all things are defined by relationships and, therefore, African centricity in its application can only be successful when the interrelated natures of these disciplines are reconciled.

Brief Historical Background of the Colors of Sierra Leone's Flag

According to Horace Castell, when Sierra Leone gained its independence from Britain on April 27, 1961, the Sierra Leonean flag was hoisted for the first time at midnight of that day (Castell, 1961:1). Whitney Smith points out that the three horizontal colors stood for Sierra Leone's resources and people as follows: (1) the green for agriculture and the mountains; (2) the white for unity and justice; and (3) the blue for the desire to contribute to world peace through the use of the unique natural harbor in Freetown, the country's capital. Smith adds that the three colors are also represented in the national coat of arms that includes a lion which reflects the country's name—a Portuguese phrase (*Serra Lyoa*, my addition) meaning "Lion Mountain"—and was granted in 1960: i.e. one year before independence (Smith, 2013).

It also should be noted here that the flag and coat of arms were designed by the late Imam Alhaj Mohammed Pa Bai Hassan Bangura (1933-2012), the first Sierra Leonean government artist sent to study in the United Kingdom and Al-Azar University in Cairo, Egypt (personal interview, April 14, 2001). Some of his works are available via the following Web site of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, DC: <http://collections.si.edu/search/results.htm?q=Bangura+Hassan>.

In 1963, the government of Sierra Leone made it illegal to "insult" the country's flag and those of "friendly" nations (*Milwaukee Sentinel*, 1963:60). The government also in 1991, as Christopher Southworth points out, confirmed the flag via Chapter One, Article 3(1) of the Constitution (Act No. 6 of 1991) dated 1 October 1991 as follows:

> a. The Flag of which the design is described in paragraph (b) hereof is hereby declared to be the National Flag of Sierra Leone.
>
> b. The design of the Flag shall be from the top of the Flag to the bottom thereof, three horizontal stripes of green, white and blue.
>
> c. The normal size of the Flag for official use shall be in the proportion of nine units across to six units down (Southworth, 2009).

In 2010, the government took steps to curb registrations dealing with the use of the flag as one of convenience. This was in response to the "minimum enforcement" of admiralty law on such vessels that allowed them to engage in illegal and suspicious activities such as unlawful fishing, the use of the flag on vessels from nations that were under the sanctions of the United Nations, and transportation of arms (Akam, 2010; Associated Press, 2012).

Colour-by-Colour Analysis

In this section, each of the colors of the Sierra Leonean flag is discussed separately for the sake of clarity. The discussion of each color begins with its spectral coordinates, when applicable, and then the African centric historical development and characteristics of the color. It should be mentioned here that ancient Egyptians must have been well learned in spectral analytical techniques, since such tools were critical in the consistent development of the Egyptian blue, polychromic funerary figurines, and chromotherapy. As Philip McCouat states,

> First developed some 4,500 years ago, Egyptian blue—a bright blue crystalline substance—is believed to be the earliest artificial pigment in human history. The pigment is a synthetic form of the rare mineral cuprorivaite, and commonly also contains quantities of glass or quartz. It is made by heating to around 850-950C a mixture of a calcium compound (typically calcium carbonate), a copper-containing compound (metal filings or malachite), silica sand and soda or potash as a flux…Egyptian blue was widely used in ancient times as a pigment in painting, such as in wall paintings, tombs and mummies' coffins, and also as a ceramic glaze known as Egyptian faience. The fact that it was not available naturally meant that its presence indicated a work that had considerable prestige. Its use spread throughout Egypt, Mesopotamia, Greece, and the far reaches of the Roman Empire. It was often used as a substitute for lapis lazuli, an extremely expensive and rare mineral sourced in Afghanistan (2014:1).

From Lynn Swartz Dodd et al., we learn that

> A polychrome painted wooden funerary figurine has been radiocarbon dated to 1220–1050 BC and is painted with a white pigment that includes gypsum, huntite, and tridymite. This is the first discovery of the use of tridymite as a pigment in Ancient Egypt. This unusual white pigment yields an exceptionally bright white

paint…Egyptian artisans engaged in a sophisticated, deliberate manipulation of mineral-based pigments to achieve specific desired sacral effects (2009:94).

We also glean from the work of Samina T. Yousuf Azeemi and Mohsin Raza that

> *Ancient observation* chromotherapy is a centuries-old concept. The history of color medicine is as old as that of any other medicine. Phototherapy (light therapy) was practiced in ancient Egypt...The Egyptians utilized sunlight as well as color for healing. Color has been investigated as medicine since 2000 BC. They used primary colors (i.e. red, blue and yellow) for healing as they were unaware of the mixing up of two colors. According to ancient Egyptian mythology, the art of chromotherapy was discovered by the god Thoth (2005:482).

It behooves me to also state here that Graciela Gestoso Singer's excellent article titled "Color in Ancient Egypt" (2014) was extremely helpful for the analysis that follows.

Green is located on the spectrum of visible light between blue and yellow. Its primary wavelength when induced by light is approximately 495-570 nm [nanometers] or a frequency of ~575-525 THz [terahertz] (Madigan and Chambers, 2014; Nave, 2014; Optoplex Corporation, 2014).

Singer recounts that green was referred to in Ancient Egypt as *wadj* and "was produced from malachite, a natural copper ore [which symbolized joy and "the land of the blessed dead"], and then could be produced from a paste manufactured by mixing oxides of copper and iron with silica and calcium" (2014:2; see also Varichon, 2005). She points out that green was perceived to represent new life, vegetation, and protection. She notes that the saying "to do green things," or "to do green," meant "beneficial, life-producing behavior, successfully, happiness, and fortune" (2014:2; see also Varichon, 2005). She states that as "Lord of the Underworld," Osiris was shown as being green, and Hathor was also depicted as having this color. She adds that Osiris was named "the Green Green" (2014:2; see also Varichon, 2005). Furthermore, Singer cites statements about green in the *Book of the Dead* (the Egyptian funerary text used from the beginning of the New Kingdom—i.e. around 1550 BCE—to around 50 BCE) and adds her own comments as follows:

> In Chapter 105, it is mentioned a green papyrus-amulet: "A green amulet, belonging to the neck of Re and given to those who dwell in the horizon"…In Chapter 77, it is said that the deceased will become a falcon "whose wings are of fine green stone"…The god Horus was called the "Lord of the Green Stone"…as well, because the Eye of Horus' amulet was commonly made of green stone: "Osiris Unas, take the green Eye of Horus! Prevent him from tearing it out! The *wdjat* ("the uninjured Eye of Horus") is depicted as a human eye and eyebrow, as they would be seen looking as a person full-faced…Usually, it is the right eye shown as the *wdjat*, although the left is not uncommon (2014:3; see also Varichon, 2005).

Also, while Neolithic cave paintings do not show traces of green pigments, ceramics of Afro-Arabian Mesopotamians and North Africans of antiquity show people wearing bright green costumes (see Varichon, 2005; Uwechia, 2009; Winters, 2008).

In addition, the green mamba is a highly venomous snake found in southern East Africa. Relatively large, it is elusive and shy. Its cryptic coloration and arboreal lifestyle make it difficult to observe.

Furthermore, the emblem of the Sierra Leone People's Party (SLPP), one of the two major political parties (the other being the All People's Congress—APC) in the country, is the green palm tree. The emblem can only be used officially on badges, flags, shields, and pennants, together with the initials of the party—SLPP. The party's colors are green and white. I should mention here that, like the country's coat of arms and flag, the SLPP's emblem and colors were also designed by the late Imam Alhaj Mohammed Pa Bai Hassan Bangura, since he was one of the founding members of the party (personal interview, April 14, 2001).

White is the result of all the wavelengths of the visible spectrum (Madigan and Chambers, 2014; Nave, 2014; Optoplex Corporation, 2014). Singer describes white as a color that represents pureness, innocence, peace, happiness, joy, death, and mourning. In ancient Egypt, the people believed that white clothes were linked to the goddess, and so the druid priest wore white. Also in ancient Egypt, white suggested omnipotence and purity. The symbol of the god Nefertem was the white lotus flower. Singer also explains that sacred objects were made from white alabaster. The white color was created from chalk and gypsum (Singer, 2014).

Singer also explains how white sandals were worn for religious ceremonies and that white bowls were used for libations. She further reveals that the expression "wearing white sandals" is used to describe being a priest (Singer, 2014).

According to Linda Alchin, the color white conveyed a range of silent messages to everyone who lived in ancient Egypt. She says that white was evident in numerous wall paintings in the tombs, temples, and monuments of the ancient

Egyptians. She also states that there were two shades of white: chalk white and lead white. She confirms that white was a sacred color often representing purity, cleanliness, and simplicity. Lastly, she shares the fact that white was a symbol for Upper Egypt and was used to represent Nekhbet who was the protector of Upper Egypt (Alchin, 2014).

John Watson provides new and interesting information by stating that the color white could sometimes be used in place of yellow. He explains that this was possible because of the somewhat different classifications of the colors used by the Egyptians. He also cites the principle of equivalence as a cause for this (Watson, n.d.).

As Ann Varichon (2005) points out, for the Bedouin in North Africa and other pastoral cultures across the continent, milk is associated with white as a color of esteem, fertility, good fortune and gratitude. Also, the Everson Museum of Art (2007) mentions that in Yoruba religion white is used to represent the deity orisha Obatala in the Ifá tradition, associating him with purity, old age, calmness, and morality.

In Sierra Leone, initiates of the secret female society, *Bondo* or *Sande*, are marked with animal fat and pure white clay called *Hojo* or *Wojeh*, which Mende women also use to demarcate their territory. Like many other aspects of the secret society, the clay is retrieved from beneath the depths of water. It is eye catching because its smooth and shiny surface reflects light. For members of *Sande*, white represents purity, cleanliness, perfection, and harmlessness. They consider the color to be positive and helpful, free of evil things, symbolic of the spirit world, and represents the secret parts of society where the goal is to achieve the highest standards. The judge of the *Sande* women called *Sowei* wears white as a symbol of her clear thinking and impartiality.

Blue can be found on the spectrum of visible light between violet and green. Its primary wavelength when induced by light is approximately 450-495 nm [nanometers] or a frequency of ~670-610 THz [terahertz] (Madigan and Chambers, 2014; Nave, 2014; Optoplex Corporation, 2014).

John Watson describes the color blue as being the most important aspect of Egyptian symbolism. He goes on to describe how blue was naturally associated with the heavens and water. He also tells how later the color became associated with the concept of fertility (Watson, n.d.).

Jenny Hill points out that in ancient Egypt blue was the color of the heavens and represented the universe. She goes on to support this assertion with how temples, sarcophagi and burial vaults all have a deep blue color. Hill also notes that blue is, of course, the color of water; hence, it is associated with fertility, rebirth, and the power of creation. She provides an excellent example using the creator God who was depicted with a blue face. The color blue was made out of azurite and copper. Egyptian blue or *Irytu* was more expensive and tricky because it was created by boiling quartz with copper, calcium carbonate, and natron (Hill, 2010).

Singer also confirms that blue was associated with water, heavenly gods, the sky, fidelity, and faithfulness. She states that the water blue was associated with the female principle while the sky blue was associated with the male principle. Singer also tells how the gods were said to have hair made out of the lapis lazuli, which was a blue stone. She follows this up by pointing out that the ancient gods were said to like being seen wearing blue attire (Singer, 2014)

Alchin not only mentions the Egyptian blue, but also goes on to describe how the Egyptians used multiple shades of blue. She states that the other shades include Azurite, Lapis Lazuli, and Indigo. She does, however, knowledge that the most famous shade was the Egyptian blue. She adds that the color blue is associated with birth and rebirth because the flood of the River Nile brought fertility to the land. Alchin also provides other useful information like how the god Hapi was the god of fertility. She was painted in the color blue because, again, it was symbolic of the River Nile. It was also associated with crops and fertility. Alchin adds that one of Hapi's titles was "Lord of the River Bringing Vegetation." Alchin also mentions that the color blue was often paired with the color of gold in Egyptian jewelry. Often times the blue color was added to jewelry to bring luck or fertility to the owner (Alchin, 2014).

Jenny Balfour-Paul states that in order to protect themselves from the hot sun and wind-blown sand of the Sahara desert, Taureg men in North Africa wear a blue turban called *tagelmust*, which is colored with indigo. She mentions that in order to color the *tagelmust*, it is pounded with powdered indigo instead of using dye which requires precious water. As it transfers to the skin, the blue color is perceived as a sign of affluence and nobility (Balfour-Paul, 1997). Peter Gwin (2011) also notes that early visitors to North Africa referred to Tuareg men wearing the *tagelmust* as the "Blue Men of the Sahara."

Also, Robert Palmer (1982), Bruce Benward and Marilyn Saker (2003) state that based on African musical roots, the blues, a popular musical form, was created by African Americans in the United States during the 19th Century to express melancholy. They add that in both blues and jazz music, the blue note is played or sung at a slightly lower pitch than the major scale for expressive purposes.

Furthermore, in the Gullah culture of Sierra Leone and South Carolina in the United States, the color blue—*Haint*—is used to pain dwellings in order to ward off witches and evil spirits. The Gullah believe that the color would fool witches and evil spirits into believing that are seeing the sky, which will cause them to go through the ceilings and back into the sky where they would no longer cause harm to the residents.

Conclusion

In the introduction section of this paper, I stated that the objective for writing the essay was to make a substantial contribution to the literature on the flag of Sierra Leone because only one very brief analysis of the colors exists. What I did not mention is from where the inspiration came that led me to the search for the literature on the topic.

My daughter, Isatu, was invited to a series of international week events at a major university (name withheld) in Washington, DC. On her first day, she noticed that among the numerous countries' flags with brief notes that were displayed at the foyer the one for Sierra Leone was absent. She asked the coordinator of the events why that was the case. The response she received was that it was an oversight. Not satisfied with the answer, she told the coordinator that she was going to bring the flag of Sierra Leone with a similar note as the others the next day. Isatu came home and insisted that we find a flag of Sierra Leone with the same size and a pole, and that she will compose and type the note. A laborious search in the Washington area yielded no result. We then had order a flag online and paid for it to be shipped the next day. The flag arrived at about 2:00 PM that day and we took it to the university to be added to the display. Interestingly, the flag had to be placed as the first on the right side opposite the flag of the United States to the left. Because of the reverence for the flag of Sierra Leone showed by Isatu, who was born and has been raised in the United States, I was inspired to do this research to find out why the flag can be overlooked by an official of international events at a major university in the nation's capital.

Indeed, the findings in the preceding section reveal that the African centric historical development and characteristics of the colors of Sierra Leone's flag have overwhelmingly more positive meanings associated with them than negative. Even the few negative connotations are usually the result of distinct situations. Moreover, from ancient to modern Africans, color was and is still deemed to be a vital element of the African worldview.

References

Alchin, L. 2014. Meaning of blue. Retrieved on March 3, 2015 from http://www.mummies2pyramids.info/art-architecture/meaning-of-blue.htm

Alchin, L. 2014. Meaning of white. Retrieved on March 4, 2015 from http://www.mummies2pyramids.info/art-architecture/meaning-of-white.htm

Akam, S. 2010. Sierra ends flag of convenience for fishing vessels. *Reuters*. Retrieved on July 28, 2015 from http://uk.reuters.com/article/2010/10/28/us-sierraleone-fishing-idUKTRE69R4MW20101028

Asante, M. K. 1987. *The Afrocentric Idea.* Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Associated Press. 2012. Sierra Leone takes 10 Iranian ships off register. *News Bank*. Retrieved on July 28, 2015 from http://infoweb.newsbank.com/iwsearch/we/InfoWeb?p_action=doc&p_topdoc=1&p_docnum=1&p_sort=YMD_date:D&p_product=AWNB&p_text_direct0=document_id=%28%2014132F50CEE5C820%20%29&p_docid=14132F50CEE5C820&p_theme=aggdocs&p_queryname=14132F50CEE5C820&f_openurl=yes&p_nbid=G5FK49OBMTQzODIyMDkzMC43NDcxMDI6MTo1OmNpc2hr&&p_multi=APNS

Azeemi, S. T. Y. and M. Raza. 2005. A critical analysis of chromotherapy and its scientific evolution. *Evidenced-Based Complementary and Alternative Medicine* 2, 4:481-488.

Balfour-Paul, J. 1997. *Indigo in the Arab World*. London, UK: Routledge.

Bangura, A. K. 2011. *African-Centered Research Methodologies: From Ancient Times to the Present*. San Diego, CA: Cognella.

Bangura, A. K. 2002a. *Sojourner-Douglass College's Philosophy in Action*. San Jose, CA: Writers Club Press.

Bangura, A. K. 2002a. *American University Alma Mater & Fight Song*. San Jose, CA: Writers Club Press.

Banton, M. 2004. *Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religion*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Benward, B. and M. Saker. 2003. *Music: In Theory and Practice*. Columbus, OH: McGraw-Hill Education.

Castell, H. (*Reuters* Staff Writer). 1961. Thousands cheer at independence for Sierra Leone. *Ottawa Citizen*, p1. Retrieved on July 28, 2014 from https://news.google.com/newspapers?id=CdwxAAAAIBAJ&sjid=OOUFAAAAIBAJ&pg=5522,3393446&dq=flag+of+sierra+leone&hl=en

Cobb, R. and C. Elder. 1976. Symbolic identification and political behavior. *American Politics Quarterly* 4.

Dodd, L. S. et al. 2009. The ritual significance of clour: Specialised pigments in a wooden Egyptian funerary statuette from the New Kingdom. *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 95:83-104.

Edelman, M. 1964. *The Symbolic Uses of Politics*. Urbana, IL: The University of Illinois Press.

Elder, C. and R. Cobb. 1983. *The Political Uses of Symbols*. New York, NY: Longman.

Evason Museum of Art. 2007. *African Shapes of the Sacred: Yoruba Religious Art: Educator Packet*. Retrieved on July 28, 2015 from https://everson.org/_pdf/_teacher_packets/Yoruba%20Lessons.pdf

Goggins, II, L. 1996. *African Centered Rites of Passage and Education*. Chicago, IL: African American Images.

Gwin, P. 2011. The Sahara's Tuareg. *National Geographic*. Retrieved on July 28, 2015 from http://ngm.nationalgeographic.com/2011/09/sahara-tuareg/gwin-text

Hill, J. 2010. Meaning of blue in ancient Egypt. *Ancient Egypt Online.* Retrieved on February 24, 2015 from http://www.ancientegyptonline.co.uk/colourblue.html

Jones, E. 1964. The psychology of constitutional monarchy. In. E. Jones, ed. *Essays in Applied Psycho-analysis*. London, England, UK: The Hogart Press.

Karenga, M. 1993. *Introduction to Black Studies*. Los Angeles, CA: The University of Sankore Press.

Keto, C. T. 1989. *Revision of the African-Centered Perspective of History and Social Science in the Twenty First Century*. Blackwood, NJ: K. A. Publications.

Madigan, J. and L. Chambers (NASA). 2014. What wavelength goes with a color? *Radiation Budget Home Page*. Retrieved on October 25, 2014 from http://science-edu.larc.nasa.gov/EDDOCS/Wavelengths_for_Colors.html

Marean, C. W. et al. 2004. Paleoanthropological investigation of Middle Stone Age sites as Pinnacle Points, Mossel Bay (South Africa): Archaeology and human remains from the 2000 field season. *PaleoAnthropology* 05, 02:14-83.

McCouat, P. 2014. Egyptian blue: The color of technology. *Journal of Art in Society* Retrieved on October 29, 2014 from http://www.artinsociety.com/egyptian-blue-the-colour-of-technology.html

McDevitt, A. 2014. Color (*iwen*). *Ancient Egypt: The Mythology*. Retrieved on October 27, 2014 from http://www.egyptianmyths.net/colors.htm

Merelman, R. 1966. Learning and legitimacy. *American Political Science Review* 60.

Midwest Global Group, Inc. 2014. History of the Ashanti *Kente* cloth—more than a piece of fabric. Retrieved on October 27, 2014 from http://kente.midwesttradegroup.com/history.html

Milwaukee Sentinel. 1963. Law shields flag. *Milwaukee Sentinel*, p. 60. Retrieved on July 28, 2015 from https://news.google.com/newspapers?id=T3RQAAAAIBAJ&sjid=ahEEAAAAIBAJ&pg=2374,2513614&dq=flag+of+sierra+leone&hl=en

Moffat, C. 2007. Prehistoric & ancient art. *The Art History Archive—Cave Art*. Retrieved on October 25, 2014 from http://www.arthistoryarchive.com/arthistory/prehistoricart/

Nave, R. 2014. Spectral colors. *HyperPhysics* Retrieved on October 25, 2014 from http://hyperphysics.phy-astr.gsu.edu/hbase/vision/specol.html

Nobles, W. W. 1990. African philosophy: Foundations of Black psychology. In R. E. Jones, ed. *Black Psychology.* Berkeley, CA: Cobb and Henry.

Optoplex Corporation. 2014. Fiber-optics calculators. Retrieved on October 25, 2014 from http://www.optoplex.com/FiberOpticsCalculator.htm

Palmer, R. 1982. *Deep Blues: A Musical and Cultural History of the Mississippi Delta*. New York, NY: Penguin Books.

Payrat, A and D. Roudaut. 2008. *Album des pavillons nationaux et des marques distinctives / National Flags and Distinctive Markings*. Brest, France: Service Hydrographique et Océanographique de la Marine. Retrieved on July 28, 2015 from http://www.crwflags.com/fotw/flags/sl.html

Singer, G. G. 2014. Color in Ancient Egypt. *academia.edu*. Retrieved on October 25, 2014 from https://www.academia.edu/386121/Color_in_Ancient_Egypt

Smith, W. 2013. Flag of Sierra Leone. *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Retrieved on July 28, 2015 from http://www.britannica.com/topic/flag-of-Sierra-Leone

Southworth, C. 2009. Sierra Leone flag: Legal description. Retrieved on July 28, 2015 from http://www.crwflags.com/fotw/flags/sl.html

Uwechia, J. 2009. The Black Iraqis, the Black Iranians—Afro-Arabian Mesopotamia. *Rasta Livewire*. Retrieved on October 25, 2014 from http://www.africaresource.com/rasta/sesostris-the-great-the-egyptian-hercules/the-black-iraqis-%E2%80%93-afro-arabian-mesopotamia-by-jide-uwechia/comment-page-1/

Varichon, A. 2005. *Coleurs: Pigments et teintures dan la mains des peuples*. Paris, France: Editions de Seuil.

Watson, J. (n.d.). Tour Egypt: Ancient Egyptian symbolism, the forms and functions. Retrieved on March 3, 2015 from http://www.touregypt.net/featurestories/symbolism2.htm

WebExhibits. 2014. Antiquity. *Pigments through the Ages*. Retrieved on November 02, 2014 from http://www.webexhibits.org/pigments/intro/yellows2.html

Winters, C. 2008. Black Kushites of Sumer and Akkad. *Rasta Livewire*. Retrieved on October 25, 2014 from http://www.africaresource.com/rasta/sesostris-the-great-the-egyptian-hercules/kushites-of-sumer-and-akkad-by-clyde-winters-phd/comment-page-2/

Politics of census-taking: Sierra Leone's 2015 Population Census

By Tahir Bockarie

ABSTRACT

A population census is considered necessary to inform policymakers, donor agencies and civil service institutions within a state. Census data in general, if handled incorrectly, can easily be manipulated for the benefit of public officials and political commentators. Indeed, the accuracy of census data between inter-years (from previous census to forthcoming census) can cause major uncertainty. In demography the three component rates that determine demographic change are: birth, death and net migration rates. In many sub-Saharan African states gathering reliable data on these three indicators is challenging given the interplay betwixt these three components. Demographers and more specifically Political Demographers are increasingly becoming aware that demographic change does not take place solely between the three components noted above but, have observed that demographic change has a strong association with political change and politics in general. This paper explores these interplays and focuses on the credibility of

Sierra Leone's forthcoming 2015 Population Census. A fundamental principal is that national statistics must be seen to be free of political interference for the interest of public good and international standards. This principal is certainly important and becomes nuanced when attention is given on the role statistics has in distributing political power and resources.

THEORETICAL BACKROUND

A population census is defined as 'the total process of collecting, compiling, evaluating, analysing and publishing or otherwise disseminating demographic, economic and social data pertaining at a specific time to all persons in a country or in a well delimited part of a country' (Odewumi, 2000). Population counting or a census as we know it today has taken place since the dawn of civilisation. Historically, since 3,000 BC ancient civilisations embarked on the use of population census for controlling taxes and royalties, construction of political constituencies, military purposes, planning and housing (Bamgbose, 2009). In a similar manner this is still the case currently, however more advanced technologies have aided this process for the production of seamless and accurate data. Within demography the three components that contribute to demographic change are namely: fertility, mortality and migration. Equally, the age-structure can as well influence demographic change. Of the three demographic components, migration is a variable that can increase or decrease the population size of an area closely followed by fertility- if not properly recorded. On the other hand, mortality is considered volatile in extreme cases such as civil wars or pandemics whereby a population will be at risk of more deaths than usual without these two scenarios. Within this theoretical framework, Political Demographers (Cincotta and Doces, 2012) have equally argued that the relationship between the youth-bulge and liberal democracy can be viewed as the rise and stability of liberal democracy which occurs as the passage of that youth bulge into an older worker bulge to provide the possibilities for liberal democracy. This is significant given that many countries in sub-Saharan Africa have young people aged between 15 to 29 years, which accounts for a large proportion of their total population. Noting this in mind, it is still a highly idealistic thought that youth-bulge alone paves the way for demographic transition and promotes partial democracies. Put in another way, there are other underlying variables that can run the course between census taking and political demography.

INTRODUCTION

The republic of Sierra Leone is a small West African country bordered by Guinea and Liberia. Sierra Leone has an area of 71,620 square kilometres and is blessed with a ubiquitous range of natural and mineral resources (Kup, 1975). The country is divided into four regions; the Western Area, Northern Province, Southern Province and Eastern Province. These administrative regions are tied with the allocation of resources, donor aid by international agencies and development aspiration by the Government of Sierra Leone (GoSL).

In Sierra Leone, the first population census was undertaken in 1802 in what is now known as the Western Province (CSO, 1965; Onsembe and Ntozi, 2006). Though the forgoing of other areas during this first exercise was apparent, subsequent population counts of other areas and districts were conducted across Sierra Leone respectively. The British colonial powers conducted annual enumerations of the country between 1833 to 1851 (Onsembe and Ntozi, 2006). Sierra Leone at the time composed of various chiefdoms and village territories that were demarcated by colonial administration. In effect, these demarcated boundaries still exist in present-day Sierra Leone. As many demographers and statisticians would have it, a population census is conducted every ten years; however, it was not until 1963 that the first decennial census in Sierra Leone commenced (CSO, 1965). This was the first post-independence census and it was conducted with the expectation that a census programme would be established thereafter. Due to the various constraints that occurred in Sierra Leone, the following two censuses were conducted at eleven-year intervals: one in 1974 and another in 1985 (Onsembe and Ntozi, 2006). Subsequently, Sierra Leone's brutal civil war throughout the 1990s meant that the census of 1995 was not conducted and was undertaken in December 2004. In spite of the period in which a census should occur, the example of the last three censuses in Sierra Leone suggests that external factors and political instability can impact on the operation of conducting a population census. Statistics Sierra Leone (SSL) is the national statistics organisation tasked with producing reliable data for national planning and public good. Among this responsibility, SSL has to keep in mind the legitimate needs and use for the data independent from the government-in-power. In so doing, the government has to accept the presentation of statistical data because such data is converted into social and economic indicators which add weight to the democratic process. Thus, democracy is promoted by statistics.

Between May 2013 and May 2014, SSL undertook a cartographic mapping exercise across the Western Area, Northern Province, Southern Province and Eastern Province. The 2014 Population and Housing Census Provisional Mapping (PHCPM) was undertaken with the aim of capturing accurate data to determine if the entire census was going to be successful using that process (IGR, 2015 b). It is recommended a pre-census is carried out before the commencement of a national census. Indeed, during these inter-years new settlements would have emerged likewise old settlements would have become ruined and similarly, new roads would have been built thus influencing the expansion of the populations and mobility of people across districts. A prime example of this is the expansion around many urbanised areas within Sierra Leone whereby the population size is growing and migration through these spaces are constantly in flow. It is with this in mind that the 2014 PHCPM was undertaken to distinguish the difference in population size, household and infrastructure to a degree. In an attempt to ensure that all districts and chiefdoms were captured in this mapping exercise, Mappers[11] as they were called were tasked with the responsibility of visiting wards and sections within the four provinces to verify population size and households. At the time, such responsibilities were not carried out by Mappers and District Census Officers. Irrespective of the location or size all localities were required to be surveyed. In reality the majority of localities across the four provinces were not visited by Mappers from SSL (IGR, 2015 b), which raises doubts over the reliability of the data collected and data verified. Mappers assigned to various localities and chiefdoms did not have prior knowledge of the local language or geography of district. Such pitfalls between coverage of areas and skills-set of Mappers undermine the professionalism of national statistics organisations such as SSL who are considered the backbone of data production and management on behalf of the GoSL and international donor agencies. Given that census and household data is commonly used by stakeholders for development planning and the allocation of resources, the usability of such data should be of a high standard to allow for robust analysis (Sandefur and Glassman, 2014). The pitfalls experienced within the 2014 PHCPM are illustrative of a growing knowledge which suggests that many national statistical organisations in sub-Saharan Africa lack the expertise and infrastructure to undertake accurate and robust national population censuses (CGD, 2015; Sandefur and Glassman, 2014). As with many national statistics organisations within sub-Saharan Africa, SSL lacks the following: technical statisticians and demographers; independence and autonomy and finally, is prone to misaligned incentives for inaccurate data. Following the pitfalls observed during the 2014 PHCPM, the UK Department for International Development (DFID) commissioned a consultant to investigate the management structure of SSL and the organisation's technical competences. As is the case, these national statistics organisations have no independence from gerrymandering by political figures or government (CGD, 2015).

STATISTICS SIERRA LEONE AND THE PEPPER REPORT

SSL was previously known as the Central Statistics Office (CSO) the key difference between the predecessor and SSL is that CSO had semi-autonomy and was supervised by a council compared to SSL. Following the change in political governance in Sierra Leone since 2008, SSL was disbanded due to its lack of steering and later re-commissioned to carry out its remit on the production of reliable statistical data. Despite the rebranding, SSL in effect is monitored by the Ministry of Finance and Economic Development, which in turn implied that the ministry had oversight on the organisation's function, budget and operation in the production of household and demographic data. As outlined by some commentators, any national statistic organisation that is managed by government institutions runs the risk of being politically influenced and inept in its role (CGD, 2015; Seltzer, 1998). Since 2009 the Statistician General has received increased criticism throughout the media and by other professionals for poor technical direction of SSL. One of these criticisms has been the financial statements for period 2011 – 2013 which were untraceable, in effect, no substantive funds or invoices were attainable during these periods. Similarly, an inquiry also discovered that personal expenditure related to salary increased by over a billion Leones each year during this same period, from 3.2 billion Leones (£526,825.00) in 2012 to 4.4 billion Leones (£707,226.00) in 2012 then to 5.8 billion Leones (£940,081.00) in 2013. This substantive increase was also observed with audit fees between 2012 and 2013, these increased exponentially from 5.5 billion Leones (£883,224.00) in 2012 to 68.3 billion Leones (£10.9 million) in 2013 (FPACSSLC, 2013, pp 3-4). The shortcoming of these 'boom-bastic' expenditures highlights the 'spend now' culture that was rife in SSL all under the leaderships of Statistician General (IGR, 2015 c). Contrary to this, the mafia type corruption created at SSL is nothing new considering the Acting Administrative Director had previously been dismissed by both the National Revenue Authority and the First International Bank for manipulating figures and financial accounts (IGR, 2015 b).

Following concerns from the Sierra Leone public and the international donors who relied on SSL for statistical data, DFID appointed a Statistician -Dr Mike Pepper to review the plight of the SSL management and operations (IGR, 2015 b). In 2013 Dr Pepper visited

[11] Cartographic Field Mappers duties included: (i) to visit all localities and dwelling units within the localities; (ii) do a quick count of all households in dwelling unit; (iii) take GPS/GIS coordinates and vital data of all amenities/ infrastructure in locality

Sierra Leone to conduct his investigation on research and to strengthening Sierra Leone's Statistical Act. The issues that Dr Pepper's research shed light on included senior management; the legal framework within which SLL works; and ways to strengthen the institution's technical skills and operations. Dr Pepper noted that "weaknesses in Statistical Sierra Leone, involving a lack of resilience, that staff resources were spread thinly, that there were some core activities both in areas of macro-economic statistics, in demographic vital statistics and in the capacity of the organisation to make crucial decisions relating to IT infrastructure where an injection of intensive, resident, technical assistance would benefit SSL" (IGR, 2015 b ; Pepper, 2013). This statement not only reconfirmed the resentment felt by the general Sierra Leone public and media outlets but, also alludes to the fact that there was intrinsic weakness at SSL which required immediate ratifying. For example, all employees within Senior Management hold Bachelors or Masters Degrees in Education or Computer Science (Table 1). Such qualifications differ greatly from the qualifications outlined in the job descriptions for these strategic positions, among which are advanced degrees in Statistics, Demography, Mathematics or Economics. The roles, as outline in the table below, all require a high-level of technical competency. It is clear from Table 1(below) that those appointed in senior management positions do not hold the prerequisite qualification(s) or work experience, only the Director of Censuses and Geographical Information System holds the prerequisite qualification required for his post. On closer inspection of the table below, it could be said that the management structure is heavily dominated by post holders from the Northern region as this region is predominately a political stronghold for the All People's Congress (APC). The APC is one of two major political parties in Sierra Leone, the other being the Sierra Leone People's Party (SLPP). It has key strongholds in the Northern Provinces having secured power since 2002 from SLPP and reasserting its dominance by winning the 2012 national elections.

Table 1: 2015 Census Management Team at Statistics Sierra Leone

Designation	**Qualification of current post holder**	**Benchmark requirement recommended by SSL management review team**	**Region of origin of current post holder**
Director, Demographic and Social Statistics	M.Sc (Education) Njala University, Sierra Leone	Advanced Degree in Statistics, Economics, Mathematics or Demography; not less than10 years' experience in statistical office	Northern Sierra Leone
Principal Statistician and Head of Demographic and Social Statistics Section	M.Sc (Education) Njala University, Sierra Leone	Advanced Degree in Statistics, Economics, Mathematics or Demography; not less than 10 years' experience in statistical office	Northern Sierra Leone
Director, Data Processing and Systems Analysis	M.Sc (Education) Njala University, Sierra Leone	Advanced Degree in Computer Science, Statistics, Economics, Mathematics or Demography; not less than 10 years' experience in statistical office	Northern Sierra Leone
Statistician General	M.Eng. (Computer Hardware)	Advanced Degree in Statistics, Economics, Mathematics or Demography; not less than 15 years' experience in statistical office	Northern Sierra Leone
Director, Economic Statistics	M.Sc (Education).; MBA	Advanced Degree in Statistics, Economics, Mathematics or Demography; not less than 10 years' experience in statistical office	Northern Sierra Leone
Principal Statistician, Economic Statistics	M.Sc (Education)	Advanced Degree in Statistics, Economics, Mathematics or Demography; not less than 10 years' experience in statistical office	Northern Sierra Leone
Human Resource Manager	M.A. (Peace and Conflict Studies)	Advanced Degree in Human Resources or Business Administration with not less than 10 years' experience in a reputable institution.	Northern Sierra Leone
Director, Censuses and GIS	M.Sc (Geographic Information System)	Advanced Degree in Statistics, Economics, Mathematics or Demography; with extensive knowledge and practice in GIS with at least 10 years' experience in statistical office	Southern Sierra Leone

Source: Institute for Governance Reform – IGR. (2015 c) The Credibility of the 2015 Census in Sierra Leone: Will All Heads be counted? Critical Perspective of Governance. Vol. 3, January 2015 [Online] Available from: http://www.igr-sl.org/Downloads.aspx

The case in point from the table above is given that statistical operation has a specific political purpose; the skewed representation of particular regions at the management level within SSL raises further doubts on the monopoly of northern interest and the allocation of resources. In September 2013, following the recommendation by Dr Pepper, an Interim Committee was appointed by the President of Sierra Leone. The Interim Committee was made up of: Mr Claudius J. Thomas (Chairman), Dr Lansana Nyallay (representing Eastern Province), Alhaji Olu Alghali (representing Western Area), S.K Foyah (representing the Southern Province), Ahmed A. Koroma (representing the North Province), Mr S. S. Foyah (representing Northern Province), (IGR, 2015 b). Although this committee's mandate was to look into the recommendations proposed by Dr Pepper and either implement or amend existing practices, the core construct of this Interim Committee itself was largely members who had affiliation with APC and it appeared they were selectively hand-picked by the President of Sierra Leone (IGR, 2015 b). It is therefore not surprising to note that after the watering-down of Dr Peppers recommendation by the Committee, four out of the original five members were re-appointed to serve on the new Statistics Sierra Leone Council, this sitting Council was another recommendation made by Dr Pepper in his initial report to SSL and the President of Sierra Leone.

Undeniably as has been the norm for SSL such appointments were not properly conducted or scrutinised and each member was employed for three year tenures with the option for extension. Compared to the Interim Committee, the new Statistics Sierra Leone Council was tasked with 'fully' implementing Dr Pepper's recommendations noting four in particular being taken forward, these included: (i) the terminology betwixt a 'Council' and a 'Board'; (ii) the autonomous role of a Sitting Council; (iii) the integrity and professionalism of future Council members; (iv) establishing a National Statistics Board for development of a collaborative framework for official national statistics (Interim Committee, 2013).

Focusing on the first recommendation, it has been noted that the entire core membership of Statistics Sierra Leone Council are fledged members or supporters of APC (IGR, 2015). Such cronyism shows that although the recommendation by Dr Pepper has been partially implemented, SSL will inevitably still be influenced by political interest in one way or another. Evidently the President has himself failed to work towards 'righting the wrongs' and in so doing has also failed to scrutinize the professional and technical competency of those re-appointed to lead Statistics Sierra Leone Council. Choosing the name 'council' as opposed to 'board' can be viewed as politically influenced given that the name 'council' was retained because members within Statistics Sierra Leone Council suggested it depicted an aura of professionalism and experience despite none of these members holding a degree in Statistics or Demography admittedly.

The second recommendation is evidence of the fact that many national statistics offices in sub-Saharan Africa lack clear guidance which in turn leaves them vulnerable to poor management of unstable budgets and misaligned incentives (CGD, 2015; Okechukwu, 2015; Ofeimi, 1988). These in turn contribute to inaccurate data collection and uncontrolled expenditures. As implied by Dr Pepper within Mission 1 Report, some of the difficulties experienced by SSL are compounded by the fact that there is no steering or sitting council which is able to support the organisation within its core operation and in times of difficulties (Pepper, 2013). Interviews between the Interim Committee, Senior Management at SSL and Dr Pepper confirmed that processes and procedures were by-passed in recruitment, promotions, and procurement and budgeting activities. It can be said from this that an improved dual system is required for 'checks and balances', not simply a financial auditor but one that gives voice to SSL's operation when things are going wrong and does not favour one political party over the another.

A number of issues around the integrity and professionalism of future Council members was further noted by Dr Pepper in Mission 2 Report whereby he envisaged the risk of members being appointed to Councils with minimal or no statistical qualifications. As confirmed by the Statistical Act Draft Bill, under Part III and Article 25 *" the Chairperson and the members referred to in subsection (2) (n) shall be appointed by the President subject to the scrutiny and approval of Parliament from among persons who qualify for appointment by virtue of their professional qualifications and experience in statistics and business orientated management"* (Interim Committee, 2013, pp. 23-25). In seeking a solution to manoeuvre Article 25, the Interim Committee (prior to their re-appointment to Statistics Sierra Leone Council) did not agree with this recommendation and prescribed that such pre-conditions should not be mandatory for appointment to Statistics Sierra Leone Council. Whilst the Interim Committee agreed the professional standing of others within SSL should be scrutinised, their own professional standing was overlooked. Despite their lack of statistical or demographic knowledge, each of them bypassed this stringent check and was appointed as Council members. Up to this point, one can say that doubts still loom within and outside the governing bodies that will provide steering to SSL. Discharging good and bad practice might still be an issue moving forward, considering those prudent stakeholders that will make the final decisions.

The final recommendation noted within the Pepper Report was the creation of National Statistical System, in effect a new statistical Act. The shift to this new system will not only regulate the affairs of SSL but will support the organisation with integrating statistical data to influence public policy. The new National Statistical Act 2013 is more detailed than its predecessor. It has several revisions relating to: (i) changes in the content of the bill and framework to reflect international best practice; (ii) red-banding on prevention of misuse and cost effectiveness for collecting statistical data; (iii) inclusion of two Vice Chancellors of the Universities of Sierra Leone and Njala University to the new Council; (iv) removal of council member(s) through written compliant of a majority of members within the Council (Pepper, 2013). The amendments made to the new Act suggest that although there may still be some challenges within the management structure of SSL, this new Act could potentially pave the way for a change in attitudes.

Certainly only time will tell how bulletproof the new National Statistical Act 2013 will be compared to its predecessor. However, closer inspection of the new Act still raises some red-flags. As noted on Part II, Article 18, which reads "impartiality, relevance and equal access", it was agreed to delete the sentence reading "release of official statistics shall be separated from any political presentation or commentary" (Interim Committee, 2013, pp. 25). The omitting of this sentence suggest that analysis of demographic data and dissemination of such data by SSL can still be influenced by the APC or manipulated for political interest in one way or another. One solution to avoid this would ideally be to have a Council that is politically neutral and does not believe that they will benefit from partisan incentives. The misrepresentation of data in many sub- Saharan African countries by a ruling political party is a widely known practice and usually is the deciding factor for constituencies and election results (Bamgbose, 2009; Ofojindu, 2006; Chauvin, 2015; Green, 2009). This key omission in the new National Statistical Act 2013 puts at risk the use of statistical results in Sierra Leone and more widely the political arena. With this in mind, there is a disproportionate representation of political members affiliated with APC who have a say in how statistical data is collated and presented in Sierra Leone. These include but are not limited to: the Statistician General; Chairperson; representatives of the Bank of Sierra Leone, Development Secretary (GoSL), Finance Secretary (GoSL), Audit General (GoSL), Governor and existing members from the Interim Committee. The shift in partisan positions to roles which influence political power and resources give legitimate scope for the gerrymandering of statistical data by those affiliated with the government-in-power. Indeed, the extent to which this will be the case is to be seen after the 2015 Population Census which is expected 5th – 18th December 2015.

2014 Population and Housing Census Provisional Mapping

Demographic change is generally considered to be steady, incremental in some instances and even cumbersome in some periods. It takes place on a day-to-day basis in a multi-layered process involving three key component rates: birth, death and net migration rates. Such gradual changes take place 'in the background' of political scenes and receive little public attention until they become elusive. Until recently the intersection between political science and demography has given birth to what is called 'political demography' (Teitelbaum, 1988). Within this new domain, there are demographers who attest that political forces do affect demographic trends and others now take a more central view to argue that these trends are driven by social and economic forces instead (Goldstone, Kaufmann and Toft, 2012; Prewitt, 2009; Weiner and Teitelbaum, 2001). Whatever the case, a growing interest in political demography has been well documented within Western literature, yet within sub-Saharan Africa the subject matter or what is implied by this meaning is slowly developing in this periphery (Bamgbose, 2009; Caldwell, and Okonjo, 1966; Okogie, 2006). As we see below, in the context of Sierra Leone the production of statistical data has become highly politicised and grossly misused by the government-in-power.

Table 2 (below) provides a summary of the 2014 PHCPM undertaken by SSL which indicates a misrepresentation of districts and regions. The government-in-power does not always welcome 'impartial statistical data' from its national statistics organisation because such data is used for defining political boundaries and electorates. For a President seeking a third term in government, come Sierra Leone's next national election in 2017/18, the question over the pilot census (2014 PHCPM) and national census is crucially important as data from both will mobilise political participation, inform public debate and determine political resources.

Table 2: Extracts from the 2015 Population and Housing Census Provisional Mapping Results

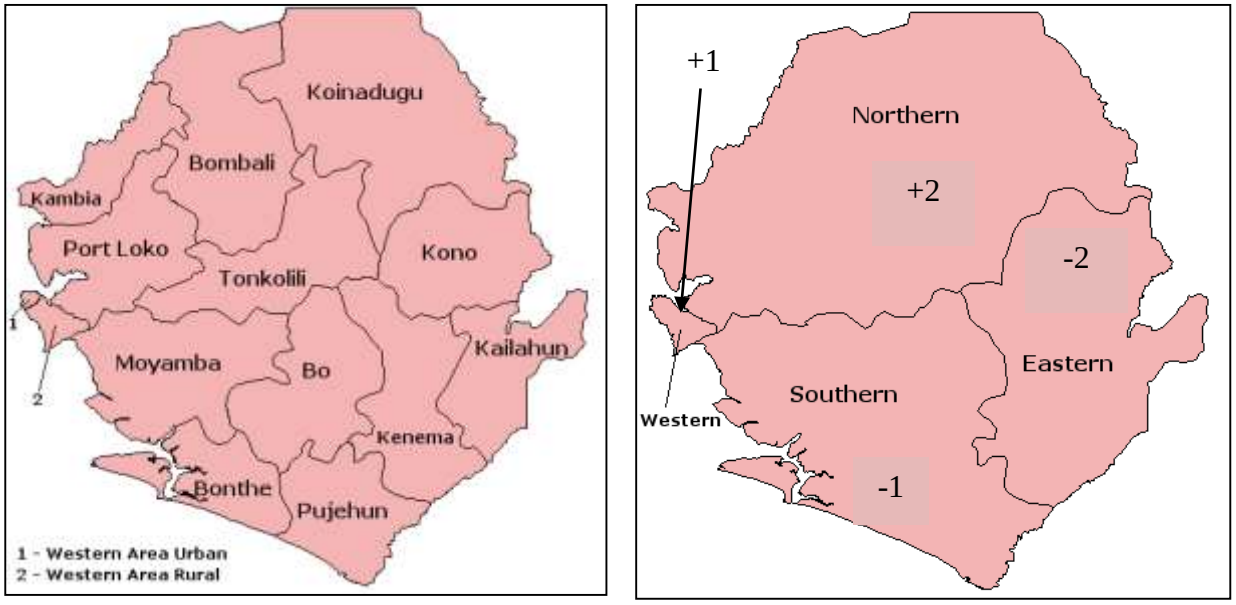
Serial no.	District	No of EAs	Est. No. of Households	Est. Pop. (6 persons/HH)	Est. Const. (44,000)	Est. Const. (65,400)	Const. 2012	Diff. (Col.7-col.8)
Col.1	***Col.2***	***Col.3***	***Col.4***	***Col.5***	***Col.6***	***Col.7***	***Col.8***	***Col.9***
1	Kailahun	892	91,578	549,468	12	8	8	-
2	Kenema	1,129	111,986	671,916	15	10	11	-1
3	Kono	785	75,710	454,260	10	7	8	-1
4	Bombali	973	84,922	509,532	12	8	9	-1
5	Kambia	576	56,795	340,770	8	5	6	-1
6	Koinadugu	770	75,221	451,326	10	7	6	+1
7	Port Loko	1,152	115,266	691,596	16	11	10	+1
8	Tonkolili	1,080	107,830	646,980	15	10	8	+2
9	B0	1,030	105,023	630,138	14	10	11	-1
10	Bonthe	465	42,774	256,644	6	4	3	+1
11	Moyamba	614	59,734	358,404	8	5	6	-1
12	Pujehun	557	58,709	352,254	8	5	5	-
13	Western Rural	697	65,993	395,958	10	6	4	+2
14	Western Urban	2,020	175,370	1,052,220	24	16	17	-1
	SIERRA LEONE	12,740	1,226,911	7,325,466	144	112	112	-

Source: Institute for Governance Reform – IGR. (2015) Census credibility problems linger on. [Online] Available from: http://www.igr-sl.org/Downloads.aspx [forthcoming] Note: Columns 2, 3 and 4 are extracts from the 2015 Population and Housing Census Provisional Mapping Results

In some countries, the collection of census data has proved to be politically incentivised, controversial and sometimes even menacing (Odewunmi, 2000; Teitelbaum, 2015; Chauvin, 2015). The calculations above are of estimated populations in districts based on the prevailing average household size of 6 persons (Col.5). The estimated number of constituencies per district has been calculated using the benchmark of 44,000 persons per constituency as obtained from the 2004 Census. Since the last population census, there has been a significant increase in the population totaling 7,325,466 using a benchmark of 44,000 persons per constituency. For the 2015 Census and the forthcoming elections (expected in 2017/18) there will be 144 constituencies (Col.6). Since there are only 112 seats in Sierra Leone's Parliament for members, this number is unlikely to change. Instead to maintain the 112 seats the benchmark will increase to 65, 4000 person per constituency to accommodate the 144 constituencies. To some degree the projection of these constituencies suggest that 112 constituencies will be carved out of the benchmark of 65,400 people per constituency as indicated above (Col.7).

Both Column 8 and 9 are introduced to compare the present pattern of constituency distribution and, the 'winners' and 'losers' across the districts respectively. In the absence of qualified statisticians or demographers, it would appear that the political agenda of APC is disenfranchising some districts as 'losers' and others as 'winners', see Figure 1 below. The 'losers' include: Kenema (-1) and Kono (-1) in the East, Bombali (-1) and Kambia (-1) in the North, Bo (-1) and Moyamba (-1) in the South and Western Urban (-1). In all these districts each lost a constituency, thus totalling 7. Contrary to this, the 'winners' will be in APC strongholds such as the North, including Koinadugu (+1), Tonkolili (=2), Port Loko (+1), Bonthe (=1) in the South and Western Rural (=2). Kailahun district in the East and Pujehun district in the South did not lose or gain any constituency.

Figure 1: Map of Sierra Leone showing District and Region



From Figure 1 above, the East has a net loss of 2 constituencies and the South also has a net loss of 1 constituency. In turn, the North made a net gain of 2 constituencies and the West which is still considered within the Northern area, made a net gain of 1. This breakdown of 'winners and losers' across Sierra Leone presents a good projection of what the constituencies will likely look-like come the national election in 2017/18. However, concerns about these net gains and net losses could create the impetus for civil demonstration following the 2015 Population Census. As was the case in Nigeria in the 1960s, the controversies surrounding the cancelled census of 1962 and of the replacement census of 1963 sparked the civil war of 1967 – 1970 (Bamgbose, 2009; Ekanem, 1972). Even though the 1973 Nigerian census was cancelled in fears of further civil unrest, this is a prime example of how the outcomes of census data, if manipulated for political gains can facilitate civil unrest and subsequently civil war (Oluleye, 1985). Table 2 and Figure 1 provide plausible evidence that can be interpreted as 'push' factors for sending Sierra Leone into civil unrest come the 2015 Population Census and Post-2015 Population Census. In addition, the percentage increase or decrease in constituencies by districts and regions shown below goes some way in suggesting the political headway APC engineering ahead of the 2017/18 national elections.

Table 3: Percentage increase or decrease in constituencies by District and region

Serial no.	**District/Region**	**Est. Const. 2015 (65,400)**	**Const. 2012 (44,000)**	**% Const. 2015 Census**	**% Const. 2012**	**Diff.**
	Col.1	***Col.2***	***Col.3***	***Col.4***	***Col.5***	***Col.6***
1	Kailahun	8	8	7.1	7.1	-
2	Kenema	10	11	8.9	9.8	-0.9
3	Kono	7	8	6.3	7.1	-0.8
	EAST	**25**	**27**	**22.3**	**24.0**	**-1.7**
4	Bombali	8	9	7.1	8.0	-0.9
5	Kambia	5	6	4.5	5.4	-0.9
6	Koinadugu	7	6	6.3	5.4	+0.9
7	Port Loko	11	10	9.8	8.9	+0.9
8	Tonkolili	10	8	8.9	7.1	+1.8
	NORTH	**41**	**39**	**36.6**	**34.8**	**+1.8**
9	Bo	10	11	8.9	9.8	-0.9
10	Bonthe	4	3	3.6	2.8	+0.8
11	Moyamba	5	6	4.5	5.4	-0.9
12	Pujehun	5	5	4.5	4.5	-
	SOUTH	**24**	**25**	**21.5**	**22.5**	**-1.0**

13	W. A. Rural	6	4	5.4	3.6	+1.8
14	W. A. Urban	16	17	14.2	15.1	-0.9
	WEST	**22**	**21**	**19.6**	**18.7**	**+0.9**
	SIERRA LEONE	**112**	**112**			

Source: Source: Institute for Governance Reform – IGR. (2015) Census credibility problems linger on. [Online] Available from : http://www.igr-sl.org/Downloads.aspx [forthcoming] From Table 3 (above) columns 2 and 3 are drawn from Table 2 to facilitate the calculation of columns 4, 5 and 6. The denominator used in columns 2 and 3 are to derive columns 4 and 5 as 112 being the number of constituencies in the country.

One might ask themselves what then is the relevance of these findings? First, there is an absolute need to take appropriate actions to correct all these anomalies that will affect the credibility of Sierra Leone's 2015 Population Census. 35% anomalies are observed in the 2014 PHCPM results. Second, this pre-census exercise could undermine public trust considering that District Census Officers who have been tasked with handling and verifying census data are perceived APC parliamentary candidates 'in waiting' for strategic positions in government if APC were to succeed a third term in power (see Table 4). In preparation of the Sierra Leone's next general election, the recruitment of politicians as District Census Officers visibly suggests that such data will be manipulated to undermine the credibility of polls and voting registration which is a practice commons in sub-Saharan Africa (Bamgbose, 2009;Omaba,1969; Okechukwu, 2015).

Table 4: District Census Officers

NAME	**DESIGNATION**	**REGION**	**DISTRICT**	**PROFILE**
Mr. James S. Kanu	District Census Officer	Northern Region	Tonkolili	APC Chairman Constituency 63 (Gbonkelenkeh)
Mr. Mohamed Conteh	District Census Officer	Northern Region	Bombali	APC propaganda Secretary Bombali District
Mr. Mohamed S. Kamara	District Census Officer	Northern Region	Port Loko	Contest for APC symbol for cont. 49 in 2012 parliamentary Elect.
Mr. Sana Samura	District Census Officer	Northern Region	Koinadugu	Former APC District Chairman (Koinadugu)
Mr. Sheka A. Kamara	District Census Officer	Northern Region	Kambia	APC Senior Party Officer Kambia District
Mr. Sheku S. Tarawally	District Census Officer	Southern Region	Pujehun	APC Parliamentary Candidate Const. 87 2012 Elect.
Mr. Micheal Kelfala	District Census Officer	Southern Region	Bonthe	
Mr. Mohamed Leigh	District Census Officer	Southern Region	Moyamba	
Mr. Raymond Saidu	District Census Officer	Southern Region	Bo	APC Parliamentary Candidate Const. 73 2012 Elect.
Mr. Emmanuel T. Bockarie	District Census Officer	Eastern Region	Kenema	
Mr. Simeon T. Sandi	District Census Officer	Eastern Region	Kono	APC Deputy Organising Secretary
Mr. Andrew B. Musa	District Census Officer	Eastern Region	Kailahun	

Ms. Adama Salieu kamara	District Census Officer	Western Area	Urban	Nominated by APC Sec. Gen. From APC Diaspora (USA)
Mr. Santigie Sesay	District Census Officer	Western Area	Rural	

Source: Institute for Governance Reform – IGR. (2015) The credibility of the 2015 Census in Sierra Leone: will all heads be counted? [Online] Available from : http://www.igr-sl.org/Downloads.aspx

Since there is no independent regulatory body to monitor credibility of pre-census data, the true extent to which APC and SSL are marred by irregularities and partisan incentives will likely remain hidden. However, in a recent report, SSL admitted that although it only visited 24 Enumeration Areas (EAs) from 12,740 EAs during the 2014 PHCPM exercise, these EAs were all situated along main roads (IGR, 2015). Legally, the United Nations Handbook on Population Census prescribes that all localities should be covered and counts of households conducted in each locality to gain better understanding of population size and households (unstats.un.org, 2010). According to SSL samples were 'purposefully selected' and none were selected from remote areas. Such poor sampling confirms irregularities would not have only occurred in the omission of 12,716 EAs but further abnormalities would have occurred within the 24 areas visited by Cartographic Field Mappers. Given that only 24 EAs were verified this implies only 2% of the EAs were visited for mapping exercises leaving the rest uncovered (IGR, 2015). Despite these shortcomings, the verification exercise undertaken by the Institute of Governance Reforms (IGR) in 2015 suggest that coverage by SSL during the 2014 PHCPM presents concerns regarding the ability of SSL to undertake the 2015 Population Census.

As noted below in Table 5, a total 91% of localities were not visited or covered during the 2014 PHCPM exercise by SSL. Through semi-structured interviews conducted by IGR across districts in Sierra Leone with communities and chiefs, a response rate of 93% was achieved and data from 15 out of 16 chiefdoms was obtained (IGR, 2015) suggesting a strong confidence ratio. Unlike SSL's, the evaluation exercise by IGR ensured that all districts were covered. Chiefs interviewed indicated that they were unaware of their locality being covered during the mapping exercise by SSL (IGR, 2015). In all, only 9% of section chiefs noted that their locality was visited, thus implying that the remaining 91% of localities were not covered or visited (see Table 5).

Table 5: Update of Districts visited during 2014 Population and Housing Census Provision Mapping

SN	**Sampled Districts**	**No. of Sections**	**No of Localities**	**Localities Covered**	**%**	**Localities not covered**	**%**
1	Kenema	4	58	18	31 %	40	69%
2	Kono	7	111	14	13%	97	87%
3	Kambia	15	172	1	1%	171	99%
4	Bombali	19	204	48	24%	156	76%
5	Port Loko	15	109	1	1%	108	99%
6	Bo	8	166	0	0%	166	100%
7	Bonthe	10	133	6	5%	127	95%
8	Moyamba	20	125	19	15%	106	85%
	TOTAL	**98**	**1,078**	**107**	**9.0%**	**971**	**91.0%**

Source: Institute for Governance Reform – IGR. (2015) Census credibility problems linger on. [Online] Available from : http://www.igr-sl.org/Downloads.aspx [forthcoming]

Analysis presented above suggests that the collection of poor data will have serious implications because the allocation of government spending is aligned to demographic and household data (CGD, 2015). In a similar manner, the political constituencies created through the use of demographic data can have incredible consequences as already outlined above with the example of Nigeria (Adigwe, 1978; Political Bureau Report, 1987). In short, politics and the allocation of international donor aid to districts are all about numbers. Because statistics is closely related with the promotion of democracy and political agenda, the integrity of Sierra Leone's 2015 Population Census will have multiple stakeholders closely monitoring it. The results from Sierra Leone's 2015 Population Census will subsequently determine whether if Sierra Leone is on the 'agenda for prosperity' or not (GoSL, 2013).

Conclusion

Engaging in an unbiased census that is not influenced by politics will involve transparency across all those who are involved in Sierra Leone's forthcoming population census. There are cases whereby statistical results has dismayed power arrangements and in many cases where the data has been suppressed. To get over these challenges, SSL should distance itself from partisan politics to ensure its responsibilities are solely to provide accurate data to a range of users and, not to be manipulated for the interest of the government-in-power. In such a highly corrupt arena whereby statistical data is being traded for political leverage these principals will not always be accepted (Seltzer, 1994). The roadmap ahead for Sierra Leone presents some divided challenges, not least is the issue around the forthcoming general election expected in 2017/2018. Aspirants from opposition political parties are presenting their agenda and vision for the country; their achievements; their promises of future accomplishments; detailing how well social security and housing will be improved under their leadership and how they will manage the country's ubiquitous natural mineral resources. It is from these manifestos that voters then elect, re-elect or evict accordingly (Prewitt, 1987). Only after Sierra Leone's 2015 Population Census will the answer be clear as to whether if the country will experience civil unrest or a fair election. In essence, statistics tells voters how well a country is being managed by the government-in-power.

This paper has tested the core hypothesis that the misrepresentation of national statistics does not occur merely by accident but rather by political agents who ensure that the data system is skewed in favour of their political agenda and not in the interest of public good. To conduct a comprehensive and reliable population census in sub-Saharan Africa today has become nearly impossible. Nowhere is there need for better data than in most sub-Saharan African countries (CGD, 2015), namely Sierra Leone. It is clear that data improvement in Sierra Leone has been slow-moving. Demographic factors and political drives will continue to be key determining variables in Sierra Leone's development course where interest groups seek political advantage over each other. The marrying of 'politics' and 'demography' has set a new perspective that could enlighten our understanding of demographic and political change over the coming decades within Africa where a revolution for better data management is essential. It is still difficult to characterise how Sierra Leone's 2015 Population Census will pan out, but it begs the questions – will all heads and households be counted?

Acknowledgment

Tahir Bockarie is a Research Demographer at the Institute of Governance Reform (IGR) and an Assistant Research Development Manager at the University of Reading. Research and data collection was conducted in partnership with IGR and civil groups within Sierra Leone thus special thanks goes to Bockarie Massaquio, Andrew Lavali (at IGR) and further thanks to Dr. Mike Pepper and Dr. Richard Cincotta for their comments on earlier drafts. As a result of this research by IGR and this paper, support from DFID, British High Commission and other donors will ensure that Sierra Leone's 2015 Census will be credible and partisan-free.

Reference

Adigwe, F. (1978). Essentials of Government for West Africa. Nigeria. Ibadan: Heinneman Publications

Caldwell, John C., and Chukuka Okonjo. The Population of Tropical Africa. Proceedings of the First African Population Conference, sponsored by the University of Ibadan in cooperation with the Population Council and held at the University of Ibadan, Nigeria, 3–7 January 1966. London: Longmans, 1968.

Cincotta, R., and Doces, J. (2012) The age-structural maturity thesis: the impact of the youth bulge on the advert and stability of liberal democracy. Pp. 98-116, in: Political demography: How Population Changes are reshaping International Security and National Politics, edited by Goldstone, J. A., Kaufmann E.P., and Duffy, M. Toft. Boulder: Paradigm.

Bamgbose, J. A., (2009), 'Falsification of Population Census Data in a Heterogeneous Nigerian state: The fourth republic example' in the African Journal of Political Science and International Relations, Vol. 3 (8), Pp. 311-319,

Center for Global Development (2015). Delivering on the Data Revolution in Sub-Saharan Africa [Online] Available from://www.cgdev.org/publication/delivering-data-revolution-sub-saharan-africa-0 [Accessed 22/08/2015]

Central Statistics Office. (1965) 1963 Population Census of Sierra Leone, Volumes 1-3. Ministry of Information and Broadcasting: Sierra Leone.

Chauvin, M., (2015) Electoral shenanigans in Zanzibar: a sign of CCM desperation? [Online] Available from: http://www.africaresearchinstitute.org/blog/electoral-shenanigans-in-zanzibar-a-sign-of-ccm-desperation/ [Accessed 11/08/2015]

Ekanem, I., (1972), The 1963 Nigerian Census: A Critical Appraisal, New York.

Finance, Procurement and Audit Committee of Statistics Sierra Leone Council. (2013)Report of the Finance, Procurement and Audit Committee of Statistics Sierra Leone Council on the Financial Management Environment of Statistics Sierra Leone Submitted to the Council. Sierra Leone

Green, Elliot D. (2009) The Political Demography of Conflict in Modern Africa. [Online] Available from: https://www.gwu.edu/~igis/assets/docs/EGreen_Paper.doc.pdf [Accessed 15/08/2015]

Goldstone, J. A. (2002). Population and Security: How Demographic Change Can Lead to Violent Conflict. *Journal of International Affairs*, 56(1), 3- 21.

Goldstone, A. J., Kaufmann, P. E., and Toft, D. M. (2012) *Political Demography: How Population Changes are Reshaping International Security and National Politics*. Boulder, CO and London: Paradigm Publishers.

Institute for Governance Reform – IGR. (2015) Census credibility problems linger on. [Online] Available from: http://www.igr-sl.org/Downloads.aspx [forthcoming]

Institute for Governance Reform – IGR. (2015 (b)) Statistics Sierra Leone and the 2014 Population and Housing Census. Sierra Leone: Freetown

Institute for Governance Reform – IGR. (2015 (c)) The Credibility of the 2015 Census in Sierra Leone: Will All Heads be Counted? Critical Perspective of Governance. Vol. 3, January 2015 [Online] Available from : http://www.igr-sl.org/Downloads.aspx

Kup., P. A., (1975) Sierra Leone: A concise history. David & Charles; 1st Edition edition

Odewunmi, S., (2000), 'Problems of census in Nigeria', in Odumosu T., Atere W., and Adewunmi, F., (eds.), Social Problems and Planning Studies, Lagos state University.

Ofeimi, O., (1988), 'The importance of Census could be Overemphasized', Guardian.

Ofojindu, O., (2006), Census Politics in Nigeria Ibadan

Oluleye, j.j. (1985). Military Leadership in Nigeria 1966 – 1979. Nigeria: Ibadan, University Press Limited.

Okechukwu I. A., (2015) Census Politics in Nigeria: An examination of 2006 Population Census. *Journal of Policy and Development Studies.* Vol. 9. No. 3. May 2015. pp. 47 – 72.

Okogie, G M.K., (2006), Essentials of Demographic Analysis for Africa, Ibadan.

Omaba, R.N., (1969), The role of government in population census project in Africa, New York

Pepper, M., Department for International Development (2013) Improving the performance of Statistics Sierra Leone: a project funded by Dfid Sierra Leone.

Prewitt K. (1987) 'Public Statistics and Democratic Politics'. In: Alonso W, Starr P. (eds.) The Politics of Numbers, New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Sandefur, J. and Glassman, A. (2014) The Political Economy of Bad Data:Evidence from African Survey & Administrative Statistics. Working Paper 373. Centre for Global Development. Online] Available from: http://www.cgdev.org/sites/default/files/political-economy-bad-data.pdf [Accessed 12/08/2015]

Seltzer W. (1994) Politics and Statistics: Independence, Dependence, or Interaction? United Nations Department for Economic and Social Information and Policy Analysis, Working Paper Series No. 6. New York, NY

Sierra Leone. Interim Committee (2013). Review of the Governance and Management Structure of Statistics Sierra Leone,. Sierra Leone: presented to the Minister of Finance and Economic Development.

Teitelbaum, S. M. (2015) Political demography: Power trends under-attended by demographic science. *Population Studies: A journal of Demography*. Vo. 69, No. S1, S87-S95

Teitelbaum, Michael S. (1998) Demographic change through the lenses of science and politics, *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 132(2): 173 – 184.

The Government of Sierra Leone (2013) Agenda for Prosperity: Road to middle income status, Sierra Leone's third generation proverty reduction strategy paper (2013 – 2018). [Online] Available from: http://www.sierra-leone.org/Agenda%204%20Prosperity.pdf [Accessed 12/08/2015]

Weiner, M., and Teitelbaum, M. S., (2001) *Political Demography, Demographic Engineering*. New York: Berghahn Books.

United Nations Statistics Division (2010) Handbook on Population and Housing Census Editing Revision 1. [Online] Available from: http://unstats.un.org/unsd/publication/SeriesF/seriesf_82rev1e.pdf [Accessed 15/08/2015]

A Critical Analysis of the Literature on the Mano River Union

Falla Dominic Lamin, - Howard University
Washington, DC

Introduction

This paper is a studied critique of works on the Mano River Union. A critical analysis of studies on a particular topic is important because as Abdul Karim Bangura and Erin McCandless observe in their book titled *Peace Research for Africa: Critical Essays on Methodology*, it increases the readers' understanding of that topic. This is due to the fact that a critical analysis, according to Bangura and McCandless, forces the writer to analyze the works in order to determine how effective they make arguments or points (2007:128).

Numerous studies on regional integration came about after the Second World War, as many theorists began advancing various postulates about the phenomenon. The process of theorizing is to a very large extent a mechanism or the generation and organization of disagreements. To be more precise, being theoretically conscious sharpens the sense in which analysts are aware of their own assumptions about the way in which the world works (Rosamond, 2000). For students of International Relations, this is particularly a powerful lesson. The unfolding events in Europe after the Second World War offered a generation of social scientists a unique set of events to describe, categorize, explain and predict. During the 1950s, the quite extraordinary process of international cooperation and the subsequent institutionalization were seen initially in the United Nations, the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), and later became the European Economic Community (EEC). This example shows a quite intensive international cooperation among states. To the social scientists, it was a radical experiment (Caporaso, 1998). The heavy institutionalization associated with the pioneering communities suggested something yet more profound (the Treaty of Paris of 1951 which established ECSC set in place an institutional pattern involving clear elements of supranationality which has endured until today). Ernst Hass argues that "[a] giant step on the road towards an integrated theory of regional integration...would be taken if we could clarify the matter of what we propose to explain and/or predict" (Haas, 1971: 26). What is it that theorists are trying to explain when they contemplate the processes of institutional building and integration that have characterized the post-war European Communities? As Haas puts it, "The task of selecting and justifying variables and explaining their hypothesized interdependence cannot be accomplished without an agreement as to the possible conditions to which the process is expected to lead. In short, we need a dependent variable" (Haas, 1971: 18).

On the one hand, "integration" becomes a matter of definition. Thus, the following questions emerge: Is regional integration an economic or a political phenomenon? If it is an economic phenomenon, what levels of interdependence need to be achieved among a group of national economies for them to be described as "integrated"? Is the achievement of a free trade zone the appropriate condition? Is the end point of economic integration a customs union or a common market, or full economic and monetary union? Does economic integration imply political integration? What levels of common institutionalization are associated with an integration economic space? Do all common markets, customs unions and monetary unions have similar levels of institutionalization? Does economic integration generate the momentum for political integration? Conversely, does political integration create space for economic integration to flourish? Politically speaking, does regional integration amount to the creation of a regional parliament or authority within a given geographical region? If this is so, does regional integration consist of the replacement of traditional structures of governance with new forms of authority? Or is regional integration accomplished when a group of geographically-adjacent states reach an accommodation in terms of federal union or a system of common security in terms of the widespread sharing of core values among elites and masses across states? In brief, what does it mean to say that the MRU is integrated, or is in the process of integrating?

Looking at regional integration with another lens, we should try to understand it as a "process" or as an outcome (Lindberg, 1963:4-5). One problem with early regional integration theorists was that they were focusing on a common set of events which evidently show that they had different concepts of "process" and "outcome" in mind.

Karl Deutsch's work (1957) clearly shows that integration as the creation of security communities (or peace zones) among states in a region is necessary and this does not require the transcendence of formal statehood. Alternatively, many social scientists define integration precisely in terms of the radical reordering of both conventional international order and the existing authoritative structure of governance. Thus, Haas defines integration as "the voluntary creation of large political units involving the self-conscious eschewal of force in relation: i.e. participating institutions" (1971: 4). Elsewhere, he defines integration as "The process whereby political actors in several national settings are persuaded to shift their loyalties, expectations and political activities towards a new center, whose institutions possess or demand jurisdiction over pre-existing national states. The end result of a process of political integration is a new political community superimposed over pre-existing ones" (Haas, 1968: 16).

With this background, this paper is now going to examine the literature on the MRU to determine if MRU is in the process of integration or has attained full integration status. The review of the literature is divided into two synchronic/thematic sections. The first section discusses the impact of regional integration, which is viewed by many analysts as a positive or negative impact which is a key determinant in regional integration. The second section looks at works on the security aspect that is associated with regional integration.

Impact of Regional Integration on Member States

According to Abdul Karim Bangura (2012), the impact of regional integration on member states can be classified into two types: (1) positive and (2) negative impacts. He points out that despite the many challenges the MRU member states had during the past three decades, the Union has achieved notable milestones since its founding in 1973.

With the help of prudent fiscal policies and a booming world economy, there was good economic performance in Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Guinea between 1973 and late 1980s. It is important to note that this was the period of peaceful coexistence and stability in the region. The Union was able to record significant successes in the areas of trade liberalization, infrastructure, industrial development, agriculture, transport and communication, education and training, and the energy sector (MRU Secretariat, 2006). According to the MRU Secretariat (2006), the needs assessment conducted by the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) in July of 2000 concluded that the MRU had served as a major catalyst for accelerating and managing the process of economic cooperation and integration in the region. In addition to improving intra-union trade through the elimination of tariff and non-tariff barriers, the Union had played an important role in the harmonization of national policies, developing regional infrastructure, and promoting the production capacity of major sectors such as agriculture, industry and energy. As for trade and customs, a trade liberalization scheme came into effect in May of 1981. In transport and communication, many projects were launched, namely Air Mano, the MRU Basin Development Project, the Freetown-Monrovia highway, the Freetown-Conakry highway, and the Pan-Africa Telecommunication Project (PANAFTEL). For industry, glass bottle production was rehabilitated and the mass production of mini-arm mills was launched. As for agriculture, there were the developments of highly productive livestock, food crop production, limited post-harvest losses, fisheries and the determination of the territorial waters of member states and their joint protection. Regarding the cooperation in political matters, security, foreign affairs and defense, the 15th Protocol of the Union was implemented and the joint border security and confidence-building mechanism was established (MRU Secretariat, 2006).

The MRU Secretariat (2006) notes that another milestone of the Union is the establishment of the MRU Forum. In 1994, International Alert (IA) started an ad-hoc engagement with governments, rebel groups and civil society organizations in the MRU region. In 1999, the West African program was established. The Program team has held consultations with varieties of local groups, including students, religions leaders, lawyers, child soldiers, ex-combatants, and women's group from Sierra Leone, Liberia and Guinea.

Through these different encounters and partnerships with local groups, it became quite clear that in order to deal with the underlying causes of violence, it is important that support is provided to local initiatives and organizations that are focused on ending violence on a regional basis. With this objective in mind, the MRU Forum was designed to develop regional personnel of conflict prevention experts that transcend physical, social, gender, ethnic and cultural boundaries. The Forum comprises of permanent representatives of civil society organizations that have been working to advocate peace, monitor events, mediate between warring factions, make representations to government and intergovernmental bodies, and also engage development and humanitarian agencies in conflict-sensitive analyses of their work. The project involves a series of meetings, workshops and capacity-building training designed to share information and experiences related to war and peace, and any other form of discrimination in the Mano River region.

The MRU Secretariat also analyzes the root causes of violent conflict that will develop and implement strategies for overcoming obstacles to peace (MRU Secretariat, 2006). It further mentions that another important positive aspect of MRU is the Mano River

Union Youth Project. Building on the experience in Liberia while working with youths, the MRU West Africa Program extended its youth focus throughout the region. Many young people in the region face an uncertain future, suffering from trauma experienced during the war in seeing their parents and family members killed, and lack the skills to engage in building a solid foundation for peace.

The MRU conflicts militarized the young people in the region to an unprecedented level. The establishment of child soldiers was common among all warring factions. It is estimated that there were more than 25,000 child soldiers in Sierra Leone and Liberia alone, most of whom were forced against their will. Over 85 percent of the youth in the region are unemployed and, in most cases, illiterate. They are a large pool of available labor and are at risk for recruitment into state and non-state warring groups. In a context where poverty and deprivation are common and war is commercialized, being a fighter becomes a means of employment whereby looted proceeds will be used to feed a family. The MRU Youth Poverty Project invests in conflict prevention by equipping young people through active participation in education and informed training with essential conflict management skills, as well as employment skills, ensuring that tense situations do not escalate and erupt into violent conflicts (MRU Secretariat, 2006).

Another positive impact to be mentioned is the HIV/AIDS project, which came about as a result of a consultative dialogue among the stakeholders that include African Development Bank (AfDB) representatives, MRU governments, refugee representatives, and the internally displaced population (IDP), MRU Secretariat, UNAIDS, UNFF, UNDP, WHO, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and community-based organizations (CBOs) that are all working together to combat HIV/AIDS among refugees and the populations that were internally displaced during the civil wars in member states (MRU Secretariat, 2006).

This consultative approach created a broad-based process in bringing together all the stakeholders in support of a regional program to fight against HIV/AIDS among the entire population. The aim of the project was to educate and reduce risk and vulnerability, thereby preventing the emergence and spread of new infections among refugees and the rest of the population. It builds on lessons learned, strengthens partnerships in developing regional modalities for disease control, and limits chances for conflict, mobility and HIV transmission (MRU Secretariat, 2006).

According to Patrick McGovern (2008), after the war, the most noticeable positive aspect in the MRU is the MRU Women Peace Network (MARWOPNET) and its leading role in the promotion of peace among member countries. The organization was founded and led by its dynamic leader, Hadja Saran Duraba Kaba of Guinea. This organization built on the very strong foundation of the role of women in regional politics and also from the pre-colonial history of chiefs and paramount chiefs of Sierra Leone's Mendeland to women integrated into security forces. In socialist Guinea, women are playing leading roles in the legislature and the civil service; in Liberia, female lawyers are well-organized and vocal in their country's affairs and to bring women's voices and concerns to the negotiation table. MARWOPNET was instrumental in bringing leaders of the MRU to the negotiating table, which was proof of its capacity in peace- building and mediation. The organization is involved in trying to achieve a complete social integration of ex-combatants (McGovern, 2008). MARWOPNET was awarded the United Nations Human Rights (UNHUR) prize in 2003 for its contribution to peace in West Africa (Bangura, 2012).

Despite the positive impact that MRU has had on member states since its inception, as the MRU Secretariat (2006) points out, it has also had many negative effects on the member states. As MRU was about to consolidate the gains already made and launch a new path for the 1990s, a civil war ensured in 1989. The conflict ravaged the MRU basin which resulted in an economic downturn, devastation of the infrastructure, loss of innocent lives, creating internally displaced populations and refugees in other neighboring countries, and a huge toll of human misery. The instability which engulfed the region continues to affect the region's socio-economic development (MRU Secretariat, 2006).

The instability of the past two decades has undermined regional integration efforts by denying the MRU Secretariat needed resources, which has affected the Secretariat's capacity to implement major projects. Thus, as the MRU Secretariat (2006) observed, worst of all, a number of projects constructed with MRU and donor resources were destroyed during the civil wars in Liberia started by Charles Taylor and in Sierra Leone by Foday Sankoh. Also, according to Conciliation Resources (2008), information exchange between civil society and the security sector lacks financial capacity and has a low degree of institutionalization, which affects functionality. The initiative for building trust between the civil society and the security sector lacks sustainability and is limited in its scope and effectiveness.

For Solomon (2004), the nature of domestic politics in the MRU has been based on a patron-client system of governance driven by informal networks through which state resources are appropriated to support and consolidate regimes in power and their supporters. Political clientelism as a system of government in the MRU is personalized. It then becomes a reciprocal relationship through which national resources that should have been used to develop state institutions are then used to build and expand party hegemony and consolidate personal grip on power through the discretionary distribution of personal favors and the development of personal ties to the key individuals and groups that help the party and their leaders remain in power.

Solomon (2004) points out that, contrary to a patron-client relation, it is patrimonialism and neo-patrimonialism which extend the former. Patrimonialism emphasizes the failure of political institutionalization and the general privatization of the political system. It is a system of rule whereby the administrative and military personnel are responsible not to the citizens but to the ruler, rather than to the office which the ruler represents. Neo-patrimonialism involves a high degree of personalized rule due to the nature of public and private partnerships, which are undisguisable in functions. The personal stamp of "strong men" such as Siaka Stevens, Sékou Touré, William Tolbert and Felix Houphouet-Boigny became virtually synonymous with government. They treated the "states" as their personal properties and, together with the ruling elites, they were able to extract and redistribute state resources along regional and ethnic lines in order to consolidate their grips on state power and ensure the longevity of their regimes.

Bangura (2012) posits that the conflicts in MRU are complex, multilayered and personal. Rebel groups, political enemies and ethnic strife ally with neighboring heads of state in a "Scratch my back and I scratch your back" type of relationship to pursue war of revenge or mayhem against those that oppose their rule and policies as a means of payback or total elimination. There is extensive cross-border linkage between the citizens that form the MRU.

McGovern (2008) observes that especially among Sierra Leone, Liberia and Guinea, there are more similarities among their citizens than differences. The Kissi people, for instance, found themselves living in the majority of the eastern parts of the

three countries as a result of the arbitrary colonial frontier boundaries. Other large ethnic groups with a history of pastoralism, small trade, and Islamic scholarship such as the Fulani and Mandingo live in all countries, and there are many others that have similar characteristics. These family and ethnic ties have created a porous border which has encouraged members from all sides to visit one another and to attend weddings, funerals and weekly markets. Towns like Norgorwa, which is across River Moa in Guinea, Koindu which has the international market in Sierra Leone, and Foyakama in Liberia, have long served as major regional/international markets despite their real isolation in the far eastern corner of Sierra Leone, Liberia and Guinea.

McGovern (2008) adds that during the civil wars in Liberia and Sierra Leone, most of the refugees fled to Guinea and Côte d'Ivoire in the thousands and even approaching a million. The family ties helped refugees in villages with their relatives that were not in refugee camps. The Loma, Kpelle and Mano people found distant relatives on the Guinea side of the border while others reactivated relationships between villages, drawing upon the historical legacy of their Guinean neighbors, and having fled both the French colonial rule and the brutal dictatorship of Ahmed Sékou Touré. They arrived in Liberia many decades ago. During the election dispute when the incumbent lost the election and refused to concede power, which led to a civil war in Côte d'Ivoire, many people of Guinean origin, some of whom had not visited the country for decades, or who had been born in Côte d'Ivoire to Guinean parents, returned to their native villages to escape the war.

Solomon (2004) points out that MRU governments use rebel groups in neighboring countries solely for political, domestic and security advantages. For example, the involvements of Burkina Faso (formerly Upper Volta) and Côte d'Ivoire in Liberia's civil war and, by extension, in Sierra Leone, were deliberate decisions for political, economic and ideological purposes.

Solomon (2004) further states that for much of 1990s, the MRU countries found it difficult to convince the international community that the conflicts in Liberia and Sierra Leone were a regional problem. It was only when cross-border attacks from Sierra Leone and Liberia into Guinea in 2000-2001 and the involvement of Liberia and Sierra Leone rebels into Côte d'Ivoire's civil war in 2002 occurred did the interlinked nature become apparent to the international community that it was a regional problem. Recently, the Ebola outbreak in Guinea which has now spread into Sierra Leone and Liberia buttresses this point of interconnectivity.

According to Bangura (2012), given the recent history during which Côte d'Ivoire's government allowed Charles Taylor and his fighting forces to destabilize Liberia, Liberia then allowed Foday Sankoh and his fighters to destabilize Sierra Leone and looted its diamond mining fields, only then did the international community realize that Charles Taylor was a dangerous man. Guinea and Côte d'Ivoire formed an unusual alliance financially and logistically to support rebel forces that were fighting against Charles Taylor in order to unseat him. He fled into exile in Nigeria where he was pursued by the international community to stand trial for crimes against humanity. The relation between the MRU countries became one of competition rather than cooperation.

As McGovern (2008) points out, another negative aspect of MRU regional integration is its administrative setup. It has faced technical constraints from the start. It was originally overseen by the Union Ministerial Council which included all ministers whose portfolios were involved in the Union's activities. Given that this was in the 1970s before the advent of modern technology such as the Internet, E-mail, Skype, Twitter, Face book, etc., such management was doomed; nonetheless, the Union has weathered the storm with the establishment of a Secretariat located in Freetown, Sierra Leone. However, the Secretariat is under-resourced and has very limited capacity even to execute the few projects undertaken by the MRU.

Overlap and duplication are other constraints to MRU efforts. An example is the MRU's HIV/AIDS program mentioned earlier. Prevention, detection and treatment of HIV/AIDS are a priority for the MRU states. These decisions take place at the national level within the ministries of health; at the international level under the supervision of such agencies as UNAIDS, WHO and UNPF; and at the continental level where the AU announced its continental strategy in 2006 and through many implementing partners, some of which are local NGOs and IGOs.

Bangura (2012) states that looking at the logical premise that parties to a conflict violate rules and refugee camp life tends to show that there are higher than normal levels of sexual assault, rape and prostitution work, all of these lead to increased levels of HIV infections. The negative aspect is that the MRU has few technical experts and its programs to a greater extent duplicate others. Furthermore, the trafficking of small arms and light weapons is another indication of the structural problems the MRU states are encouraging. While all of the member states have pledged to support regional peace and security and have also signed the 1998 ECOWAS small arms moratorium, lack of enforcement has made such initiatives useless. Guinea, Côte d'Ivoire and Liberia have all been identified as importing weapons without informing ECOWAS of their intention to do so, which is a violation of the moratorium.

McGovern (2008) points out that it is estimated that even a relatively peaceful and stable country like Ghana produces 40,000 to 60,000 of locally manufactured firearms each year, many of which are illegally smuggled across the border to neighboring countries in ECOWAS and MRU. The negative aspect of this action is that when protocols are agreed and signed by regional organizations, such machinations contradict the national interests of member states. Supranational (which are regional agreements, protocols, etc) ideals are shoved aside.

Stephanie Anne Johnson's study (2011) engages the academic community to analyze in depth the question why the little-known women's organization called the Mano River Women's Peace Network (MARWOPNET) in West Africa has become unique in the field of peacekeeping. She uses secondary data to analyze the role of women peacekeepers and the leadership of women, particularly in West Africa which has trail blazed the role of women in conflict areas, as peace ambassadors through non-violence in the rest of Africa. Johnson discusses the need for female peacekeepers, with a focus on women, the elderly, and children in conflict zones who are particularly venerable in times of war. International legislation related to women peacekeepers, theories of leadership, examples of male support and cooperation, African women's strategies for the inclusion of diverse stakeholders, are also examined. The countries that comprise the MARWOPNET are Guinea, Sierra Leone, Liberia and Cote d'Ivoire. These countries have been in conflict with one another for the past two decades. So it is no surprise to have a women's peace network organization originating from the region. In Sierra Leone between 50,000 to 64,000 women were victims of sexual abuse during the armed conflict. A sizeable number of the elderly and children were killed or died of hunger and malnutrition because nobody attended to them for fear of been killed (Steady, 2006:55).

Security

Security, for the purpose of this paper, includes personal safety security, human security, and national security. The Oxford English Dictionary defines security as "the state of being free from danger or injury." "Safety," on the other hand, is defined by the same dictionary as "the state of being certain that adverse effects will not be caused by some agent under defined conditions." Personal safety therefore becomes a grave concern for all the citizens of the Mano River Union (MRU). Recent rebel wars and military coups in all of the Mano River Union countries have made personal security a priority for all the citizens and the national governments. During the rebel wars in the region, it was estimated that between 100,000 and 200,000 people were killed (sierraexpressmedia.com11/6/2010). Many of the citizens that were killed were a result of direct attacks by the rebels and security forces in combat to control territories in the region and vital supply points. Many also perished in refugee camps in neighboring countries due to lack of proper sanitation, old age, and lack of proper medical care (MRU Secretariat, 2006).

According to McGovern (2008), even though personal safety is a primary concern for the citizens in the MRU, there is no remarkable increase in the purchase of small arms by individual citizens for the protection of their families and their personal safety. Security still remains with the national governments for internal and border controls. The porous borders were to blame for the free flow of weapons by international and local arm dealers with weapons made in Russia and the United States which are the world's largest manufacturers of weapons and ammunitions used by rebels and criminals to terrorize their own people.

As Solomon (2004) points out, another form of security is that of human security, which can be defined as the security that assures the continuity of life, which includes all that human life is endowed with. For Solomon, human security is considered in three areas: (1) food, (2) water, and (3) shelter. Food is a basic necessity of life. Without food, the cells in our bodies will not grow due to the lack of nourishment. Food security is becoming a critical crisis, not only in the MRU but in many parts around the globe. According to the World Food Program (WFP), MRU countries will face food shortages if an immediate action plan is not implemented. For example, in Liberia, The WFP has been present since 1968, but 2013 marked the beginning of the implementation of WFP's country program to last to 2017. The program was developed in close collaboration with the government of Liberia with a vision of a "Hunger Free Liberia." This approach is based on three premises: (1) strengthen, (2) social safety net, and (3) promote production safety net programs to the government (McGovern, 2008). According to WFP (2013), for Guinea, the organization supports income generating and training program activities for host populations and Ivoirian refugees who are opting for local integration. Non-food policy and strengthening distribution of WFP food entail supporting the government in its efforts to develop the capacity to monitor and address food insecurity and nutrition, and to adopt a national school feeding policy and strengthen national capacity to address hunger and malnutrition. WFP (2013) adds that for Côte d'Ivoire, the organization and FAO's food security assessment conducted in July of 2011 concluded that food insecurity remains a concern in the western, southern, and northeastern regions due to the long stay of internally displaced people (IDP) with host families and the loss of harvests. Thus, according to the WFP 30% of the rural population is food in-secure. Furthermore, the WFP (2013) notes that rising prices of basic food commodities have also contributed to a decrease in household food security, with monthly market studies undertaking by the WFP and the Government Office of the Commercialization of Food Products showing an increase of 30% in the price of imported rice from the West for March of 2012 and a 100 percent increase in the price of cassava which is typically substituted as a staple food in the raining/farming season. Sierra Leone, on the other hand, has plenty of food, but the problem is the road network to get it to the market for sale. The MRU Secretariat (2006) points out that drinking water is another form of human security that is most often overlooked. The MRU states are all endowed with fresh natural spring rivers and have access to the Atlantic Ocean.

The capital cities of these states are all located along the Atlantic Ocean, which makes sea transportation easier. For example, Sierra Leone has the second-best natural harbor in the world. Despite the abundance of all these bodies of water, access to clean drinking water in some of the urban cities and the inlands is a big challenge, for both the government and the citizens. Most of the free flowing rivers and streams are not clean for drinking. Most of them contain residues from mining and worms that can cause sickness to a person if contaminated water is drank. MRU partnership with WHO and NGOs, is working to provide safe drinking water for citizens in the MRU. Water wells are dug in most of the areas that have been considered as critical or have a chronic water shortage. In other areas, the water from streams and rivers are now treated to meet the water purification standards and old water treatment centers upgrade to make it fit for drinking. The MRU Secretariat (2006) also mentions that another urgent concern of human security that much attention is not paid is the provision of shelter or housing.

In the MRU, it is a common practice for governments to provide housing. It is mostly an individual or family business to provide housing for a person and his/her family. Most of the cities, and especially the capitals, are overcrowded due to the lack of sufficient housing. In the 1980s, the Sierra Leone government embarked upon a low-cost housing project. The idea was to ease the overcrowding in the city. The houses were built with cost over-runs. The nonchalant attitude of the tenants refusing to pay rent because it is government property and lack of maintenance and tenant associations made the buildings to dilapidate and become death traps, which forced the government to sell the units to individual tenants who will take ownership and repair the units. The Sierra Leone low-cost housing example could serve as a disincentive to other MRU governments to even consider a project like that in their countries. Another problem in this arena that will discourage a project of this type is land use and land ownership. Most of the land in the MRU is either community or family owned. It is only in the city where most of the land is owned by the government, which can be sold, donated or leased from the government for development purposes that can benefit the community as a whole.

Finally, according to McGovern (2008), national security plays a central role in the security discourse. During the past two decades, the MRU states have seen coups, rebel movements and wars that took a severe toll on the people and infrastructure. Conflicts in the MRU region are complex, multi-layered and increasingly personal. Rebel groups ally with neighboring heads of state in symbiotic relationships to pursue wars of revenge. There are extensive cross-border linkages based on ethnicity, religion and culture, which is clearly demonstrated by the Kisses in Liberia, Guinea, and Sierra Leone.

According to the Kimberley Process Certification (2013), the Ministry of Mines and Mineral Resources of the government of Sierra Leone is responsible for formulating policies and is the body that is a signatory to the Kimberley Process Certification (KPC). The newly enacted National Minerals Agency Act of 2012 was formed by an Act of Parliament responsible for implantation of all policies formulated by the Ministry of Mines and Mineral Resources on all mineral matters in Sierra Leone (Sierra Leone

Government, 2012). National Minerals Agency has five directorates: (1) directorate of precious minerals, (2) directorate of trading and mines, (3) directorate of national revenue authority (customs), (4) directorate office of national security, and (5) directorate of anti-corruption commission and the police. The first two directorate's deals directly with diamond matters, including the certification process, and the other three are the investigation arm that deals with diamonds- related crimes and prosecution of culprits. The KPC adds that the Directorate of Precious Minerals Trading (PMT) is responsible for the imports and exports of rough diamonds for both the government and the private sector and collects export duty. It is very rare to have rough diamonds imported; but if such a situation arises, there is a mechanism in place to address it. As for export, the legal diamond exporter brings his/her goods to the PMT office at the Bank of Sierra Leone for processing. The exporter is obligated by law to submit export licenses, sales books, bank statement, and a Schedule "B" stating his or her own value. The documents are then examined for authentication within 24 hours.

Conclusion

It is evident from the preceding review that a general limitation of the existing literature on regional integration in the MRU is marred by a Western bias that sees Africans as needing Western know-how. Attempts are not made to show how indigenous knowledge and practices can be tapped to promote development in the region. A study is needed to fill this gap.

African intellectuals should be encouraged to undertake research with an African indigenous flavor such as the cultural composition, extended family structure, and adjucdicating disputes through, for example, chief compound style and traditional ceremonies, to play a vital role in economic and political development in the MRU. Such research will help draw the attention of Africans on the continent and the Diaspora to learn how rich and important the African heritage is in these matters.

References

Bangura, A. K. and E. McCandless. 2007. *Peace Research for Africa: Critical Essays on Methodology*. Geneva, Switzerland: University of Peace Press.

Bangura, A. K. 2012. Using e-clustering to reinvigorate the Mano River Union. *Journal of International Studies and Development* 2, 3.

Deutsch, K. W. 1969. *Nationalism and Its Alternatives*. New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf.

Deutsch, K. L. 1968. *The Analysis of International Relations.* London, UK: Prentice Hall.

Deutsch, K. L. 1964. Communication theory and political integration. In J. V. Toscani (ed.). *The Integration of Political Communities*. Philadelphia, PA: Lippincott.

Haas, E. B. 1961. International integration: The European and the universal process. *International Organization* 15:389.

Haas, E. B. 1958. *The Uniting of Europe: Political, Social and Economic FORES, 1950-1957.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Haas, E. B. 1958. *The Uniting of Europe: Political, Social and Economic Forces 1950-1957*. Stanford, CA: Sanford University Press.

Kimberley Process Certification Scheme. 2013. *Sierra Leone Annual Report*. Freetown, Sierra Leone: Kimberley Process Certification Scheme Publication.

Lindberg, L. N. 1963. *The Political Dynamics of European Economic Integration*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press

Lindberg, L. N. and S. A. Steigold. 1970. *Europe's would be Polity: Patterns of Change in the European Community*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Mano River Union Secretariat. 2006. *Annual Report of the MRU on the Rebel War*. Freetown, Sierra Leone: MRU Secretariat Publication.

Sierraexpressmedia.com. 11/06/2010. The risk of personal security in the Mano River Union. Available at http://www.sierraexpressmedia.com

Stephanie, A. December, 2011. Women, shared leadership and policy: The Mano River Women's Peace Network as a case study. *Journal of Pan African Studies* 4, 8.

Stephanie, A. December, 2011. In-depth analysis of a little known women organization: Mano River Women's Peace Network (MARWONET) as a case study. *Journal of Pan-African Studies 4*, 8.

Abstract

While a small number of works exists on the 1991 Constitution of Sierra Leone, no systematically rigorous analysis has been done on it. This paper is an attempt to fill this gap. Specifically, I employ the mathematical concept of Fractal Dimension and Complexity Theory to explore the idea of spectrum progressing from more orderly to less orderly or to pure disorder which reflect the major postulates on the Constitution. This calls for the utilization of the Pluridisciplinary approach to help me mix linguistics and mathematical approaches—more precisely, Linguistic Presupposition and Fractal Methodology. The results generated after the MATLAB computer runs suggest that the combination of negative and positive feedback loops, which form the basis of several African knowledge systems, also form a key mechanism of general self-organizing systems in the Constitution, its typographical, grammatical, syntactic, semantic, linguistic pragmatic, ambiguities and contradictions notwithstanding. The finding supports a call for a cleaning up of the document, albeit not changing its substance.

Introduction

The 1991 Constitution of Sierra Leone, which replaced the 1978 Constitution, is the result of the necessity to move the country away from a single-party to a multi-party polity and conduct fresh elections in 1996. Voting for the new Constitution was held across the country on August 23, 26, 28, and 30 of 1991. Of the almost 2.5 million voters, 75 percent exercised their right to vote, and about 80 percent of those who voted did so in favor of the new Constitution (African Elections Database, 2012). The Constitution came into effect on October 01, 1991 (The Sierra Leone Web, 2013).

In July of 2006, the Chairman of the Law Reform Commission (LRC), Dr. Peter Tucker, announced that the LRC would review the Constitution, and that the initiative had the support of President Alhaji Ahmed Tejan Kabbah and his Cabinet. Dr. Tucker also stated that since the Constitution came into effect, the "country has been ravaged by a rebel war, endured military juntas and return of an elected government…the Constitution came out of all these upheavals largely unscathed; it was never abolished; it was silenced; it never collapsed" (Yamba, 2006:1). He added that "The NPRC suspended part of the Constitution, and when power was restored to a civilian government, it was done so after an election held under the 1991 Constitution; even the AFRC (Armed Forces Revolutionary Council) junta of 1997/98 claimed that it seized power in order to protect the Constitution" (Yamba, 2006:1).

Subsequently, on October 24, 2006, the Kabbah Government set up a Constitutional Review Commission "To review the Sierra Leone Constitution of 1991 with a view to recommending amendments that might bring it up to date with the economic, social and political developments that have taken place nationally and internationally since 1991" (*Awareness Times*, 2006). The government added that "The review shall take into consideration the following among other considerations: (1) the experience gained since 1996 in the implementation of the 1991 Constitution; (2) omissions and lacunae in the 1991 Constitution which affect its operation as a modern democratic constitution; (3) improvement on certain provisions of the Constitution that may enhance democratic governance; (4) whether the Fundamental Principles of State Policy should be justiciable, and (5) any other issues the people may raise before or during the review" (*Awareness Times*, 2006). The review led to many amendments to the Constitution dealing with summary ejectment, courts, independent media commission, national power authority, and administration of estates, income tax, finance, appropriation, telecommunications, and Sierra Leone citizenship (The Sierra Leone Web, 2013).

Another Constitutional Review Committee was launched by President Ernest Bai Koroma on July 30, 2013 on the grounds that "the 1991 Constitution provided for its own renewal as stipulated in Section 108, but also as recommended by the Lomé Peace Accord, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, the Sierra Leone Conference on Development and Transformation as well as the enduring calls from the women, youth and the physically challenged demanding greater inclusion within governance" (Sierra Leone State House Communications Unit, 2013). The review led to the repeal of the Sierra Leone Produce Marketing Act and the passage of the Right to Access Information Act. The former vested "the property of the Board in the Sierra Leone Produce Marketing Company Limited and to provide for other related matters" and the latter provided "for the disclosure of information held by public authorities or by persons providing services for them and to provide for other related matters" (The Sierra Leone Web, 2013). It should also be mentioned here that the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in 2013 supported the constitutional review initiative and added $300,000.00 to Sierra Leone's $1,161,894.53, leaving a funding gap of $2,670,592.47 of the total $4,132,487.00 that was required to cover expenditures from July of 2013 to March of 2015 (UNDP, 2013).

The Constitution has come under scrutiny when on March 17, 2015, Koroma relieved Vice President Alhaji Samuel Sidique Sam-Sumana of his post on the grounds that the latter had abandoned his position and sought asylum in the United States Embassy in Freetown and for not belonging to a political party as stipulated in the Constitution.

Sam-Sumana had been expelled from the All People's Congress by the party's National Advisory Council on the basis that he had (a) given false information about his Master's degree, (b) instigated political violence in Kono District, (c) tried to form a breakaway faction to launch a new political party, and (d) given false information about his religious background (*This Is Sierra Leone*, 2015).

On Friday, March 20, 2015, lawyers representing Sam-Sumana filed a law suit at the Supreme Court of Sierra Leone arguing that Koroma had no constitutional basis for relieving Sam-Sumana of his position because Koroma did not appoint his Vice President but instead both of them were elected in 2012 under the Constitution (Sankoh, 2015). At issue before the Supreme Court is whether Koroma, relying on "the supreme executive authority" in Section 40(1) instead of Section 50 (mental or physical incapacity) or 51 (misconduct in office) of the Constitution, acted constitutionally when he dismissed Sam-Sumana as Vice President (Dumbuya, 2015).

Despite the importance of the Constitution, however, only a small number of works exists on it. These works are descriptive and not systematically rigorous. This paper is therefore an attempt to fill this void. Specifically, I employ the mathematical concept of Fractal Dimension (a ratio of statistical index that reveals the complexity of the detail in a pattern) and Complexity Theory (the study of how order, pattern and structure can emerge from complex and chaotic systems) to explore the idea of spectrum progressing from more orderly to less orderly or to pure disorder in the text. This called for the utilization of the Pluridisciplinary approach that helped me to mix linguistics and mathematical approaches—more precisely, Linguistic Presupposition and Fractal Methodology. Before discussing the results generated from the MATLAB computer runs, however, it makes sense to begin with exposes of the available literature on the Constitution and the research methodology employed in this paper.

Literature Review

The small number of works on the Constitution is comprised of two books and some online articles. The following is a review of these works in the chronological order in which they were published.

The first, and to this day the most comprehensive, work on the Constitution is Bankole Thompson's 1996 book titled *The Constitutional History and Law of Sierra Leone (1961-1995)* in which he offers a legal analysis of the nexus between constitutional norms and societal impetuses in the country. He employs a comparative approach to demonstrate how these constitutional and societal factors inhibit democracy in the country. The major strength of this work is that it is grounded in a comparative approach. The technique, however, is descriptive in nature. Thus, as with any descriptive study, this work indicates norms, not standards. The author shows what is being done, not what could or should be done. He discerns established practices, instead of causes, meanings, possibilities, or reasons.

In his book titled *Essays on the Sierra Leone Constitution, 1991* (2001), Abdulai Osman Conteh, who was in charge of navigating the draft Constitution through the cabinet and the Parliament, presents the country's constitutional law, its constitutional history, and the 1991 Constitution itself. His focus is on how the new Constitution is the first to clearly spell out the political and legal separation of powers among the three branches of government: (1) the executive, (2) the legislature, and (3) the judiciary. He cites numerous sections in the document to support his thesis. As a member of the group that crafted the Constitution, Conteh offers a detailed understanding of the document. He nonetheless, does not deal with the possibility of an unequal distribution of power among the three branches of government—an aspect Peter Dumbya (2013) addresses in his article.

Mohamed Kunowah Kiellow in his "A Review of the Constitution of Sierra Leone" (2010) focuses on "the recognition and protection of fundamental human rights and freedoms of the individual." The tenor of his argument is that the provision in the Constitution for "economic, social and cultural 'rights'" has not bestowed any rights on the citizens of the country. He therefore calls for giving these "rights their dues rights." Like any advocacy essay, the author selected particular aspects in the Constitutions rather than others, and extracts them from the context in which they are indiscernibly lodged. Consequently, the author organizes his argument as he wants readers to see it in his own way rather than in many other possible ways.

As mentioned earlier, Peter Dumbuya in his article titled "Rethinking Presidential Power in the 1991 Constitution of Sierra Leone" (2013) addresses the issue of unequal distribution of power among the three branches of government in the Constitution. He couches his argument within Thomas Hobbes' *Leviathan* and cites many sections in the Constitution to argue that the document strengthens the executive branch at the expense of the legislature and the judiciary, thereby undermining the principle of checks and balances. Missing in Dumbuya's article, however, is the measure(s) he uses to weigh the distribution of power. In essence, he seems to underestimate the difficulty of defining an unwieldy concept like power, and even more so in measuring it.

In its "Constitutional History Sierra Leone" (2014), ConstitutionNet discusses the internal factors (e.g., the loud call for an end to one-party rule) and external factors (e.g., the fall of the Berlin Wall) that influenced the establishment of the Constitution. It also explains how the document recognizes the separation of powers among the executive, legislature and the judiciary. The history is too brief and not undergirded by any historiographical method.

Finally, Titus Boye-Thompson in his article titled "Sierra Leone Constitution Defective as to Parliamentary Representation" (2015) makes the case for why the document needs to be reviewed because it shortchanges the Western area in terms of the make-up of Parliament, thereby marginalizing the Creoles, the majority of who live in the area. He cites many sections of the document where representation is directed to districts and paramount chiefs, none of which exists in the Western area. While Thompson is correct in the omissions he cites in the Constitution, his argument could have been better strengthened had he discussed other aspects of the Constitution in which other ethnic groups are marginalized and how the Freetown Municipality Act and Township Act, which are upheld in the Constitution, can be employed to address the issue of parliamentary representation for the Western area.

In sum, the preceding works offer very useful analyses on the 1991 Constitution of Sierra Leone. Nonetheless, as stated earlier, they are descriptive and not systematically rigorous. It is therefore the objective in the rest of this essay to fill this void.

Research Methodology

The major challenge for me was how to transform the linguistic pragmatic or deep-level meanings in the six journal articles examined for mathematical modeling. As I stated earlier, this called for the utilization of the Pluridisciplinary approach that helped me to mix linguistics and mathematical approaches: more precisely, Linguistic Presupposition and Fractal Methodology. Furthermore, it behooves me to state here that discussions of this methodology also appear in the following works: Abdul Karim Bangura (ed.), *Fractal Complexity in the Works of Major Black Thinkers, Volumes One and Two*, San Diego, CA: Cognella Press, 2013; Abdul Karim Bangura, "A Mathematical Exploration of Fractal Complexity among the Axioms on the African State in the *Journal of Third World Studies*: From John Mukum Mbaku to Pade Badru," *Journal of Third World Studies*, Vol. xxix, No. 2, Fall 2012:11-64; Abdul Karim Bangura, "Fractal Complexity in Cheikh Anta Diop's *Precolonial Black Africa*: A Pluridisciplinary Analysis," *CODESRIA Bulletin*, Nos. 1 & 2, 2012:10-19; and Abdul Karim Bangura, "Fractal Complexity in Mwalimu Chinua Achebe's *Things Fall Apart*: A Mathematical Exploration," *Critical Interventions*, Number 9/10, Spring 2012:106-121. The following is a restatement of these techniques for those readers who may have difficulty accessing the preceding works.

Pluridiciplinary Methodology

Pluridisciplinary Methodology can be generally defined as the systematic utilization of two or more disciplines or branches of learning to investigate a phenomenon, thereby in turn contributing to those disciplines. Noting that Diop had called on African-centered researchers to become pluridisciplinarians, Clyde Ahmed Winters (1998) states that the Pluridisciplinary specialist is a person who is qualified to employ more than one discipline—for example, history, linguistics, etc.—when researching aspects of African history and Africology in general.

The history of the Pluridisciplinary Methodology can be traced back to the mid-1950s with the works of Diop and Jean Vercoutter. The approach was concretized by Alain Anselin and Clyde Ahmad Winters in the 1980s and early 1990s. A brief history of this development with brief backgrounds of these four pioneers is retold in the rest of this section.

G. Mokhtar in his book, *Ancient Civilizations of* Africa (1990), traces the development of Pluridisciplinary Methodology to the works of Diop and Vercoutter. Diop was born in Senegal on December 29, 1923 and died on February 7, 1986. He was a historian, anthropologist, physicist, and politician who investigated the origins of the human races and pre-colonial African culture. His education included African history, Egyptology, linguistics, anthropology, economics, and sociology. He is considered one of the greatest African intellectuals of the 20th Century. Jean Vercoutter was born in France on January 6, 1911 and died on July 6, 2000. He was a French Egyptologist.

According to Mokhtar, Diop and Vercoutter were in total agreement on the point that it is necessary to study as much detail as possible all the genes bordering on the Nile Valley which were likely to provide fresh information. Mokhtar notes that Vercoutter considered it necessary to give due weight to the palaeoecology (i.e. the ecology of fossil animals and plants) of the Delta and to the vast region which had been termed by other researchers the Fertile African Crescent. Mokhtar points out that Diop advocated tracing the paths taken by peoples who migrated westwards from Dārfur, reaching the Atlantic seaboard by separate routes, to the south along the Zaïre Valley and to the north towards Senegal, on either side of the Yoruba. He adds that Diop also pointed out how worthwhile it might be to study Egypt's relations with the rest of Africa in greater detail than had been done, and Diop further mentioned the discovery, in the province of Shaba, of a statuette of Osiris dating from the 7th Century before the Christian era. Similarly, argues Mokhtar, a general study might be made of the working hypothesis that the major events which affected the Nile, such as the sacking of Thebes by the Syrians, or the Persian invasion of -522, had far reaching repercussions on the African continent as a whole (Mokhtar, 1990:55).

Furthermore, according to Winters, two major scholars who have advanced the Pluridisciplinary approach by combining anthropological, historical and linguistic methods to explain the heritage of African people, constituting a

third school of Africancentric researchers (the first and second schools being the African American and the French-speaking African and African Caribbean, respectively), are Anselin and himself (Winters, 1998). Anselin teaches ancient Egyptian linguistics at the University of Guyana Antilles. He is an anthropologist and also the founder of the *Journal of Caribbean Egyptology*. Winters is a lecturer at Governors State University at University Park in Illinois where he teaches curriculum design and research methods courses. He also is a 28-year teaching veteran of the Chicago Public Schools system.

Anselin is the author of three important Pluridisciplinary Africancentric books—(1) *Samba*, (2) *La Question Puele*, and (3) *Le Mythe d'Europe*—and numerous articles. In *Samba*, Anselin demonstrates how the corpus of Egyptian hieroglyphics explains both the Egyptian civilization and the entire world of the Paleo-Africans. He also makes it clear that Kemetic civilization originated in the Fertile African Crescent and that Black African and Kemetic civilization at its origination was unified from its foundations in the Sahara up to its contemporary manifestations in the languages and culture of Black Africans. In *La Question Puele*, Anselin examines the unity for Egyptian, West African and Dravidian languages, political traditions and culture. He also provides a detailed discussion of the "Black Ageans." The findings comprise a thorough representation of the affinities between the Agean and Dravidian civilizations (Winters, 1998).

Winters is the only African American that attempts to confirm Diop's theories in relation to the genetic unity of the Egyptian, Black African, Elamite, Sumerian and Dravidian languages. Winters is mainly concerned with the unity of the ancient and new worlds' Black civilizations and the decipherment of ancient Black writing systems used by these Africans. This interest had led him to learn many languages, including French, Tamil, Malinke/Bambara, Chinese, Arabic, Otomi, and more (Winters, 1998).

Winters had used Diop's genetic model in his research by combining anthropological, linguistic and historical methods to confirm that the center for the rise of the originators of the Egyptian and Manding civilizations, the Magyar or Hungarian civilization, the Dravidian civilization, and the Sumerian and Elamite civilizations was the Fertile Crescent of the highland regions of Middle/Saharan Africa. He also explains how Blacks founded civilizations in the Americas and East and Southeast Asia. A major finding from Winters' work is that the ancestors of the Dravidian and Manding-speaking people seem to have left Africa at the same time around 2600 BC, and that these people founded civilizations in Europe, Elam, India and ancient China (Winters, 1998).

Like Diop before him, Winters also discusses the African sub-stream in European languages, the conflict between African people and Indo-European-speaking people, and the loss of early African settlements in Europe to the contemporary European people due to natural catastrophes and wars around 1000 BC. Winters provides valuable source material for the elaboration of the African influence on European languages and those of East and Central Asia (Winters, 1998).

Winters had discovered that the Proto-Saharan people used a common writing system. He also was able to read the ancient inscriptions left by these people in the Sahara dating to 3000 BC. He was able to confirm this development by comparing the Manding and the Elamite languages, and the Sumerian and Dravidian languages. The evidence of a genetic relationship between the Manding languages, which Winters used to decipher the earliest Proto-Saharan writings and other languages spoken by the founders of civilization in India and Mesopotamia, led him to hypothesize that the writing systems used by these ancient founders of civilization could be deciphered. The utilization of Diop's linguistic constancy theory allowed Winters to confirm his own hypothesis and read the common signs used to write the Harapant, Minoan and Olmec scripts (Winters, 1998).

Winters' most significant finding is the cognate language of Meroitic. By employing the evidence presented by the Classical sources that the Kushites ruled empires in Africa and Asia, Winters is able to show that the cognate language of Meroitic was the Tokharian language spoken by the Kushana people of Central Asia. He has been able to decipher many Meroitic inscriptions by using the Kushana/Tokharian language (Winters, 1998).

According to Dani Nabudere (2003), Pluridisciplinary Methodology involves the use of open and resource-based techniques available in an actual situation. Thus, it has to draw upon the indigenous knowledge materials available in the locality and make maximum use of them. Indigenous languages are therefore at the center of the effective use of this methodology.

What all this suggests, according to Nabudere, is that the researcher must revisit the indigenous techniques that take into consideration the epistemological, cosmological and methodological challenges. The researcher must be culture-specific and knowledge-source-specific in his/her orientation. Thus, the process of redefining the boundaries between the different disciplines in our thought process is the same as that of reclaiming, reordering and, in some cases, reconnecting those ways of knowing, which were submerged, subverted, hidden or driven underground by colonialism and slavery. The research should therefore reflect the daily dealings of society and the challenges of the daily lives of the people.

Towards this end, following Nabudere, at least the following six major questions should guide Pluridisciplinary research (2003:13):

(1) How can the research increase indigenous knowledge in the general body of global human development?

(2) How can the research create linkages between the sources of indigenous knowledge and the centers of learning on the continent and in the Diaspora?

(3) How can centers of research in the communities ensure that these communities become "research societies"?

(4) How can the research be linked to the production needs of the communities?

(5) How can the research help to ensure that science and technology are generated in relevant ways to address problems of the rural communities where the majority of the people live and that this is done in indigenous languages?

(6) How can the research help to reduce the gap between the elite and the communities from which they come by ensuring that the research results are available to everyone and that such knowledge is drawn from the communities?

The truism that indigenous knowledge is critical to Africa's development prompted a workshop titled "Indigenous Knowledge Systems and Intellectual Property in the Twenty-First Century: Perspectives from Southern Africa" convened at the University of Botswana from November 26 to 28, 2003 which culminated into a book with the same title published in 2007 by the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) based in Dakar, Senegal. The tenor of the workshop and subsequent book is that the twin themes of indigenous knowledge systems and intellectual property rights have moved to the center of academic discourse within the context of innovation and the commercialization of knowledge. This is because wealth is no longer reckoned in terms of physical assets alone. Unfortunately, the traditional imbalance between the North and the South, which has for long manifested itself mainly through trade, is replicated even in tapping intellectual property given to residents of the developing world who remain largely unable to define their property rights. Once again, the West exploits Africa and the rest of the developing world by expropriating indigenous knowledge systems and patenting them in the West (Mazonde and Thomas, 2007).

Various scholars have suggested many major concepts to underlie the Pluridisciplinary Methodology, but it is Dani Nabudere (2003) who has provided the most succinct definitions and discussions for most of these concepts. They are as follows:

(a) *African Spirituality* refers to those aspects of people that have enabled them to survive as a human community throughout the centuries. It transcends European classical humanism with its class, socioeconomic and geographical limitations based on Greece and the Athenian City-State, which is based on a system of slavery. African Spirituality leads to enlarged humanities and recaptures the original meaning of humanity which Western scholars, beginning with Plato, in their hollow and lopsided search for material progress, have abandoned (Nabudere, 2003:3-4).

(b) *Contemporary African Philosophy* is a critique of the Eurocentric "idea" and "general philosophy" in its metaphysical perception that European humanism is superior to that of the African people. This falsehood, which has been perpetuated by Europe to this day, hinges upon the belief that the rest of humanity has to be *forced* to believe like Europe in order to be "humanized" into a singular humanity. Contemporary African Philosophy seeks to "de-structure" this European pretext and emphasize humankind's "shared humanity" (Nabudere, 2003:4).

(c) *The African Renaissance* is the initiative to recapture the basic elements of African humanism (*ubuntu, eternal life*, and *immanent moral justice*) as the path to a new humanistic universalism. This initiative, according to Chancellor Williams, "is the spiritual and moral element, actualized in good will among men (and women), which Africa itself has preserved and can give to the world" (Nabudere, 2003:4).

(d) *The Pan-Afrikan University* does not begin in a vacuum, for it has a deep heritage of culture and "civilizational" values that must inform its recreation (e.g., the Sankore University in Timbuktu). These institutions are to be found within Africa's ancient achievements. They must be unearthed and reclaimed. If the Pan-Afrikan University is to respond to this historic challenge and be a part of the correction of its historical distortion and theft of African heritages, it has to provide deeply thought out and well-conceived vision and mission, with a well articulated strategy to achieve its objectives. For it to be successful, it must be a part of the creation of a counter-hegemonic discourse which can enable the "triple agenda of deconstruction, reconstruction, and regeneration" to be undertaken at the same time. Consequently, the Pan-Afrikan University must develop the University as a new institution of higher education, which can help in reshaping the direction of education on the continent toward a

more culture-specific and culturally relevant curriculum and pedagogy of liberation. It must draw from those heritages and provide the students, adult learners and the communities with a space in which they can learn as well as carry out their research and be trained by their teachers, community experts, and consultants at the University campuses as well as in the community knowledge sites. Essentially, the Pan-Afrikan University must be people-centered and community-based in which everyone enjoys the freedom to learn and speak (Nabudere, 2003:5-6, 14).

(e) *African Epistemology and Cosmology* imply the development of an all-inclusive approach which recognizes all sources of human knowledge as valid within their own contexts. This calls for the adoption of hermeneutic philosophy in its African essence. This African-based epistemological and cosmological foundation is the prerequisite for the production and development of knowledge (Nabudere, 2003:6-7).

(f) *African Humanism/Ubuntu* is a concept from the Southern African Nguni language family (IsiNdebele, IsiSwati/IsiSwazi, IsiXhosa and IsiZulu) meaning humanity or fellow feeling; kindness. *Ubuntu* serves as the spiritual foundation of African societies. It is a unifying vision or worldview enshrined in the maxim *umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu*: i.e. “a person is a person through other persons.” This traditional African aphorism, which can be found in every corner of the continent, articulates a basic respect and compassion for others. It can be interpreted as both a factual description and a rule of conduct or social ethic. It both describes the human being as “being-with-others” and prescribes what that should be (Bangura, 2005 & 2008).

(g) *African Languages* are at the center of developing the Pan-Afrikan University at all knowledge sites. Language, as Amilcar Cabral correctly pointed out, is at the center of articulating a people’s culture. He stated that the African revolution would have been impossible without Africans resorting to their cultures to resist domination. Thus, culture is a revolutionary force in society. It is because language has remained an “unresolved issue” in Africa’s development that present day education has remained an alien system. As Frantz Fanon put it, “to speak a language is to assume its world and carry the weight of its civilization.” Kwesi K. Prah has argued consistently that the absence of African languages in the curriculum has been the “key missing link” in the continent’s development. Consequently, the Pan-Afrikan University must build its curriculum on the basis of promoting African languages at the sites of knowledge and at the same time try to build libraries at those sites in the languages of the people living there. They must be promoted as languages of science and technology. This calls for the complete revamping of the epistemological and cosmological worldview of the current discourse. It also calls for the application of different methodological and pedagogical approaches to learning and research in African conditions (Nabudere, 2003:10).

(h) *New Humanities* is to serve as the core department in the division of the Pan-Afrikan University concerned with research and advanced studies. In the words of Chancellor Williams, the New Humanities “will have the task of enlisting the services of the world’s best thinkers of the work of developing a science of humanity through studies expressly aimed at better human relations. It is to be at the heart of the entire education system and, therefore, the nation.” Williams believes that the central idea in this philosophy is life. He argues that since neither Western science nor religion has provided satisfactory answers to three questions (From where do we come? Why? And where are we bound?), it is imperative for the Pan-Afrikan University to provide the space for discussing these eternal questions. This approach calls for the reorganization of the disciplines of the social and human sciences as well as the natural sciences into a holistic learning process. The reorganization should lead to a breaking down of the over-compartmentalization and over-fragmentation of faculties, departments, and branches of knowledge. It should explore the reunification of allied disciplines (which have been subdivided into sub-disciplines) into unified fields of study (Nabudere, 2003:14).

(i) *Hermeneutic Philosophy* recognizes the basic unity of human endeavor through “discourse” that expresses “the intelligibility of Being-in-the world” (Nabudere, 2003:16).

(j) *Integrated and Synthesized Knowledge* is based on the notion that privileging African-centered curriculum must transcend a narrow conception of what is purely African to include such knowledge within the wider synthesized framework of global knowledge (Nabudere, 2003:17).

(k) *Afrikan-based Pedagogy* draws inspiration and materials for learning from real life situations of the African people, especially in the rural areas, by adopting those pedagogical methods and techniques that inform their philosophy of life, their worldview, and their lived experiences and practices. The key to developing an Afrikan-based Pedagogy hinges upon the knowledge specific-sites where African experts of different branches of knowledge are located. These sites will inform both the content and the pedagogy. The pedagogy will incorporate

"oracy," which contains forms of art and techniques to which they give expression, which is essential for adult learning. By mainstreaming this form of expression, its agents gain visibility and recognition in knowledge creation and production. This will enable indigenous tales, stories, proverbs, legends, myths, symbols and epics to be resuscitated, for these forms of knowledge incorporate people's philosophies of life, norms, values in a kind of "moving" and "living library" (Nabudere, 2003:19).

(l) *Life Long Learning*, which has recently become a mantra of many developed countries and international organizations as a novel approach to learning in the 21st Century, is deeply embedded within African culture and epistemology. Learning and "culturalization" in African societies were considered continuing processes that "took place from birth until death with the family unit, extended family, the village and the entire community participating" (Nabudere, 2003:19). Life Long Learning will bring adult learners to formal institutions of learning and remove the division between informal, non-formal, and formal education in line with African traditions and culture. It will also provide for the cooperation in research between the Pan-Afrikan University and the communities, in addition to providing for the recognition of learning outcomes gained through their own contexts outside the formal education system (Nabudere, 2003:20).

(m) *Kemetic Civilization* is a Black African civilization whose origination in the Fertile African Crescent was unified from its foundations in the Sahara up to its contemporary manifestations in the languages and culture of Black Africans (Winters, 1998).

The favored methodological approach for Pluridisciplinary studies is Hermeneutics, an open-ended approach that permits cross-cultural communication and exchange of ideas and opinions to promote understanding between all knowledge systems in their diversities. This African philosophical-pedagogic approach hinges upon the acceptance of pluralism and cultural diversity. It stresses the need for the "fusion of historical horizons" (i.e. the universal history of a dialectical concept that results from the rejection of both objectivism and absolute knowledge), according to Nabudere, as the best way of transmitting understanding between different lived histories or experiences of different communities as the basis of their existence. It insists on both the cultural context and the historical contingencies of events as necessities for a true comprehension of the different lived experiences. Furthermore, the approach has its roots in the African/Egyptian mythical figure of Hermes, the messenger of knowledge from the gods to mortals and the interpreter of the divine message to humankind, and that is why Hermeneutics is named after Hermes (Nabudere, 2003:7-8).

Hermeneutics is to be employed on the premises that encourage self-directed learning, which engages with the knowledge, interests, and real life situations that learners bring to their learning situations. This notion of site-specific knowledge attempts to offer a corrective to the Eurocentric tendency of universalizing knowledge around Occidental centers and sites of knowledge which are privileged to the disadvantage of others, claiming to be the only sites of "rationality" and "scientific knowledge." Recognizing the other sites and centers leads to a truly multi-polar world of global knowledge culled from all sources of human endeavor (Nabudere, 2003:8).

Linguistic Presupposition as the Unit of Analysis

As stated earlier, the unit of analysis for the present paper is linguistic presupposition, which can be defined as an implicit assumption about the world or background belief upon which the truth of a statement hinges. The linguistic presuppositions for this study are drawn out of the topics generated by the writers of the Constitution. The writers' topics here are the a priori features, such as the clear and unquestionable change of subject focus, for defining types of linguistic presuppositions found in the text examined. While there are many other formulations of 'topic' from which to chose, the writers' topics are employed for this paper because it is the writers of the texts who had topics, not the texts. The other formulations of 'topic' include sentential topics, discourse topics, presuppositional pools, relevance and speaking topically, topic boundary markers, paragraphs, paratones, representation of discourse content, position-based discourse content, and story. Thus, the notion of 'topic' in the present paper is considered as one related to representations of discourse content.

In choosing the writers' topic as the recording unit, the ease of identifying topics and correspondence between them and the content categories were seriously considered. Guiding this choice was the awareness that if the recording unit is too small, such as a word, each case will be unlikely to possess any of the content categories. Furthermore, small recording units may obscure the context in which a particular content appears. On the other hand, a large recording unit, such as a paragraph, will make it difficult to isolate the single category of a content that it possesses. For the current paper, two methods were appropriate. First, there is the clear and uncontestable change of subject focus. Second, topicalization was found to have been used to introduce new characters, ideas, events, objects, etc.

Finally, in order to ascertain the reliability of the coding unit employed for the paper, attempts were made to show inter-coder reliability: that is, two or more analysts, using the same procedures and definitions, agree on the content

categories applied to the material analyzed. Two individuals, who had extensive training in discourse analysis and especially topic identification, were given copies of the texts studied to identify what they perceived as topics, or more specifically, where one topic ends and another begins. Although there were no differences between the two individuals and I, the identified topics and the texts were also given to a linguist who has done a great deal of work on topic analysis for comments and suggestions. This approach was quite useful for increasing my confidence that the meaning of the content is not heavily dependent on my analysis alone.

After identifying the presuppositions in the texts studied in terms of the topics identified, these propositions were placed into two categories (*order* versus *disorder*) based on the bottom-up processing approach common in linguistic analysis for further examination. This involved working out the meanings of the propositions already processed and building up composite meanings for them.

Because the texts examined are a representation of discourse in texts, the level of analysis is naturally the written text. Text is used here as a technical term—in Gillian Brown and George Yule's conceptualization, "the verbal record of a communicative act" (1983:6).

In order to ascertain the presuppositions and in the texts examined, the test known as Constancy under Negation Rule was employed. This test is important because, following Gottlob Frege (1892/1952) and Peter Strawson (1952), presuppositions are preserved in negative statements or sentences. A researcher can therefore simply take a sentence, negate it, and see what inferences survive: that is, are shared by both positive and negative forms of the sentence. But because, as Stephen Levinson is quite correct in pointing out, "constancy under negation is not in fact a rich enough definition to pick out a coherent, homogenous set of inferences" (1983:185), the tests for presuppositional defeasibility (i.e. the notion that presuppositions are liable to evaporate in certain contexts) and the projection problem of presuppositions (i.e. the behavior of presuppositions in complex sentences) were also employed.

Consequently, in order not to necessarily presume the conclusions to be drawn, cues to the intent of the authors of the text examined are 'deconstructed.' How, then, are these cues mapped out for the present paper? According to Herbert Paul Grice's (1975) characterization of meaning$_{nn}$ or non-natural meaning (which is equivalent to the notion of intentional communication), intent is achieved or satisfied by being recognized. A sender's communicative intent becomes mutual knowledge to sender and receiver: that is, S knows that H knows that S knows that H knows (and so ad infinitum) that S has this particular intention. So following Roger Shuy (1982), it is necessary to begin by asking "What did the writer do?" Thus, it is clearly necessary to look at specific topics developed by the authors of the text analyzed. This is particularly true because, according to Wallace Chafe (1972) and Carol Kates (1980), the structure of intentions can neither be defined by the grammatical relations of the terms, nor the semantic structure of a text. Therefore, mapping out the cues to the intent of the authors contained in the text analyzed called for: (a) identifying communicative functions, (b) using general socio-cultural knowledge, and (c) determining the inferences made.

Fractal Methodology

It is only logical to begin any discussion of Fractal Methodology with a definition of what a fractal is. As I state in my book, *Chaos Theory and African Fractals* (Bangura, 2000:6), the concept of fractal remains inexplicably defined. This shortcoming is pointed out by Philip Davis as follows, albeit he himself does not provide and explicit definition: "I consulted three books on fractals. Though there were pictures, there was no definition" (1993:22). The following is a small sample of the various ways the concept of fractal has been described as provided by Lynn Steen:

> The concept of fractional dimension, or fractals, was developed in order to describe the shapes of natural objects….An interesting property of fractal objects is that as we magnify a figure, more details appear but the basic shape of the figure remains intact (1988:409).

In addition, according to Steen,

> The word fractal—coined by (Benoit B.) Mandelbrot—is related to the Latin verb *frangere*, which means "to break." The ancient Romans who used *frangere* may have been thinking about the breaking of a stone, since the adjective derived from this action combines the two most obvious properties of broken stones—irregularity and fragmentation. The adjectival form is *fractus*, which Mandelbrot says led him to fractal (1988:420).

Furthermore, as Steen points out, "Fractal dimension (is) a measurement of the jaggedness of an object" (1988:413).

Keith Weeks (in Hargittai and Pickover, 1992) states:

> [J. E.] Hutchinson laid the foundations of a certain concept of self-similarity, the basic notion being that of the object made up of a number of smaller images of the original object, and so on ad infinitum, typically resulting

in detail at all levels of magnification, a trait commonly associated with objects referred to as *fractals* (1992:107).

From the preceding descriptions, I venture to offer a general definition of a *fractal* as a self-similar pattern: that is, a pattern that repeats itself on an ever diminishing scale.

As for Fractal Methodology, more popularly referred to as Fractal Analysis, itself, with its applications in the social sciences, Clifford Brown and Larry Liebovitch in their recent work appropriately titled *Fractal Analysis* (2010) published as part of the Sage Publications Quantitative Analysis of the Social Sciences series have a succinct exposé on the subject. The rest of the discussion in this section is based on their work.

Brown and Liebovitch begin by stating that several early applications of fractal mathematics emerged in the social sciences. These works include Vilfredo Pareto's 1897 study of the distribution of wealth; Lewis Fry Richardson's 1948 and 1960, but published posthumously, study of the intensity of wars; and George Zipf's 1949 studies of the distributions of word frequencies and city sizes. Brown and Liebovitch argue that while these ideas were known by experts in the field, they were isolated, quirky concepts until Mandelbrot developed the unifying idea of fractals in the 1970s and 1980s. Since that time, however, in spite of the fact that Zipf and Pareto distributions represent fractal distribution, social scientists have lagged behind the physical and natural sciences in utilizing fractal mathematics in their works (Brown and Liebovitch, 2010:ix).

Brown and Liebovitch observe, however, that in recent years, the application of fractal mathematics by social scientists in their studies has grown exponentially. Their variety, they note, has expanded as rapidly as their numbers. They cite the examples that fractal analysis had been employed by criminologists to investigate the timing of calls for assistance to police, by sociologists to investigate gender divisions in the labor force, and by actuaries to study disasters. The surprising range of fractal phenomena in the social sciences led Brown and Liebovitch to call for a comprehensive survey that would investigate the common threads that unite them, thereby leading to a broader understanding of their causes and occurrences (Brown and Liebovitch, 2010:ix).

According to Brown and Liebovitch, if a researcher has rough data, strongly nonlinear data, irregular data, or data that display complex patterns that seem to defy conventional statistical analysis, then fractal analysis might be the solution to the researcher. They posit that the non-normal and irregularity of so much of social science data apparently are the result of the complexity of social dynamics. Thus, for them, fractal analysis offers an approach for analyzing many of these awkward data sets. And more important, they note, the method also offers a rational and parsimonious explanation for the irregularity and complexity of such data. They insist that the data are not behaving badly; instead, they are simply obeying unexpected but common rules of which we are unaware (Brown and Liebovitch, 2010:1).

Brown and Liebovitch go on to conceptualize fractals as *"sets* defined by the three related principles of *self-similarity*, *scale invariance*, and *power law relations*." They postulate that when these principles converge, fractal patterns form. They note that the statistic called *fractal dimension* is employed to capture the essential characteristics of fractal patterns. They add that much empirical work in fractal analysis focuses on two tasks: (1) showing that fractal characteristics are present in a particular data set and (2) estimating the fractal dimension of the data set. They also mention that there are various techniques for implementing these two tasks (Brown and Liebovitch, 2010:2), the discussion of which is beyond the scope of the present paper. Nonetheless, it is necessary to provide brief definitions of the preceding five italicized concepts based on Brown and Liebovitch's work for the sake of clarity. The significant fact about *sets* is that almost all data sets can be fractal: that is, points, lines, surfaces, multidimensional data, and time series. Since fractals occur in different types of sets, various procedures are required to identify and analyze them, with the approach hinging upon the kind of data (Brown and Liebovitch, 2010:2-3).

Brown and Liebovitch define *self-similarity* as a characteristic of an object when it is composed of smaller copies of itself, and each of the smaller copies in turn are made up of yet smaller copies of the whole, and so on, *ad infinitum*. The word *similar* connotes a geometrical meaning: that is, objects that have the same form but may be different in size (Brown and Liebovitch, 2010:3).

Scale invariance for Brown and Liebovitch refers to a thing that has the same characteristics at every scale of observation. Thus, when one zooms on a fractal object, observing it at ever-increasing scale of magnification, it will still look the same (Brown and Liebovitvh, 2010:5).

According to Brown and Liebovitch, *power law relations* denote the rule that for a set to achieve the complexity and irregularity of a fractal, the number of self-similar pieces must be related to their size by a power law. Power law dristributions are scale invariant because the shape of the function is the same at every magnitude (Brown and Liebovitch, 2010:5).

Finally, Brown and Liebovitch characterize *fractal dimension* as the invariant parameter that characterizes a fractal set. An analyst uses the fractal dimension to describe the distribution of the data. It is akin to having a "normal" set of data and using the mean and variance to describe the location and dispersion of the data (Brown and Liebovitch, 2010:15).

Data Analysis

I must first state here that a careful reading of the Constitution revealed a number of shortcomings: typographical, grammatical, syntactic, semantic, linguistic pragmatic, ambiguities and contradictions. A discussion of these foibles is not the purpose and is beyond the scope of this essay.

Before engaging in the fractal analysis of the data generated from the Constitution, I will begin with a discussion of the descriptive and inferential statistics employed to analyze them first. Before computing the univariate and bivariate statistics to do the descriptive and inferential analyses of the data teased out of the text, a two-dimensional ad hoc classificatory system was developed within which the data were categorized. The first of these categories entails the presuppositions of *order*: that is, presuppositions that suggest a condition of logical or comprehensible arrangement among the separate elements of a group. This type of presupposition is triggered by presuppositional discourse stretches such as "Sierra Leone is a Sovereign Republic, the boundaries of which are determined in the First Schedule hereto" (Chapter I, 1), "The Public Seal of the Republic shall be such a device as Parliament shall prescribe" (Chapter I, 2) and "The National Anthem of the Republic shall be such as Parliament shall prescribe" (Chapter I, 3(2)). The second category encompasses presuppositions of *disorder*: that is, presuppositions that suggest a condition or place of confusion, mess, disturbance, disarray, or muddle. This type of presupposition is triggered by presuppositional discourse stretches such as "The State shall take all steps to eradicate all corrupt practices and the abuse of power" (Chapter II, 6(5)) "Without prejudice to any liability for the contravention of any law with respect to the use of force…." (Chapter III, 16(2)) and "Any person who is unlawfully arrested or detained by any other person shall be entitled to compensation therefore from that other person" (Chapter III, 17(4)).

After computing the descriptive and inferential statistics, the data were then plotted for oscillations between *order* and *disorder* in the 14 chapters of the Constitution. This technique made it possible to show visually the attractor reconstruction for the various topic shifts in the texts. It should be mentioned here that some of the statistics in the tables that follow have been rounded off to the nearest tenth for easy understanding.

As shown in Table 1, a total of 662 topic shifts were teased out of the text. Of these, I categorize 432 or 65 percent as presuppositions of *order* and 230 or 35 percent as presuppositions of *disorder*. The mean for the *order* category is about 31 presuppositions, with a standard deviation of approximately 29 presuppositions; the mean for the *disorder* category is 15 presuppositions, with a standard deviation of approximately 20 propositions. The range for the *order* category is 98 presuppositions and that for the *disorder* category is 55 presuppositions, while the variance for *order* is about 822 presuppositions and that for *disorder* is approximately 389. This means that there are more, and statistically significant, topic shifts for presuppositions of *order* than there are of those for *disorder*. Presuppositions of *order* are also the majority in 11 of the 14 chapters; those for *disorder* are the majority in only one chapter and both are tied in two chapters. Moreover there are significant variations among the topic shifts for each category in terms of topic entries, as can be gleaned from the ranges.

Table 1: Univariate Statistics by Types of Presuppositions in the Texts

	Number of Topic Entries for Presuppositions of Order		**Number of Topic Entries for Presuppositions of Disorder**	
Chapters	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**
I: The Republic of Sierra Leone	4	100	0	0
II: Fundamental Principles of State Policy	16	80	4	20
III: The Recognition and Protection of Fundamental Human Rights and Freedoms of the Individual	40	47	46	53
IV: The Representation of the People	31	76	10	24
V: The Executive	66	57	50	43
VI: The Legislature	99	64	55	36
VII: The Judiciary	61	74	21	26
VIII: Ombudsman	1	50	1	50
IX: Commissions of Inquiry	9	75	3	25
X: The Public Service	38	63	22	37
XI: The Armed Forces	10	83	2	17
XII: The Laws of Sierra Leone	8	100	0	0
XIII: Miscellaneous	10	50	10	50
XIV: Transitional Provisions	39	87	6	13

Totals Scores & Mean Percents = 662 or 100%	432 65%	230 35%
Mean	30.65	15.43
Standard Deviation	28.678	19.716
Range	98	55
Variance	822.440	388.725

Source: Self-generated data from the texts and computed by using MATLAB

From Table 2, it can be seen that there is a statistically significant difference between the topic entries for *order* and those for *disorder* at the 0.01 level. It is also evident that there is a positive and statistically significant correlation between the two dimensions at the 0.01 level as well.

Table 2: T-Test: Paired Samples Test and Correlation

Pair 1: Order-Disorder	**Paired Differences**
Mean	14.429
Standard Deviation	15.250
Standard Error Mean	4.076
95% Confidence Interval of the Difference Lower Upper	 5.623 23.234
t-Statistic	3.540
Degrees of Freedom	13
Significance (2-tailed)	0.004
Pair 1: Order and Disorder	**Paired Samples Correlation**
Correlation	0.865
Significance	0.0001

Source: Self-generated data from the texts and computed by using MATLAB

Also, as can be seen in Figure 1, the data are plotted in a phase space. The plot is neither an orderly periodic oscillation, nor is it simply a random scattering. There is structure here, suggesting that this could be a slice through a higher dimensional attractor. Would this higher-dimensional attractor correspond to a cognitive structure in the minds of the document's authors? Or, since I was the "signal director" for these data, would it be better to think of them as a "socio-cognitive" structure created through the interaction between the authors of the constitution and their targeted audience? This question is imperative because there are at least two levels in which order and disorder are contrasted in the document: (1) orderly and disorderly events come and go within the statements and (2) the authors produce meaning at a higher level of orchestration.

Furthermore, Figure 2 is the log-log plot (or log-log graph) generated to represent the observed units described by the two-dimensional variable encompassing *order* (y) and *disorder* (x) as a scatter plot/graph. The two axes display the logarithm of values of the two dimensions, not the values themselves. If the relationship between x and y is described by a power law,

$$y = x^a;$$

then the (x, y) points on the log-log plot form a line with the slope equal to a. Log-log plots are widely used to represent data that are expected to be scale-invariant or fractal because, as stated before, fractal data usually follow a power law.

A logarithm is an exponent. It is illustrated in the following definition:

For $b > 0$, $b \neq 1$ and for $x > 0$,

$$y = \log_b x \text{ if and only if } b^y = x$$

Thus, since a logarithm is an exponent, it is easy to use exponent laws to establish mathematical generalisations.

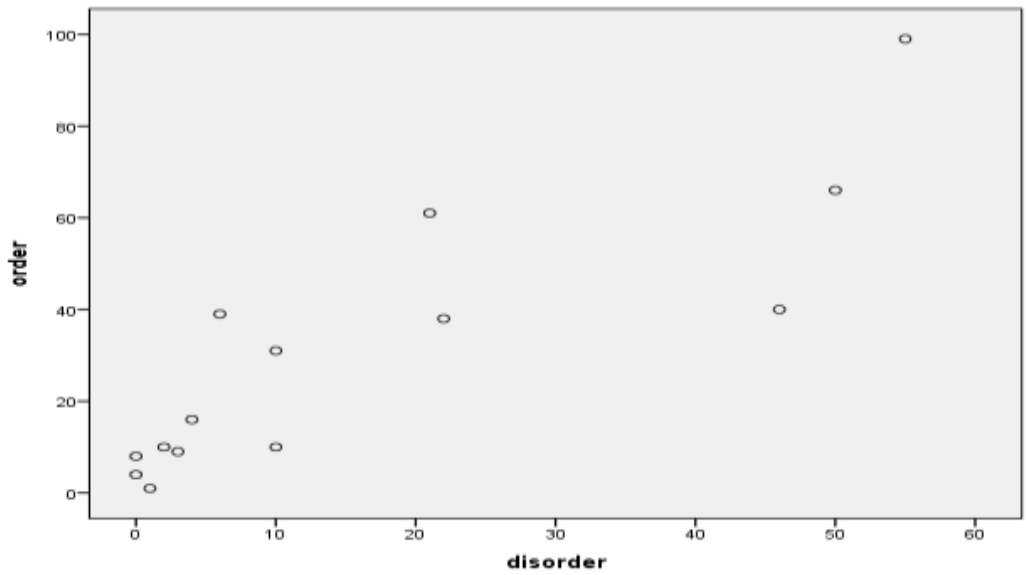


Figure 1: Phase Space Portrait Mapping Presuppositions of Order and Disorder
Source: Self-generated data from the texts and computed by using MATLAB

Figure 2 illustrates the fractal dimension of the two-dimensionality of the variable. The binary logistic statistics reveal that the relationship between the two dimensions is statistically significant at the 0.01 level. Visually, the text essentially moves halfway across the spectrum—it typically moves from periodic fractal, rather than stretching all the way to pure order or disorder. Thus, the results generated after the MATLAB computer runs suggest that the combination of negative and positive feedback loops, which form the basis of several African knowledge systems—as Ron Eglash (1999:173-4) suggests, also form a key mechanism of general self-organizing systems discussed in Constitution. Indeed, the authors framing of the issue in her texts is reminiscent of African ways: i.e. despite the challenges and hardship, their thought processes never become completely chaotic.

In sum, there are at least two levels in which order and disorder are contrasted here. Within the statements of the Constitution, orderly and disorderly events come and go. But there is a higher level of "orchestration" in which the authors of the Constitution produce meaning.

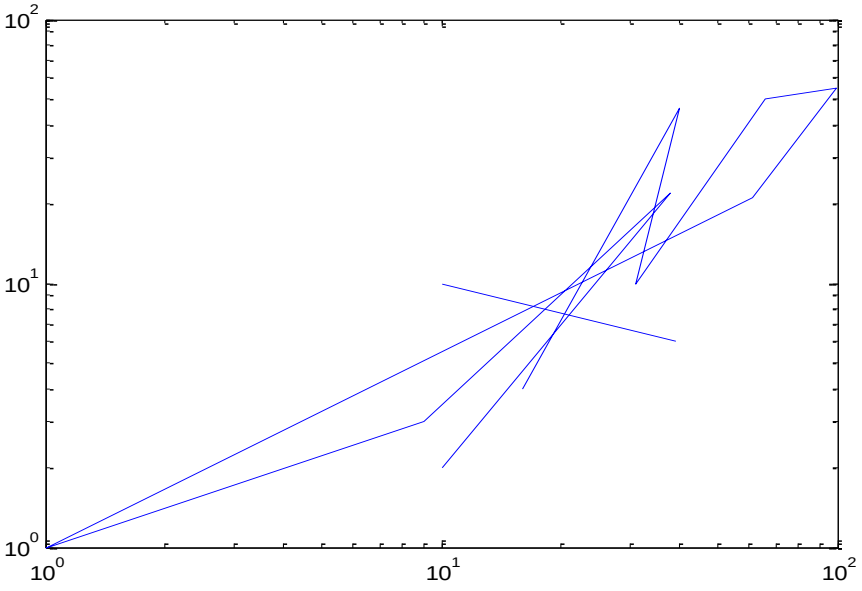


Figure 2: Log-log Plot Order vs. Disorder in the Texts
Binary Logistic: y = 1.259 + 0.210
R^2 = 0.865; p = 0.0001

Source: Self-generated data from the texts and computed by using MATLAB

The preceding results make it axiomatic to assert that the treatise of the authors of the Constitution is gnoseologic. According to Guinean President Ahmed Sékou Touré, in his essay, "A Dialectical Approach to Culture," Gnoseology refers to the positive-intuitive thinking that is driven by the African's spiritual mind (1989:7). Indeed, Touré considers Black revolutionaries to have promoted an evolution of progressive qualification of reason that privileges gnoseology, which facilitates "the transition from ignorance to an increasingly deeper and more exact degree of knowledge" (1989:14). Thus, Touré argues that "Any anthology of African culture tending to situate it outside the realm of reason, of rational thought, of the law and of gnoseology tends to down-grade it and deviate it from its true end, which is to qualify mankind, and sacrifices it to the myth of singularity and specificity" (1989:14).

Yet still, given the significant number of presuppositions of *disorder* in the text, it is not tenable to assert that authors of the Constitution engaged in either "romanticizing" about Sierra Leone, as some critics like Stephen Howe (1999) and Tunde Adeleke (2009) tend to say about Africans who write about the African condition, or the wholesale bashing of African leaders, as scholars such as George Ayittey (1993, 1999, 2011) tend to do. In essence, the authors of the Constitution were more optimistic than pessimistic about Sierra Leone's political institutions, albeit not uncritical about their politics.

Conclusion

The data gleaned from the Constitution of Sierra Leone made it possible to explore a phase space created by two dimensions: (1) *presuppositions of order* and (2) *presuppositions of disorder*. This was done to investigate the possibility that a fractal structure could exist in the literary dynamics that drive the narrative, similar to the ways that fractal structure exist in attractors for certain nonlinear physical systems. The substantive findings, as stated earlier, reveal that it is indeed possible to generate a phase space portrait in which data are mapped to a structure that has the kind of mix between periodic and random variation that we would expect from chaotic dynamics. This is not conclusive proof by any means—a full experiment would need to compare the results from several readers, examine such data in closer detail (for example, perhaps, scoring every page rather than every paragraph), and look at other such presuppositions. But it does suggest that this kind of analysis could be extended further to investigations of literary dynamics.

If my speculation concerning this phase space portrait is correct—if there is indeed an underlying structure that could be characterized by fractal variation, this is noteworthy in that it could be a commonality within at least some bodies of African literature. Further experiments would be needed to test this hypothesis. Nonetheless, as Kofi Nyidevu Awoonor (1990) and I (Bangura, 2002) posit, the African life concept is holistic—i.e. it is based on an integrative world view. All life to the African is total; all human activities are closely interrelated. This has as its underlying principle the sanctity of the person, her/his spirituality and essentiality. This essentialist view of the person confers value to her/his personhood. All else—her/his labor and achievements—flow from this value system. Even personal shortcomings cannot invalidate it.

In addition, Awoonor (1990) and I (Bangura, 2002) point out that for Africans, politics defines duties and responsibilities alongside obligations and rights. All these relate to the various activities that have to do with survival. The survival concept is continuing, dynamic and dialectical. The fundamental principle that is at the basis of this conception is a moral one. Moreover, the African moral order never defined rigid frontiers of good and evil, which exist in the same continuum. Whatever is good, by the very nature of its goodness, harbors a grain of evil. This is a guarantee against any exaggerated sense of moral superiority which goodness by itself may entail. The notion of perfection, therefore, is alien to African thought. Perfection in itself constitutes a temptation to danger, an invitation to arrogance and self-glorification. The principle of balance defines the relationship between good and evil. As life operates in a dialectics of struggle, so also does good balance evil and vice versa.

Thus, the essence of an African-centered approach is that it is imperative and urgent for Africans to be concerned about broader development and the constitutional nexus as well as approaches to these phenomena that are undergirded by humanity or fellow feeling toward others. When African-centeredness is considered along with the idea of the socialization effects of developmental environments and the possibilities of a reinforcement of these notions and contexts, the implications for African development and constitutional processes appear vital.

References

Adeleke, Tunde. 2009. *The Case against Afrocentrism*. Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi.

African Elections Database. 2012. Elections in Sierra Leone. Retrieved on August 06, 2015 from http://africanelections.tripod.com/sl.html#1991_Constitutional_Referendum

Awareness Times. 2006. Sierra Leone Government sets up Constitutional Review Commission. Retrieved on August 04, 2015 from
http://news.sl/drwebsite/exec/view.cgi?archive=3&num=3931&printer=1

Awoonor, Kofi Nyidevu. 1990. *Ghana: A Political History*. Accra, Ghana: Sedco Publishing Ltd. and Woeli Publishing Services.

Ayittey, George B. N. 2011. *Defeating Dictators: Fighting Tyranny in Africa and around the World*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Ayittey, George B. N. 1999. *Africa in Chaos*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Ayittey, George B. N. 1993. *Africa Betrayed*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Bangura, Abdul Karim (ed.). 2013. *Fractal Complexity in the Works of Major Black Thinkers, Volumes One and Two*. San Diego, CA: Cognella Press.

Bangura, Abdul Karim. 2012. A mathematical exploration of fractal complexity among the axioms on the African state in the *Journal of Third World Studies*: From John Mukum Mbaku to Pade Badru. *Journal of Third World Studies* xxix, 2:11-64.

Bangura, Abdul Karim. 2012. Fractal complexity in Cheikh Anta Diop's *Precolonial Black Africa*: A pluridisciplinary analysis. *CODESRIA Bulletin* 1&2:10-19.

Bangura, Abdul Karim. 2012. Fractal complexity in Mwalimu Chinua Achebe's *Things Fall Apart*: A mathematical exploration. *Critical Interventions* 9/10:106-121.

Bangura, Abdul Karim. 2008. *African Peace Paradigms*. Dubuque, IA: Kendall Hunt Publishing Company.

Bangura, Abdul Karim. 2005. Ubuntugogy: An African educational paradigm that transcends pedagogy, andragogy, ergonagy, and heutagogy. *Journal of Third World Studies* xxii, 2:13-53.

Bangura, Abdul Karim. 2002. *Sojourner-Douglass College=s Philosophy in Action: An African-Centered Creed*. San Jose, California: Writers Club Press.

Bangura, Abdul Karim. 2000. *Chaos Theory and African Fractals*. Washington, DC: The African Institution.

Boye-Thompson, Titus. 2015. Sierra Leone Constitution defective as to parliamentary representation. *LeonenetUMBC Archives*. Retrieved on July 31, 2015 from
http://userpages.umbc.edu/~leoneadm/

Brown, Clifford and Larry Liebovitch. 2010. *Fractal Analysis*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Brown, Gillian and George Yule. 1983**.** *Discourse Analysis*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Chafe, Wallace L. 1972. Discourse structure and human knowledge. In R. O. Freedle and J. B. Carroll (eds.). *Language Comprehension and the Acquisition of Knowledge*. Washington, DC: V. M. Winston.

ConstitutionNet. 2014. Constitution history Sierra Leone. Retrieved on August 06, 2015 from
http://www.constitutionnet.org/country/constitutional-history-sierra-leone

Conteh, Abdulai Osman. 2001. *Essays on the Sierra Leone Constitution, 1991*. Belize City, Belize: Government Printer.

Davis, Philip J. 1993. *Spirals: From Thoedorus to Chaos*. Wellesley, MA: A. K. Peters.

Diop, Cheikh Anta. 1981/trans. 1991. *Civilization or Barbarism: An Authentic Anthropology*. Brooklyn, NY: Lawrence Hill Books.

Diop, Cheikh Anta. 1974a. *The African Origin of Civilization: Myth and Reality*. Chicago, IL: Lawrence Hill (Africa World Press edition).

Diop, Cheikh Anta. 1974b. *Black Africa: The Economic Basis for a Federated State*. Chicago, IL: Lawrence Hill (Africa World Press edition).

Diop, Cheik Anta. 1962. *The Cultural Unity of Negro Africa*. Paris, France: Presence Africaine.

Diop, Cheikh Anta. 1960/trans. 1987. *Precolonial Black Africa: A Comparative Study of the Political and Social Systems of Europe and Black Africa, from Antiquity to the Formation of Modern States* (translated from the French by Harold Salemson). Chicago, IL: Lawrence Hill Books.

Dumbuya, Peter A. 2015. Judicial Watch/SL. *Facebook*. Retrieved on August 01, 2015 from https://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=100005617577449&fref=ts

Dumbuya, Peter A. 2013. Rethinking presidential power in the 1991 Constitution of Sierra Leone. *The Patriotic Vanguard*. Retrieved on August 05, 2014 from http://www.thepatrioticvanguard.com/rethinking-presidential-power-in-the-1991-constitution-of-sierra-leone

Eglash, Ron. 1999. *African Fractals: Modern Computing and Indigenous Design*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Frege, Gottlob. 1892/1952. On sense and reference. In P. T. Geach and M. Black. *Translations from the Philosophic Writings of Gottlob Frege*. Oxford, England: Blackwell.

Grice, Herbert Paul. 1975. Logic and conversation. In P. Cole. (ed.). *Syntax and Semantics: vol. 3: Speech Acts*. New York, NY: Academic Press.

Hargittai, István and Cliff A. Pickover. (eds.). 1992. *Spiral Symmetry*. Singapore, Malaysia: World Scientific Publishing Company.

Howe, Stephen. 1999. *Afrocentricism: Mythical Pasts and Imagined Homes*. New York, NY: Verso Books.

Kates, Carol A. 1980. *Pragmatics and Semantics: An Empiricist Theory.* Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press.

Kiellow, Mohamed Kunowah. 2010. A review of the Constitution of Sierra Leone. *The Sierra Leone Telegraph*. Retrieved on April 30, 2012 from
No longer available: http://www.thesierraleonetelegraph.com/archives/articles/100493.htm
Now at: http://www.thesierraleonetelegraph.com/archives/archives.htm

Levinson, Stephen. 1983. *Pragmatics.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Mazonde, Isaac and Pradip Thomas (eds.). 2007. *Indigenous Knowledge Systems and Intellectual Property in the Twenty-First Century: Perspectives from Southern Africa*. Dakar, Senegal: Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) Publications.

Mokhtar, G. 1990. *Ancient Civilizations of Africa*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Nabudere, Dani W. 2003. Towards the establishment of a Pan-African university: A strategic concept paper. *African Journal of Political Science* 8, 1:1-30.

Sankoh, Augustine. 2015. Lawyers for VP Sam Sumana file law suit in Supreme Court. *Premier Media Group Ltd.* Retrieved on August 04, 2015 from http://www.premiermedia.sl/content/lawyers-vp-sam-sumana-file-lawsuit-supreme-court

Shuy, Roger W. 1982. Topic as the unit of analysis in a criminal law case. In D. Tannen. (ed.). *Analyzing Discourse: Text and Talk*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Sierra Leone State House Communications Unit. 2013. Constitutional Review Committee launched. Retrieved on August 04, 2015 from http://www.statehouse.gov.sl/index.php/useful-links/705-constitutional-review-committee-launched

Steen, Lynn A. (ed.). 1988. *Introduction to Contemporary Mathematics*. New York, NY: W. H. Freeman and Company.

Strawson, Peter F. 1952. *Introduction to Logical Theory.* London, England: Methuen.

The Sierra Leone Web. 2013. Constitution of Sierra Leone, 1991. Retrieved on August 04, 2015 from http://www.sierra-leone.org/Laws/constitution1991.pdf

This is Sierra Leone. 2015. Sam-Sumana has been dismissed from the position of Vice President of Sierra Leone. Retrieved on August 04, 2015 from http://www.thisissierraleone.com/sam-sumana-has-been-dismissed-from-the-position-of-vice-president-of-sierra-leone-18th-march-2015/

Thompson, Bankole. 1996. *The Constitutional History and Law of Sierra Leone (1961-1995).* Lanham, MD: University Press of America.

Touré, Sékou. 1989. A dialectical approach to culture. In R. Chrisman and N. Hare, eds. *Contemporary Black Thought.* Indianapolis, IN and New York, NY: The Bobbs-Merrill Co, Inc./MacMillan Press.

UNDP. 2013. The Republic of Sierra Leone Constitutional Review Programme. Retrieved on August 04, 2015 from http://www.undp.org/content/dam/sierraleone/docs/projectdocuments/demgov/undp_sle_CRC_prodoc.pdf

Winters, Clyde Ahmad. 1998. The Afrocentric historical and linguistic methods. *The Western Journal of Black Studies* 22.

Yamba, Sahr Musa. 2006. Sierra Leone: 1991 Constitution to be reviewed. *Concord Times* (Freetown, Sierra Leone). Retrieved on August 04, 2015 from http://allafrica.com/stories/200607280902.html

---

Roman Catholic Missions in Sierra Leone 1900-1961 - Seán Farren

In a previous article (JSLS, 2, 2013) the history of Roman Catholic missions to Sierra Leone during the nineteenth century was outlined and discussed. By the close of the century after a sustained presence of over forty years the mission in Sierra Leone had developed firm roots in the colony at Freetown and in its suburbs of Ascension town and Murray town, and beyond the peninsula at Bonthe and Mobe. In the first decade of the new century the mission would see its presence expand further, especially in the Protectorate to include stations at Moyamba in 1901, Gerihun and Blama in 1904, and at Serabu in 1905, at all of which primary schools, some with a trade section attached, were opened. By 1905 the Catholic mission's personnel consisted of eleven priests, four brothers and eleven sisters caring for a total Catholic population of nearly 3,000 with 900 children enrolled in their schools and cared for in their orphanages. Most of these missionaries were either French or Irish, the men from the Holy Ghost congregation (nowadays known as Spiritans) and the women from the St Joseph of Cluny congregation. As yet there were no indigenous clergy, male or female.

Despite this expansion the Catholic mission still viewed itself as labouring in a most challenging situation. One missionary described their challenge as follows: 'nous sommes ici en plein pays protestant, et c'est pour nous, au point de vue de l'évangelisaion, une très grande difficulté (We are in an essentially Protestant country which from the point

of view of evangelisation is a great difficulty).[12] Nevertheless the mission persisted and, however slowly continued its expansion throughout the early decades of the new century.

This article continues discussion of the Catholic mission covering the period 1900 to the country's independence in the 1961.

Sierra Leone's First Catholic Bishop

Following the death in 1903 of Vicar-Apostolic Mgr Jamed Brown who had led the mission over the preceding decade and who had guided its expansion beyond the Colony, three names were submitted to Rome as possible successors. One of these was a Fr Joseph Shanahan from Ireland who was later to win considerable renown as a missionary in Nigeria. However, in 1903 Shanahan was judged as still lacking in experience. Instead, Browne's successor was Fr John O'Gorman who was described in the assessment of his qualities for the post as a 'good theologian'. O'Gorman was Irish and before his appointment to Freetown had spent some years in Philadelphia in the US, and had also taught at the Congregation's mother house in Paris. Fr O'Gorman was nominated the first full Catholic bishop of Sierra Leone in 1904 and was consecrated into the office in Philadelphia. He was to spend a remarkable thirty years in the country and was to witness considerable further growth in the number of missionaries and in the number of locations at which they operated. Alongside the building of churches and the work of evangelisation, the provision of schools remained a key focus pf the mission's expansion. Most of the schools were still at primary level, the main exceptions being at Mobe, where the mission conducted an industrial school, mainly instruction in woodwork with some engineering. Much later, a small number of secondary schools would be established. In addition to their focus on education, there were also some particularly critical customary practices that missionaries felt obligated to address.

Slavery

Among these practices was the persistence of slavery in parts of the Protectorate. Although the practice of wholesale slavery had been legally abolished by the *Protectorate Ordinances* of 1895-6, the ordinances did not prohibit domestic slavery with the result that a local trade continued with men, women and children being sold particularly into domestic slavery. The practice existed for the most part outside of the peninsula area, with Sherbro Island allegedly one its main centres.

1.3 *Although several of popes had condemned slavery, ambivalence towards the practice had existed within the Catholic Church rendering it slow to campaign with any vigour against its persistence.[13] Catholic voices were notable by their absence in the leadership of the various anti-slavery campaigns of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. However, with the development of the Church's missionary activity in Africa strong opposition began to be expressed by members of missionary congregations. Mother Jahouvey, founder of the Congregation of St Joseph of Cluny who had visited Freetown to reorganise the hospital in 1824, had been a strong opponent to slavery in the 1820s. Letters from missionaries in Sierra Leone reflected concern about the*

[12]Bulletin de la Congrégation du Saint Esprit, XXI, Paris, pp.479-80.

[13]Fr Joel Panzer, *The Popes and Slavery: Setting the Record Straight*, The Catholic Answer, January/February, 1996.

persistence of slavery, and the cruelties accompanying it. Later in the nineteenth century the Church established a central fund to support anti-slavery initiatives.[14]

One of the French missionaries in Sierra Leone, Fr Augustine Lorbor wrote to Paris of slaves being 'des bêtes de somme que l'on ne tient à céder a nul prix, d'où il suit que le prix du rachat d'un esclave est absolument exorbitant' (are beasts with a price that won't be easily ceded the result of which is that the price of repurchase is absolutely exorbitant).[15] Fr Lobor was speaking from direct experience since some missionaries were purchasing the freedom of slaves, but had to pay extravagant prices to do so. The same missionary wrote of the delight and gratitude of one family of three whom he had purchased into freedom. In Bonthe and Moyamba, many of the boys and girls in the mission's schools were in fact purchased or otherwise released from slavery and having no one to look after them were taken into the care of the missionaries. Bishop O'Gorman appealed to the Vatican's anti-slavery fund for support for the relief of former slaves and decried the restrictions under which those in domestic slavery were forced to live, especially restrictions with respect to whom they could marry.[16] Despite the Catholic Church's efforts and those of other agencies, it was not until 1928 that a clear legal prohibition on domestic slavery was enacted for the Protectorate.[17]

As well as campaigning against slavery O'Gorman condemned the practice of cannibalism which also still occurred in some parts of the Protectorate where it was associated with secret societies, notably the Leopard Society. On one of his visits to the US, in 1911, he was quoted in the *New York Times* commenting about the practice and commending the efforts of the British government to stamp out cannibalism by putting those arrested on trial and executing those convicted of the practice.[18] He talked about the Leopard secret society whose members believed they gained magical charms by killing men and eating their flesh and of the difficulty in eliminating the practice. The Church was generally opposed to such secret societies whose influence was described as menacing both 'la réligion et l'ordre public'.[19]

Schools under Threat

Another early issue that Bishop O'Gorman had to address was a proposal to amalgamate all of the Colony's schools into one system under government control.[20] Because such a system would be non-denominational Bishop O'Gorman opposed it, and he campaigned hard to safeguard the small subsidies Catholic schools received from the government. It was an issue not unfamiliar to an Irish churchman. In Ireland similar controversies had frequently arisen with regards to the control of schools. O'Gorman succeeded in getting a written promise from the governor that their schools would continue to receive a share of the government's grant for educational purposes and not be forced to amalgamate with others.[21] One of the beneficial side effects for the Church from O'Gorman's stand was the offer he received from a number of prominent citizens to subscribe to a fund for the building of a school to be named in

[14]Ibid.
[15]Boîte 12il.3ab, Archives des Spiritains, Paris.
[16]Ibid.
[17] The act outlawed domestic slavery declaring that 'all persons born or brought into the protectorate are hereby declared to be free'.
[18] Boîte 12il.3ab. Archives des Spiritains, Paris
[19] Bulletin de la Congrégation du Saint Esprit, V. 34, p.85.
[20] Boîte 12iL, 2ab, Archives des Spiritains, Paris.
[21] Ibid

memory of his predecessor, Fr Brown.[22] Despite the success of his stand, the official assistance provided to schools remained quite meagre and it was not until 1929 that a more satisfactory arrangement was determined. In return for handing over all fees to the government the latter undertook responsibility for the payment of teachers' salaries, the supply of books and equipment to schools, while a loan scheme provided support for capital projects.[23]

O'Gorman's financial difficulties were not just with the government. He also felt obliged to complain to the Office for the Propagation of the Faith at the Vatican at the low amount of financial support the office was providing.[24] The bishop argued that the grant awarded by the office had been reduced to 9,500 francs, but that since he had been obliged to pay for nineteen journeys to and from Europe at 625 francs each, some for clergy being sent home for health reasons, he had very little left for the mission itself. There is no evidence to show that O'Gorman got any immediate satisfaction to his pleas. To increase his missions funds Bishop O'Gorman undertook several trips to the United States where he had many connections as result of his many years teaching there. His fund raising efforts helped, for example, in meeting the purchase price of 11,500 francs for land at St Anthony's in Ascension town, as well as for the on-going development of the mission.

Visiting Out- Stations

Bishop O'Gorman conducted regular visitations to missionary stations in the Protectorate where many missionaries lived on their own, less by design than because companions were often forced to take sick leave. In one period of two years the station in Gerihun, for example, witnessed five missionaries come and go, some serving as short a period as three months, all obliged to leave due to ill-health.[25] Nonetheless, overall the number of missionaries slowly increased and by 1921 the bishop was able to report that the Catholic mission in Sierra Leone consisted of twenty-one priests, six brothers, fifteen religious sisters and sixty local catechists. The missionaries were located in more than ten stations across the Colony and the Protectorate and were caring for sixteen chapels, and conducting twenty-one schools, thirteen orphanages, seven farms, eleven workshops and seven medical dispensaries.

In most places in the Protectorate the missionaries were careful to develop positive relations with the local authorities, essentially the chiefs who usually had invited the missionaries to establish schools in their localities. In Moyamba, for instance, the chief was Mamy Yoko who was very well disposed to the mission and which 'En toutes circonstances, elle nous honorait de son patronage … Elle nous envoyait son monde au catéchisme, et elle meme venait souvent assister à la sainte messe (in all circumstances she honours us with her patronage … she sends her people to catechism lessons and she frequently attends holy mass).[26] However, despite many approaches Mamy Yoko declined conversion to Christianity saying 'Moi, je crois à la médicine, je ne connais que cela, et ainsi je veux mourir' (Me, I believe in the medicine, I only know that and so I wish to die).[27]

Educational Advances

[22] Ibid
[23] Centenary Souvenir of the Holy Ghost Fathers in Sierra Leone, Freetown, 1964, p.68.
[24] Boîte 12il, 2ab, Archives des Spiritains, Paris.
[25]Bulletin de la Congrégation du Saint-Esprit, XXIV, 1907-8, Paris.
[26]Bulletin de la Congrégation du Saint Esprit, XXIV, Paris, p.114.
[27]Ibid.

The 1920s witnessed a number of notable educational developments by the mission. In 1923 Sr Augustine Woodnut, originally from Dublin with several years' experience in India, arrived to become Mother Provincial in Sierra Leone and immediately undertook initiatives to expand the facilities and curriculum at the girls' school. In particular, she broadened the curriculum and modernised facilities for domestic science at St Joseph's by having a special block built. With these initiatives the school quickly gained a strong reputation in the subject. In order to encourage girls remain at secondary level, they were entered for the Cambridge school examinations from 1927. Enrolments rapidly increased and, by the mid-1920s, there were 350 pupils in the primary and 300 in the secondary school. A visitor to Sierra Leone at this time, an associate professor at Columbia Teachers' College in the USA, wrote 'The best mission school seen here and indeed the best primary school in all of West Africa was St Joseph's Convent for Girls, under the direction of Irish Catholic sisters'.[28]

In the Protectorate the sisters conducted two secondary schools, one at Bonthe, the other at Moyamba where the aim was to prepare the girls more for marriage than for employment. According to the *Annual Report on Education* for 1929, the sisters aim '… in the two convent schools is to educate the girls to keep their homes properly … The best proof of the training of these girls is that they are sought in marriage long before the completion of their studies'.[29] Obviously the plan seemed to be to improve standards by training the girls in modern domestic practices thereby increasing their attractiveness as potential brides.

The provision of secondary education for boys although long planned for was not realised until St Edward's secondary school in Freetown was established in 1922 under the principalship of Fr Michael O'Connor. When he was invalided home shortly afterwards, his place was taken by Fr Cornelius Mulcahy whose name would become synonymous with the school until his sudden death in 1941.

Fr Mulcahy was Irish and first went to Sierra Leone in 1917 serving at Mobe and Serabu before being posted to Freetown when St Edward's was about to be opened. Under Fr Mulcahy's leadership the school quickly gained a strong reputation, both academically and on the sports field. Many of its past students would become prominent figures in Sierra Leone society, among them Albert Margai, a future Prime Minister. Apart from his responsibilities at St Edward's, Fr Mulcahy became deeply involved in the development of sport in Freetown. In particular, he was an enthusiastic member of the Colony's Football Association of which he was Vice-President for many years.

Writing with obvious pride in St Edward's the author of the report on Sierra Leone for the *Bulletin de la Congrégation du Saint Esprit*, stated, 'elle nous a donné des Catholiques bien instruits dont plusieurs occupent maintenant les plus hauts postes dans les services du Governement où ils peuvent exercer une influence très utile au profit de la Mission' (The school has produced Catholics who are well instructed and who now occupy some of the highest positions in Government service where they may use influence to the benefit of the Mission).[30]

[28]William Walker, The Holy Ghost Fathers in Africa, 1933.
[29]Annual Report on Education, Government Printer, Freetown, 1929, pp.11-12.
[30]Bulletin de la Congrégation du Saint Esprit, 1935.

Alongside the development of secondary school facilities, the mission's primary sector continued to expand and between 1912 and 1927, Bishop O'Gorman oversaw the opening of schools at Bo, Gbama, Mattru Jong, Sumbuya, Boajibu, Koribondo and Sembehun.

Human Cost of Expansion

As in the previous century, the expansion of the mission's services was still not without its human costs, or its challenges. Like those of his predecessor, O'Gorman's letters frequently mentioned missionaries who were afflicted with sickness, mainly fevers of one form or another, some fatal, arising from fatigue and overwork. He also wrote of school and church buildings being damaged or totally destroyed during violent storms and of having to be rebuilt. He mentioned the physical challenges his missionaries faced living in isolated stations in the Protectorate. He instanced the priest at Gerihun whose home was in a local hut, and who regularly visited on foot the seventy-two villages in his area, some requiring a trek of 14 hours. O'Gorman also reflected on the problems facing the local people – the high price of rice at times, the situation of women who were essentially their husband's chattels, the hold their secret Bundu society had over them, and the persistence of domestic slavery and, in some areas, of cannibalism.

O'Gorman was also frequently frustrated with what he regarded as an inadequate response to his appeal for more missionaries. He believed that the authorities at home in Ireland were not listening to his pleas, his absolute need for more men, not just to replace and relieve those unable to continue but because there was just so much to be done, especially in education where new schools were his top priority. On the same issue Browne referred caustically to what he termed 'la maladie de Blackrock' (the Blackrock illness), i.e. the Irish leadership at its headquarters were turning a deaf ear to his plea for more missionaries to Sierra Leone.

Among O'Gorman's other personnel problems was the fondness for alcohol of some missionaries. It was not a widespread problem, but a few missionaries caused particular concern, one brother's behaviour the source of more than a little public embarrassment. O'Gorman' reported that the brother had arrived in Sierra Leone 'en crise d'alcoolisme aigu … Le pire est qu'il était comme ivrogne à bord de bateau' (with a severe alcoholic crisis … the worst is that he was a drunk on board ship).[31] Later, despite the brother's promises to repent, one Sunday morning O'Gorman 'stumbled on him drinking whiskey, no thought of mass or anything else'. The impression O'Gorman had was that the brother had been sent to Sierra Leone to distance him from the authorities at home. Eventually that was where he had to be returned.[32]

An entirely different personnel problem was outlined in a letter from O'Gorman's deputy, Fr Daniel Lynch, written during the former's lengthy visit to the United States in 1925. A recently arrived missionary is described as 'very pious, too pious' and unable to relate to the local people so much so that the 'children ran away from the school and refuse to return while he is there … He had the same result at Blama, Gerihun and Moyamba'.[33] He was brought to Freetown where no suitable work could be found for him. Eventually he requested to be sent home and he was.

---

[31] Ibid.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid.

Reflecting concern for their own general well-being, the annual meeting of missionaries in 1930 advised on paying attention to personal hygiene, to the kind of food eaten and the amount of alcohol consumed. On alcohol, it was laid down that 'only one glass of whiskey might be taken by fathers in visits to Europeans', while every effort was to be made to avoid stationing missionaries on their own where no common prayer or other acts of worship were possible.[34]

Bishop O'Gorman celebrated his silver jubilee as bishop in 1929 in the presence of Governor Byrne and other leading dignitaries of Freetown's society. By then he was beginning to feel the effects of thirty years in the tropics and, when he fell seriously ill two years later, he was advised to spend time in Switzerland. He went there in 1931 and it was while there that he submitted his resignation in 1932. He died in Fribourg in 1935.

Bishop Ambrose Kelly

When Bishop O'Gorman resigned he was replaced by a man who was soon to also experience ill-health. He was Bishop Bartholomew Wilson who had been ministering in the East Africa for many years. Appointed in 1931 he was affected by poor health almost from his arrival in Sierra Leone and was obliged to spend time at home recuperating. He returned, but in 1936 was obliged to resign on medical advice.

Wilson's successor was Ambrose Kelly, born in England but educated in Ireland. Bishop Kelly had served in Sierra Leone since 1929, first at St Edward's Secondary School and later at Moyamba, Blama and Bonthe. His early years as missionary witnessed the continuing expansion of the mission under his two predecessors, including the opening of the first mission station and school in the Northern Province at Lunsar in 1933. However, the main geographic focus of the expansion remained the Southern province where the increase in missionaries allowed many new primary schools to be established before the outbreak of war in 1939 delayed further expansion for its duration.

In 1939 the first Sierra Leonean, Edward Hamelberg, was ordained a priest as a member of the Holy Ghost congregation. Fr Hamelberg was born in Freetown and had attended secondary school at St Edward's. Efforts to attract other young men to the priesthood had been made from time to time, but without success. A junior seminary had been established at Blama, then transferred to Gerihun and later to St Edwards, but, according to a review of these initiatives in 1938, 'most (of the boys) left for grand jobs when they had obtained their diplomas'.[35] It would be another twenty years before Fr Hamelberg would be joined by a second Sierra Leonean priest.

World War2

WW2 with its inhibitions on travel to and from Europe and the difficulties in obtaining materials constrained developments in the mission, while the increase in military personnel meant that several more missionaries than normal were allocated chaplaincy roles. Also, school premises, notably, at Ascension town, were acquired by the military and not returned until the war was over. A greater problem was created when many teachers and not a few pupils abandoned their schools to take well paid jobs at the many military bases established around the Colony, or to actually join the forces.

---

[34] Boîte 12 I i3a2, Archives des Spiritains, Paris.

[35] Bulletin de la Congrégation du Saint Esprit, 1939.

One very notable wartime development was the establishment of the Catholic Training College in Bo in 1942 with Fr Hamelberg as its principal. The college opened with fifteen students, but quickly expanded when it moved to new large premises on the outskirts of the town in 1950. Another notable development was the expansion of missionary activity to Kono, populated at the time mainly by Kissy people who had not previously been evangelized to any great extent.

In the Shadow of Independence

In the aftermath of the war the future of Britain's colonies, as with the colonies of all imperial powers, increasingly became a matter of urgent discussion. Sierra Leoneans had long sought greater control over their own affairs. A new constitution in 1947 significantly increased the number of members in the Legislative Council from the Protectorate to ten, all nominated from the Protectorate's own assembly which had been established the previous year and which met in Bo. In 1951 membership of the Legislative Council was further increased with more members being directly elected, and in 1953 a number of Sierra Leoneans were appointed to ministerial positions in the Executive Council, among them Milton Margai, a member of the Mende people and a medical doctor. From then until the end of the decade the focus was on negotiating and preparing for independence which was eventually granted in April 1961 with Dr Margai as the country's first post-independence prime minister.

Mission Prepares for Independence

In 1950 the position of the Church in Sierra Leone was enhanced when, what had hitherto been a province or vicariate, directly responsible to the Vatican, was accorded independent status with the creation of the Diocese of Freetown and Bo. The Northern Province would follow in 1952 when the Prefecture of Makeni was established and entrusted to the Xavarian fathers from Italy under Mgr Augusto Azzolini. The Church, as it were, had formally shed its own 'colonial' status though with only one local priest it was still highly dependent on foreign missionaries. By then its personnel had increased to thirty-seven priests, six brothers, and twenty-seven religious sisters serving the religious needs of approximately 11, 500 Catholics.[36]

The establishment of the Makeni prefecture was not, however, universally welcomed by the missionaries. One in particular, Fr James Gosson, claimed the division of the country was premature saying that sufficient progress had not then been made to warrant the development. He argued that the opening of the missionary station at Lunsar in 1936 had had 'depressing results' and despite attempts to open other stations they had 'always met a blank wall of opposition'.[37] The wall of opposition he referred to was the extent to which Islam had penetrated communities in the area.

The contrary view was put by his colleague, Fr Mellett, who wrote that 'the mistake of many is to try to convert from the beginning instead of planting the Church which will convert tomorrow'.[38] Mellett claimed that while Islam was prevalent 'nowhere is it very deep except in towns like Makeni and Magburaka'.[39] He went on to note that 'even there

[36] Missionary Annals, May, 1953.
[37] Letter from Fr Gosson to superiors, 7 March 1952, Boîte 12 I 1.4b7, Archives des Spiritains, Paris.
[38]Notes by Fr Mellett 2nd August 1952, in Boîte 12 I 1.4b7, Archives des Spiritains, Paris.
[39]Ibid.

the children coming to (mission) schools are in no way prevented from learning the catechism and a fair number of them come to mass on Sunday'.[40] Fr Mellett was obviously hoping that the return on missionary efforts would be seen as the younger generation came of age.

As the political climate changed the demand for education and other public services increased rapidly and missionary congregations were only too anxious to provide personnel. In Ireland, from where the majority of Catholic missionaries now came, membership of such congregations continued to increase significantly in the post-war period and Sierra Leone was among the countries to benefit. By the late 1950s the number of male missionaries approached fifty, while the sisters numbered approximately twenty-five, among them members of two congregations new to Sierra Leone, the Missionary Sisters of the Holy Rosary (MSHR), and the Xaverian fathers.
As part of the preparation for independence a number of government reports highlighted the urgent need to expand educational opportunities throughout the country, especially in the Protectorate. One report, *Educational Opportunities in the Protectorate*, revealed that in the immediate postwar period as few as 15,000 children were attending school there. [41] So when Milton Margai's brother Albert assumed office as Minister for Education in the early fifties, he began implementing a *Programme of Education* which included the establishment of local education authorities to oversee and assist the expansion of educational facilities.[42] The Catholic Church, as with other agencies, was an enthusiastic participant in the implementation of Margai's programme.

Bishop Thomas Brosnahan

Bishop Brosnahan, another Irishman, headed the Catholic mission for the period leading to independence, and for more than a decade afterwards. He succeeded to the bishopric of Freetown and Bo in 1953 after twenty-two years in Eastern Nigeria. Notes on his suitability for the position stressed his energetic commitment to his missionary responsibilities in Nigeria, his above average intelligence, his prudence, his generosity and his patience.[43] Bishop Brosnahan would oversee a very rapid expansion of the Church's involvement in education over the next two decades. To add coherence to this expansion Brosnahan's predecessor had already established the Catholic Education Secretariat. The secretariat had responsibility to liaise with government and to dispense government subsidies to Catholic schools and their salaries to its teachers.

Central to expansion plans was the need for more secondary schools, not least to ensure that well qualified local personnel would be available to meet growing demands in the country's public and private sectors. In 1954, Christ the King College (CKC), Bo was opened with Fr Michael Corbett as its first principal. CKC was followed over the next ten years by secondary schools for girls in Bo and Pujehun, and by boys' schools in Pujehun, Kenema, Segbwema, Makeni and elsewhere. In 1959 St Joseph's girls' school in Freetown moved premises from Howe St in the centre of of the city to Brookfields, where the principal Sr Teresa McKeon, who had been serving in Sierra Leone since 1954, spearheaded several major developments, expanding the curriculum and overseeing the construction of new facilities. In tune with

[40]Ibid.
[41]Report on the Sierra Leone Protectorate 1947, British National Archives, CO 267/695/1.
[42]Centenary Souvenir of the Holy Ghost Fathers in Sierra Leone, Freetown, 1964, p.71.
[43]Notes in file Boîte 12, I, 1, 4a 5, Archives des Spiritains, Paris.

the times, Sr Teresa was also very committed to transferring the administration of the school to a lay person, and she trained Florence Dillsworth to be its first Sierra Leonean principal.

Along with this expansion into secondary education, there was no pause in the expansion of primary education. In 1953 the Catholic mission controlled seventy schools, two years later the number had increased to 125, and by the centenary of the Catholic mission's presence in Sierra Leone in 1964 the number was over 300, making it the largest single provider of schools in the country[44]

Missionary Sisters of the Holy Rosary

The additional provision of educational opportunities for girls would not have been possible without the arrival in 1948 of members of the MSHR.[45] Their arrival marked a significant development in girls' education in the Protectorate where the sisters concentrated their work. The congregation was Irish, founded by Bishop Joseph Shanahan in 1924, and as early as 1939 Bishop Kelly had requested that the MSHR provide personnel for Sierra Leone, particularly for Bo, the country's second largest town. Eventually, in response to his request, in November 1948, two MSHR from Ireland arrived in Freetown. These pioneers were Srs Felim Curley and Kevin Osborne and they took up residence in Bo. As soon as further accommodation was found, a third sister Sr Consilia Donovan arrived in January 1949. The parish priest of Bo provided land adjoining his mission compound for their girls' school, the first pupils for which were taken from St Francis Boys' School where there were 25 girls among the 200 boys. Sr Declan Stewart arrived from Nigeria to bolster the effort, but she only stayed in Bo for a few months before being transferred to Pujehun where the Holy Ghost fathers had opened a mission station and school as early as 1912, but with the outbreak of war had vacated it in 1939. After the war, the mission school was re-opened and Chief Kaikai requested Bishop Kelly to also establish a girls' school. In June 1949 Srs Declan and Felim were sent from Bo to do so. However, persuading parents to enrol their daughters in the school was not easy and the sisters had to engage in extensive campaigns around the villages encouraging parents to send their girls to school.

To provide qualified teachers, the Holy Rosary congregation established a female training college at Kenema in 1954 and in the same year St Mary's Technical & Vocational Centre was inaugurated by Sr Mary Columcille in Bo. The centre offered courses in sewing, cooking, and laundry. Later, a commercial course was added.

Medical Facilities

Education was not the only sector to experience expansion at this time. In 1954, the MSHR assumed responsibility for the health clinic at Serabu which had been established in 1948 by the St Joseph of Cluny Sisters. The latter then opened a hospital at Lunsar in the Northern Province. Under the direction of Sr Dr Hilary Lyons the Serabu clinic quickly gained a considerable reputation and soon established a training unit for nurses. As the principal doctor, Sr Hilary won renown throughout the country for developments at Serabu, particulary in primary health care. A second hospital was later opened at Panguma, near Kenema.

---

[44]Centenary Souvenir of the Holy Ghost Fathers in Sierra Leone, 1964, Freetown, p.71.

[45]Redempta Connolly MSHR, A Brief History of the Missionary Sisters of the Holy Rosary's Contribution to Education in Sierra Leone (personal notes).

Xavarian Missionaries

This Italian congregation whose members had been expelled from China following the communist take-over in the late 1940s, were in search of alternative territories when they were assigned to Sierra Leone in 1950. The congregation's first three members arrived that year and assumed responsibility for the Northern Province. They were soon joined by four brothers from a Dutch teaching order. Within the next ten years the number of schools controlled by the Prefecture increased to over sixty and the number of priests to eleven.

Missionary Reflections

What did missionaries think of their work and what were their attitudes to local spiritual beliefs and practices? These are little explored questions, particularly with respect to Catholic missionaries in Sierra Leone. What follows is a brief, initial attempt to expose some of their thoughts and attitudes.

Fr Francis Liberman, one of the founders of the Holy Ghost congregation had encouraged his missionaries to learn local languages and to familiarise themselves with local customs in order to get as close as possible to the people among whom they were working.[46] In many of the territories in which they worked missionaries did precisely that and, as a result, many of them produced a rich literature in linguistics, in folk studies and in commentaries on the life and customs of the many different cultures which they encountered.

In Sierra Leone while Catholic missionary literature can be judged not to be as rich as that which was produced in countries like Senegal, Ivory Coast or the Congo, nevertheless there is corpus worthy of study. The main exemplars of this literature are to be found in the compilation of church related texts in Mende, the main language of the Southern Province. Such texts include catechisms, hymnals and prayer books. Notable among them is the work of Fr Tuohy who was among the first to compile a Mende manual consisting of hymns, prayers and a catechism which he did while serving at Bonthe. This was followed by an improved version of the same manual by Fr Lawrence Shields who served at Mobe from 1899 to 1912.

However, such works do not provide much insight into missionaries' reflections on their work. For that it is necessary to turn to other sources. As missionary activity from Ireland increased in the post-WWI period, many missionary societies began publishing magazines to publicise their work, to encourage recruitment and to fund-raise. The content of these magazines offers interesting insights into missionaries' attitudes and approaches to their work as well as reflections on the life of the people among whom they were working. Because of its wide circulation as well as the fact that it commenced publication in 1919 and continued throughout the period under review, the magazine of the Holy Ghost congregation, *Missionary Annals*, is discussed as typical of its genre.

Missionary Annals

Articles featuring many aspects of missionary life in Sierra Leone appeared regularly in *Missionary Annals* describing the life of missionaries, their impressions of the country and its people and the progress of their mission. Theologically most of the articles reflected the same very static view of the church's missionary endeavours that had persisted since

[46]Farren, JSLS, V2, 2013.

the onset of missionary activity in the nineteenth century, i.e. the Catholic Church with the fullness of truth regarding divine revelation had come to rescue souls from the 'darkness' in which they lived, and that other Christian churches were in profound error.[47]

Regarding local beliefs and practices, many articles reflected the view that, spiritually, the people engaged in 'pagan' spiritual practices and that their belief systems were antipathetic to Christian beliefs and values. The scale of the challenge was reflected by Fr Fennelly who wrote of 'the numerous obstacles to Christianity created by the pagan inheritance of these poor abandoned races'.[48] Missionaries believed they had a profound Christian responsibility to confront this 'pagan inheritance' and many accounts were published recounting how local 'sorcerers', the agents of that inheritance, were confounded by the superior powers of Christianity and overcome.

The following account, also published in the same edition, describes an encounter with an 'old sorceress' by Fr Raymond, a missionary who took considerable interest in local cultures and who became fluent in Mende, the predominant language of southern Sierra Leone. He typified the 'battle', as he saw it, as one between Christianity and 'paganism'.[49] The 'old sorceress' in question was a leader of the Bundu society, the female society into which girls were initiated at puberty. She was also the local medicine lady whose medical artefacts had allegedly curative powers. To Fr Raymond, however, she epitomised the 'dark' powers that Christianity had come to banish. Despite continuing hostility to the Christian message, he had somehow persuaded her to carry a Christian medal and to utter a salutation to Mary, Queen of Mercy. Then 'soon under the pitiless weight of years, she, like her crumbling hut, began slowly to sink. At last she fell down and death was but a question of some hours, but who should have her soul? On one side was a past of crime and superstition and hatred; on the other a tiny salutation of Mary, Queen of Mercy, Refuge of Sinners, only a 'Hail to thee O Mary'. And the little prayer to Mary won!'

Another article recounts two priests entering, with a sense of curiosity, a village hut belonging to the women's secret society, the Bundu. The account also betrays some of the basic attitudes that informed their missionary activity. 'We entered a hut belonging to a women's secret society and looked about among the fantastic trappings with which they deck their 'devils'. Some old women nearby did not seem pleased. They think an evil end will come to any who enters a hut. We did not mind, but handled some of the suspicious equipment. Behind a hanging sack was a recess well filled with 'medicines', and some iron boxes held more of the treasures of these unfortunate people. How these good-natured people, misguided people of God would love and serve Him if only they knew Him better'.[50]

Reminding his readers what the Catholic Church's fundamental missionary aim was, Bishop O'Gorman stressed in several articles that the missionary 'must not forget that we are dealing with souls a great majority of whom have never been enabled to hear the message of God's love to men'.[51] Spreading Christ's message was the fundamental

---

[47] Ibid.
[48] Missionary Annals, 2, March, 1920.
[49] Ibid
[50] Missionary Annals, 3, April, 1921.
[51] Missionary Annals, 5, March, 1924.

task of the missionary and, as far as the Holy Ghost fathers were concerned, it was a message that Catholic missionaries alone could convey in its integrity.

Administering baptism and the last rites to dying persons were tasks missionaries took considerable pride in being able to do. They believed they were, in a very direct and immediate way, saving 'souls' on the brink of their departure from this life. Missionaries, therefore, were accustomed to remind their congregations to inform them when there were sick persons in their villages. Several stories appeared in the *Annals* , like that of 'Friskey', a dog owned by Fr Mulcahy at Serabu, whose barking awoke him one Christmas night and led him to a hut in which a young child lay close to death. Surrounded by members of the Bundu who were performing their own rites, Fr Mulcahy somehow managed to approach the sick child and succeeded in administering baptism and the last rites. Then, 'we returned (to the mission) in triumph … Friskey strutting boldly in front'. [52]

A more sympathetic approach to local customs and beliefs was also reflected in some missionaries' writings. A Fr MacNamara wrote, in the spirit of Fr Liberman's exhortations to his members, that while 'the native is generally a pagan, possessed of pagan habits … some of his customs are opposed to the Divine and human law, but some our Holy Religion can, while not destroying, assimilate and transform. Did not St Patrick thus, when he came to convert the Irish?'[53]

As for attitudes towards Protestant missionaries, the dominant message was still one which regarded them as inhibiting true evangelisation by their hostility to Catholicism, and by offering an incomplete version of Christianity. A perennial concern about the influence of allegedly very wealthy Protestant churches was frequently raised. Writing about Bonthe in October 1923, Fr Michael O'Connor commented on the towns 'three fine Protestant Churches, well equipped, efficiently staffed with plenty of money to carry on their work', but also wrote of the opposition to Catholic missionaries whom he says are described as 'Roman cockroaches'.[54] He went on to describe, without any sense of irony, the 'disciples of Martin Luther (the Protestants) are nearly everywhere true to type, strait-laced, sour-faced, narrow minded and pharisaical'. A contributor to the *Missionary Annals* using the pseudonym 'Columba' also writing from Bonthe, referred to the 'bell of the United Brethren in Christ (American) calling people to their false worship'.[55]

In an article entitled 'How False Prophets Organise, Work and are Assisted', Bishop O'Gorman wrote about the well-resourced American United Brethren in Christ describing them as 'the most important by far of the enemies of our faith'.[56] O'Gorman went on to claim that 'we have not a single mission station at present round which rival missions have not started up within the last few years'.[57]

---

[52]Missionary Annals 2, December, 1920.

[53]Missionary Annals, 2, January, 1920.
[54]Missionary Annals, 2,October, 1920
[55]Missionary Annals, 8, June, 1926.
[56]Missionary Annals, 5, February-March, 1924.

[57]Ibid.

Comments about the amount of money available to schools conducted under other agencies were also frequent. In 1924, O'Gorman drew attention to what he regarded as the huge amount of money being spent on the government controlled Bo School claiming that the 'the school is the scandal of the Education Department …' but there was some consolation because 'several of its pupils are under instruction, and it only a beginning we are making please God'.[58]

Fr William Walker contrasted what he claimed, without much evidence, was the concentration by Protestant missionaries on 'the socially superior class, while the Catholic missionary preached the Gospel to the poor, and was despised'.[59] However, since he also argued, with a degree of wishful thinking, that the 'whole fabric of Protestantism in Africa, as in Europe, is crumbling into the dust of its error', there obviously would not be too much longer to wait until the Catholic mission would triumph!

Offering his explanation as to why the mission had not made as much progress in attracting adherents to Catholicism as many had hoped, Fr Clerkin, religious superior of the Holy Ghost fathers in Sierra Leone, attributed the failure to what he regarded as 'l'apathie pour le christianisme et le pauvreté de la vie matérielle pour laquelle ils doivent soutenir une dure lutte' (the apathy towards Christianity and the poverty of material life for which they have to endure a tough battle).[60] Only those who had managed to obtain work with the Government, the missions or commercial enterprises had 'les moyens de se marier et de fonder une famille chrétien' (the means to marry and establish Christian families).[61] Since, such work had not been widely available in the past the prospects of establishing Christian communities had not been, according to Fr Clerkin, very great. However, even as he wrote things were beginning to change and more rapid development was in store.

Articles in the *Missionary Annals* also reflected more mundane aspects of missionary life. Fr David Lloyd wrote about the difficulties encountered in obtaining building materials for the mission school at Bonthe, of the need to beg for barges from local traders to transport the material and, then, of losing a boat-load of stones which had cost him twenty pounds.[62]Reflecting on the challenges and the need to be prepared to look after oneself, one of the best known missionaries of the 1920s and 1930s, Fr Mulcahy, when in Gerihun, wrote 'A Missioner must know to do everything and if he does not he must learn. I wash my own clothes, mend my soutanes, darn my own stockings, repair my own boots, do my own cooking and am quite adept at baking bread … my poultry yard excites the envy of the natives'.[63] Mulcahy also reared rabbits, kept goats and had a horse for riding to outstations.

Articles also reflected considerable pride in Ireland's growing contribution to missionary work, particularly post-WW2, not only in Sierra Leone, but in many other parts of the world as well. Fr Thomas Clerkin who served in Sierra Leone in

[58]Ibid.
[59] Walker, op.cit.
[60]Review 1930-1950, notes in file 12 I 1.4a 8, Archives des Spiritains, Paris.
[61]Ibid.
[62]Missionary Annals, 6, December, 1925.

[63]Ibid.

the late 1940s and early 1950s wrote 'with the measure of independence we obtained in 1922, Ireland appears to have come instinctively to some realisation of what her destiny is and to recognise that if she is to be the Irish-Ireland of her ancient glory she must be a missionary … a beacon light in the world …'.[64]

Completely absent in any of the articles is discussion of the social and political realities facing the people of Sierra Leone. Independence when it came in 1961 was welcomed as the dawn of a new era, but nowhere is there to be found any discussion of the circumstances in which the country found itself, the huge inequalities that existed between rich and poor, between foreigners, mainly white, and indigenous Sierra Leoneans or how those inequalities were to be overcome or what precisely should be the missionary response. Demonstrations and riots in 1955-56 across several parts of the country expressed a degree of social unrest about such inequalities. Taxes were withheld, chiefs were forced to flee their villages, houses and other property were destroyed but the Churches made no significant interventions.

Perhaps the missionaries, very practical men and women, believed their response was in providing services through their schools and health facilities and that nothing more was required of them. Whatever, their views these were not the subject of public debate. This meant that the Church's social teaching about justice in the workplace, about equal treatment of men and women regardless of colour or creed found no significant expression in the pages of the missionary press. It was a press that gave voice to a very traditional and pious form of Christianity, celebrated significant events and was aimed essentially at keeping alive a sense of the Church's missionary activity as a process almost apart from the socio-political context in which it operated.

This absence of comment, directly or indirectly, on general political developments may well have also been a function of the absence of a Sierra Leonean clergy. By independence only one more Sierra Leonean had become a priest, Fr Joseph Ganda of Serabu, and there were as yet no Sierra Leonean sisters in either of the congregations. This was a situation that would not change in any significant way for several more decades. In this absence, foreign missionaries probably felt it not to be their business to comment on public affairs, certainly not in any critical manner.

One Hundred Year Legacy

Nevertheless, the legacy of the Roman Catholic missionaries to independent Sierra Leone was very visible in the network of schools and medical facilities which they had developed. By the early 1960s the Church had progressed considerably since the early missionaries had arrived a hundred years previously facing enormous challenges, exemplified in the tragic deaths from fever of the five French missionaries under Marion de Brèsillac in 1859, the centenary of which was commemorated with considerable ceremony in Freetown in 1959.

[64] Missionary Annals, January, 1948.