

Annex 1

Wan Fambul Framework (WFF) - Qualitative Assessment Report¹

March 2025

I. Introduction & Summary

The Government of Sierra Leone's (GoSL) Wan Fambul Framework (WFF) is a national program designed to enhance citizen participation in development planning. Currently, the GoSL is working on plans to expand the village development process, which forms the foundation of the WFF. This village-level initiative builds on the peacebuilding and development planning efforts carried out by the Fambul Tok NGO in multiple districts across the country.

This report assesses Fambul Tok's village-level development planning program (the FT intervention), with an eye towards informing the scale-up of a similar initiative within the national WFF. Specifically, the report considers the impact of the FT intervention on two primary outcomes. First, it investigates whether the FT intervention enhances citizens participation in local development planning, with a particular focus on female participation. Community participation in development planning is important for several reasons. The more people are involved in selecting a project, the more likely it is to reflect the preferences of a broader segment of the village population (Beath et al 2017). Greater participation may also foster a sense of "ownership" over the project, which could increase community members' willingness to contribute to implementing or maintaining the project.² Lastly, more community participation can increase exposure to programs or training modules that may run in conjunction with the main intervention, such as female empowerment initiatives. This is important because the success of these programs or training efforts often depend on the level of community attendance and engagement.

Second, this report considers the impact of the FT intervention on social cohesion. This report builds on previous work by the World Bank and defines social cohesion as "*a sense of shared purpose, trust, and willingness to cooperate among members of a given group, between members of different groups, and between people and the state for a common good*" (Barron et al 2023, pg. xxii). A core element of the intervention's theory of change—developed in the aftermath of Sierra Leone's brutal decade-long war—is that community development planning is more effective and participatory when social fractures have been repaired and community social cohesion is high. This relationship has an intuitive logic: increased social cohesion may make community members more interested in pursuing, and therefore planning for, local public goods projects.

The assessment is based on 207 semi-structured interviews conducted across three districts where the FT intervention has been implemented: Moyamba District, Koinadugu District, and Kono District. This assessment reports key findings in several thematic areas, which are summarized below:

¹ This study was prepared by Baobab Sierra Leone. Kevin Grieco was the technical lead for the study and authored the report under the direction of World Bank TTLs Stephen Winkler and Audrey Sacks.

² For example, if a water pump breaks in a community, community members may be more willing to fix it when a greater number of community members were involved in selecting it. This argument is an extension of the endowment effect, where individuals' place greater value on an item when they own it (Kahneman and Tversky 1979; for a review of its application in economics see Ericson and Fuster (2014).

Finding 1: Barriers to Participation

- Community participation in development decision-making occurs at the village, chiefdom, and district council levels, with barriers at each stage. Gender norms restrict women's involvement, as decision-making is often seen as a male-dominated domain. Geographic constraints hinder access to chiefdom-level meetings, which are costly to attend, while participation at the district council level is limited by difficulties in accessing elected Ward Councilors and a lack of transparency regarding whether community concerns are effectively communicated to the District Council.

Finding 2: Experiences with FT Intervention

- Community members are generally familiar with the Fambul Tok (FT) intervention, though engagement levels vary across villages. Bonfires have played a key role in fostering dialogue, reconciliation, and unity, enabling many communities to resolve personal conflicts, including those linked to past war atrocities. Through the Village Development Committees (VDC), several villages have successfully mobilized local resources to fund and carry out development projects such as infrastructure repairs and community farms. Peace Mothers Groups (PMG) have been crucial, operating savings groups that support members with educational costs, income-generating activities, and emergency financial aid for health, marriage, and funeral needs. In contrast, youth groups (CYPAD) established by the FT intervention appear to be less active and influential in community development.

Finding 3: Impacts on Female Participation in Development Decision-making

- The Fambul Tok intervention increased female participation in community decision-making by boosting women's confidence and shifting norms about their right to be involved, particularly through training and sensitization. Two key mechanisms facilitated this change: economic empowerment through savings groups, which allowed women to manage resources and make decisions, and sensitization workshops that educated both men and women on women's rights to participate. As a result, women became more active in meetings, proposed new ideas, and felt more valued in their communities.

Finding 4: Impacts on Social Cohesion

- The Fambul Tok intervention, especially through its bonfire sessions, significantly improved community cohesion by resolving long-standing conflicts and fostering peace. Respondents highlighted that the bonfires helped reconcile both historical and recent conflicts. Beyond the bonfire, Peace Mothers' Groups (PMGs) played a key role in mediating disputes and empowering communities to resolve conflicts independently. Although not the primary focus of the data collection, interviewees also noted a reduction in gender-based violence, with improved treatment of women by men, leading to less physical conflict and greater mutual respect. This enhanced cohesion is expected to positively influence other community outcomes, such as increased participation in local development projects.

The report is structured as follows: Section II summarizes the data collection process. Section III outlines the existing challenges and barriers to participation in development planning. Section IV describes the FT intervention, detailing its core elements and participants' experiences. Section V examines the impact of the FT intervention, focusing on (i) participation in development planning and

(ii) community cohesion. Section VI concludes with recommendations for a future CDD program in Sierra Leone. Sections III-VI open with a summary of the main findings.

II. Data Collection

We conducted semi-structured interviews in three districts where Fambul Tok has implemented its village-level planning program. The first phase of data collection took place in Moyamba District on June 17-18, 2024, following two days of enumerator training. A team of six interviewers visited 12 villages in Moyamba—six where Fambul Tok had implemented its intervention and six where it had not. Interviewers were instructed to target the following respondents: (i) the town chief or deputy, (ii) the Mammy Queen/women’s leader, (iii) the youth leader, and (iv) three women and two men of varying ages.

The second phase of data collection occurred in Koinadugu and Kono Districts. We conducted two days of training in Koinadugu, followed by two days of data collection between October 6-9, 2024. The same team then travelled to Kono, where they completed two additional days of data collection in Sandor Chiefdom on October 11-12, 2024. For this round, the interview guides were updated based on preliminary analysis of the first phase of data collection and feedback from GovSL and the World Bank.

In total, 207 interviews were collected with 113 male respondents and 94 female respondents. Appendix Table 1 presents the number of processed interviews by village and gender, while Appendix Table 2 provides additional interview-level data on gender, village position, and interviewer. Figure 1 maps the villages selected for data collection, with green dots representing villages where Fambul Tok has run their intervention, and black dots representing proximate villages used for comparison.

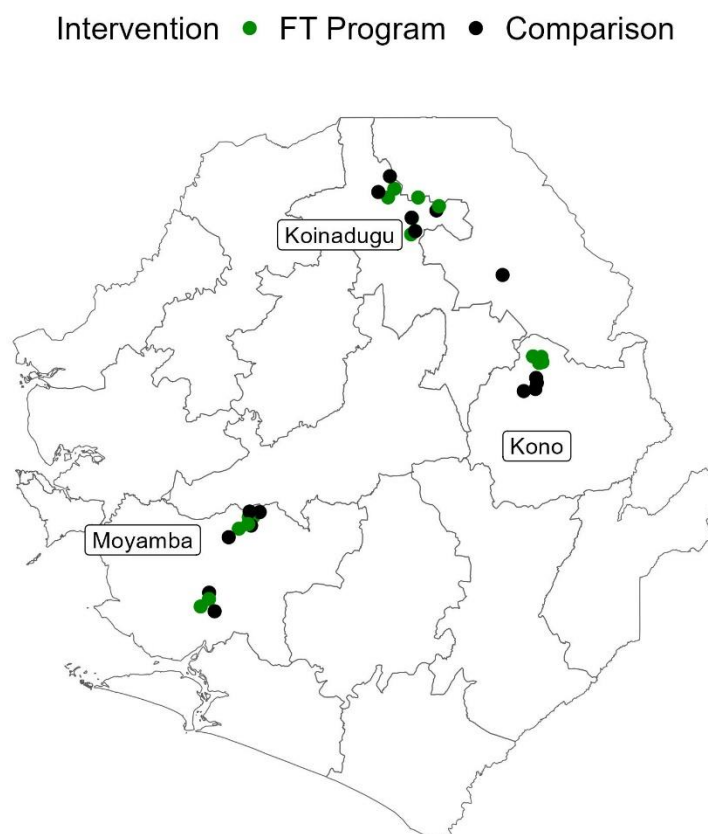


Figure 1 - Map of Data Collection

III. Overall Barriers to Participation

Summary of Findings on Participation Barriers:

- Citizens can participate in development decision-making under existing (government and traditional) institution, albeit in different ways. First, through village assemblies, community members can participate *directly* in village level development decision-making. Second, community members can participate in chiefdom level decision-making, but *indirectly* through representation by village leaders (i.e., Town Chief, Women's leader, Youth Leader). Third, community members can participate in district-council level decision-making, again indirectly through elected Ward Councilors.
- Many respondents expressed frustration at their inability to meet with their Ward Councilor to voice their concerns; even when community members were able to voice their concerns to their Ward Councilor, most felt that their issues were not being addressed.
- Barriers to participation in village level decision-making are often gendered. Women are less likely to participate in important development decisions and feel that their voice carries less weight when they do have space to participate.
- These same barriers exist at the chiefdom-level, but participation is additionally constrained by geography: attending chiefdom-level meetings is both time-intensive and expensive. Therefore, village leaders often fail to attend important chiefdom-level meetings.

A. Participation Through Local Government Institutions

De jure, citizens have channels to participate in development planning through both local governments and traditional political institutions. By law, citizens are meant to participate in the District Council's development planning through their Ward Councilors, who are elected to represent and convey their constituents' interests to the District Council. While Ward Councilors are expected to live in their wards to maintain a close connection with the communities they serve, many actually reside in District Headquarters towns, creating a distance between themselves and their constituents.

Many respondents expressed frustration at their inability to meet with the Councilor to voice their concerns. When asked whether community leaders had been given the opportunity to meet with the Ward Councilor, one respondent countered, "He doesn't come here, so how can we make a plan to meet with him?"³ While the geographic distance between Councilors and constituents may make visits costly, respondents also suggested that their Councilors simply don't want to meet with them. "The Councilor passed by here yesterday, but he did not stop to greet us... [The politicians] do not value the people," one respondent said.⁴ Similarly, the Mammy Queen of Kakoya remarked, "[The Councilors] only need us when they want power... From the time this recent one was elected, we haven't seen him yet."⁵ Because Councilors are not engaging with their constituents, they may be unaware of their concerns. As one respondent put it, "If he came to mingle with us, he'd be able to know our problems and would be able to help us."⁶

³ Interview 147, Yataya, 8:20. There are countless examples of respondents who say they have not met with their Ward Councilor (e.g., Interviews 148, 149, and 156 from Kampala).

⁴ Interview 168 Sakuta, 10:05

⁵ Interview 172 (Mammy Quen), Kakoya 6:10.

⁶ Interview 176, Kakoya, 9:00.

Even when community members were able to voice their concerns to Councilors, most felt that their issues were not being addressed. For instance, many expressed frustration that requests for local public goods remained unmet. One respondent shared, “We told the Councilor that we want a barrie, but we don’t see it yet.”⁷ Similarly, another respondent noted, “We told the Councilor [what we want], but we haven’t seen that development yet. But we’re not tired, we’ll continue asking the Councilor for what we need.”⁸ A respondent from Yataya also highlighted the lack of action, stating, “We tell the Councilor about our demands, but he doesn’t do anything... we don’t see any results.”⁹

Once again, respondents suggested that their politicians were shirking their duties after the election. One shared, “We told the Councilor [about our needs]. We have no drying floor, no barrie. But since we got him elected, we haven’t seen any response. It’s like they don’t work.”¹⁰ Another respondent added, “We told the Councilor, even the Honourable [i.e., MP]. At election time, they come and talk with the people. But since they gained power, they forget about the people.”¹¹ A respondent from Makokora echoed this sentiment, saying, “After we voted for them, this district council has done nothing.”¹²

This failure of government responsiveness is especially difficult for citizens to interpret because they cannot observe Councilors’ behavior at District Council meetings.¹³ Did the Ward Councilor faithfully convey the community’s concerns, only to have the local government fail to respond? Or is the local government not responding because the Councilor did not adequately represent the challenges facing their village?

B. Participation Through Traditional Political Institutions

Citizens are much more likely to participate in development decision-making through traditional political institutions.¹⁴ Most of Sierra Leone, except for the peninsula where the capital city is located, is divided into 190 chiefdoms. Each chiefdom is managed by a chiefdom council and a hierarchy of chiefs, but it is still subject to the control of both the central and local governments. The paramount chief holds the highest position of traditional authority in each chiefdom, and is elected for life by the chiefdom’s elite, with candidates drawn from a limited number of ruling families (see Reed and Robinson 2013). Chiefdoms are further broken down into sections, each covering an average area of 40 square kilometers (Christensen et al. 2020). Each section includes several villages, with section chiefs and village chiefs responsible for governing these smaller divisions.

At the village level, it is widely asserted that village decisions (e.g., local laws) are made by calling meetings and that these meetings are open to all. Interestingly, many respondents mentioned that

⁷ Interview 162, Alusina, 4:10.

⁸ Interview 163, Alusina, 5:45.

⁹ Interview 145, Yataya.

¹⁰ Interview 177, Kakamba, 9:00.

¹¹ Interview 179, Kakamba.

¹² Interview 181, Makokora, 6:00.

¹³ There are very few examples of respondents explicitly noting that their Councilor conveyed constituents demands to District Council. An exception is Interview 167 (Bafodia).

¹⁴ For Traditional Political Institutions in Africa and beyond, see Baldwin and Holzinger (2019).

“the women attend [these meetings] more than the men,”¹⁵ because men have “heavy work,”¹⁶ which particularly limits their attendance at morning meetings.¹⁷ And if meetings are called at night, “many people will be tired, so they won’t come.”¹⁸ With respect to who spoke at meetings, most agreed that, “at a meeting you say what you want to say,” irrespective of being a man or women.¹⁹ And women may even talk more than men.²⁰

With that said, a common refrain was that men’s opinions were more valued than women’s. One respondent noted that, while “we all can talk” at meetings, community leaders take men’s comments more seriously because “they say women don’t have power.”²¹ This dynamic, in turn, creates a barrier for women’s attendance at these meetings. As one respondent pointed out, “There are some men who think that women should only listen to men, so they need not attend.”²² A female respondent from Kamba further illustrated how this undermines women’s participation in future meetings. She shared, “If we have a meeting, and when I talk people don’t take it serious, the next meeting I’ll think, anytime I talk then don’t take it serious, so I won’t go.”²³

Decision-making at the section / chiefdom level is much less participatory, primarily due to the constraints of geography and associated travel costs. Even if these meetings are technically open to all, traveling to a section or chiefdom HQ is both expensive and time-consuming. Therefore, participation occurs through representation by village leaders— such as the town chief, mammy queen, or youth leader—at section meetings, and by section leaders at chiefdom meetings. These same travel costs also limit participation from village representatives for higher level meetings. That is, many meetings that occur at a section (or chiefdom) level take place without representation from many of the villages that comprise that section (chiefdom). As a result, many people in the village are left unaware of what is happening regarding section and chiefdom level decision-making and development planning.

IV. Experiences with Fambul Tok Programming

Summary:

- Community members are broadly familiar with all aspects of the FT Intervention, although there is variation both within and across villages.
- At community **bonfires**, facilitators promote dialogue and reconciliation, helping people resolve personal conflicts, including those stemming from war-time atrocities. In most communities, participants actively engage in these discussions, forgive past grievances, and foster unity.
- Through **Village Development Committees (VDCs)**, the FT intervention aims to help communities identify and finance local development projects using community resources. Many villages have

¹⁵ Interview 41, Tombay, 3:00.

¹⁶ Interview 32, Falaba, Town Chief

¹⁷ Interview 41: “early morning work,” limits participation at morning meetings (3:50).

¹⁸ Interview 42, Tombay.

¹⁹ Interview 43, Tombay Woman, 3:25.

²⁰ “...particularly us the women, we talk more than the men” (Interview 41, 4:00).

²¹ Interview 38, Kentimawo, 4:00. Many respondents agree that men take women’s comments less seriously (e.g., Interview 176).

²² Interview 42, Tombay, 26:45.

²³ Interview 176, Kamba, 5:30.

successfully mobilized local funds to address needs, such as repairing wells, building community farms, and constructing infrastructure. While some communities have faced challenges, many have actively pursued multiple development projects, managing funds through a community-run "village basket" to support ongoing progress.

- **Peace Mothers' Groups (PMGs)** are active in many communities, running savings groups that fund activities, assist members, and provide emergency support. PMGs have helped schoolchildren, organized income-generating projects, and offered financial aid for health issues, marriages, and funerals. Youth groups set up by the FT intervention (**CYPAD**) have been less active and influential.

This section examines community members' experiences with the core elements of the FT program. In general, respondents were able to recall the FT intervention easily and demonstrated a strong understanding of its key components. The core elements of the FT program are as follows:

- **Chieftdom Launch Consultation:** The Fambul Tok team meets with Chieftdom leaders to explain the process. The Fambul Tok Village Development Process is rolled out within a chieftdom one section at a time, the order determined by ballot.
- **Sectional Consultation:** Each village in a section selects three representatives for the *Chieftdom Welfare Mediation Committee (CWMC)*. FT Staff visit villages and discuss selection of 3 CWMC reps (a male and 2 females). There are eligibility criteria for these reps. They must be non-political; represents the community; honest; etc. FT Staff return later to villages to receive list of CWMC nominees and verify eligibility criteria were met. Once selected, the members receive trainings at the sectional level and will make a presentation to their village about the program.
- **Bonfire & Healing Ceremony:** The CWMC representatives present to the community in a village-level meeting, followed by a bonfire where members discuss and raise community issues. In the morning, a healing ceremony addresses grievances between conflicting parties.
- **Development Group Formation:** The village elects an 11-person Village Development Committee (VDC) via secret ballot, with a gender quota ensuring at least six women. Committee members receive training in project management, resource mobilization, communication, and conflict resolution. Two additional groups are formed for women (PMG) and youth (CYPAD), each with a nine-person executive who also receive training.
- **Development Planning:** These groups hold regular meetings to discuss local development needs and plans. They mobilize funds from the community or members to achieve these goals, which are pooled in a "village basket."

Appendix 1 provides a more detailed description of the basic components of the FT intervention.²⁴

A. The Bonfire

At the village level, the intervention starts with a bonfire. Fambul Tok facilitators send money in advance so that food could be cooked²⁵ and asked community members gather firewood.²⁶ It's clear that the bonfire was a big event and most people in most villages are well aware of it. For example,

²⁴ This description is based conversations and follow-ups with the program lead, Emmanuel Mansaray. I met Mr. Mansaray in Freetown and Moyamba, where I visited the program office.

²⁵ Interview 7, Benduma I, Chairlady.

²⁶ Interview 1, Mokellay, 22:30.

multiple respondents in all six of the Koinadugu villages could provide a detailed accounts of their experience at the bonfire and in four of the six villages all or nearly all of the respondents could.²⁷

As evening fell, the bonfire began, and participants danced and enjoyed themselves ("we danced all night").²⁸ With spirits high, facilitators invited community members to "talk your heart"²⁹ and encouraged dialogue between those with existing rifts:³⁰ "They told us, 'If you have a conflict with your neighbor, get together, talk, and make peace.'"³¹ A respondent in Kampaskoloa noted that many people had conflicts to resolve: "Eighty percent of the one hundred had some conflicts, and we solved it all [at the bonfire]...Now we move and talk as one."³²

In three of the six communities in Koinadugu, respondents reported that the bonfire session focused on war time atrocities. In Gbenekoroh, three respondents described the flow of the discussion: facilitators first asked who had been the victim of war time atrocity.³³ Then, victims identified the guilty party. That person admitted fault and asked for forgiveness.³⁴ Finally, the FT facilitator advised that forgiveness be given, and the community move on: "Let's forget about everything about what happened during the war...All those things, lets forget about that. Let's be one."³⁵

In the three other communities in Koinadugu where the bonfire did not address war-time issues, the disputes were less severe. One respondent noted that these disputes typically involved "fighting or cursing, not killing or rape."³⁶ Conflicts in these communities often centered on intra-family issues (e.g., marital disputes or conflicts between parents and children) or personal grudges between two non-family members.³⁷ Less frequently, land³⁸ or property disputes (e.g., over a cooking pot) were mentioned.³⁹ In Yagala, the bonfire focused on tensions stemming from the previous election.⁴⁰ No respondent made a negative remark about the bonfire, or suggested it was a waste of time.

Why did discussions of wartime atrocities emerge in some villages but not others? This variation does not seem to be influenced by the timing of the bonfires. For instance, in Koinadugu, all the bonfires we attended across six communities took place between July 2022 and July 2023. In communities

²⁷ The exception to this in Koinadugu is Heremakono village. In Heremakono the bonfire seems to have made the least impression and at least three respondents, including the youth leader, don't know much about it.

²⁸ Interview 43; Interview 41 also notes: "All night we danced."

²⁹ Interview 36, Kentimawo, 13:35.

³⁰ Interview 38, 17:00.

³¹ Interview 41, 13:11-13:30.

³² Respondent 101, Kampaskoloa, Youth Leader 12:00.

³³ These three respondents all gave the same examples: someone who has had their arm cut (presumably amputated); someone whose family members had been murdered; someone whose sister or wife had been raped.

³⁴ Two respondents noted that the guilty parties said that they committed these crimes under duress ("under commandment").

³⁵ Respondent 90, Mammy Queen Gbenekoroh (25:45). Here the respondent is summarizing what the community was told by FT facilitators. A youth in Gbenekoroh gives presents a similar message: "they advised us, what has passed, let us forget about it." (Interview 92, 10:00).

³⁶ Respondent 82, Yagala (7:10).

³⁷ For example, Interview 97, a women from Kampaskoloa describes that had conflict had arisen in a polygamous marriage, where a child of one wife was quarrelling with a different wife (7:35).

³⁸ Interview 101, Youth Leader, Kampaskoloa, 12:45.

³⁹ Interview 100, woman, Kampaskoloa, 8:00.

⁴⁰ Interview 81, Youth Leader, Yagala, 13:00.

where atrocities were discussed, it may be because these issues were never properly addressed. Conversely, in communities where wartime atrocities did not come up, several possibilities exist: (1) there were no such atrocities, (2) any atrocities that did occur had already been addressed, or (3) while atrocities were present and unresolved, they were not raised during the bonfire discussions.

B. Development Planning and Financing

A central goal of the Fambul Tok intervention is to help communities (i) identify local development projects and (ii) finance them using community resources. To support this, Fambul Tok helps establish three key groups: (i) the Village Development Committee (VDC), (ii) the Peace Mothers Group (PMG), and (iii) the youth group (CYPAD). The VDC, in particular, focuses on identifying community development needs through meetings and mobilizing resources to address them.

Through these groups and their meetings, many communities identified development needs and, at the urging of Fambul Tok facilitators, mobilized local resources to address them. An elderly man from Tombay (Moyamba) describes how a Fambul Tok facilitator guided his community through this process, beginning by asking, "What does the village need?"

We said, "that water well is broken."

They said, "how do you want to fix that water well?"

We said, "We can't."

They said, we need to make a group. And we formed a group; they called it VDC. Everyone in the village is involved. From there, we said—because they didn't give us money—how should we fix this water well?... We'll contribute 10 leones every month. But, if you don't have the 10 leones, you can bring banana, or pumpkin, or gari, or groundnut. We keep them. Then on Wednesday we sell them in the market. When the money comes, we write it down. And the money we keep in the box, and it is growing.⁴¹

We document that in many communities, the VDC identified projects and funded them locally, using the "village basket"—a community fund that individuals contribute towards. In several communities, such as Kamoasorkola, Gbenekoroh, and Kakoya in Koinadugu, the VDC pursued community farms, growing cassava, cocoa, groundnut, or rice. In Heremekoro (Koinadugu) the VDC planned and then raised funds to build a community barrie and expand the mosque While not all communities have used the VDC to implement community projects, many have. Of the six villages visited in Koinadugu, five have actively pursued development projects through the VDC, with Yagala being the only exception.

For a future program to have a meaningful development impact, the VDC must continue identifying and funding the village's development needs. In other words, the VDC must evolve into an institution that facilitates ongoing development, rather than just a committee created for a one-time program. If VDCs are to be effective institutions for sustained development, we should observe communities

⁴¹ Interview 42.

utilizing them to implement multiple projects over time.⁴² Indeed, we do see examples of communities successfully pursuing several projects through the VDC.

In Kamoasorkola (Koinadugu), the community first focused on cassava and cocoa farming and is now planning to build a barrie next year. They have already made bricks and built the wall, and only need to raise funds for zinc, wood, and nails.

Gbenekoroh (Koinadugu) stands out for having pursued and implemented a variety of local development projects using community resources. The VDC initially focused on a community cassava farm, but quickly moved on to additional projects. The Mammy Queen reports, “The late Momoh Conteh [started] to build a community barrie, but he didn’t finish it before he died. The VDC looked at it... bought cement and sand, and finished it” (29:30-30:45).⁴³ The Village Basket has also been used as a maintenance fund, most recently to repair a broken water well: “For example, this water well was broken, so we took money from the village basket, and we called a repair man who knew about water wells and they fixed it for us.” The community now has a new target: a market center. “We’ve pulled stones, so that when the rain stops, we can start on the work.” The Mammy Queen agrees, “A market is the top thing on the list for the VDC... they’ve already pulled some stones.”⁴⁴

The village basket is widely used to fund these projects. As the Youth Leader from Kampaskoloo explains, “[FT facilitator] trained us on the basket, and that is what we work with. We take [money] from the basket to help us move forward. It is successful.” This respondent adds, “The village chief controls the basket and manages it well.” In other communities, the basket is also managed by both the village chief and a committee chair. When interviewers asked directly about the management of these baskets, respondents generally reported that they are being managed well, with no reports of mismanagement.

C. Peace Mothers Group

Peace Mothers' Groups (PMGs) appear to be highly active in many communities. In several of these communities, PMGs operate savings groups, where members contribute to a shared fund. This fund is used to support group activities, assist individual members, or provide financial aid during emergencies.

In four villages in Koinadugu, PMGs supported schoolchildren. For example, in Kakoya, the PMG “bought books and pens for the children.” Before, many women “weren’t able to support the children going to school,” but after the savings group was established, “we took what we had contributed to buy materials for the children”.⁴⁵ In Sakuta, the PMGs “paid for orphans to go to school,”⁴⁶ and in

⁴² Observing a FT village implement a single project through the VDC is not sufficient evidence to conclude that VDCs will be used as institutions for future development. It’s possible that some communities, initially motivated by Fambul Tok, pursued a single project through the VDC but found the process or outcomes unsatisfactory, leading them to abandon further efforts.

⁴³ A “barrie” is a community space that can be used to hold meetings or decide cases. Usually, it is a circular construction with a low, open wall and a roof.

⁴⁴ Here the Mammy queen again calls for a government or NGO to come help them finish.

⁴⁵ Mammy Queen Koyaka, 12:00. As a sign of the group’s sustainability, other women want to join: “The women who had not contributed, now they want to join” (12:15).

⁴⁶ Male Respondent 3, Sakuta, Interviewer Kondeh, (14:10)

Kamoasorkola, the town chief reported that the PMG paid school fees (15:30). In Yagala, money raised by the PMG was used to buy books and uniforms for schoolchildren.⁴⁷ The success of the PMG in Yagala is particularly notable because we didn't find evidence of VDCs successfully organizing development there. While it is unclear from the interviews whether the PMG in Gbendekoro supported school children financially, they did organize a house-to-house sensitization campaign about the importance of sending children to school.⁴⁸

PMGs were also organizing income-generating activities. In Kampaskola, multiple respondents reported that the PMG manages its own cassava and cocoa farm.⁴⁹ The village chief noted that the PMG "is planning [to support] a barrie" for the community and is also "thinking about a [water] pump."⁵⁰ In Gbenekorah (Koinadugu), a man shared that his wife is part of the PMG, and they are running a rice farm.⁵¹ The Mammy Queen in this village reported that the PMG is also supporting efforts to build a village store.

The savings groups run by PMGs also provide insurance to women during emergencies. One respondent shared, "I was pregnant...but I didn't feel well and was not able to have the baby myself here [in the village]. They wanted me to go to Moyamba for an operation. So, [the saving group] gathered money and gave it to me. I was so happy. Fambul Tok made that happen."⁵² In Hermakono, a respondent noted that the PMG lends money for sickness, marriages, and death ceremonies.⁵³ A PMG member in Kakoya said, "We solved many problems with the money we contribute."⁵⁴ In Gbendekoro, the PMG runs a soap-making business that generates funds to help members in times of need. "They have a soap business... when [a member] has a problem, they can give you an amount to solve this problem, and then you refund the money."⁵⁵

V. Impacts on Female Participation in Planning and Decision-making

Summary: The Fambul Tok intervention increased female participation in community decision-making by boosting women's confidence and shifting norms about whether women have the right to be involved in decision-making, particularly through training and sensitization. Two key mechanisms contributed to this shift: economic empowerment via savings groups, which allowed women to manage resources and make decisions, and sensitization workshops that educated both men and women on transparency and women's rights to participate in decision-making. As a result, women became more active in meetings, proposed new ideas, and felt more valued in their communities.

The previous section highlighted how the FT intervention helped communities articulate and pursue local public goods projects. In this way, the FT intervention increased the level of development

⁴⁷ Mammy Queen Yagala, 13:00; also see Yagala, Brima women 2

⁴⁸ Interview 92, Gbendekoro, 15:10.

⁴⁹ Interview 3, Kampaskola, 12:50; Interview 93 also notes that the women are making a garden with their savings group (11:15). So does Interview 100 (11:10); and male Interview 99 (15:50).

⁵⁰ Respondent 3, Kampaskola.

⁵¹ Interview 88, Gbenekorah, 10:45.

⁵² Interview 43, 26:45.

⁵³ Interview 72, Hermakono, 9:00.

⁵⁴ Interview 174, Kakaya, 12:30.

⁵⁵ Interview 91, Gbendekoro, 24:30. Also see Interview 88.

planning occurring in communities. This section presents evidence that the FT intervention also boosted *female* participation in development planning. The section will then explore and provide evidence for two mechanisms that explain this increase.

There was widespread agreement that women are now more active in decision-making within the community. A common theme was that Fambul Tok's training gave women the "confidence to do things"⁵⁶ and "talk to groups,"⁵⁷ meaning they became more comfortable speaking in public. This newfound confidence appears to have reduced a major barrier to participation, as one respondent noted, "Before Fambul Tok, we women were not given the chance to talk in public and were even afraid to because we thought people would shout at us."⁵⁸ The Mammy Queen from Gbenekoroh further explained the program's impact, saying women "can now talk and interact with men." She described how, in the past, if a woman saw men holding an important meeting, she would simply "sit down inside." But now, after the FT intervention, "women have confidence to interact with men, to sit down with men when decisions are being made" (42:10). A male elder echoed this shift, explaining that it was once difficult to get women to attend meetings. However, with Fambul Tok's influence, "Now, when [village authorities] say, 'meeting!' the women are the first to come" (23:11). He added that women are now more likely to speak up at these meetings, even proposing new laws.⁵⁹

- "We now think that women are important members of the community, at first that didn't happen. Anything that is concerned with the town and development, we call the women (32:15- 32:45).⁶⁰
- "Now women have freedom in their married house. It used to be that when a man talks, a woman does not talk. Now, when a man talks, the woman has a chance to explain herself back."⁶¹

Why does the FT intervention boost women's participation in decision-making? Interviews suggest that two key mechanisms contribute to this increase.

First, women's increased confidence in decision-making may stem from the economic empowerment provided by the intervention. As discussed earlier, through PMGs, many women joined savings groups that allocated funds to members in times of need or supported important community projects. In this way, the PMG enabled women to become more involved in decisions that directly impacted their community. As the Mammy Queen in Gbenekoroh explains, "[Women] can make decisions about their own group's money without consideration of any other person," which, in turn, "gives women confidence because it gives them the opportunity to control some amount of money for themselves."⁶²

Women's confidence may grow not only from the ability to make decisions about money but also from seeing the tangible impact of those decisions. Through their savings group, the PMG "paid for orphans

⁵⁶ Interview 43: The respondent uses the phrase, "E mak person get heart for do something" (20:00).

⁵⁷ Interview 41, 16:30; Interview 42: When Fambul Tok trained them, it gave women the confidence to talk at meetings (22:30).

⁵⁸ Interview 38; A male respondent in Sakuta notes: "Before today, women were scared to talk at meetings" (Interview 168, Sakuta, 18:15).

⁵⁹ Interview 42, 25:00.

⁶⁰ Interview 91, Gbenekoroh.

⁶¹ Interview 189, Kakoya, 24:10.

⁶² Interview 90, Mammy Queen Gbenekoro (44:00-44:30). Interview 38 also comments on the confidence coming from women's experience with income-generating activities and handling money, brought on by the PMG. This suggests that savings groups or basket for just women projects is a good way for women to get this decision-making experience.

at the school,” which motivated more women to get involved. As one respondent shared, “They see themselves as involved, so they are proud” (15:55).⁶³ A male respondent in Gbendekoroh echoed this, noting that the savings group gave women “a lot of confidence because some of them afforded their children’s education through that savings group.”⁶⁴

Crucially, this empowerment helps women feel like valued members of their community. As one male respondent put it, the PMG “enlightened the women” by showing them “they are also important to the community and the chieftdom; that they can do something for themselves” (25:15-23:50).⁶⁵ He further elaborated on the connection between participation in decision-making and the confidence gained from making a meaningful impact: “[The savings group] made the women comfortable making decisions on their own. And they feel proud, and they feel like someone [important] in the community” (27:30).

Second, according to respondents, the PMGs received sensitization—that is, informational workshops. Both women and men recounted how these informational workshop changed ideas and attitudes. One female respondent recounts how a workshop on transparency inspired women to get more involved: “In one training they told us about transparency and that it was good. They gave us examples and that led to change. We [women] used to not have meetings and now we do.”⁶⁶ The sensitization delivered at PMGs “teaches [women] that they have rights to take part in decision-making.”⁶⁷ A male respondent agrees about the importance of sensitization for female participation. “Women were more involved after the FT sensitization. Because of the sensitization, [men] listen to women’s side, and vice-versa.”⁶⁸ One respondent reflected that, “before now, we saw women as different than us, the men.” But the sensitization workshop changed this.⁶⁹

It seems likely that economic empowerment and sensitization are complementary mechanisms for enhancing female participation through the FT intervention. Superficially, there appears to be some evidence suggesting that sensitization may have played a more significant role: respondents were more likely to highlight this mechanism when asked directly about what had contributed to improvements in female participation. However, there are several reasons why this conclusion is likely too simplistic.

First, because sensitization workshops explicitly aim to change attitudes and behaviors, they are likely to be more top of mind when respondents are asked which FT component led to improved female participation. This could mean that, while economic empowerment might be just as (or even more) crucial, it is less observable to respondents.

Second, sensitization may be important precisely because of economic empowerment. In other words, the two mechanisms may work together: the impact of sensitization could be stronger in communities

⁶³ Interview 168, Sakuta.

⁶⁴ Interview 88.

⁶⁵ Interview 91.

⁶⁶ Interview 188, Kokoya.

⁶⁷ Interview 168, Sakuta, 15:00.

⁶⁸ Interview 81, Yagala, Youth Leader.

⁶⁹ Interview 168, Sakuta, 19:00.

where women are more economically empowered. There is intuitive logic to this: people may be more likely to embrace the idea that women are valuable community members when they see women taking on greater economic roles.

Third, it is possible that economic empowerment plays a significant role in boosting female participation, but not all communities experienced this empowerment. Interestingly, in Gbenekoroh, where female economic empowerment seemed most pronounced, respondents were more likely to cite economic empowerment as the key mechanism. This suggests that the positive effects of the intervention on female participation are most visible when the intervention leads to greater economic empowerment for women.

VI. Impacts on Community Cohesion

Summary: The Fambul Tok intervention, particularly through its bonfire sessions, significantly improved community cohesion by resolving long-standing conflicts and fostering peace. Respondents noted that the bonfires helped reconcile individuals who hadn't spoken in years, and the impact extended beyond the bonfires, with Peace Mothers' Groups (PMGs) mediating disputes and reducing reliance on the police. Additionally, the intervention was credited with reducing gender-based violence, as men's treatment of women improved, leading to less physical conflict and greater mutual respect in communities. This enhanced cohesion is expected to have positive effects on other community outcomes.

The most consistently reported impact of the FT intervention was its ability to improve community cohesion. Social cohesion, as defined here, involves "a sense of shared purpose, trust, and willingness to cooperate." One respondent illustrated how community tensions can hinder this cohesion, particularly in terms of cooperation. As the respondent explained, "Today if I ask you to help me, if there is bad blood between me and you, I am not going to be able to go to you."⁷⁰

Many respondents highlighted the role of the bonfire in enhancing social cohesion by resolving conflicts and bringing people together. One respondent shared, "There are a lot of people who didn't talk to each other, who have conflict. But the bonfire helped resolve this. Many made peace."⁷¹ Another person explained, "On the bonfire night, if I felt ill will towards you, if we talked, then that ill will left my heart...we all came together."⁷² As the Mammy Queen from Kampaskola described it, "we weren't all together, but now we are, in peace."⁷³ The bonfire not only helped resolve more recent conflicts but also addressed longstanding issues. One respondent recalled, "One woman had conflict with one man. It had been two or three years since they talked. And that night they came and talked at that bonfire made peace, talked, hugged, made peace."⁷⁴

⁷⁰ Interview 41, 17:30.

⁷¹ Interview 43, 15:40.

⁷² Interview 7, 23:00.

⁷³ Interview 98, 7:40. Another respondent noted, "[FT] made us get peace, because of the bonfire. Because the bonfire we have begun to see a lot of changes (Interview 174, Kakoya).

⁷⁴ Interview 42, 20:10.

In addition, the FT intervention impacted community cohesion beyond the bonfire. PMGs were also trained on conflict mediation, and several respondents mention that members of these groups were able to diffuse post-bonfire conflicts / disputes. "Sometimes there is conflict between man and women. But if someone is present who was part of the [peace mothers] program, that fight will not go far. They will mediate between fighting parties and the dispute will pass."⁷⁵

Due to FT communities feeling more empowered to solve their own issues, it was widely reported that fewer cases were being taken to the police. As one respondent explained, "If there is any problem, we try to control the problem even before bringing it to the chief and police."⁷⁶ Many others echoed this sentiment, noting that after the FT intervention, they were less inclined to involve the police in disputes, with one respondent stating, "We can solve [disputes] ourselves,"⁷⁷ and another adding, "Right now, we try to solve things ourselves first."⁷⁸ The Youth Leader of Kamasorkala emphasized this point, saying, "Problems are solved here when they arise."⁷⁹ The Town Chief of Kamasorkala also agreed, observing, "There is less reporting to the police now, because we talk about it out here."⁸⁰ The Mammy Queen of Kakoya further underscored the community's self-sufficiency, highlighting the vital role of women, "When there is a fight, the women sort it out themselves."⁸¹

Given the costs associated with bringing a dispute to the police—both in terms of travel time and financial expense for the disputing parties—this shift away from police intervention is likely a welcome development. However, many respondents were quick to emphasize that not all cases are suitable for community resolution. As one Youth Leader respondent explained, "Rape cases, killings, [fights that lead to] blood, these go to the police. But other things can go to the town chief."⁸²

Importantly, the FT intervention was reported to have positive effects on gender-based violence. Although we did not directly ask about gender-based violence, interviewers inquired whether the FT intervention had changed "the way men treat women." Many respondents noted a decrease in violence as a result. For instance, the Youth Leader from Yagala explained that, prior to the FT intervention, men "would beat women for a minor infraction."⁸³ However, after the FT sensitization, the Yagala Mammy Queen shared that "men don't beat women or children anymore."⁸⁴ Other respondents echoed this shift, stating, "You don't see men beating women,"⁸⁵ and "Now men don't beat women."⁸⁶ One respondent further emphasized the change, saying, "At first, men didn't care for women... But now, we thank God, the men care about women."⁸⁷

VII. Lessons and Implications

⁷⁵ Interview 41, 14:20.

⁷⁶ Interview 91, Gbendekoro, 18:35.

⁷⁷ Interview 173, Kakoya, 14:30.

⁷⁸ Interview 174, Kakoya, 15:00.

⁷⁹ Interview 101, Kamasorkala, youth leader.

⁸⁰ Interview 94, Kamasorkala, 17:30, Town Chief.

⁸¹ Interview 172, Kakoya 14:30, Mammy Queen.

⁸² Interview 81, Yagala, 22:30, Youth Leader.

⁸³ Interview 81, Yagala, 24:00, Youth Leader.

⁸⁴ Interview 85, Yagala, 18:00, Mammy Queen.

⁸⁵ Interviewer 72, Hermakono, 12:00.

⁸⁶ Interview 73, Hermankono, 12:35, Town Chief.

⁸⁷ Interview 100, Kamoasorkola.

The findings from this report provide valuable insights into the effectiveness of the FT intervention and its broader impact on community dynamics. Building on these findings, the following lessons and implications highlight key takeaways that can inform future initiatives. These lessons not only help to identify what worked well but also highlight areas for improvement and adjustment.

1. Include the Bonfire in Future CDD Program

A scaling up of the Wan Fambul Framework program will require a facilitation team to guide communities through the process of selecting development projects and requesting government resources. A basic facilitation approach might focus solely on these two goals: project selection and securing funding. However, based on the findings of this study, we recommend incorporating the "bonfire" as a core component of future WFF program. The bonfire has been widely reported to have positive impacts on social cohesion, which could enhance the overall effectiveness of the program in several ways.

It seems likely that the bonfire will increase community participation in both selecting and implementing community projects. In the existing FT intervention, community members come together to identify a development challenge and propose a project to address it. Respondents often cited the bonfire as a key facilitator of this participation, linking the social cohesion it fostered to broader community involvement. For example, when asked which aspect of the FT intervention was most important for encouraging participation, one respondent replied, "When they came and made this fire. That brought us all together. We now have *one word*" (a Krio expression for "togetherness").⁸⁸ When asked the same question the Youth Leader from Kamasokola similarly noted, "Well, especially the bonfire. It changed Kamasokola, and it came with progress and unity" (20:00).⁸⁹

The most common theme emerging from this research is that the bonfire helped reduce community tensions. It is intuitive that communities with stronger social cohesion are better positioned to pursue development projects and engage in collective action. With intra-village conflicts addressed and tensions eased, individuals are more likely to trust that their neighbors have their interests in mind, behave pro-socially, and be willing to collaborate on community projects. Additionally, people are naturally more inclined to interact with those they like rather than those they avoid. As one respondent explained, people were more likely to attend community meetings after the bonfire because fewer people were trying to avoid each other.⁹⁰

2. Gender Earmarked Grants and Livelihood Support

Several findings in this report suggest a strong case for earmarking grants specifically for women. There are three key reasons for doing so:

⁸⁸ Interview 93, Kamoasokala, 13:31.

⁸⁹ Interview 101, Kamoasokala, Youth Leader.

⁹⁰ Interview 37, Kentimawo, 16:00.

- First, gender disparities persist in decision-making processes, with village-level decisions still largely influenced by men, even if not always dominated by them.⁹¹ As a result, projects selected through standard (non-earmarked) procedures tend to reflect male preferences. Earmarking grants for women could help ensure that a greater proportion of projects reflect female interests and priorities.
- Second, directing grants toward projects that women prioritize increases the likelihood of supporting female-owned income-generating activities. This is significant because the report shows that women's economic empowerment through the FT intervention has led to greater female participation and assertiveness in decision-making. By supporting projects that empower women financially, it is possible to further enhance their role in community development and decision-making.
- Third, irrespective of the specific projects chosen, simply increasing women's participation in decision-making is crucial. This report finds that the FT intervention stimulates female involvement in community decisions by providing women with spaces to participate in key decisions through the PMCs. If funds are earmarked to give women more control over the selection of community projects, it could have broader positive effects on women's influence in decision-making at the community level.

One approach to earmarking funds would be to designate certain resources exclusively for female-owned projects. Under this model, projects are proposed by the community at large (similar to the VDC), and all projects—whether female- or male-owned—are ranked by the community. With earmarking, the top-ranked female-owned projects would automatically receive support. This approach would likely result in more projects aligned with female preferences and could contribute to greater female economic empowerment, addressing two of the goals outlined earlier. However, it's important to note that this strategy wouldn't necessarily increase women's involvement in the decision-making process; it would simply ensure that more female-owned projects are selected given the current level of female participation.

A second approach would be to allocate funds specifically to a female-only decision-making body, enabling its members to propose and select projects for funding. This could be achieved by issuing grants directly to projects led by women through the Peace Mothers' Groups (PMGs), or by supporting the savings groups managed by these PMGs. Such a strategy would more directly empower women to make decisions regarding community resources. A combination of both approaches—empowering women through both decision-making and financial support—may offer the most effective strategy for fostering long-term empowerment.

3. Only Two Village Groups: VDC and PMG

⁹¹ This issue may stem from a lack of space for women to participate in decision-making, or it could be that women are allowed to participate, but their voices are not given equal weight. For instance, while elements of the FT program may help amplify female voices, this does not guarantee that women's preferences will be fully realized. One respondent, for example, recounts how a community garden project faltered because the men involved refused to clear the brush from the area, despite women's support for the plan (Interview 38, Kentimawo).

The current approach in the FT intervention convenes three village-level assemblies: (1) a general body that includes the entire community (VDC), (2) a female-only assembly (PMG), and (3) a youth group (CYPAD). The VDC is the central project decision-making body and would be required in a future CDD program.

This report also finds strong motivation for maintaining the PMG. First, as noted in Recommendation 2, the PMG group could play a role in allocating female-earmarked grants. A second key reason for forming female-only groups is the high level of activity observed within the PMGs during the FT intervention. As noted earlier, PMGs often run their own savings groups or engage in income-generating activities, such as group farming or soap-making. This indicates strong community demand for these groups, suggesting that female-only groups may have an impact beyond the program's primary goals of project selection and implementation.

This report finds less motivation for establishing a youth group in a future program. In contrast to PMGs, there was little comparable activity within CYPAD, the youth group. In many communities, respondents—including youth—reported being unaware of the existence or activities of the youth groups. While this may be partly due to the FT program placing less emphasis on these groups, the lack of engagement also points to a lower community demand for them. In this context, forming similar groups in the future may not be justified.

4. Redirecting Community Contributions Towards Project Maintenance

A key finding of this research is that the FT intervention has helped communities mobilize significant resources to support local development. Following the intervention, many community members contributed to the village basket to fund community projects.

If block grants are introduced, they will cover the implementation costs of local development projects, reducing the need for direct community funding at that stage. However, community contributions will remain essential, as block grants are unlikely to cover long-term maintenance costs, which will fall to the communities themselves.

To ensure the sustainability of projects funded by block grants, the program should be designed to facilitate community contributions for ongoing maintenance. This should be integrated into the planning phase—when communities select and prepare for a project, they should also establish a system for saving and managing resources to cover future upkeep.

5. Availability of Psychosocial / Trauma Support

If the bonfire is included in a future program (see **Recommendation 1**), mental health or trauma-related support should be provided. Even if the focus of future bonfires is not on war-time conflicts or atrocities, these issues are likely to arise. In three of the six communities in Koinadugu, the bonfire sessions addressed war-time atrocities. While respondents in these communities appreciated the opportunity to discuss these issues—and no one suggested that these topics should have been avoided or reported any negative impacts—previous research suggests that addressing such topics can have

negative mental health effects, even as it helps reduce community tensions (Cilliers, Dube and Siddiqi 2016). Therefore, if the program includes a bonfire component, it should incorporate strategies to address any mental health consequences that may arise.

The logistics of organizing such support are complex. Even if mental health services were available at the District HQ and transportation costs were covered, it is unclear whether respondents would use these services, given (i) the time commitment required and (ii) their unfamiliarity with mental health care. This suggests that simply directing participants to seek out specialists would be an inadequate solution.⁹² On the other hand, providing these services directly at the village level may be unrealistic due to the shortage of trained professionals. An alternative approach would be to offer a simple trauma-related therapy via trained, non-specialists, similar to the approach taken by Blattman et al (2017), who use non-specialist facilitators administer simple cognitive behavioural therapy in Liberia. The downside of this approach is, of course, the use of non-specialists to address trauma. Serious consideration must be given to how to address this challenge effectively.

6. Include a Gender Sensitization Component

As noted above, many respondents point to FT's gender sensitization messaging for shifting gender norms. Build this existing sensitization into the facilitation package.

7. Consider Technological Solutions for Communicating (and responding to) Development Plans

As noted in *Section III*, the cost of travel is a significant barrier to village-level participation in chiefdom and district-level development planning. This is crucial because any future CDD program will need to establish and maintain effective communication channels between village-level (or section-level) councils and district-level actors. Currently, most participation in chiefdom and district planning involves in-person attendance, and increasing the physical presence of village representatives at council meetings would almost certainly require travel subsidies. Given the cost and logistical challenges of such subsidies, technological solutions should be explored to integrate villages into broader development planning. For example, a simple phone-based app could allow villages to submit their demands to the district level without needing to attend meetings in person. Even a WhatsApp group could serve this purpose effectively.

VIII. Conclusion

Citizen participation in development planning is a critical goal for sustainable development, with the potential to bring about lasting positive changes in communities. This report, based on 207 semi-structured interviews conducted across three districts, has outlined the barriers citizens face to participation at various levels—village, chiefdom, and district. After identifying these obstacles, the report highlighted the experiences of community members with the FT intervention. The use of bonfires has provided an important platform for dialogue and reconciliation, while Village Development Committees (VDCs) have facilitated the implementation of local development projects.

⁹² This is similar to the approach taken in Lauren Young's (2019) study of fear and repression in Zimbabwe. Enumerators we trained to identify signs of distress and to report these cases to a trained professional (though no referrals were made in practice).

Additionally, Peace Mothers' Groups have been instrumental in mediating disputes and preventing violence.

The FT intervention has had a significant impact on increasing participation, particularly for women, and improving social cohesion within these communities. The report suggests that female participation has been driven by the complementary elements of sensitization workshops and economic empowerment through savings groups. Furthermore, the intervention has fostered greater community cohesion, empowering local communities to address disputes internally rather than relying on external authorities.

As the Government of Sierra Leone seeks to scale up the Wan Fambul Framework, which aims to enhance citizen participation in development planning, it is crucial to learn from the experiences of the communities involved in Fambul Tok's village-level program. The final section of this report outlines key lessons and implications that should guide the expansion of this initiative, ensuring that future efforts are both inclusive and sustainable.

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Appendix 1: Fambul Tok Village Development Process

I. Formation of Groups

1. *Chiefdom Consultation for launch of the PPP OR VDP*

- Chiefdom leaders meet with Fambul Tok team and other key districts leaders – government officials can also attend.
- Each section within the chiefdom sends key sectional leaders to attend.
- At this meeting, the full process is explained.
- Rollout plan: Sections ballot to decide where to start implementation.

2. *Sectional Consultation, Chiefdom Welfare Mediation Committee (CWMC) Selection*

- FT Staff members first visits the section chief and key leaders to get information on the section and the villages. A date and venue for sectional meeting agreed on.
- FT Staff visit villages and discuss selection of 3 CWMC reps (a male and 2 females).⁹³ FT Staff return later to villages to receive list of CWMC nominees and verify eligibility criteria were met.
- Every village in the section sends 3 verified representatives for CWMC.
- CWMC receive training at sectional level.

3. *Community Engagement Meeting*

- Meeting with community leaders to arrange a general meeting.

4. *General Meeting Summoned by Town Chief*

- CWMC make presentation.

5. *Bonfire (Evening time)*

- Community members given space to announce and discuss issues in the community.
- People can tell their stories.

6. *Healing Ceremony (Following Morning)*

- Ceremony to address grievances or issues raised between antagonistic parties.
- Ceremony conducted in way appropriate to the community and the offense.

7. *Village Development Committee (VDC) Formation*

- Secret ballot; each person writes 11 names; public tally.
- Gender quota: at least 6 names must be women.

8. *Training for VDC Members*

- Project management; resource mobilization; communication; conflict resolution

9. *Formation of Peace Mothers and CYPAD (Youth Group)*

- Both groups have 9 executives.
- Anyone can join.
- Executives receive training.

⁹³ Eligibility Criteria: non-political; represents the community; honest; etc.

II. Village Development Process

1. Groups Hold Separate Meetings

- Weekly, bi-monthly, etc.
- Use meetings to discuss plans and resolve issues undermining cohesion and development.
- At meeting, make a development plan:
 - What development do we need?
 - What is our plan to achieve it?

2. Month Community Meeting

- Plan for meeting community development goals.
- At the next meeting (monthly) discuss progress towards achieving that goal.
- Village Basket Established.
- People can contribute to a community treasury (in cash or kind) to accomplish community goals.
- Aim: if community shows that have made a start on something, council or donors more likely to come.

Appendix 2: Interview Chart

Code	Village	Interviewer	Position	Gender
Moyamba				
1	redacted	redacted		F
2	redacted	redacted		M
3	redacted	redacted	Town Chief	M
4	redacted	redacted		F
5	redacted	redacted		M
6	redacted	redacted		M
7	redacted	redacted	Chair Lady	F
8	redacted	redacted		M
9	redacted	redacted	youth	M
10	redacted	redacted		M
11	redacted	redacted		M
12	redacted	redacted		F
13	redacted	redacted		M
14	redacted	redacted	Society head	F
15	redacted	redacted	Youth	M
16	redacted	redacted	Youth leader	M
17	redacted	redacted		M
18	redacted	redacted		F
19	redacted	redacted		F
20	redacted	redacted		M
21	redacted	redacted		F
22	redacted	redacted		F
23	redacted	redacted		M
24	redacted	redacted	Town Chief	M
25	redacted	redacted		M
26	redacted	redacted		M
27	redacted	redacted		F
28	redacted	redacted		M
29	redacted	redacted	Town Chief	M
30	redacted	redacted		F
31	redacted	redacted	Youth	F
32	redacted	redacted	Town Chief	M
33	redacted	redacted		M
34	redacted	redacted		M
35	redacted	redacted		F
36	redacted	redacted		F
37	redacted	redacted		M
38	redacted	redacted		F
39	redacted	redacted		F

40	redacted	redacted		M
41	redacted	redacted		F
42	redacted	redacted		M
43	redacted	redacted		F
44	redacted	redacted		M
45	redacted	redacted	Mammie Queen	F
46	redacted	redacted	Elder	M
47	redacted	redacted		F
48	redacted	redacted	Youth	F
49	redacted	redacted		F
50	redacted	redacted		M
51	redacted	redacted		M
52	redacted	redacted	Town Chief	M
53	redacted	redacted	Section Chief	M
54	redacted	redacted	Town Chief	M
55	redacted	redacted	Youth Leader	M
56	redacted	redacted	Mammy Queen	F
57	redacted	redacted		F
58	redacted	redacted		M
59	redacted	redacted	Town Chief	M
60	redacted	redacted	Chairlady	F
61	redacted	redacted		F
62	redacted	redacted		M
63	redacted	redacted		F
64	redacted	redacted		F
65	redacted	redacted		M
66	redacted	redacted		M
67	redacted	redacted		F
68	redacted	redacted		F
69	redacted	redacted		M
Koinadugu				
70	redacted	redacted		F
71	redacted	redacted		M
72	redacted	redacted		F
73	redacted	redacted	Town Chief	M
74	redacted	redacted	Mammy Queen	F
75	redacted	redacted		M
76	redacted	redacted	Youth	M
77	redacted	redacted		F
78	redacted	redacted	Deputy town chief	M
79	redacted	redacted		F
80	redacted	redacted		F
81	redacted	redacted	Youth Leader	M

82	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		F
83	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		F
84	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		M
85	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>	Mammy Queen	F
86	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		F
87	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		F
88	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		M
89	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>	Town Chief	M
90	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>	Mammy Queen	F
91	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		M
92	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>	Youth	M
93	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		M
94	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>	Town Chief	M
95	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		F
96	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		M
97	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		F
98	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>	Mammy Queen	F
99	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		M
100	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		F
101	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>	Youth Leader	M
144	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>	Mammy Queen	F
145	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		M
146	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		F
147	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		M
148	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		M
149	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		F
150	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		F
151	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>	Youth Leader	M
152	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		F
153	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		F
154	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		M
155	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		M
156	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		F
157	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>	Imam	M
158	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>	Mammy Queen	F
159	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		M
160	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		F
161	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		F
162	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>	Town Chief	M
163	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>	Youth Chairman	M
164	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>	Deputy youth Chairman	M
165	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		M
166	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		M

167	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>	Mammy Queen	F
168	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		M
169	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		M
170	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>	Town Chief	M
171	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		F
172	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>	Mammy Queen	F
173	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		M
174	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		F
175	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>	Town Chief	M
176	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		F
177	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		M
178	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		M
179	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>	Youth Leader	M
180	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>	Mammy Queen	F
181	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		M
182	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		F
183	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>	Youth Leader	M
184	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		M
185	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>	Mammy Queen	F
186	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		F
187	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>	Town Chief	M
188	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		F
189	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		M
190	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		F
191	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>	Youth Leader	M
192	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		M
193	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		M
194	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		F
195	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>	Town Chief	M
196	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		M
197	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		M
198	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		F
199	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		M
200	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		M
201	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>	Town Chief	M
202	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		F
203	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		F
204	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>	Mammy Queen	F
205	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>	Chairlady	F
206	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		F
207	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		M
Kono				
102	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		F

103	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>	Town Chief	M
104	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		F
105	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		M
106	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>	Deputy Town Chief	M
107	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		F
108	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		F
109	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		M
110	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>	Town Chief	M
111	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		F
112	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		F
113	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		F
114	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>	Town Chief	M
115	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>	Mammy Queen	F
116	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>	Youth Chairman	M
117	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		F
118	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		M
119	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		F
120	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>	Town Chief	M
121	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>	Town Chief	M
122	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		M
123	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		M
124	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		F
125	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		M
126	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		F
127	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		F
128	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>	Town Chief	M
129	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		M
130	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>	Mammy Queen	F
131	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		F
132	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		M
133	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		M
134	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		M
135	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		F
136	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		M
137	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>	Mammy Queen	F
138	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		M
139	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		F
140	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>	Chairlady	F
141	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>	Mammy Queen	F
142	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		M
143	<i>redacted</i>	<i>redacted</i>		M

Appendix 3: FT Bonfire Ceremony Dates: Koinadugu District

CHIEFDOM	SECTION	COMMUNITY	DATE OF BONFIRE
Sengbe	Heremakonoh	Gbenikoroh	3 rd July, 2022
Wara Wara Yagala	Yagala	Yagala	5 th July, 2022
		Konkoya	29 th August, 2022
		Kamasorkorla	19 th July, 2023
	Heremakonoh	Heremakonoh	21 st March, 2023
Wara Wara Bafodia	Kakoya	Sakuta	12 th July, 2023
		Kakoya	14 th July, 2023