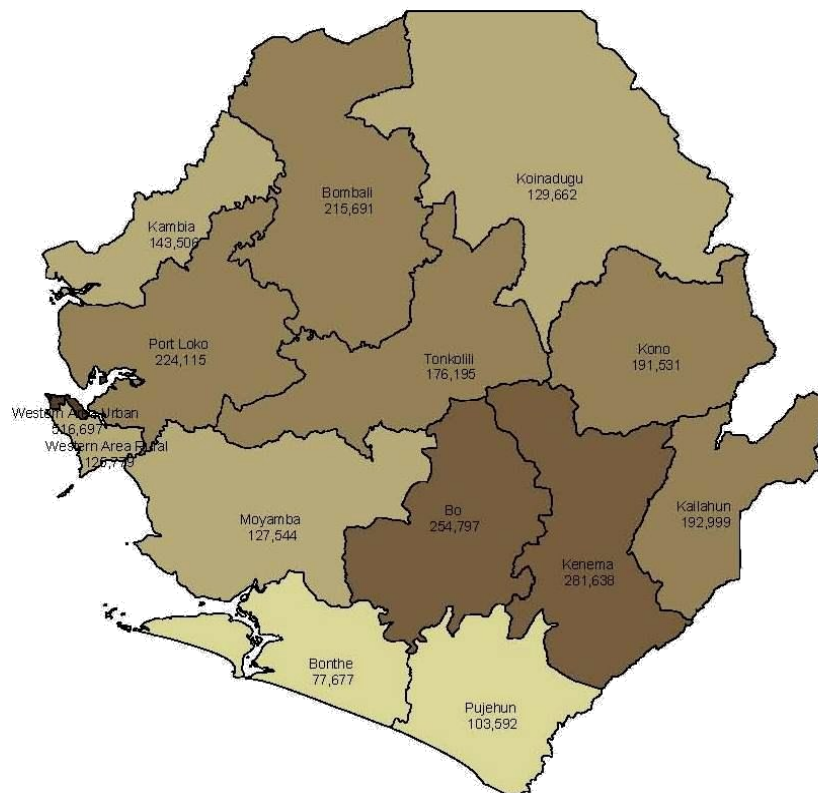# The Institution of Paramount Chieftaincy in Sierra Leone

An Introduction to its History and Electoral Process

M. N. Conteh

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS/ ABSTRACT

The Institution of Paramount Chieftaincy in Sierra Leone: An Introduction to its History and Electoral Process is a result of the author's practical experience with the conduct of Paramount chieftaincy (PC) Elections at chiefdom level for over 20 years, and the lack of adequate reading materials on such and important, resilient and centuries old traditional institution of governance in provincial Sierra Leone. The monograph provides the History of Chieftaincy in Sierra Leone from pre-colonial to post-independence era. It examines some of the factors responsible for the decline in the authority and powers of contemporary Paramount Chiefs. The legal framework for the institution of chieftaincy and the various stages involved in the conduct of a Paramount Chieftaincy election at chiefdom level (i.e. both the traditional aspects preceding the conduct of Paramount Chieftaincy elections e.g. the revision of Chiefdom Councillors lists, declaration of rights by aspirants, the appointment of Assessor Chiefs; and the procedures for the conduct of the elections, including post-election activities like the crowning or installation ceremonies of the newly elected Paramount Chief and the general administration of the chiefdom), are discussed in detail. The functions of officials of both the Ministry in charge of Local Government and Chieftaincy matters and the National Electoral Commission (NEC), regarding the conduct of Paramount Chieftaincy elections are also treated in some detail.

Intended for use as a concise introduction to the history and electoral process of the institution of chieftaincy, the monograph will be useful to, among others, Elections Officials, Paramount Chiefs and other stakeholders.

College, University of Sierra Leone; C. Magbaily Fyle, Professor of History, also formally of Fourah Bay College, University of Sierra Leone; and Joe A.D. Alie, Associate Professor and formally Head of Department of African Studies, Fourah Bay College, University of Sierra Leone. The latter's comments were invaluable. I am also grateful to Tristan Reed and James A. Robinson (all of Harvard University), whose work "The Chiefdoms of Sierra Leone, 2012" (in addition to providing a detailed history of each of the 149 chiefdoms in Sierra Leone) was the major secondary source of information for the various ruling houses or families that compete for the position of a Paramount Chief when ever there is a vacancy in each chiefdom.

My final word of gratitude goes to the Board members and staff of the National Electoral Commission (NEC) of Sierra Leone and senior staff members of the Ministry in charge of Local Government and chieftaincy matters, for their support in the writing of this monograph.

The views expressed in this monograph are solely those of the author and do not necessarily represent the policy of the NEC or the Government Ministry in charge of Chieftaincy. Efforts have been made to acknowledge copyright materials, but where inadvertently this is not done, the author will be willing to do so at the earliest opportunity. Any comments or suggestions aimed at enhancing this publication will be most welcome.

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THE AUTHOR

The author, Mohamed N'fah-Alie Conteh, is an Election Administrator attached to the National Electoral Commission of Sierra Leone (NEC) since 1990. Since then, he has participated in the conduct of paramount chieftaincy elections in Sierra Leone. He is currently one of the 5 Electoral Commissioners, comprising the Board of the Electoral Management Body; with the constitutional mandate to conduct all Public Elections and referenda in Sierra Leone i.e. Presidential, Parliamentary and Local Council elections.

Mr. Conteh's unpublished works include: **"A short history of the Electoral Commission of Sierra Leone:-1961-2010"** (2012), published in the NEC website: www.nec-sierraleone.org; **"An introduction to Election Administration for Election managers and tertiary Institutions in Sierra Leone"** (April, 2013); and "**Government for West African Senior School certificate examination (WASSCE) and tertiary Institutions"** (2013),

 The above publications (except for the last one)are available in PDF form at the NEC website www.nec-sierraleone.org.
He is a Sierra Leonean.

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to the Board of Commissioners and staff of the Electoral Commission of Sierra Leone, all Paramount chiefs and other stakeholders in the electoral process.

Note

The author is in search of democratic institutions, interested individuals or other elections related INGOs that are willing to sponsor the publication of this book; as a demonstration of their commitment to the promotion of democratic governance in Sierra Leone.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER 4

CHAPTER 5

CHAPTER 6

CHAPTER 7

CHAPTER 8

CHAPTER 1

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Historical and political developments

Sierra Leone is situated on the west coast of Africa (between 6th and 10th degrees north latitude, and 10° and 14° west longitude) and is bordered on the south and south- east by the Republic of Liberia, the Republic of Guinea on the north and the Atlantic ocean on the south-west. The total land area is about 74,000 square kilometers or 28,000 square miles.

In 1462 Pedro Da Cintra, who was a Portuguese navigator, named the area around the coast of what later became the Freetown Peninsula or Colony **"Serra Lyoa"**. Thus, the name Sierra Leone comes from a mixture of Portuguese and Italian words **"Serra Lyoa",** meaning **"Lion Mountains"**. This was an apparent reflection of the shape of the mountain ranges on the peninsula as seen then by the early explorers.

British Philanthropists later (after 3 centuries) founded the Sierra Leone Colony on the Sierra Leone peninsula in 1787 as a **"Province of Freedom"**; or better still,a settlement for freed slaves from Britain, commonly called "the Black Poor", and ex-service men of the British Crown in the American War of independence. In the words of Arthur Porter, the Colony of Sierra Leone:

> *"Was conceived as a home for Negroes whose ancestors had been forcibly transported to Europe and the New World for one reason or another, primarily as slaves to work in the plantations, cotton fields and big houses of their masters"[1].*

Thus, different groups of freed slaves (including the aforementioned ex-servicemen of the British Crown in the American war of Independence) were sent to Sierra Leone starting from 1787. Of these, the following were of immense importance to the later development of the Colony (Porter, 1963):

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[1] Arthur T. Porter, **Creoledom: A study of the development of Freetown Society** (Oxford University press, London, 1963 p19).

➢ The **"Black Poor"** who arrived in 1787, were a group of ex-slaves, among others, who had lived in and around London.

➢ The **Nova Scotians**, who arrived in 1792, were former American slaves who, having sided with Britain in the American War of Independence, were first sent to Nova Scotia in Canada and later to Sierra Leone following the defeat of Britain in the said war.

➢ The **Maroons** arrived in 1800. These were former slaves who had revolted against their British masters in Jamaica, and were forcibly sent to Nova Scotia by the British government.

➢ The **Recaptives** were a group of captured Africans who, while on their way to slavery in the ''New world'', were recaptured and set free in Freetown, following the passing of the Anti-slave Trade Act of 1807.

The first form of British administration in the Sierra Leone Colony (after the failure of the first settlement at Granville town, called Province of Freedom) was company rule by the **"Sierra Leone Company"**. In other words, control of the Colony was vested by a Royal Charter in the hands of the Board of Directors of the Sierra Leone Company, which was founded in London in1791 to trade with the Sierra Leone Colony. This was after the failure of the first settlement at Granville Town, called Province of Freedom, and the British government's refusal to re-fund the province. The Board of Directors appointed a Governor with legislative powers and an advisory council to administer the Colony.

As a result of difficulties faced by the Sierra Leone Company (i.e. inadequate finance, insecurities due to, among others, frequent classes with the neighboring Temnes), the settlement was declared a Crown Colony in 1808 and its inhabitants were given the status of British subjects. Later in the years to come, British colonial administration increased its sphere of influence from the Colony to the hinterland (now called Provinces), which was declared a **Protectorate** in 1896. Both the Crown Colony and the Protectorate constitute what is called Sierra Leone today.

Constitutional developments took place from 1863 until the country gained independence on 27th, April 1961 and a Republican status on 19th April, 1971. Sierra Leone was declared a one party state in 1978 under the All People's Congress (APC) party, following a referendum, which approved a one-party Constitution. Another referendum held in August 1991 approved a new Constitution, which became the 1991 multi-party Constitution.

Sierra Leone's experience with western democracy (that is, electoral democracy and political party pluralism) goes back to 1951, with the formation of true political parties and the holding of the first general elections under the tutelage of the colonial power, Britain. General and Local Government elections have since been conducted from 1951 to 2012; some "free and fair", while others were not (especially elections conducted during the period 1973–1986), to say the least.

Military Coups:

Sierra Leone's democratic experience had been intermittently halted by military coups(as the under mentioned) and a civil war:

- **21st, March 1967 to 26th April 1968** - Following the 1967 elections, which were won by the All Peoples Congress (APC), the Army led by Brigadier David Lansana took over power through a military coup on 21st March, 1967. This military action prevented Siaka Stevens (leader of the APC) from initially taking power. Following his defeat in the said elections, the incumbent Prime Minister, Sir Albert Margai and other Sierra Leone People's Party (SLPP) leaders, to use the words of Jimmy D Kandeh, *"prevailed upon the army commander at the time to seize power and declare martial law. This military intervention prevented a smooth transfer of power from one political party to the other and represented a major reversal in the country's nascent democratic fortunes."[2]* An Army mutiny by senior officers ousted Brigadier Lansana on the 23rd March 1967 and formed the **National Reformation Council(NRC).** A group of

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[2]Jimmy D. Kandeh: Sierra Leone's post-conflict elections of 2002, Journal of African Studies volume 41 No. 2 of 2003 pp. 191-192.

Warrant Officers of the Army again overthrew the NRC on the 18th April 1968. After investigations by the Dove Edwin Commission of Inquiry into the conduct of the 1967 elections, power was restored to Siaka P. Stevens and the APC on the 26th April 1968.

- **National Provisional Ruling Council (NPRC): 29th April 1992 to 29th March 1996**

  The introduction of the 1991 multi-party Constitution and multi-party politics by President Joseph Saidu Momoh, who replaced President Siaka P. Stevens in January 1986, was short lived. The Army, led by Captain Valentine E. M. Strasser, on 29th April 1992 overthrew the APC administration of Joseph Saidu Momoh to form the National Provisional Ruling Council (NPRC). Captain Strasser was also overthrown in a "palace coup" on 16th January 1996 and replaced by his former deputy, Brigadier Maada Bio. Both internal and external pressures (by civil society and the international donor community, respectively) for a return to multi-party democracy forced the NPRC to hold elections and relinquish power in 1996. Brigadier Maada Bio handed over power to a democratically-elected government led by President Ahmad Tejan Kabbah, of the SLPP, on the 29th March 1996.

- **Armed Forces Revolutionary Council:25th, May 1997 to 10th March 1998**

  On 25th May 1997, President Ahmad Tejan Kabbah, who had won the 1996 elections under the SLPP, was overthrown by the Army, which formed the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) led by Major Johnny Paul Koroma. This was a coalition of the Military and the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) rebels, who had invaded the country since 23rd March 1991. This was the most violent coup in the country's history. President Kabbah was reinstated on 10th March 1998 after the military intervention by a "stabilisation" force formed by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) called ECOMOG (i.e.

Economic Community of West African States Ceasefire Monitoring Group).

Civil War: 1991 – 2002

Sierra Leone had a civil war from 23rd March 1991 to 18th January 2002, between the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) and successive governments. It began on the 23rd March 1991, when a group of armed persons of the RUF, comprising discontented "radical youths and itinerant diamond diggers" among others, "led by a British-trained former army corporal, Foday Saybana Sankoh, who had been imprisoned by President Stevens in the 1970s"[3],attacked the town of Bomaru in upper Bambara chiefdom, Kailahun district. The formation of this armed rebellion could be traced back to the mass expulsion of radical students from Fourah Bay College in 1985. Using their Libyan connections, the expelled students recruited disaffected Sierra Leoneans to undergo military training in Benghazi, Libya and waged war against the APC government and innocent Sierra Leoneans (Kandeh, 1998). This was the most violent armed conflict with devastating social, political and economic consequences in the country's post independence history. Of significance, the rebellion temporarily halted the momentum towards multi-party elections, as it led to the overthrow of the APC and ushered in the military in 1992 (Kandeh, 1998). Through the assistance of the UN, the international community and ECOWAS, the war was officially declared over on the 18th January 2002, after the successful completion of a disarmament process of over 50,000 ex-combatants. This declaration was followed by the conduct of 14th May 2002 Presidential and Parliamentary Elections, and the establishment of a Special Court for Sierra Leone by the UN in collaboration with the Government of Sierra Leone; " to try those who bear the greatest responsibility for serious violations of international humanitarian law and Sierra Leonean law committed in the territory of Sierra Leone since 30th November 1996" (Report of Commonwealth observer group on the 14th May 2002 presidential and parliamentary elections).

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[3]Sierra Leone's Presidential and Parliamentary Elections 14th May 2002: Report of the Commonwealth Observer Group p5

Administrative Divisions and Local Government.

Sierra Leone is divided into four administrative regions: three provinces (North, East, and South) and the Western Area where Freetown, the capital is located. The Resident Minister (who is the political head) and a Provincial Secretary (who serves as the regional administrative head) perform the work of the central government in running each of the provinces. A District Officer (D.O), appointed by the central government, ran the district administration from colonial days up to the 2004 local Government elections. However, following these elections, the office of the DO was abolished and replaced with the elective office of the District Council Chairperson. The All Peoples Congress (APC) administration re-introduced the office of District Officer in each provincial district, effective 10th June 2011.

The provinces are sub–divided into 12 districts (Kailahun, Kenema Kono in the East; Bo, Bonthe, Moyamba, Pujehun in the South; Bombali, Koinadugu, Tonkolili, Port Loko and Kambia in the North), made up of 149 chiefdoms. A traditional leader called Paramount Chief, who is indirectly elected by Chiefdom Councillors for life, heads each chiefdom. Only members from established ruling houses are allowed to contest.

Sierra Leone is a unitary republic with a presidential system of government, as provided for in the 1991 Constitution. The President has executive powers. The Vice President and the Cabinet members are drawn outside of Parliament i.e. separation of powers.

There are various forms of local council administrations. Nineteen (19) local councils currently exist in the country. They are as follows: five (5) **City Councils** (one in the Freetown Municipality called Freetown City Council, one each in Bo, Makeni, Koidu-New Sembehun and Kenema); one (1) **Municipal Council** (in the township of Bonthe,); and 13 **District Councils**, one in each of the 12 provincial districts and one in the western area rural district. Each local council serves as the highest political authority in its respective locality (i.e. District or City) with legislative and executive powers, which it exercises in accordance with the Local Government Act, 2004.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORY OF CHIEFTAINCY IN SIERRA LEONE

Chieftaincy in the Pre-Colonial era

Chieftaincy, as a traditional institution of governance in Sierra Leone, dates back to pre-colonial days. During those days, there were many kingdoms founded and governed by either famous warriors, farmers or hunters, some of whom were called "Kings" or "Queens". In other words, chieftaincy existed in our country well before the first contact with Europeans in the 15th century.

Arthur Abraham has classified chieftaincy in Sierra Leone into two broad categories: i.e. "**ritual**" and "**secular**" chieftaincies. In his words;

> *'ritual chieftaincies', also called 'Divine Kingships', are chieftaincies in which the* person and conduct of the chief are governed by complex rituals and a whole *order of taboos placed on chief and people, generically termed 'Medicine' ('Mesm' in Temne); while in 'secular chieftaincies' the office and person of the chief are not integrated into a religious regime."* (The chief) is *"in practice mostly free to act and make decisions in concert with the secular authorities[4]."*

While the Temne and Sherbro-Bullom people have "ritual" chieftaincies, the Mende have "secular" chieftaincies.

Before the "imposition of colonial rule" in Sierra Leone, the "state" was a collection of villages and towns, which were grouped into sections. There were many of such "states" called kingdoms. The Temne had states like **Yoni, Maforki, Marampa, Konike, Tane, Masimera, Koya and Kholifa (**Fyle 1981**);** while, "the Mende people had six states – **Kpaa-Mende, Bumpeh, Kpanguma, Tikongoh, Gaura and Luawa**"[5]. The Yalunka had the **Solima Yalunka** state, while the Limba had the **Biriwa Limba** state in the

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[4] A. Abraham, "History of Chieftaincy in Sierra Leone" – UNDP Governance Issues Papers 2002.
[5] A. Abraham, Ibid

north of present day Sierra Leone[6]. The rulers of such pre-colonial polities were called "**Kings**", while their subordinate rulers (section and town chiefs, speakers) should be referred to as chiefs (Abraham 2002). The "King" (later called by the British Colonial administrators, "Paramount Chief"), Speaker and Section Chiefs formed the political hierarchy of the state. Town Chiefs and Village Heads assisted the Section Chiefs. The rule of patrilineal inheritance generally formed the basis of succession. However, Abraham maintains that "matrilineage" was also "politically important". According to him, among the Temne for example, titled chiefs called "*Kaprs*" were selected from among the "maternal uncles" and "maternal cross-cousins of the Chief elect", all of whom do not belong to his patrilineage; while among the Mende, a nephew may succeed his uncle as chief. The attainment of the highest level of political authority (i.e. Kingship) in pre- colonial polities was largely achievement oriented. Put differently, the founders of the above states, as already stated, were famous warriors, farmers or hunters. Arthur Abraham thus maintains that "chiefs... were selected from lineages claiming descent from a founder, or some ancestor who performed a remarkable deed for the community and was rewarded with power" (Abraham, 2002).

Pre- colonial chiefs therefore wielded much power, authority and influence. They were the focal point of the political, social, and economic activities of their people. Though there is a relative decline in the functions and authority of present day Paramount Chiefs, yet they have legal authority over all persons within their respective chiefdoms.

Political Hierarchy in the Institution of Chieftaincy and restraints on the misuse of powers by pre-colonial chiefs

Political hierarchy

Pre-colonial political institutions in Sierra Leone were mainly centralized with the "King" being the principal focus of authority. This is especially true for the Mende, Temne, and Limba people, amongst others. Put in another way, the pre-colonial state, which later became under colonial rule the

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[6] C. M. Fyle, The History of Sierra Leone: A concise introduction(1981)

"Chiefdom", had a single identifiable ruler; who as already stated, was previously called King or Queen, but later called by the British Colonial Administration as "Paramount Chief". It has also been noted earlier that, besides the King or Paramount Chief (called *"Ndomahei"* by the Mende; *"Obai"* by the Temne and Bullom ; *"Mansa"* by the Madingo, Kono and Koranko; *"Manga"* by the Yalunka and Soso; and *"Gbaku"* by the Limba. Fyle 1981 and Abraham 2002), the other important political offices in the political hierarchy were the *"Speaker"*, *"Section Chiefs"*, "Town" and "village" Chiefs. There was also a "Council of elders" to assist the King in his duties. Among the Temne for example, the "Obai*"* (or King) was aided by a hierarchy of officials in the state or Chiefdom called *"Kaprs"*, who were akin to present day Ministers. According to Magbaily Fyle, the hierarchy of officials among the Temne was as follows:

- The **'*Kapr Masm'*** was next to the *'Obai'* and became Regent (Pa Rok) when the king died. He was the chief priest or keeper of the scared regalia of the kingdom;
- The **'*Kapr Kabin'*** was the speaker who directed the *'Obai'*;
- The **'*Kapr Loya'*** was the chief prosecutor or spokesperson of the *'Obai'*;
- The **'*Kapr Soya'*** was the chief warrior or Defence Minister who ensured the security of the Kingdom. He usually accompanied the *'Obai'* to whatever place he went;
- The **'*Kapr Kuma'*** was the keeper of articles connected with the office of the 'Obai';
- **'*Kapr Fenthe'*** was the Minister responsible for health;
- There were also some female members connected with the ruling family who carried important titles, but whose functions were purely ceremonial. They were: the *'Man Kapr Kama'* who was the first wife of the *'Obai'* and the **'*Man KaprGbere'*** who was the daughter of the *'Obai's* sister (Fyle, 1981 page 50).

Today, the Chiefdom Council (comprising the Paramount Chief and the Chiefdom Councillors) and a Chiefdom Committee carry out the

administration of each chiefdom. There is a chiefdom treasury and local court presided over by local court chairman.

Checks and balances in Pre-colonial political systems

Pr-colonial political systems had checks and balances to deal with despotism or misuse of power. Arthur Abraham maintains that in ritual chieftaincies (e.g. among the Temne and Bullom), secret societies like the "*Poro*" and the *"Ra-gbenle",* were the most important sanctions against misuse of power by a bad chief. Pre-colonial rulers depended largely on the support of secret societies for the maintenance of customary law and behaviour. A despotic or bad chief could be 'delegitimised' by a secret society by refusing to perform needed traditional ceremonies. Oath taking or "swearing medicines" was also another sanction against the misuse of power by pre-colonial chiefs. It was a general belief that going against an oath or 'swearing medicines" could 'cause disaster to generations of a bad chief's lineage'[7].

Other checks included:

- consultations with the Council of elders by a chief before taking major decisions;
- the right of "every citizen to appeal to a neighbouring chief of equal status against the decisions or actions of his own chief";
- and, in the extreme case, revolts or desertion by the subjects of a bad chief. Or, in the words of Abraham ''… in serious cases of oppression and misuse of power, the chief could be poisoned or otherwise murdered at the slightest sign of illness." (Abraham, 2002).

Chieftaincy under colonial rule and the introduction of the title paramount chief

It has been stated that the institution of chieftaincy was firmly established in pre-colonial Sierra Leone long before the imposition of colonial rule. Thus, following the establishment of the Colony and subsequently the declaration of a Protectorate over the interior in 1787 and 1896 respectively, the British

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[7] A. Abraham, opcit.

colonial administrators saw chieftaincy as the main medium through which they could operate for the implementation of their colonial policy (a system called Indirect Rule). The British colonial administrators, however, with time firmly established their administration in the Protectorate by means sometimes peaceful and in some cases by violent means.

Even though the British colonial administration found the institution of chieftaincy to be a convenient agency of its rule, yet its policies were not always implemented without problems. The 1898 war of resistance, commonly called Hut/House Tax War, was a case in point. The war began in the North in February 1898 and extended to the South and all of Mende land as a mass uprising on 27th April 1898. It started because of accumulated grievances against British colonial Policies. These grievances culminated into open resistance against the imposition of "a tax of five shillings (fifty cents) on every house", effective January 1898. However, in spite of the strong resistance put up by most of the chiefs, the British colonial government (through the aid of "friendly local rulers", better-called "collaborators") was able to regain control of the entire Protectorate by November 1898.

Following the end of the 1898 war of resistance, the British colonial administration, which had eventually regained firm control over the Protectorate, adopted a policy whereby the then existing aforementioned hinterland kingdoms were divided into "over two hundred smaller units called **chiefdoms**, each headed by an approved Paramount Chief" (Roselyn Adele Walter, 1991).In other words, the most important traditional rulers (until then called "Kings" or "Queens") were officially designated or called "**Paramount Chiefs"** by the British colonial administration. Put another way, the larger areas or states controlled by these chiefs were later fragmented or balkanised into smaller areas which became known as "**Chiefdoms**"; each with, as already stated, a Paramount Chief as its head. The chiefdoms were initially grouped by the British colonial administration into five administrative districts (**Bandajuma**, **Ronietta, Panguma, Karene**

and **Falaba**), named after their headquarter towns, except Ronietta. Each district was controlled by a **District Commissioner (DC),** who became the supervisor over the activities of the Paramount Chiefs. Each of the newly designated Paramount Chiefs was officially presented with a symbol of authority called "**staff**"[8]. Thus from then onwards the symbol of authority for Paramount Chiefs has been the **"staff"**. There are at present 149 chiefdoms in the country, with each being ruled by a Paramount Chief and his/her sub-chiefs.[9] Contemporary Paramount Chiefs can only be removed from office in accordance with the law, otherwise they rule for life. Only individuals from designated and "recognised" "ruling houses" or families of a chieftaincy are eligible to contest and become paramount chiefs.

The institution of Paramount Chieftaincy (PC) in what is today provincial Sierra Leone, thus received "official legal recognition in 1896"[10]; when the British colonial administration declared a Protectorate, on the 31st August 1896, over the hinterland (or territories outside) of the then Sierra Leone colony. By the Protectorate Ordinance of 1896, as already noted elsewhere, the term "**Paramount Chief**" replaced the title "**King** or **Queen**", by which the pre-colonial indigenous rulers of the then territories which constituted the Protectorate (now Provinces) were called. A Paramount Chief is defined in the Protectorate Ordinance of 1896 (as amended in 1897) as "a chief who is not subordinate in his ordinary jurisdiction to any other chief". A Paramount Chief is thus any eligible person from a recognized ruling house and lineage elected, in accordance with the relevant customary law and usage, by the Chiefdom Councillors of the respective chiefdom, and recognized by the appropriate authorities.Arthur Abraham maintains that

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[8] The initial British staff was a long stick topped with a brass knob which had the British coat of arm's. It was replaced in Bo with the Sierra Leone coat of arms by the APC administration of Dr. Ernest Bai Koroma on the 19th April 2011. The APC administration, in addition, presented each Paramount Chief with a medal at the durbar of chiefs in Bo, Southern Sierra Leone.

[9] See Tristan Reed and James Robinson(all of Harvard University) in ''**The Chiefdoms of Sierra Leone**'',2012 for a detailed history and origin of each of the 149 chiefdoms in Sierra Leone and their various ruling houses or families that compete for the position of a paramount chief when ever there is a vacancy in a chiefdom.

[10] Abdulai O. Conteh "**Essays on the Sierra Leone Constitution, 1991**" (2001, chapter 1 p17)

chiefs were traditionally "selected", but British Colonial Officials introduced the principle of "election" of chiefs (Abraham, 2002).

Paramount Chieftaincy is guaranteed under colonial rule and changes in Chiefdom administration

In a bid to establish firm grip over the Protectorate and maintain law and order, the colonial government deposed some so called recalcitrant chiefs and installed chiefs in some areas who were considered to be loyal to the colonial government. While some chiefs were recruited from hereditary ruling houses, there were instances wherein the District Commissioners appointed some chiefs regardless of ruling house background. However, because the institution of chieftaincy was found to be a "convenient agency" of British rule in Sierra Leone (and indeed other parts of British West Africa), the colonial government later realized the need to uphold the authority of chiefs, "so as to prevent the institution of chieftaincy from collapsing" (Fyle,1981). Thus, according to Fyle, by 1907 the colonial government experimented with the imposition of "fines for lesser offences rather than deposition, except in cases where it could be proved that chiefs had disobeyed government instructions or had been very oppressive"[11]. This experiment became a success and thus led to considerable decrease in the deposition of chiefs after 1910.

The administration of the chiefdoms improved with time, as each chiefdom became a **Native Administration (NA)** unit, following the implementation of the Native Administration system by the colonial government in 1937. The features of the NA system were, among others:

- The transformation of a Chiefdom into a **"Tribal Authority**" (**TA**); comprising the Paramount Chief, Chiefdom Councillors and other office holders in the Chiefdom; all of whom were elected by the Chiefdom people, subject to the approval of the Governor. Members of each TA were responsible for the enactment of by-laws and to issue

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[11] C. M. Fyle: **The History of Sierra Leone** p115.

orders for social services and matters relating to the development of the Chiefdom;

- The introduction of **Native Courts,** which included the Court of the Native Chiefs, the Native Appeal Court and the Combined Court;

- The introduction of **Chiefdom Treasuries**, which maintained a record of each chiefdom's revenues and expenditure and an inventory of NA property;

- The payment of a fixed salary to each Paramount Chief.[12]

As the economic viability of Chiefdoms was necessary to the success of the system of "Native Administration", the colonial administration later introduced the **policy of amalgamation** of Chiefdoms. This means, Chiefdoms that were too small and not financially viable to constitute viable Native Administration units were grouped into larger ones. This is why there are presently many amalgamated chiefdoms in Sierra Leone e.g. Malegohun chiefdom in the East, TMS (Tinkatupa, Makama, Safroko), Kalansogoia, BKM (Bure, Kasse, Makonte) Masungbala and Mongo chiefdoms in the North; YKK (Yakemo Kpukumu Krim) amd Kwamebai Krim in the South, to name a few. Some chiefdoms were later de-amalgamated by post independence governments (e.g. Marampa and Masimera are now two separate chiefdoms; also Dibia, formerly part of Tinkatupa-Makama-Safroko and Dibia chiefdom-commonly called TMSD - is now a chiefdom on its own). Some of the inhabitants of amalgamated chiefdoms entered into certain agreements between the hitherto independent chiefdoms. Such agreements include:

- agreement on the rotation of the office of Paramount Chieftaincy between the components of the amalgamated chiefdom; and

- agreement on the position of Chiefdom Speaker – i.e. the Speaker and Paramount Chief should be elected from different areas of the amalgamated chiefdom.

The policy of amalgamation and de-amalgamation continued until eventually

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[12] A. Abraham, opcit

there are presently 149 chiefdoms, where there had been over 200 chiefdoms before 1925[13].

Beginning with the 1924 Constitution (which allowed three Paramount Chiefs to sit in the Legislative Council) unto 1961, when the country gained independence from Britain, and beyond, every Constitution introduced in Sierra Leone made provision for Paramount Chiefs. All successive post-independence governments continued this practice of recognizing Paramount Chieftaincy as a traditional institution. Arthur Abraham regards the institution of Chieftaincy as "almost natural and strongly embedded in the traditions of the people of Provincial Sierra Leone"[14]. The leaders of this traditional institution of chieftaincy (i.e. Paramount Chiefs and their sub chiefs) have since colonial rule on to present day, been considered as intermediaries between their subjects and successive governments. Against this background, provisions were made for the representation of Paramount Chiefs in Parliament in all colonial and post independence constitutions introduced in the country. Thus, beginning from pre-colonial era to the declaration of a Protectorate in 1896, up to post-independence period, Paramount Chieftaincy has survived as a resilient traditional institution. The institution of chieftaincy has shown a remarkable resilience, with its leaders (Paramount Chiefs and their subordinate chiefs) acting as intermediaries between the provincial people and successive governments. Today, however, unlike pre-colonial polities, the institution of Paramount Chieftaincy is not based on might (or achievement oriented), but as already stated, on the ruling house concept; with only candidates from ruling houses allowed to contest. There has also been a decline over the decades on the powers and authorities of present day Paramount Chiefs. Once elected, a Paramount Chief rules till death, except for circumstances within the law leading to deposition.

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[13] The Chieftaincy Act of 2009 provides that the conduct of a Paramount Chieftaincy election in any amalgamated Chiefdom shall be done on "a rotational crowning basis". The Provincial Secretary must ensure that this provision of the Act is complied with (i.e. section 6 (I) of The Chieftaincy Act, 2009).

[14] Arthur Abraham **"History of Chieftaincy in Sierra Leone",** opcit p 2

CHAPTER 3

Decline in the authority and powers of Paramount Chiefs

Introduction.

It is worth noting that even though chieftaincy is an integral part of the "traditions of the people of provincial Sierra Leone", yet the old customs and traditions surrounding the institution of chieftaincy have been watered down over the years. This, among other factors, has resulted to the weakening of the institution of chieftaincy and undermining the authority and position of present-day Paramount Chiefs. In fact, present-day chiefs no longer enjoy the considerable powers of their pre-colonial counterparts. A lot of factors (before and after independence) were responsible for undermining the authority and position of Paramount Chiefs. Some of the major factors responsible for this gradual decline in the institution of chieftaincy are discussed below:

1. Colonial Treaties of Friendship

The 1880s and 1890s witnessed the 'scramble', by European nations, for territories in Africa. The dislodgment of Samory Toure[15] from Falaba in present day Koinadugu District, by France, thus posed a threat to Britain in the Sierra Leone Colony and its hinterland. Therefore, under the guise of securing a conducive environment for European trade, by bringing to an end the rampant wars of the late 19th century, the British colonial administration, beginning in 1888, hurriedly entered into new **"Treaties of Friendship"** with various chiefs in the hinterland of present day provincial Sierra Leone. Abraham maintains that in many cases these "treaties were signed not only with the senior chiefs, but with subordinate chiefs as well" (Abraham 2002). The signing of Treaties of Friendship began as early as 1800. These so called "Treaties of Friendship" required the hinterland rulers who had signed the treaties with the British not to, among others, sign any

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[15] Samori Toure was a Muslim Mandingo military ruler with a vast commercial pre-colonial empire, which included areas covering parts of modern Republics of Guinea, Sierra Leone and the Ivory Coast. With the aid of his Sofa warriors, he resisted many attempts by the French to conquer his empire (Alie, Joe .AD 1990).

other treaty with any other colonial power (ie France, Germany or Portugal), "except through and with the consent" of the colonial government of Britain. Thus, it became illegal for any hinterland chief (who had entered into a treaty with the British administration) to enter into any negotiation with any other foreign power without the consent of the government of Her Majesty, the Queen of England. In fact, the British authorities wrongly regarded these treaties of friendship as agreements whereby the hinterland rulers had given over their states to the British[16]. In return, "co-operative" rulers received stipends from the British administration for keeping the terms of the treaties. Among others, chiefs that signed the "Treaties of Friendship" with the British were rewarded with greater security by sending the newly formed **"Frontier Police"** (by an Ordinance in 1890) to their chiefdoms. The rulers who proved to be "recalcitrant" were "browbeaten" and punished with execution or exile (Abraham 2002), while "influential persons who assisted the government were rewarded with chieftaincies"[17]. The making of D.F Wilberforce as Paramount Chief of Imperri Chiefdom, following the death of the substantive chief in prison, and the confirmation of Madam Nancy Tucker as Paramount Chief of present day Bagrua chiefdom[18] (who was not connected with the chieftaincy) were examples of chieftaincy awards after the House tax war of 1898. This was indeed the beginning of the decline in the authority and powers of chiefs. Hitherto, chiefs were at liberty to enter into any negotiation with any other state (chiefdom) or outside power. The **"Kailahun Treaty"** signed between the British administration and Chief Kai Lundo (who controlled "a large tract of land extending into Liberian territory"[19]) is a classical example of one of the "treaties of friendship".

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[16] C. M. Fyle **The History of Sierra Leone,** Opcit
[17] A Abraham: **History of Chieftaincy in Sierra Leone,** opcit p6
[18] C. M. Fyle **The History of Sierra Leone,** opcit53
[19] David A Sheku:**Sierra Leone's Experience with Local Government"** in UNDP Governance Issues papers 2002.

2. The Proclamation of the Protectorate and its effects: 31st August 1896

We have stated that colonial rule led to the declaration of a Protectorate over the hinterland of Sierra Leone on the 31st August 1896. We have also noted that the 1896 Protectorate Ordinance replaced the title of "King" with "Paramount Chief"; while large pre-colonial territories were divided into powerless little "chiefdoms".Colonial rule therefore practically "robbed" the former Kings "of their supremacy and independent status"(Abraham,2002); as they ceased to be independent rulers of their people. They were now placed under the supervision of the colonial District Commissioners. Again, as already noted, the Protectorate Ordinance of 1896 (as amended in 1897) gave certain powers to the Governor. Amongst such powers were: the powers to approve the election of a Paramount Chief; depose a Paramount Chief and appoint another who, in his opinion, is a "fit and proper person". This saw the introduction of the phenomenon of deposition in the institution of chieftaincy in Sierra Leone. The already mentioned administrative and judicial systems introduced, following the declaration of the Protectorate, meant in effect that real power was transferred from the former pre-colonial hinterland "Kings" to the colonial authorities, who were represented by the Governor and District Commissioners. Thus, practically the position of these former kings, henceforth, depended on the pleasure of the Governor or the District Commissioner, and not on any former traditional rule of acceptance by their subjects. With time, chiefs actually became "colonial civil servants". This meant that these former "kings" (now called Paramount Chiefs) had thus lost most of their pre-colonial powers.

3. The rise of Protectorate Enlightened Elites and misuse of power by some Paramount Chiefs

The increased interaction between the Sierra Leone Colony and the Protectorate; the impact of educated people in the Protectorate, who had received some exposure through Western education; and bad governance on

the side of some Paramount Chiefs were factors, which also contributed to the decline in the authority of chiefs.

The declaration of a Protectorate over the hinterland led to an increased socio-economic interaction between the Colony people and the Protectorate people, especially through trade, education and religion. Moreover, the post-war period saw the rise and exposure of educated people in the Protectorate "via education, serving during the war or as wage-earners in the modern economy"(Abraham 2002). These Protectorate elites began opposing their exclusion from the local political system, which was, by then, dominated by the chiefs. This situation was worsened by the abuse of power by some local authorities (chiefs), who were engaged in extortion of their subjects, through excessive taxation, forced labour, and other corrupt practices. Such a situation resulted to genuine grievances against bad administration and extortion by some Paramount Chiefs. In some cases, the abuse of power and the extortion tendencies of some Paramount Chiefs led to complaints being made to the colonial authorities, followed by rioting or disturbances in some cases. An example was the aforementioned November 1955 – March 1956 widespread disturbances, which resulted in many casualties and loss of property. Commissions of inquiries were held, following the disturbances, to find out the causes of the riots. The Commissions of inquiries concluded that some of the chiefs had abused their powers, and that much of the trouble resulted from laxity of control over the chiefs.

The 1955/1956 rebellion marked a turning point in the history of chieftaincy in Sierra Leone. Following the Commissions of inquiries "two chiefs were suspended and four deposed, while five had to resign their offices". Among the chiefs forced to resign were: P.C Bai Farma Tass II, Minister without Portfolio and member of the Executive Council, and P.C Alikali Modu III of Port Loko. The 1955/1956 riots seriously undermined the power and authority of chiefs. For example, their subjects, who had hitherto considered their chiefs as "life monarchs", suddenly realized that they were

not extraordinary, as they could be deposed. However, it must be pointed out that the aforementioned disturbances were not "populist movements... but genuine grievances against bad administration and extortion, compounded by dynastic rivalries and other conflicting interests" (Abraham 2002). In the words of Tangri, the disturbances were thus "concerned with changing specific rulers and policies, rather than with the whole scale restructuring of chiefdom authority"[20]. In short, the riots and grievances were directed against the attitude and misrule of some chiefs and not the institution of chieftaincy in provincial Sierra Leone.

4.   The Introduction of Party Politics in the Colony and Protectorate and Its Effects on Paramount Chiefs

As agents of the colonial administration, Paramount Chiefs faced the 'permanent dilemma of serving two masters' (Abraham, 2002) i.e. the British colonial administration and the indigenous people. This dilemma of chiefs was worsened by the introduction of party politics in 1951, in both the Colony and Protectorate. Party politics contributed to the decline in the authority and powers of Paramount Chiefs in the country. By 1951, two indigenous political parties had been formed; they were the **National Council of Sierra Leone** (which was formed to counter Protectorate challenge to Creole supremacy in Sierra Leone's Politics of colonial era) and the **Sierra Leone Peoples Party** (formed by protectorate elites "to contest Creole hegemony during the terminal colonial period" Kandeh 2003).

The introduction of party politics brought Paramount Chiefs directly into the arena of party politics. They were now looked upon as 'vote-catching' agents that can win the support of the electorate for political parties at local level. Moreover, following independence, each ruling party demanded the political allegiance and support which chiefs had given to the colonial administration or the previous indigenous government. Chiefs were therefore subjected to

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[20] Tangri, Roger, **"Conflict and Violence in Contemporary Sierra Leone Chiefdoms"** quoted by A. Abraham in **History of Chieftaincy in Sierra Leone"** opcit p11.

strong pressures whenever one party replaced another at the national level (i.e. when one party was stronger at the national level); while another party (the opposition) was stronger at local level.

The phenomenon of deposition (i.e. the policy of replacing so called recalcitrant chiefs with so called co-operative ones), began by the colonial administration, continued even after independence. This was because each ruling party needed chiefly backing both at local and national levels. Against the above background, nearly all governments that have assumed the reins of power in post-independence Sierra Leone have demanded the political support of chiefs; failing which they had either deposed or harassed one or more Paramount Chiefs who did not support them, and in some cases replaced them with Paramount Chiefs of their choice. For example, following the assumption to power by the APC under Siaka Stevens in 1968, Judicial/Commissions of Inquiries were set up to investigate the activities of some Paramount Chiefs. The inquiries resulted in the deposition of nine Paramount Chiefs who were apparently staunch supporters of the former SLPP government. Among the deposed Paramount Chiefs were:[21]

- Paramount Chief (PC) Madam Ella Koblo Gulama of Kaiyamba Chiefdom, Moyamba District;
- P.C. Bai Kompa Yek II of Koya Chiefdom, Port Loko District;
- P.C. Alikali Modu III of Maforki Chiefdom, Port Loko District;
- P.C. V. V. Kallon of Jawie Chiefdom, Kailahun District;
- P.C. Bai Sebora Yumkella of Samu Chiefdom, Kambia District.

Moreover, after the 1968 bye-elections (which followed the 1967 general elections), "most chiefs and other traditional rulers in Kailahun and Kenema districts" were sent to the Mafanta prisons at Magburaka for 6 months by the Stevens led government (Abraham, 2002). Thus, the phenomena of "browbeaten", harassment, deposition of chiefs and the forceful imposition of persons to serve as chiefs (sometimes with no established chiefly

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[21] West Africa Magazine of November 1985 (pp 23 to 68)

background) watered down the eligibility criteria for becoming Paramount Chief i.e. the traditional concepts of belonging to a "ruling House" and traditional legitimacy of their subjects. This, no doubt, led to a decline in the powers of chiefs and eventually weakening the institution.

5. **Power Struggle between Paramount Chiefs and Other Personnel in the Locality**

The above state of affairs was compounded by the increased competition for power between Paramount Chiefs and other formidable sources of power at the local level. There were, for example, Chairmen of District Councils, Court Chairmen, Members of Parliament (MPs), Government Ministers, and local ruling party functionaries, all of whom have since independence apparently carved for themselves an image of superiority over their traditional rulers. There were also various officials of government like Provincial Secretaries and District Officers, who had replaced the colonial Commissioners and were technically charged with the supervision of chiefs. The personnel mentioned above have in the past (especially during the one party era, 1978 – 1991, and the periods of military regimes), posed not only as superior forces to reckon with, but interfered considerably with chieftaincy. This resulted to the weakening of the institution of chieftaincy. It later became apparent that a Paramount Chief's continued stay in office depended on the pleasure of the government of the day, as represented by the Member of Parliament of the area. The above situation, no doubt, made the eligibility criteria of "ruling house" concept and traditional allegiance of chiefs to their subjects (who technically elect them), which characterized chieftaincy, became apparently irrelevant. Abraham and Tangri have cited the dispute between the APC Member of Parliament (MP) and the then Paramount Chief of Koya Chiefdom, in the Port Loko District, as a classical example of competition for power and harassment[22]. S. A. T. Koroma, the then APC Parliamentarian, was "repeatedly harassed" "during his electoral campaigns of 1962 and 1967" by the then Paramount Chief of Koya Chiefdom, Port

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[22] A. Abraham **"History of Chieftaincy in Sierra Leone"** opcit p 17 and Roger Tangri, opcit.

Loko District, Bai Kompa Yek II. As already stated, following the assumption to power of the APC, a "judicial inquiry was set up and Bai Kompa Yek was deposed..."[23].

According to Abraham,cognisant of the fact that "the institution of chieftaincy has been subject to a lot of pressure leading to a gradual decline in the institution and thereby making it less effective", the first conference of PCs was organised in Makeni in May 1985. During the conference, Paramount Chiefs requested the central government "to set up a Commission of Inquiry to investigate the institution of chieftaincy with a view not only to "strengthen" it, but also to "modernise" it" (Abraham 2002). However, the above initiative at reform did not yield positive results.

The factors explained above were thus the major causes that led not only to the weakening of the traditions connected with the institution of chieftaincy (especially those surrounding the election of Paramount Chiefs), but also to the comparative decline in their authority. As already noted, contemporary Paramount Chiefs are traditional rulers who are paid salaries and supervised by Officials of the Ministry in charge of Chieftaincy, quite unlike their pre-colonial predecessors.

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[23] Roger Tangri **"Conflict and violence in contemporary Sierra Leone Chiefdom"** Quoted in A. Abraham's **"History of Chieftaincy in Sierra Leone"** opcit

CHAPTER 4

Legal Framework for the Institution of Paramount Chieftaincy

The following are the legislation which deal with the institution of Paramount Chieftaincy and related matters.

1. The Constitution of Sierra Leone 1991

The legal framework for the institution of Paramount Chieftaincy, as "established by customary law and usage", is based principally on the Constitution of Sierra Leone, 1991 (Act No. 6 of 1991, section 72, subsections 1 to 5). Subsections 1 & 5 are specifically reproduced here, respectively:

> *72 (1) "The institution of chieftaincy as established by customary law and usage and its non abolition by legislation is herby guaranteed and preserved.*
>
> *(5) Parliament shall make laws for the qualifications, elections, powers, functions, removal and other matters connected with chieftaincy".*

Besides securing the institution of chieftaincy, the 1991 Constitution (section 74 subsection 1a) makes provision for the representation of Paramount Chiefs in Parliament (1 per District). This section is also reproduced below:

> *74 (1) "Members of Parliament shall comprise the following—*
>
> *(a) one member of Parliament for each District who shall, subject to the provisions of this Constitution, be elected in such a manner as may be prescribed by or under any law from among the persons who, under any law are for the time being Paramount Chiefs; and ..."*

2. *The Chieftaincy Act 2009 (Act No. 10 of 2009)*

Section 72 (5), reproduced above, gives Parliament the ultimate right to make laws relating to every aspect of the institution of chieftaincy (especially the qualifications to contest elections and election procedures, etc.), Until the passage of The Chieftaincy Act of 2009, there was no specific law relating to the conduct of Paramount Chieftaincy elections and other related matters, by customary law and

usage at chiefdom level, made either by Parliament or any other authority by delegated legislation. Instead, the Ministry in charge of chieftaincy (i.e. Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development) prepared the body of rules that regulated the traditional and customary aspects, and the conduct of Paramount Chieftaincy election at chiefdom level. They were titled **"Guidelines for the Election of Paramount Chiefs" (April 2005)**. In fact, they were the revised version of the 1958 document titled "**A Code of Practice for Chiefdom Administrations**". In addition to the above rules, the Office of the President prepared rules for Paramount Chieftaincy election called **"Government Statement: Conduct of Paramount Chieftaincy Elections, 6th November 2002".** The said Government Statement was released prior to the conduct of Paramount Chieftaincy elections in over sixty vacancies beginning in 2002. The then seemingly lack of Parliamentary legislation on Paramount Chieftaincy election procedures at chiefdom level created the controversy whether they were public elections (and thus shall be conducted by the National Electoral Commission) or not. The case of the 2006 Paramount Chief (PC) election for the Biriwa Chiefdom in Northern Sierra Leone was a case in point. As a result of controversy over the conduct of the aforementioned Biriwa chiefdom PC election (i.e. whether the National Electoral Commission had mandate to conduct the said election or not), the then Office of the President released another Public Notice on 11th August 2006. The notice (which was supported by a High Court ruling) stated that PC elections are not public elections, and thus cannot be conducted by the National Electoral Commission (NEC). This release, however, contradicted the fact that ever since independence, NEC and the Ministry in charge of chieftaincy had jointly practically conducted all Paramount Chieftaincy elections (including those in over 60 chiefdoms in 2002). The 2006 Public Notice also contradicted the Minute Paper from the then Office of the Vice President, which referred to the office of Paramount Chief as being both "traditional and public"[24].

It was against the above background that the Chieftaincy Bill, 2008 was prepared and submitted to Parliament by the then Ministry of Internal Affairs, Local Government and Rural Development (MIALGRD) by October 2008. After going through all the Parliamentary stages, with some amendments, it received Parliamentary approval on the 18th June, 2009.

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[24] Sierra Leone Government, Minute Paper from the Office of the Vice President to the Minister of Local Government and Community Development (6th August 2002).

The Act received Presidential assent on 10th September, 2009.

The said Act, among others, makes provisions for the qualifications and disqualifications of a candidate for the office of a Paramount Chief, the vacancy, the various stages in the electoral process, the functions and roles of the relevant stakeholders and other matters connected with the institution of Chieftaincy in Sierra Leone. Of significance is the fact that the Act empowers the National Electoral Commission (NEC) to conduct Paramount Chieftaincy elections in collaboration with officials of the Ministry in charge of chieftaincy.

The Chieftaincy Act, 2009 is, therefore, the only legal document which transformed into law made by Parliament (with the appropriate modifications), the then existing guidelines for the election of Paramount Chiefs and related Public Notices.

Other legislation, which govern the institution of Paramount Chieftaincy, and other related matters, are as follows:

3. *The Provinces Act (Cap. 60 of the Laws of Sierra Leone)*

This is the Act which empowers the Chiefdom Council of a chiefdom to elect a chief to fill any vacancy which may arise in a chiefdom by death or otherwise.

4. *Chiefdom Council Act of 1st January 1938 (Act No. 20 of 1938, Cap. 61 of the Laws of Sierra Leone)*

This Act establishes the Chiefdom Council or Tribal Authority. A Chiefdom Council means the Paramount Chief, the Chiefs, the Councillors and "men of note" elected by the people according to native law and custom, approved by the Chiefdom Council for the area concerned. Every Chiefdom Council has got jurisdiction over the chiefdom.

The Principal duty of the Chiefdom Council in accordance with section 4 of the Act is:

> "*...to generally maintain order and good government in the area*

over which its authority extends, and for the accomplishment of this duty, the Tribal Authority shall have authority to exercise the power conferred by the Act and those powers vested in it by native law or custom. All citizens in the particular chiefdom shall be subject to the jurisdiction of the Tribal Authority".

The citizens of the chiefdom are therefore duty bound to carry out the duties imposed upon them by the Tribal Authority or by any law or custom then applicable.

CHAPTER 5

Stages in the Election of a Paramount Chief

We have noted earlier that Abraham maintains that pre-colonial chiefs were traditionally "selected", but the principle of "election" of chiefs was introduced by the British colonial administration (Abraham, 2002). The process of electing a Paramount Chief (PC) at chiefdom level is thus now well established by customary law, usage and by legislation. The election process is two fold:

- In accordance with **The Chieftaincy Act, 2009**, all the traditional and customary practices preceding the conduct of the election shall be performed by officials of the Ministry in charge of chieftaincy (through the Provincial and District Administrations, in collaboration with the Electoral Commission); while,

- the Electoral Commission (EC) shall conduct the elections (through the respective Electoral Commissioners and District Electoral Officers).

Date for the Election of Paramount Chief (section 2 of The Chieftaincy Act, 2009)

The date for Paramount Chieftaincy election shall be announced "not later than twelve months" following the occurrence of a vacancy in the office of a Paramount Chief in a chiefdom. It shall be fixed by the Ministry in charge of chieftaincy, represented by the Provincial Secretaries of the respective regions, in collaboration with the NEC. In practice, three separate dates will be appointed for each exercise involved:

- one separate date(s) for the revision of Chiefdom Councillors lists;
- a separate date for declaration of rights by intending candidates; and
- another date for polling.

The Chiefdom Councillors (better called chiefdom electors) of the chiefdom where the vacancy occurs shall elect the Paramount Chief in accordance with the customary law of the chiefdom and the Chieftaincy Act 2009 and

any other legislation in force.

Traditional and customary practices preceding the conduct of paramount chieftaincy election

Amongst the traditional and customary practices preceding the actual conduct of a Paramount Chieftaincy election, are the following:

1. **Revision of Chiefdom Councillors List** *(Section 4 of the Chieftaincy Act, 2009)*

The revision of the gazette list of Chiefdom Councillors by the respective Provincial Administration, in collaboration with the EC, is the start of the process of electing a Paramount Chief in a chiefdom. The revision exercise is preceded by an assessment of the Local tax payers in the concerned chiefdom by a **"Local tax assessment committee"**. Unlike the Presidential and Parliamentary elections, the elections for a PC at chiefdom level and Paramount Chief Member of Parliament (PCMP) at district level are not based on the principle of universal adult suffrage, but conducted by an electoral college called **Chiefdom Councillors**. The Councillors list, (i.e. Gazette list, or Tribal Authority list) is prepared (and publicized in the Gazette) by the respective Provincial (or District) Administration on the basis of electors (i.e. Councillors) representing a certain number of tax payers on a ratio of 1:20. In other words, one Chiefdom Councillor shall be appointed (or elected) out of every twenty tax payers. Thus, the number of Councillors in a chiefdom will correspond with the total number of taxpayers, using the '1' Councillor to 20 tax payers' formula. For instance, in the case where there are one hundred tax payers in a chiefdom, the Councillors list will consist of five Councillors. (i.e. divide 20 tax payers by the total number of tax payers in a chiefdom).

The gazette list of the Chiefdom Councillors shall be revised every three years, but shall specifically be revised prior to the election of a Paramount Chief. Thus the estimated total number of tax payers in each chiefdom must be determined every three years, followed by the revision of the gazette list of Chiefdom Councillors.

Composition of the Chiefdom Councillors List

The composition of the revised Councillors list is as follows[25]:

(a) Office holders in the Chiefdom

- Regent Chief (i.e. Acting Paramount Chief);
- Chiefdom Speaker(s);
- Section Chief(s);
- Court Chairman;
- Ceremonial Chief (where the Paramount Chieftaincy in the chiefdom is by customary law linked with secret societies);
- Member of Parliament (MP) for the constituency in which the chiefdom is situated;

(b) Selected or elected Chiefdom Councillors

- A number of Councillors based on the ratio of 1 Councillor appointed   (or elected) out of 20 tax payers.

In theory, besides certain position holders ("men of note") in the chiefdom, as the aforementioned office-holders, who automatically shall become Chiefdom Councillors, the selection of other tax payers as Councillors must be by some form of "election" by universal adult suffrage of tax payers (including adult women). However, in practice, the reality was different before (and even after) the passage of the Chieftaincy Act, 2009. This was because Chiefdom Councillors were either appointed or the position acquired by well-to-do people, who paid the taxes of less privileged family members, and practically by some form of hereditary succession.

Following the existence of a vacancy in the office of a Paramount Chief in a Chiefdom, as already stated, the gazetted Chiefdom Councillors list will be revised and published in the Gazette "on three consecutive occasions" before the   conduct of the Paramount Chieftaincy election in the concerned chiefdom.

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[25] The Chieftaincy Act, 2009 Section 4 (1 and 2).

The publication of the list allows Councillors to cross check their names and other details, or make objections to the inclusion of the name of any Councillor on the basis of the eligibility criteria.

Functions of Chiefdom Councillors

Chiefdom Councillors perform the following functions:

- They elect the Paramount Chief;
- They assist the Paramount Chief in the administration of the chiefdom and thus serve as channels of communication (and development) between the Paramount Chief and his/her subjects;
- As members of the Chiefdom Council, Chiefdom Councillors perform all the functions of the Council; especially the making and implementation of bye-laws and regulations for the good governance and effective administration of their respective Chiefdoms;
- They perform the functions of chiefs in their absence.

Because of the important roles of Chiefdom Councillors, it is advisable that qualified persons who reside in their respective chiefdoms or sections are elected as Chiefdom Councillors. The practice of making people who reside far away from the Chiefdom (e.g. in Freetown or out of Sierra Leone), and who may not be easily accessible to perform their functions, as Chiefdom Councillors, needs to be discouraged. This is because; the appointment of "**absentee Chiefdom Councillors**" defeats the whole purpose of having Chiefdom Councillors. Of course, the situation is different with certain office holders like MP's, etc.

2. Appointment of Assessor chiefs (Section 11 of the Chieftaincy Act 2009)

The appointment of "Assessor Chiefs", to identify eligible or qualified candidates for the election, follows the revision of the Councillors list and the declaration of dates for the "Declaration of rights" meeting and the Paramount Chieftaincy election. Assessor chiefs are appointed by the Minister responsible for Local Government and Chieftaincy matters, after

consultation with the Provincial Administration, in accordance with traditional and customary practice. In practice, two Assessor Chiefs (who must be substantive Paramount Chiefs) will be appointed; one from a chiefdom in the district where the election is to be conducted, and the other from a chiefdom with similar traditions and customs in a neighbouring district.

Functions of Assessor Chiefs (Section 12 of the Chieftaincy Act, 2009)

As repository of traditions and customs of chieftaincy, Assessor Chiefs are appointed to:

- advise the Provincial Secretary (PS) of the region (who serves as the Declaration Officer during the Declaration of rights meeting) on customary and traditional matters, and to ensure that they are respected and followed during the process of candidate selection;
- advise and assist the PS in the process of selecting eligible aspiring candidates for the Paramount Chieftaincy election;
- advise the Chiefdom Councillors on general behavior in accordance with traditional customs and usage and on the significance of their choice of who becomes a Paramount Chief;
- endorse the "Attestation document" immediately after the election of a new Paramount Chief;
- advise and assist the PS in the PC election process.

3. Process of Candidate Selection or Declaration of Rights BY Candidates (Sections 5 and 13 of the Chieftaincy Act, 2009)

a. Declaration of Rights meeting

The identification of persons who are qualified to become candidates for the PC election is an important stage in the Paramount Chieftaincy election process. This process is called **Declaration of Rights Meeting**. This meeting

has the following objectives:

- to identify the Chiefdom Councillors who are eligible to vote in the election;
- to serve as a forum for the PS and Assessor chiefs to explain to all stakeholders about their rights and duties in accordance with The Chieftaincy Act,2009 or any relevant legislation, customs and traditions in the Chiefdom;
- to serve as a forum for aspirants (i.e. intending candidates) to establish their eligibility to contest the election.
- to allow Councillors or aspirants to object to other aspirants who they think are not qualified to contest.

During the "Declaration of Rights meeting" and the election, each Councillor (i.e. elector) shall be identified by anyone of the following office holders in the Section, Town or Village of the Chiefdom: Section/Town Chief or Village head. In addition, every Councillor shall produce his/her current Councillors receipt, which shall be "endorsed" by the appropriate Chiefdom authority and stamped with the official stamp of the respective Chiefdom Administration (section 6, subsection 1 of The Chieftaincy Act, 2009).

b. Qualifications of the Candidates (Section 8 of the Chieftaincy Act 2009)

The qualifications to be considered in the process of identifying eligible candidates for the election include the following:

- Only persons who hail from ''recognized'' ruling houses, established prior to Independence in 1961 (i.e. descendants of ruling houses), in the chiefdom in question shall be allowed to contest the elections. These include:
  - i. Persons born in wedlock to a rightful claimant in any recognized ruling house in the chiefdom in question; and,
  - ii. depending on the traditions of the Chiefdom, any one who may be born outside wedlock, but with "direct paternal or maternal lineage" to a bona fide member of a ruling house, i.e. whether

born outside of wedlock or not. Adopted children are, however, not included in any of the above.

- Also, persons who are descendants of the original signatories to the aforementioned colonial **"treaties of friendship",** may stand as candidates in a Paramount Chieftaincy election. This will only happen provided they are able to establish such claim (i.e. descendants of Treaty Chiefs) and must belong to a "recognized" ruling house established before 27th April 1961.

c. Disqualifications (Section 9 of the Chieftaincy Act, 2009)

The following persons are disqualified from contesting Paramount Chieftaincy election:

- Persons not belonging to a recognised ruling house;
- a Regent Chief in the chiefdom in question;
- adopted children;
- Previously deposed chiefs, or those who resigned after being found guilty of "conduct inconsistent with good governance", and five years have not elapsed since their deposition or resignation;
- Finally, persons found guilty and convicted by a court of competent jurisdiction for offences ranging from "fraud, dishonesty, theft, violence or rape" are also disqualified to contest, except such persons had received "presidential pardon".

d. Determination of eligible candidates

During the process of determining those candidates that are qualified to contest the Paramount Chieftaincy election, much emphasis is placed on the existing traditions and customary practices in the chiefdom in question. Such traditions and customary practices differ from chiefdom to chiefdom and from one region to the other. In the Southern region, for e.g., both male and female candidates can, and have, been elected as Paramount Chiefs. The situation is completely different in the Northern region and some chiefdoms in the East (e.g. chiefdoms in Kono District and the three Kissi

Chiefdoms in Kailahun District (i.e. Kissi Kama, Kisi Teng, and Kissi Tongi), where female candidates are not allowed by custom to contest Paramount Chieftaincy elections[26]. An important tradition in many (if not most) chiefdoms is that candidates must trace their lineage from the male or paternal line. However, depending on the tradition in the Chiefdom, aspirants may also trace their lineage maternally to a rightful claimant in a recognised ruling house.

Each aspirant will be allowed to present his/her claims or membership to the ruling house (or the Chieftaincy) in the chiefdom in question. Such presentation is done openly in the presence of the Assessor Chiefs, Chiefdom Councillors, other intending candidates and officials of the Provincial (or District) Administration. It must be noted that, a candidate's eligibility to belong to a ruling family may at times be contested or objected to by eitherother candidates, other family members or chiefdom councillors. This is due to the lack of "written birth certificates or other definitive methods of proving their legitimacy" (Reed and Robinson 2012). An objection to a candidate's eligibility shall be resolved by secret ballot of the chiefdom councillors present (see objections below).

4. Objections (Section 13 (2) and (3) of the Chieftaincy Act, 2009)

- As stated above, any chiefdom Councillor or aspirant in the concerned chiefdom may file an objection openly to the Provincial Secretary (i.e. Declaration Officer,) during the declaration of rights meeting, against the eligibility of any aspirant.
- The common grounds for objection are based on the aforementioned qualifications, disqualifications and existing traditions and customs for Paramount Chief elections in the concerned chiefdom.
- When an objection to any intending candidate's eligibility is rejected by

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[26] As a result of court order, a female candidate(Sia Iye Bandabla) contested a PC election in one of the Kissi Chiefdoms (i.e. Kissi Teng) on 13th December 2010

two thirds of the votes of the Chiefdom Councillors present, the objected candidate shall be deemed qualified and therefore shall be allowed to contest.

- On the other hand, where an objection to the eligibility of a candidate is upheld (i.e. endorsed, also by two thirds majority votes), such candidate shall be disqualified from contesting the election.

- As already stated above, the decision of the Chiefdom Councillors, whether to support or reject an objection, shall be reached by voting by secret ballot (section 13 subsection 3 of **The Chieftaincy Act, 2009**).

- The Assessor Chiefs and the Provincial Secretary (i.e. Declaration Officer) will settle such objections, following the result of the secret ballot.

5. Payment of Aspirant and Candidature Fees: (Sections 13(1) and 14 of the Chieftaincy Act, 2009)

The whole process leading to the conduct of the elections involves the **payment of non-refundable fees** to the Chiefdom Treasury at some stage. The following are the approved fees in **The Chieftaincy Act, 2009**:

- **Le150, 000** (One hundred and fifty thousand Leones) per aspirant;

- **Le250, 000** (Two hundred and fifty thousand Leones) per candidate.

6. Selection of Symbols (Section 14(2) of the Chieftaincy Act 2009)

Following the declaration of rights, each qualified candidate for the election shall select a symbol, from a list of approved symbols by the EC. Each qualified candidate is also expected to submit to the EC his/her recent post card photograph. The Commission will then print the selected symbol and photograph of each candidate on the notice of poll for public display. The ballot paper shall take the same form as the notice of poll.

It is evident from the above discussion that the conduct of Paramount Chieftaincy election in a Chiefdom is a process comprising different stages, each of which is linked to the other.

CHAPTER 6

Electoral System and Procedures for Paramount Chieftaincy Election

a. Meaning of Electoral System

An Electoral system means: "the rules and procedures through which voters express their political preference in an election, and according to which it is possible to convert these votes into a winner or winners in a public office" e.g. the office of a Paramount Chief. In simple terms therefore, an electoral system or election formula **"refers to the rules under which a winner or several winners are chosen".**

The electoral system used in the election of approved candidates to the office of a Paramount Chief is similar to that used for the presidential election. It is called **Two Round System** (TRS). Under the TRS, a winning candidate must poll at least fifty five percent (55%) of total valid votes cast in the first round. If no candidate polls the required 55% votes cast in the first round, then a second round of election is held between the two candidates with the highest votes in the first round. In this round, the candidates with the least votes shall be eliminated leaving only the first two candidates with the highest votes in the first election. The second ballot, which usually takes place immediately after the first ballot, is conducted on the basis of a simple majority i.e. the candidate polling the higher number of valid votes cast in the run-off election is declared the elected Paramount Chief.

But where there are only two candidates contesting a Paramount Chieftaincy election, the results shall be determined on the basis of simple majority. In the same way, where there is only one candidate nominated for a Paramount Chieftaincy election, an election shall still be held, and the result determined by a simple majority of valid votes cast.

b. Conduct of PC Election(s)

Following the completion of the aforementioned preliminary traditional, customary and procedural practices, the EC shall take over the conduct of the Paramount Chieftaincy election in the headquarter town of the chiefdom where the vacancy exists.

- The Commission will make all the necessary arrangements for polling, including the printing of ballot papers, which will be used to conduct the election, provision of election materials, recruitment, training and payment of election staff.

- Voting shall be by secret ballot. The election will be conducted by polling officials (i.e. Voter Identification officer, Ballot paper issuer and Ballot box controller) under the supervision of a Presiding Officer (PO).

- The revised and publicised gazette Chiefdom Councillors list of the chiefdom in question shall serve as the voters register.

- Every candidate may be represented at each polling station by his/her appointed polling Agent.

- The provisions in the Public Elections Act, 2012, or any other law in force, shall apply, with such modifications necessary, for the conduct of a paramount chieftaincy election at chiefdom level.

c. manner of voting

For the purpose of voting, each Councillor will go through the following steps at the Polling Station:

- Each Councillor will present him/herself to the **Presiding Officer** (PO) at the Polling Station with an authentic councillor's receipt bearing the stamp of the Chiefdom Administration and endorsed/signed by a competent authority. In the event where a Councillor has lost his/her receipt, he/she will be identified by the appropriate authorities (e.g. the Section, Town or Village Chief) in the section, town or village under which his/her name was written in the gazette (Section 6 of **The Chieftaincy Act, 2009**).

- The **Voter Identification Officer** will then look for the name of each Councillor in the Chiefdom Councillor's list and tick it to prevent

multiple voting.

- The **Ballot Paper Issuer** will issue a ballot paper to each Councillor (whose name is on the list and has physically presented him/her self for the purpose of voting). The Councillor will be directed to a booth or voting screen where he/she is expected to choose the candidate of his/her choice.

- The Councillor must then go alone to the voting screen or booth and choose the candidate of his/her choice by marking (either with a thumb print or a tick with a pen in the space provided in secret). Each ballot paper shall bear each candidate's photo and symbol selected by him/her self.

- The Councillor will then leave the voting screen with the ballot paper folded to prevent the public knowing the person for whom the vote is cast. He/she will then place the folded ballot paper in the ballot box, which will be placed in the open, in full view of every one present.

- The **Ballot Box Controller** shall ink the left index finger of the Councillor.

- The Councillor will then leave the Polling station and go home, or wait somewhere till the time for counting the ballots.

d.   Counting of the Votes and the Declaration of Results at the Polling Station

- The votes polled by each candidate will be counted at the polling station, in full view of all concerned, soon after the last available Councillor has voted and all closing formalities completed.

- Valid votes cast for each candidate are carefully separated from void or invalid votes cast. The latter are not counted in favour of any candidate.

- After the votes have been counted, the PO will record the number of valid votes polled by each candidate on the form provided and sign it. The respective polling Agents of each candidate may also sign the result form.

- After recording the votes of each candidate, the PO will hand over the signed copy (or copies) of the certified results to the Electoral Commissioner or Senior Election Official present as evidence of the official Paramount Chieftaincy election results of the chiefdom in question.

- The Electoral Commissioner or Senior Elections Official present will then **publicly announce** the results and hand them over to the Provincial Secretary (PS) or Declaration Officer. The PS will then **declare the winner as Paramount Chief,** subject to the recognition of the newly elected chief by the appropriate authority (usually the President of Sierra Leone or his designated Minister) at a latter date.

Election Offences in a Paramount Chieftaincy Election
Election Offences

Election Offences are breaches or violations of the 1991 Constitution, The Public Elections Act, 2012, The Chieftaincy Act, 2009 and any other related legislation, including rules and regulations. They could be committed not only by candidates and their supporters, but also by election officials or polling staff.

The actions below constitute an offence in connection with polling and counting procedures; which can, if convicted, result in fines and/or imprisonment (the list is not exhaustive):

- Printing and distribution of fake Local Tax receipts;
- Altering information on Local Tax receipts;
- To forge, print or be in possession of a ballot paper or Local tax receipt without lawful authority;
- Including names of unqualified persons on the Chiefdom Councillors list;
- Prevention of election by force;
- Impersonating a Councillor when applying to vote;
- Voting or attempting to vote more than once;

- To obstruct, or interfere with the work of a polling staff in the execution of his/her duties;
- To obstruct or forcefully prevent a Councillor from voting;
- To force a Councillor to vote in a particular way against his/her wish;
- Infringement of secrecy of the Councillor's ballot;
- Improper practice by election officials e.g. partiality and undue influence by polling staff;
- To administer an oath, inflict or threaten to inflict physical or spiritual injury or harm on a Councillor;
- To force an aspirant or candidate to withdraw from contesting the election;
- Interference with voting materials by unauthorised persons;
- Falsification of the elections results to give undue advantage to a particular candidate;
- Bribery and other forms of corrupt practices e.g. give or receive money, food or other valuable items as a means of inducing a Councillor to vote, or not to vote, in a certain way (a practice commonly called treating) ;
- Campaigning within 400 yards of the polling centres/stations in support of a particular candidate.

Other Offences (Sections 30 & 31 of the Chieftaincy Act, 2009)

- Refusal or failure by any person to handover the "Staff of Office" to the Provincial Secretary (or his representative) without any "reasonable cause";
- To obstruct the PS (or his representative) in the performance of his/her function(s); especially while retrieving the " Staff of Office" from the family of the deceased Paramount Chief, or from him/ herself , as the case may be;

- Making of false statement in respect of belonging to a ruling house or claiming to have "direct paternal or maternal lineage to a rightful claimant in a recognised ruling house".

Penalty for offences

A person found guilty of committing any of the above offences (under sections 30 &31) shall be punished by "a fine not exceeding Le 5,000,000 (five million Leone's) or by a term of imprisonment not exceeding two years."

Challenging the Validity of a Paramount Chieftaincy Election (Section 18 of the Chieftaincy Act, 2009).

Any candidate in the Paramount Chieftaincy election or any Councillor of the Chiefdom Council may challenge the validity of the election of the new Paramount Chief by a petition in the High Court of Sierra Leone within seven (7) days following the declaration of the election result.

The following are the **common grounds for petition** of the election result in accordance with The Chieftaincy Act, 2009; that,

- the elected Paramount Chief is not qualified in accordance with The Chieftaincy Act;
- he/she was allowed to contest the election (and subsequently elected), based on a false claim that is inconsistent with the said Act e.g. elected on the basis of a false claim of belonging to a ruling house or having direct paternal or maternal lineage to a rightful claimant in a recognised ruling house;
- the Paramount Chieftaincy election was "improper" e.g. election was fraudulent or conducted outside the existing electoral legal framework.
- However, any irregularity relating to revision of chiefdom councillors list shall not invalidate the election of a Paramount chief (section 4 subsection of The Chieftaincy Act, 2009).

CHAPTER 7

POST ELECTION ACTIVITIES AND CHIEFDOM ADMINISTRATION

1. Signing of a Declaration and Recognition of the New Paramount Chief

Following the conclusion of the election proceedings, the Chiefdom Councillors present must sign a declaration called "attestation document", recognizing the declared winner of the election as their legitimate Paramount Chief. In practice, however, while each Councillor signs the voters register (or places his/her right thumb print against his/her name), he/she also simultaneously attests to the fact that he/she would recognize the winner of the election as the elected Paramount Chief of the chiefdom in question.

The signed declaration document must be witnessed or endorsed by the Assessor Chiefs and the Provincial Secretary. The "staff" of office will be formerly handed over to the newly crowned Paramount Chief by the appropriate authority (usually His Excellency the President of Sierra Leone, or his authorized representative) after the submission of a joint written report on the whole process by the Provincial Secretary of the region and officials of the Electoral Commission.

2. Crowning or installation ceremonies of the new Paramount Chief

It has been stated that an important traditional and customary practice in the election of a Paramount Chief, is that a candidate must hail from the appropriate lineage and recognized ruling house. The crowning or installation of the newly elected and recognized Paramount Chief is another important traditional and customary practice that follows the official recognition of the new chief. In most, if not all the chiefdoms, the new Paramount Chief would be crowned or installed in an important public ceremony. Of course, different patterns of crowning or installation ceremonies exist among the various ethnic groups. They range from an elaborate crowning ceremony among "ritual chieftaincies" or "divine

kingships" (e.g. the Temne and Sherbro), to simply presenting the new chief to his/her subjects among "secular chieftaincies". The latter is the custom presently practiced in some chiefdoms in the South and East. On the other hand, however, among the Temne, for example, the new chief must be taken to a secluded place called **"Kantha"** for some period (usually about a year or more), where he will be groomed as a ruler, the **"Obai".** In other words, the new chief is taught the art of becoming a good ruler during the confinement period. According to Fyle, following the end of the "Kantha" (or seclusion) ceremonies, the *"Obai"* would "buy the country", in a traditional ceremony, "from all the major industrial groups like fishermen, carpenters and shoemakers by given them presents", in return for customary gifts later (Fyle, 1981 page 57). This practice, and indeed other "Kantha" ceremonies, were practised more in the Pre-colonial period than the colonial and post independence eras. However, the passage of time has watered down some of these traditions and customary practices. In fact, the confinement period (i.e. period of seclusion) is comparatively shorter now than before.

The installation of the newly elected Paramount Chief, in accordance with the traditions and customs of the chiefdom, marks the end of the process leading to the election of a Paramount Chief. After installation, the new chief will administer his/her chiefdom, using a Chiefdom Council, a Chiefdom Committee and Sub-chiefs.

3. Chiefdom Administration

As already stated, there are currently a total of 149 Chiefdoms, divided among the 12 Provincial Districts of Sierra Leone as follows:
o **Northern Province**, 5 Districts (Bombali, Port Loko, Kambia, Koinadugu and Tonkolili) with 53 Chiefdoms;
• **Eastern Province**, 3 Districts (Kenema, Kono and Kailahun) with 44 Chiefdoms ;
• **Southern Province**, 4 Districts (Bo, Bonthe Moyamba and Pujehun) with 52 Chiefdoms.

- Each chiefdom is headed by a Paramount Chief; who, once elected by the Chiefdom Councillors, rules for life (except in exceptional circumstances; for example, a Paramount Chief may be lawfully deposed or asked to resign from office for subversive or other conduct which is inimical to good governance). See Chieftaincy Act, 2009 for details on the lawful removal of a Paramount Chief.

- It has further been noted that the institution of Paramount Chieftaincy is based on, inter-alia, the ruling-house concept. That is to say, only candidates who hail from recognised and established ruling houses before 1961 are allowed to contest Paramount Chieftaincy elections.

- As an "integral part of the traditions of the people of provincial Sierra Leone", the institution of chieftaincy is highly respected in the country. In fact, as already stated, the institution of Paramount Chieftaincy, as established by customary law and usage, is guaranteed under Section 72, sub-sections 1-5 of the Constitution of Sierra Leone (Act No.6 of 1991).

- The administration of each chiefdom is carried by a **Chiefdom Council**, comprising the Paramount Chief, the sub-chiefs, Councillors and "other office holders" elected by their people according to the existing "native law and custom". A **chiefdom treasury** manages the finances of each chiefdom, while Local Courts settle minor disputes and dispense justice.

- Furthermore, for effective administration, each Chiefdom Council is empowered (under Section 3(3) of the Chiefdom Councils (Amendment) Act 1964, Act No. 13 of 1964) to appoint a **Chiefdom Committee** headed by the Paramount Chief. Under the said Act, Chiefdom Committees perform the following duties:
  - ✓ Prepare every year, draft Chiefdom estimates for consideration by the Chiefdom Council;
  - ✓ Negotiate and supervise the execution of any contracts lawfully entered into by the Chiefdom Council;
  - ✓ Supervise and check all expenditure in the estimates, approved in accordance with Section 2 of the Chiefdom Treasury Act (1962);

✓ Ensure and assist in the proper collection of revenue;

✓ Inspect the chiefdom books of account on a monthly basis;

✓ Appoint and control staff;

✓ Advise the Chiefdom Administration generally in the administration of chiefdom affairs;

✓ Initiate chiefdom bye-laws for consideration by Chiefdom Councils;

✓ Perform such other duties as may be delegated to them by the Chiefdom Councils with approval from the Minister.

4. Duties/Functions of Paramount Chiefs

According to Abraham,

> *"The traditional functions of the chief were to protect the lives and property of his subjects, maintain law and order, and make laws for the social and economic well-being of his people. He was also to defend the integrity of the 'country', and dispense justice as the chief judge... The chief was expected to be kind and generous, fair and just... He sat court as the supreme judge, and was supposed to dispense justice without fear or favour..."[27]*

Paramount Chiefs thus play an important role in their respective chiefdoms and the country as a whole, as the following:

▪ As traditional rulers, Paramount Chiefs uphold the traditions and customary practices of their respective chiefdoms.

▪ They are the custodians of the land, for land owning families, in their respective chiefdoms.

▪ They maintain law and order in their chiefdoms.

▪ Paramount Chiefs serve as agents of administration for the Central Government.

▪ Chieftaincy institution thus serves as a convenient agency of the central government; or better still, "instrument of transmission belt" through which the central government can pass information on government policies to the people. Also, the wishes and reactions of

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[27] A. Abraham, opcit P5

the people on certain government policies can reach the central government through the chiefs.

The following are the functions of a Paramount Chief, in accordance with the Chieftaincy Act of 2009 (section 29, sub section1 of the Chieftaincy Act 2009):

- Supervise the collection of local tax and assist the appropriate authority in the collection of other lawful taxes to which the members of his chiefdom are subject;

- Use his best ability to prevent the commission of offences within his chiefdom and to maintain order and good government within his chiefdom;

- Preserve or promote, as appropriate, and serve as, the guardian of the customs and traditions of his chiefdom;

- To all intents and purposes to serve as an agent of development in his chiefdom; and,

- To supervise the election of sub-chiefs in his chiefdom.

In order to effectively perform his functions, the Chiefdom Council shall pass the relevant bye-laws.

It must, however, be pointed out that Paramount Chiefs (who are regarded as natural rulers, symbols of unity and fountain of honour of their people) are normally, not expected to take part in active partisan politics. By this is meant, a substantive Paramount Chief cannot present him/herself to the electorate as a candidate for election for Ordinary Member of Parliament (except as a candidate for Paramount Chief Member of Parliament). Moreover, a Paramount Chief is not expected to hold an official position in a political party or in any way campaign for or against a candidate or political party in his/her chiefdom. It must be stated, however, that the 1991 Constitution is silent over the idea of Paramount Chiefs taking part in active politics. Little wonder that this principle of chiefs' not taking part in active politics (i.e. being apolitical) has often been abused in one way or the other in the past. In fact, in practice, over the yearssome Paramount Chiefs have

identified themselves with the ruling party and supported the government of the day in parliament.

5. Court Chairmen

The Local Courts Act of 1963 (Act No. 20 of 1963) makes provision for Local Courts presided by court chairmen, who are duly appointed by Chiefdom Councillors. By settling minor disputes, local courts chairmen ensure that justice is properly administered in the local courts without any influence or interference from the Paramount Chief.

CHAPTER 8

Paramount Chief Members
of Parliament Election and General Conclusion on
Chieftaincy

Introduction

Paramount Chief Members of Parliament (PCMP) election is one of the public elections conducted by the National Electoral Commission (NEC). As already mentioned, twelve Paramount Chiefs shall be elected to sit in Parliament, one representing each of the country's twelve provincial districts. Sierra Leone's Parliament currently has 124 members: i.e.112 are directly elected by universal adult suffrage, while 12 PCMPs are indirectly elected by Chiefdom Councillors.

The election of the 12 Paramount Chief MPs differs in a number of ways from that of the Ordinary Members of Parliament (MPs). Like the election of a Paramount Chief at chiefdom level, PCMPs are elected on the basis of an electoral college formed by Chiefdom Councillors. As already stated, each Councillor represents 20 tax payers in a chiefdom (including him/herself). In the election for PCMPs, only substantive Paramount Chiefs (according to the Constitution) from the country's 149 chiefdoms are eligible to stand for the 12 seats reserved for Paramount Chiefs in Parliament.

The specific date(s) for the election of Paramount Chief Members of Parliament will be fixed by NEC. The manner of voting is as prescribed in the Public Elections Act, 2012, except that the gazetted chiefdom councilors list serves as the register of voters.

general conclusions on chieftaincy and recommendations

- The 1991 Constitution of Sierra Leone gives an indication of the importance it attaches to the institution of chieftaincy;
- It safeguards the institution as established by customary law and

usage;

- The institution has survived as a resilient provincial institution from pre-colonial era to successive governments in post independent Sierra Leone;

- Customary laws and traditions differ from chiefdom to chiefdom and from region to region;

- Parliament has power to make laws which provide for, among others, "the qualifications, elections, functions, removal and other matters connected with chieftaincy";

- In accordance with the constitution, no person or authority has the power to abolish the institution of chieftaincy by legislation;

- Given the importance of the institution of Paramount Chieftaincy (by customary law, usage and by the Constitution of Sierra Leone), there is need for major aspects of the institution to be modernized. One such aspect is the denial of female candidates from contesting Paramount chieftaincy elections in some districts, on the flimsy grounds of customs, especially in the North of Sierra Leone and some chiefdoms in Kono and Kailahun Districts.

- There is also the need to revisit the Chieftaincy Act 2009, and amend it in line with democratic standards. One such area is the application of the principle of universal adult suffrage, as opposed to the principle of Electoral College, to the election of Paramount Chiefs. In other words, whilst the ruling house concept may be retained, the right to vote must be extended to all local tax payers in a chiefdom.

- Finally, in order for contemporary Paramount Chiefs and their sub-chiefs to play a major role in good governance and the decentralisation process and to deepen democracy at grass root level, their chiefdoms should be provided with basic infrastructure and their institutions (like the Chiefdom treasuries, the Chiefdom police and local courts) modernised and equipped.

APPENDIX 1

LIST OF PARAMOUNT CHIEFS IN SIERRA LEONE

(AS AT FEBUARY, 2013)

BOMBALI DISTRICT

NO.	CHIEFDOM	NAME OF PARAMOUNT CHIEF	ELECTED
1	BIRIWA[28]	SALIFU MANNAH KALAWA III	22/06/11
2	BOMBALI SEBORA*	BAI SEBORA KASANGA KAWALLEH	30/01/93
3	GBANTI KAMARANKA*	ALHAJI KANDEH PARIAH KAWALLEH II	10/12/09
4	GBENDEMBU NGOWAHUN*	KANDEH BARBA KIHA II	11/12/09
5	LIBEISAYGAHUN	BAI YANKAY KARGBO II	14/12/02
6	MAKARI GBANTI*	MASA YELI THAM II	05/12/72
7	PAKI MASABONG	MASAPAKI KABOMBOR II	02/12/02
8	MAGBAIMBA N'DOWAHUN*	ERIC FINOH KANU	25/02/05
9	SANDA LOKO*	SAMURA FOMBO III	3/9/11
10	SAFROKO LIMBA	ALIMAMY DURA III	27/12/09
11	SANDA TENDAREN*	HAMIDU SESAY	30/12/02
12	SELLA LIMBA	KANDEH LUSENI	23/08/96
13	TAMBAKHA	VACANT	

*Amalgamated Chiefdom(s)

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[28] In a press release from State House the former PC of Biriwa chiefdom (Dr. ISSA M. SHERIFF II) who was elected on 12th September 2006, was suspended from office, effective 5th November 2008. The suspension was as a result of an administrative investigation setup by the ministry in charge of chieftaincy. This was followed by the election of the current pc on the 22nd June 2011

PORT LOKO DISTRICT

NO.	CHIEFDOM	NAME OF PARAMOUNT CHIEF	ELECTED
1	BURE KASSEH MACONTEH*	BAI BUREH SALU LUGBU	27/12/02
2	BUYA ROMENDE*	BAI BANTA KENNEDY II	22/09/98
3	DIBIA	BAI SHEKA PINKARR KARGBO II	25/01/10
4	KAFFU BULLOM	BAI SHEBORA SHEBA GBERRAH III	24/01/10
5	KOYA	BAI KOMPA BOMBOLI II	18/09/73
6	LOKO MASAMA	Bai MARO LAMINA 1I **	30/06/11
7	MAFORKI*	VACANT	
8	MARAMPA	BAI KOBLO QUEEN II	09/12/02
9	MASIMERA	PA SHIPPER TONKLA IV	23/01/10
10	SANDA MAGBOLONTOR	VACANT	
11	T.M. SAFROKO*	BAI KAMAH KA'THENKE	16/12/02

*Amalgamated Chiefdom(s)

** Validity of election challenged in court)

KAMBIA DISTRICT

NO.	CHIEFDOM	NAME OF PARAMOUNT CHIEF	ELECTED
1	BRAIMAIA*	KANDEH KABBA SEDU I	7/12/09
2	GBINLE DIXING*	ALIMAMY FARBEH KONDOGBALA KONKODIOKO II	9/12/09
3	MASUNGBALA*	ALIMAMY LAHAI V	17/12/10
4	MAGBEMA	BAI FARAMA TASS BUBU ANGBAK IV	24/06/11
5	MAMBOLO	BAI SHEBORA LAYOR KATHENA	3/7/11
6	SAMU	ALHAJI BAI SHEBORA YAEK II	19/03/04
7	TONKO LIMBA	BOMBOLAI KELFA FOROE III	8/12/09

*Amalgamated Chiefdom(s)

** Name of PC as at the time of the election (later called Bai Farma Tass Bubu Angbak IV)

TONKOLILI DISTRICT

NO.	CHIEFDOM	NAME OF PARAMOUNT CHIEF	ELECTED
1	GBONKOLENKEN*	BAI SUNTHUBA OSARA III	29/6/93
2	KAFE SIMIRA*	ALIMAMY BANGURA II	22/02/78
3	KALANSOGOIA*	ALIMAMY BOCKARIE YELLAN KOROMA II	24/01/03
4	KHOLIFA ROWALA*	MASAKMA KANAMANKA III	28/01/10
5	KHOLIFA MABANG	BAI KURR KANABORTHOR II	20/06/11
6	KUNIKE*	BAI KURR KANAGBARO SANKA III	27/10/88
7	KUNIKE BARINA	ALIMAMY SORIE II	14/02/10
8	MALAL MARA*	VACANT	
9	SAMBAIA	ALIMAMY KULIO JALLOH II	31/08/73
10	TANE	BAI KAFARI SAM KORAY HAJA MAMA III	25/12/09
11	YONI*	VACANT	

*Amalgamated Chiefdom(s)

KOINADUGU DISTRICT

NO.	CHIEFDOM	NAME OF PARAMOUNT CHIEF	ELECTED
1	DEMBELIA SINKUNIA	ALIMAMY LAHAI MANSARA V	25/3/94
2	DIANG	SHEKU MAGBA II	28/06/96
3	FOLOSABA DEMBELIA	FENDA MODU KAMARA II	12/06/11
4	KASUNKO	ALFRED B.S. KAMARA	18/12/02
5	MONGO*	ALMAMY FINAKALI SHEKU V	15/12/10
6	NEYA*	FSASLIE KULAKO DEMBA MARAH II	9/06/11
7	NIENI*	FODAY ALIMAMY UMARU JALLOH III	20/01/10
8	SENGBE	ALIE BALANSAMA MARAH III	04/01/03
9	SULIMA	BOMBA SANA SAMURA	23/12/02
10	WARA-WARA BAFODEA	ALIMAMY HAMIDU I	14/02/92
11	WARA-WARA YAGALA	GBAWURU MANSARAY III	22/01/10

*Amalgamated Chiefdom(s)

BO DISTRICT

NO	CHIEFDOM	NAME OF PARAMOUNT CHIEF	ELECTED
1	BADJIA	S.B. HINDOWA	10/03/89
2	BAGBWE	VACANT	
3	BAGBO	VACANT	
4	BAOMA	ALFRED HINDOWA DEMBY**	19/07/11
5	BUMPEH	JOSEPH TOMMY KPOSOWA	18/12/02
6	GBO	RUTH TUTU FAWUNDU SONGA IV	23/12/09
7	JAIAMA BONGOR*	MOHAMED KAMA GBAO	08/01/03
8	KAKUA	PRINCE LAPPIA BOIMA IV	31/12/09
9	KOMBOYA	ALFRED NDOKO DEMBY III	30/12/09
10	LUGBU	MOHAMED ALIE NALLO	23/12/09
11	NIAWA LENGA*	GEORGE GBANIEY NJAIBO	06/12/02
12	SELENGA	DESMOND MAYEI KARGOBAI	6/12/09
13	TIKONKO	MACAVORY KANGABAI JOE	30/12/02
14	VALUNIA*	JAMES BOBOR VONJOE	17/01/03
15	WUNDE	MOHAMED TSHOMBE KARGOI	15/01/03

*Amalgamated Chiefdom(s)

**Name of PC as at the time of the election

BONTHE DISTRICT

NO.	CHIEFDOM	NAME OF PARAMOUNT CHIEF	ELECTED
1	BENDU CHA*	VACANT	
2	BUM	ALEX MAADA JENGEH KAIPUMUI	24/12/09
3	DEMA	S.G.K. NGABAY	26/06/87
4	IMPERRI	HAWA KPANABUM SOKAHUN IV	22/07/83
5	JONG	ALLIEU SHERIFF	16/12/02
6	KPANDA KEMO*	MELROSE MARIE FORSTER-GBERIE	13/05/05
7	KWAME BAI KRIM*	MOHAMED MESSI**	
8	NONGOBA BULLOM	JONATHAN KABAKABA TUCKER	12/12/09
9	SITTIA	THOMAS KPANABOM LAHAI KOROMA	9/12/09
10	SOGBINI	STEPHEN P. BAYON II	13/12/09
11	YAWBEKO*	B.M. JUSU	17/08/05

*Amalgamated Chiefdom(s)

**Name of PC as at the time of the election

PUJEHUN DISTRICT

NO.	CHIEFDOM	NAME OF PARAMOUNT CHIEF	ELECTED
1	BARRI	VANDI KONG MAGONA (JR)	02/01/03
2	GALLINAS PERRI	ISSA BAIMBA KAMARA	10/01/03
3	KPAKA	JOHN SALIA ROGERS	23/02/06
4	MALEN	B.V.S. KEBBIE III	13/10/80
5	MAKPELE	VACANT	
6	MANO SAKRIM	EDNA G. FAWUNDU	27/11/82
7	KPANGA KABONDE	ALIMAMY JAIA KAIKAI IV	15/01/03
8	PANGA KRIM	S.A.S. GBONDA	09/02/79
9	PEJEH	HAJA MIATTA SOGUAL KOROMA	20/01/03
10	SORO GBEMA	ALHAJI BOCKARIE VANGAWA ZOMBO	11/12/02
11	SOWA	LAHAI A.K. SOWA II	27/12/02
12	YAKEMO KPUKUMU KRIM	MATILDA Y. MINAH	17/01/86

MOYAMBA DISTRICT

NO.	CHIEFDOM	NAME OF PARAMOUNT CHIEF	ELECTED
1	BAGRUWA*	ROBERT C. SEILOLO PAPAPWE	13/08/04
2	LOWER BANTA	JOHN GIBAO RUSSELL NYAMA **	24/OI/10
3	UPPER BANTA (MOKELLE)	TOMMY MUALAYLAY JOMBLA	06/01/03
4	BUMPEH	CHARLES B. CAULKER	26/10/84
5	DASSE	HAJA FATMATA B.K. MEAMA-KAJUE	02/12/02
6	FAKUNYA*	ALHAJI JOSEPH ALI- KAVURA KONGOMOH II	18/11/94
7	KAGBORO	DORIS LENGA-KOROMA GBA BAYOR CAULKER	29/12/09
8	KAIYAMBA	FODAY MOMOH GULAMA	21/01/10
9	KAMAJEI*	VACANT	
10	KONGBORA	ALFRED BANYA III	24/05/91
11	KORI	THOMAS B. GBAPPI IV	08/08/75
12	KOWA	DEBORA SUDIE ANTHONY QUEE IV	5/12/09
13	RIBBI	FODAY RAKA MAHOI	17/01/03
14	TIMIDALE	MATTU KAIKAI YIMBO I	27/11/81

*Amalgamated Chiefdom(s)

** Validity of election challenged in court

KENEMA DISTRICT

NO.	CHIEFDOM	NAME OF PARAMOUNT CHIEF	ELECTED
1	DAMA	SANDY MOMOH FOWAI	02/12/02
2	DODO	FODAY STEPHEN FABA-KPAKRA	23/05/03
3	GAURA	ALHAJI B.M. GBATEKAKA	08/09/64
4	GORAMA MENDE	HAJA MARIAMA M. GASSAMA-KANJA	11/12/02
5	KANDU LEPPIAMA*	THERESA VIBBI	28/10/69
6	KOYA	AL-AMEEN MUSTAPHA KANNEH V	17/12/09
7	LANGRAMA	PRINCE MAMBU PEWA	04/12/02
8	LOWER BAMBARA	ALIMAMY MOIWO FARMA	04/01/03`
9	MALEGOHUN*	SALLAY SATTA LAMIN GENDEMEH	30/06/73
10	NIAWA	JOE AMARA TAIMEH	09/12/02
11	NOMO	VANDI KAMARA KARMOH	21/12/09
12	NONGOWA	AMARA J. VANGAHUN	11/1996
13	SIMBARU	MAMIE GAMAGA	21/01/83
14	SMALL BO	MOHAMED DHAFFIE BENYA V	16/12/02
15	TUNKIA	AMARA NGOWAY SAMA	07/10/88
16	WANDO	HENRY K. FANGAWA	31/05/74

*Amalgamated Chiefdom(s)

KONO DISTRICT

NO.	CHIEFDOM	NAME OF PARAMOUNT CHIEF	ELECTED
1	FIAMA	SAHR Y.K. MBRIWA	18/12/02
2	GBANE	AIAH B.S. NGOUNGON	27/01/10
3	GBANE-KANDOR	PAUL MANGA II	2005
4	GBENSE	SAHR FENGAI KAIMACHIANDE	13/01/03
5	GORAMA-KONO	S.C.N. KONO BUNDOR II	04/03/85
6	KAMARA	AIAH MELVIN NGEKIA	30/12/02
7	LEI	VACANT	
8	MAFINDOR	ABU MBAWA KONGOBA II	28/04/86
9	NIMIKORO	AIAH DENTON F. BONA	17/02/2006
10	NIMIYAMA	GEORGE B. TORTO	05/12/09
11	SANDOR	SHEKU AMADU TEJAN FASULUKU SONSIAMA III	13/05/05
12	SOA	EMANUEL TAMBA FORYOH	07/12/09
13	TANKORO	PAUL NGABA SAQUEE V	10/03/2006
14	TOLI	SOLUKU J. BOCKARIE	27/12/09

KAILAHUN DISTRICT

NO.	CHIEFDOM	NAME OF PARAMOUNT CHIEF	ELECTED
1	DEA	AUGUSTINE JIBAO GAIMA	2/01/2003
2	JALUAHUN	SHERIFF COKER-JAJUA	11/12/09
3	JAWEI	MUSA NGOMBU KLA KALLON	23/12/02
4	KISSI KAMA	TAMBA OKEKE JABBA	15/01/03
5	KISSI TENG	EMMANUEL N. GANAWA	13/12/2010
6	KISSI TONGI	NYUMA S. SAHR KALLON	21/11/87
7	LUAWA	MOHAMED KAI-LONDO BANYA	17/01/03
8	MALEMA	JOSEPH LAMIN NGEVAO	08/01/03
9	MANDU	BAI SAMUEL COOMBER	27/12/02
10	PEJE BONGRE*	VACANT	
11	PEJE WEST	VACANT	
12	PENGUIA	SHEKU GIBILLA KULABLANGO V	9/12/09
13	UPPER BAMBARA	CYRIL FORAY GONDOR	10/01/03
14	YAWEI	JOSEPH KORMEH BRIMA KEKETAY II	20/12/02

*Amalgamated Chiefdom(s)

APPENDIX 2
List of Chiefdoms and Their Ruling Houses

Introduction

The following table contains the current 149 chiefdoms in Sierra Leone and their ruling houses.

1. We have noted in the foregoing chapters that only candidates from designated ruling houses/families that were '' …established and in existence … at independence on 27th April, 1961" (recognised by "consensus" in each chiefdom) are eligible to contest a Paramount chieftaincy election in a particular chiefdom when ever there is a vacancy.

(2)   It must be noted, however, that even though the Paramount Chieftaincy Act of 2009 makes provision for recognized ruling houses "established and in existence" before 1961, neither the said Act, nor the Ministry in charge of chieftaincy matters has an official list of recognized ruling families.   Thus, the list of ruling houses below is a result of research/interviews carried out beginning in 2009 by the author of this monograph in collaboration with District Electoral Officers (DEOs) of the National Electoral Commission (NEC).   The result of the said interviews were, however, cross checked with some field staff (i.e. Treasury Clerks and other Chiefdom Administration staff) of the Ministry in charge of Chieftaincy matters, some Paramount Chiefs and other available secondary sources. Of the available secondary sources, **Tristan Reed and James A. Robinson** (both of Harvard University) are the most fundamental.   Their publication titled **"The Chiefdoms of Sierra Leone"** (published in October 2012) gives a detailed history of each of the 149 chiefdoms in Sierra Leone and ruling families in them ("as far back as" their "informants could recall" and confirmed in the available archives both in Sierra Leone and in London, Reed and Robinson, 2012).

(3)   It is worth emphasizing that the origin of each of the current 149 chiefdoms (and their ruling families) goes back to the original founders (or ancestors) being either warriors (some of whom migrated from some where) or successful hunters, farmers or "some ancestor who performed a remarkable deed for the community and was rewarded with power" (Abraham 2002).   Put another way, as already noted, the attainment of the highest level of political authority in pre-colonial chieftaincy institutions was largely achievement oriented.   This principle was confirmed in Reed and Robinson (2012).

List of Districts, Chiefdoms and their Ruling Houses[29]

No.	Region Name	District Name	Chiefdom Name	NO	Ruling Houses
1.	Eastern	Kailahun	Dea	1	Gaima, Gbailo
				2	Manyeh
				3	Bobo Tamba
2.	Eastern	Kailahun	Jawei	1	Kpone
				2	Yavai
				3	Folu
				4	Ngombukla
				5	Vandi von Kallon
				6	Von nyeyama
3.	Eastern	Kailahun	Kissi Kama	1	Tengbeh
				2	Jabba
4.	Eastern	Kailahun	Kissi Teng	1	Tengbeh
				2	Ganawa
				3	Bandabla
				4	Bandakpalla
				5	Kabba
5.	Eastern	Kailahun	Kissi Tongi	1	Bayon
				2	Kaitongi
				3	Sahr kallan
				4	Kendor/Kongor Damba
6.	Eastern	Kailahun	Kpeje Bongre	1	B aion/Bain
				2	Ngebeh
				3	Batty

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[29] This research was done by the author in collaboration with NECs District Electoral Officers and field staff (i.e. Treasury Clerks) of the Ministry in charge of Local Government and Chieftaincy. A secondary source of information is Reed and Robinson(2012). It is still work in progress.

				4	Kpandeguia
				5	Fofowai
				6	Nyawflvo
				7	Manah
				8	Kapu
7.	Eastern	Kailahun	Kpeje West	1	Tengbeh
				2	Mastapha/Ngebeh
8.	Eastern	Kailahun	Luawa	1	Kailondo Banya
				2	Ngobeh
				3	Fabundeh/Kpundeh
				4	Saagba
9.	Eastern	Kailahun	Malema	1	Tarawalli
				2	Kangoma
				3	Ngevao
				4	Kpambu
				5	Dwawo Nyemie
10.	Eastern	Kailahun	Mandu	1	Bunduka
				2	Kabbasei/Coomber
				3	Kperewa
11.	Eastern	Kailahun	Njaluahun	1	Jajua
				2	Gbetuwai
				3	Gbow
				4	Gbongboto
				5	Samwova
12.	Eastern	Kailahun	Penguia	1	Gibilla
				2	Kalublangoi
				3	Duveh

				4	Panda
13.	Eastern	Kailahun	Upper Bambara	1	Kutubu
				2	Gondor
				3	Conor Jajua
				4	Babawo
14.	Eastern	Kailahun	Yawei	1	Kuyembeh
				2	Gunu/Jusu Sembeh
				3	Gbondo
				4	Keketay
				5	Kanneh
				6	Gea
15.	Eastern	Kenema	Dama	1	Dakowa
				2	Dassama
				3	Fowai
				4	Hakawa
16.	Eastern	Kenema	Dodo	1	Fabba Kpakra
				2	Gegbai
17.	Eastern	Kenema	Gaura	1	Bunduka
				2	Mendegla
				3	Bahcoy
				4	Gbatekaka
				5	Kallon
18.	Eastern	Kenema	Gorama Mende	1	Baio
				2	Kanja
19.	Eastern	Kenema	Kandu Lekpeama	1	Gbemeh
				2	Gbondo
				3	Manye/Nengeh

				4	Vibbi
				5	Mbollom
20.	Eastern	Kenema	Koya	1 2 3 4 5	Kallon Kanneh Mattia Komai Sellu
21.	Eastern	Kenema	Langrama	1 2	Pewa Bimbi Talleh
22.	Eastern	Kenema	Lower Bambara	1 2 3 4	Farma Gbongbotoh Quee Nyagua
23.	Eastern	Kenema	Malegohun (Amalgamated)	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11	Gendemeh Bobor Gibrilla Mannah Yajo Sombo Farma Dauda/Daudu Kargbo Nabieu Jaia/Joiah
24.	Eastern	Kenema	Niawa	1 2 3 4 5	Massaquoi Bundor Feika Safawa Jawa
25.	Eastern	Kenema	Nomo	1 2	Karmoh Kabba
26.	Eastern	Kenema	Nongowa	1 2 3 4	Gbow Kaisamba/Kahunla Kapuwa Matoe Vangahun

27.	Eastern	Kenema	Simbaru	1	Gamanga
				2	Jaiwu
28.	Eastern	Kenema	Small Bo	1	Benya
				2	Jombo/Jambo
				3	Nyagbe
29.	Eastern	Kenema	Tunkia	1	Javombo
				2	Sama
				3	Temeh
30.	Eastern	Kenema	Wandor	1	Fangawa
				2	Koiwa
				3	Ndopei
31.	Eastern	Kono	Fiama	1	Kontandey Mbriwa,
				2	Gbetuwa
				3	Songu M'briwa
32.	Eastern	Kono	Gbane	1	Nyandemoquee
				2	Ngongou
				3	Mafinda
				4	Boima
				5	Ngamoh
				6	Ngegba Bebuyei
				7	Fenfa
33.	Eastern	Kono	Gbane Kandor	1	Mbawah
34.	Eastern	Kono	Gbense	1	Kamachende/Korgbende
				2	Toli Yanfeneh
				3	Njaque Bona
				4	Tao Kabba
35.	Eastern	Kono	Gorama-Kono	1	Kono Bundor
				2	Forewah

36.	Eastern	Kono	Kamara	1	Fania
				2	Ngekia
				3	Petekol Babonjo
				4	Tieh
37.	Eastern	Kono	Lei	1	Mani/Kogbanda
38.	Eastern	Kono	Mafindor	1	Pombor
				2	Kongorba
				3	Musa
				4	Suluku
39.	Eastern	Kono	Nimikoro	1	Fomansa Maturi
				2	Bona
40.	Eastern	Kono	Nimiyama	1	Torto
				2	Madu
				3	Nyaka
				4	Kamanda
41.	Eastern	Kono	Sandor	1	Fasuluku
				2	Sonsiama
42.	Eastern	Kono	Soa	1	Foryoh
				2	Gbenda
				3	Nyanka
43.	Eastern	Kono	Tankoro	1	Sahr Quee
				2	Gando
				3	Gbesseh/Gombu
				4	Kange
44.	Eastern	Kono	Toli	1	Soluko
				2	Ngongou/NyaSongoh

45.	Northern	Bombali	Biriwa	1	Kalawa
				2	Bubuyan
				3	Pompol
46.	Northern	Bombali	Bombali Sebora	1	Marank Pate Bana
				2	Masimbo Pate Bana
				3	Maboleh
				4	Mabureh
47.	Northern	Bombali	Gbanti Kamaranka	1	Paria Kamara
				2	Fullah
				3	Turay
				4	Bangura
				5	Sesay
48.	Northern	Bombali	Gbendembu Ngowahun	1	Sesay
				2	Kargbo
				3	Kamara
				4	Kanu
49.	Northern	Bombali	Libeisaygahun	1	Bai Yankay Kargbo
				2	Gbatonko Sesay
				3	Farama
				4	Dainkay
				5	Kanu
50.	Northern	Bombali	Magbaiamba Ndorhahun	1	Gbaiamba
				2	Ngafor
				3	Kanu Kagbere
				4	Kanu Pelewara
				5	Kanu Kabara
					Source: Reed & Robinson (2012).

51.	Northern	Bombali	Makari Gbanti	1	Makari
				2	Keteh
				3	Masapri
				4	Mankinehlaya
				5	Pan-lap
				6	Sawalai
				7	Mabanta
				8	Robuya
					Source: Reed & Robinson (2012).
52.	Northern	Bombali	Paki Masabong	1	Magbontho
				2	Kabambor
				3	Kebekrah
				4	Mathonkay
				5	Masabong Thoron/ Masabong Pill
				6	Makente
				7	Mafonday
					Source: Reed & Robinson (2012).
53.	Northern	Bombali	Safroko Limba	1	Sesay
				2	Koroma
				3	Mansaray
				4	Dura
54.	Northern	Bombali	Sanda Loko	1	Bangura,
				2	Fombo
				3	Gbelia
				4	Kamara

				5	Sanu
55.	Northern	Bombali	Sanda Tenraran (Tendaren)	1	Sesay
				2	Munu
				3	Sanu
				4	Bangura
56.	Northern	Bombali	Sella Limba	1	Lusenia
				2	Bockaria
				3	Laminaya
				4	Sabuya

				1	Bramaia
57.	Northern	Bombali	Tambakha	2	Samaia
				3	Somasoriya
				4	Gbonglosoya
				5	Yannah
				6	Fudiasoriya
				7	Mabuya
				8	Sirialaya
				9	Yasin Modiya
					Source: Reed & Robinson (2012).
58.	Northern	Kambia	Bramaia	1	Dabatumani
				2	Bramaia
				3	Maligia
				4	Ganya/Ganyi
				5	Kabathra

59.	Northern	Kambia	Gbinle-Dixing (Amalgamated)		**GBILE**
				1	Ramatulaya Katalan
				2	Dura Thumaniya
				3	Kothakebanaya
				4	Yeally kabaya
				5	Bramaia
					DIXING
				6	Alimamy Fabbeh
				7	Firaya
				8	Sorieya
				9	Saniya
60.	Northern	Kambia	Magbema	1	Bombeh
				2	Faramathorlie
				3	Faramatami
				4	Bubu N'gbak
				5	Wonfet
61.	Northern	Kambia	Mambolo	1	Shebora Somanoh
				2	Wonie Koberr
				3	Lion
				4	Yomharry
				5	Moribaya

62.	Northern	Kambia	Masungbala (Amalgamated)		MASUNGBALA
				1	Alimamy Lai
				2	Kalu Kapr
				3	Satta Lai
					MUNU
				4	Kelfa Bonkonoh
				5	Kelfa Sankoh
					THALLAH
				6	Nani Yamie
				7	Nani K'abath
				8	Nani Kurrgba
63.	Northern	Kambia	Samu	1	Yumkellia
				2	Yekiya
				3	Kaba Sorieya
				4	Tonkoya
64.	Northern	Kambia	Tonko Limba	1	Bubuya
				2	Mabanda
				3	Kagbonkoh
				4	Madina
65.	Northern	Koinadugu	Dembelia/Sinkunia	1	Kumbaya
				2	Fakunia
66.	Northern	Koinadugu	Diang	1	Ferende
				2	Magba Koroma
67.	Northern	Koinadugu	Folosaba Dembelia (Musaia)	1	Phineyiria
				2	Kogbandaya
				3	Sorieyah
				4	Morieya

68.	Northern	Koinadugu	Kasunko (Amalgamated)	1	Kamabopo
				2	Kagbasia
				3	Kakarima
				4	Kasasie
				5	Mansaray
					Source: Reed & Robinson (2012).
69.	Northern	Koinadugu	Mongo	1	Kokesia
				2	Bunjeli
				3	Tambaya
				4	Misadu
				5	Famaria
				6	Kankabaya
					Source: Reed & Robinson (2012).
70.	Northern	Koinadugu	Neya	1	Fankulia
				2	Bubumkoro
				3	Kulakudamba
				4	Selati Kalima
					Source: Reed & Robinson (2012).
71.	Northern	Koinadugu	Nieni	1	Dambaleh Marah
				2	Koroma
				3	Jalloh
				4	Thoronka
				5	Bam koro Marah
72.	Northern	Koinadugu	Sengbe	1	Balansama Marah
				2	Bubele
				3	Kamadugu

73.	Northern	Koinadugu	Sulima	1	Gulunga
				2	Sanukunria
				3	Metaya
				4	Bockariya
74.	Northern	Koinadugu	Wara Wara Bafodia (	1	Salifuyah
				2	Kasimaya
				3	Kalingbeya
				4	Bafodia
				5	Kegbosie
				6	Serekundeh
				7	Kambadia
					Source: Reed & Robinson (2012).
75.	Northern	Koinadugu	Wara Wara Yagala	1	Yembeh Mansaray
				2	Gbawuru
76.	Northern	Port Loko	Bure-Kasseh-Makonteh (BKM) (Amalgamated)	1	Bai Hinga Yuroh (Rokatap)
				2	Bai Hinga Bando (Mange)
				3	Bai Hinga Lamina Lontho Kamara (Mange Barrick)
				4	Bai Hinga Lamina Lontho Bangura (Mange)
				5	Bai Bureh Kathena (Kasseh Bamoi)
				6	Bai Bureh Kaifee (Kasseh Baimoi)
				7	Bai Bureh Ali Sabeh (Kasseh Bamoi)
				8	Bai Bureh Lamina Kamara (Kasseh Rokthenti)
				9	Bai Bureh Kabelai (Kasseh

				10	Rogbalan)
				11	Bai Bureh Momoh-Lugbu Bangura (Rogberay)
				12	Bai Bureh Molai Kadi (Mabureh Kasseh)
					Kaihimbor (Macoteh)
					Source: Reed & Robinson (2012).
77.	Northern	Port Loko	Buya/Romende (Amalgamated) (Source Reed & Robinson)		BUYA
				1	N'kenedy
				2	Sesay
					ROMENDE
				1	Fonti Gbangba
				2	Fonti Satti
				3	Fonti Muhamadu
				4	Fonti N'gbamanti
				5	Fonti Sillah
				6	Fonti Konko
				7	Fonti Mami
					Source: Reed & Robinson (2012).
78.	Northern	Port Loko	Dibia	1	Bunduka
				2	Kargbo
				3	Tink
				4	Lugbu
				5	Kamom
79.	Northern	Port Loko	Kaffu Bullom	1	Bai Shebora Komkanda
				2	Bai Shebora Dura Sheka
				3	Bai Shebora Sheba Gbereh

				4	Bai Shebora Yome
				5	Bai Shebora William Sheka
				6	Bai Shebora Madigba Foday
				7	Bai Shebora King Debi
80.	Northern	Port Loko	Koya	1	Farrma
				2	Kakent
				3	Bai Kompa Kefero (Dumbuya)
				4	Bai Kompa K'mant
				5	Bombali
				6	Bai kompa Kamara Yek
81.	Northern	Port Loko	Loko Masama	1	Lamina Sam (Samaya)
				2	Laminaya
				3	Bomboya
82.	Northern	Port Loko	Maforki	1	Bai Forki Sonkoi
				2	Bai Forki Rofenka
				3	Bai Forki Kafakeh
				4	Bai Forki Bath Pollon
				5	Bai Forki Magbankitha
				6	Bai Froki Penthagbo
				7	Kande Balie
				8	Alikali Modu
				9	Alikali Mayla
				10	Alkali Moribaya
				11	Alikali Fatima Brima
83.	Northern	Port Loko	Marampa	1	Koblo Queen
				2	Pat-Bana

				3	Kegbelay
				4	Gbamathie
				5	Kennedy
				6	Sankoloh
84.	Northern	Port Loko	Masimra	1	Chonkala Thonkla
				2	Ponko
				3	Nassie
				4	Gbarah

85.	Northern	Port Loko	Sanda Magbolontor	1	Brima Lebbay
				2	Turay
				3	Sesay
				4	Sillah
					Source: Reed & Robinson (2012).
86.	Northern	Port Loko	T. M. Safroko	1	Bai Kama N'thinki
				2	Bai kama Fallah
				3	Masawanka Conteh
				4	Bai Kurraray
				5	Bai Farma Oshengbeh
				6	Masinneh
87.	Northern	Tonkolili	Gbonkolenken		MATHAMP/ROPOLI(FORNAHS)
				1	Bai Sunthuba Osara
				2	Bai Sunthuba Kabonthor
				3	Bai Sunthuba Orfith
				4	Bai Sunthuba Mekoirinko
					MAYEPOR (KANU)
				5	Bai Simera Kalompre

					YELE TOWN (SESAY)
				6	Bai Kump Kanasengbe
				7	Bai Kump Orthenip
					MASAKONG (SESAY)
				8	Bai Limangbama
88.	Northern	Tonkolili	Kafe Simiria (Amalgamated)	1	Tambakaira
				2	Kamandugu (Thorlie)
				3	Royeima
					Source: Reed & Robinson (2012 page 127).
89.	Northern	Tonkolili	Kalansogia		DANSOGOIA
				1	Alimamy Yallah Kalan thuba
				2	Thalan Yari
				3	Bai Yembeh
				4	Alimamy Tesseh
				5	Thalan Turay
90.	Northern	Tonkolili	Kholifa Mabang	1	Kana Bondigba Saky
				2	Kana Bonthor
				3	Maliforay
				4	Kanafola
				5	Bai Kurr Khuraray
91.	Northern	Tonkolili	Kholifa Rowalla		KHOLIFA ROWALA
				1	Masakama Karawulay
				2	Masakama Kabonko
				3	Masakama Limbolly
				4	Masakama Timpasoko
				5	Masakama Kanamakama

					KHOLIFA MAMUNTA
				6	Masakama Mausa Munta
				7	Sanka
				8	Mansamunirta Kana
					KHOLIFA MAYOSOH
				9	Mansa Munta Kessebeh
				10	Bai Yossoh Karanke
				11	Bai Yossoh Magbaullay
				12	Bai Yossoh Kholifa
92.	Northern	Tonkolili	Kunike (Kunike Sanda)		KUNKE FOLAWUSO
				1	Bai Kafiri Mantallky
				2	Bai Kafri Kenewa
				3	Bai Kafiri Pabail
					KUNKE SANDA
				4	Bai Kurr Kanafoi
				5	Bai Kurr Kana Gbaro
				6	Bai Kurr Kana Merif
				7	Bonkay
93.	Northern	Tonkolili	Kunike Barina	1	Conteh
				2	Kanu
				3	Kamara
				4	Sesay
94.	Northern	Tonkolili	Malal Mara	1	Bai Baroh Maboleh
				2	Mayololi
				3	Bai Barogbakuna
				4	Bai Barhamemneh

				5	Bailal Kololo
				6	Bailal N'jika
				7	Bailal Kakubereh
				8	Bailal N'sooila
					Source: Reed & Robinson (2012).
95.	Northern	Tonkolili	Sambaia	1	Yabia
				2	Nbaimbayeira
96.	Northern	Tonkolili	Tane	1	Kapolo
				2	Makeni Koray
				3	Mangay
				4	Mabamp
					Source: Reed & Robinson (2012).
97.	Northern	Tonkolili	Yoni	1	Folamansa Bimbikora
				2	Folamansa Gbabereh
				3	Folamansa Nsoila
				4	Folamansa Kapob
				5	Gbasha
				6	Bana
				7	Makunta
				8	Kondor
					Source: Reed & Robinson (2012).
98.	Southern	Bo	Badjia	1	Hindowa
				2	Kpokie
99.	Southern	Bo	Bagbe	1	Gbateh
				2	Gbenga

				3	Kobba Ngelewa
				4	Ndorgbokeh
				5	Mabajia
100.	Southern	Bo	Bagbo	1	Koker
				2	Jah
				3	Idriss Beayorma
				4	Collier
101.	Southern	Bo	Baoma	1	Demby
				2	Kondoh/Farkondoh
102.	Southern	Bo	Bumpe Ngawo	1	Kposowa
				2	Gbekpa/ Barkar
				3	Macavoray
				4	Jongo
				5	Kpandoma
103.	Southern	Bo	Gbo	1	Songa
				2	Foray
				3	Magao
				4	Nuyaba
104.	Southern	Bo	Jaiama-Bongor	1	Kai
				2	Gbao
				3	Jabbie
				4	Musa
				5	Bassie kateh
				6	Toneyamusu
				7	Pokawa
105.	Southern	Bo	Kakua	1	Boima
				2	Baimba

				3	Hotagua
				4	Kamanda Bongay
				5	Pessima
				6	Bojon
				7	Sandi
106.	Southern	Bo	Komboya	1	Demby
				2	Lebbie Lagbenior
				3	Jongay
107.	Southern	Bo	Lugbu	1	Nallo
				2	Magao
108.	Southern	Bo	Niawa Lenga	1	Kulagbanda
				2	Mone
				3	Nallay/ Nail
				4	Yokie
				5	Njiabo
109.	Southern	Bo	Selenga	1	Ngokowa
				2	Kargobai
110.	Southern	Bo	Tikonko	1	Jigba
				2	Macavoray/ Kangbai
				3	Gaina
				4	Sandy
111.	Southern	Bo	Valunya	1	Gbanie
				2	Kamara
				3	Fefegula
				4	Ndawama (Gbateh)
				5	Ngolo/Vonjo

112.	Southern	Bo	Wonde	1	Daboh
				2	Kargoi
				3	Manyeh
113.	Southern	Bonthe	Bendu Cha	1	Baun,
				2	Kpange
				3	Karina
				4	Yeamie
				5	Muana
114.	Southern	Bonthe	Bum	1	Nuni,
				2	Kainpumu,
				3	Kpana Nyambe,
				4	Kongbako,
				5	Seibureh,
				6	Kain Yajawai.

115.	Southern	Bonthe	Dema	1	Ngabe,
				2	Gamanga,
				3	Bia Hennie
116.	Southern	Bonthe	Imperri	1	Sokaum,
				2	Kpanabom
				3	Kategbeh
117.	Southern	Bonthe	Jong	1	Kama/Sheriff,
				2	Seikama/ Serikamal
				3	Tucker
118.	Southern	Bonthe	Kpanda-Kemo	1	Gberie
				2	Barkajanie

				3	Jambai
				4	Lebbie
				5	Lahai
119.	Southern	Bonthe	Kwamebai-Krim	1	Mahuloh
				2	Penyikie
				3	Messie
				4	Tiffa
				5	Bayama
120.	Southern	Bonthe	Nongoba-Bullom	1	Bawullie Tucker
				2	Bumpeh
				3	Karba Kaba
121.	Southern	Bonthe	Sittia	1	Fai
				2	Sangbo
				3	Brandom
122.	Southern	Bonthe	Sogbini	1	Bio
				2	Bayo
123.	Southern	Bonthe	Yawbeko	1	Yawma/Jusu
				2	Yannie,
				3	Jangba
				4	Bundeh
124.	Southern	Moyamba	Bagruwa	1	Barkortu
				2	Seilolo Papapwe
				3	Soloku
				4	Tucker
125.	Southern	Moyamba	Bumpe	1	Coker/Caulker
				2	Bendu
126.	Southern	Moyamba	Dasse	1	Meama Kajue

				2	Ndolavoe
127.	Southern	Moyamba	Fakunya	1	Kavura Kongormo
				2	Kpange
				3	Bengeh
				4	N'gakue
				5	Sesay
128.	Southern	Moyamba	Kagboro	1	Caulker
				2	Sosan Dick
129.	Southern	Moyamba	Kaiyamba	1	Gulama
				2	Gbongbovi
				3	Kengi Bomeh
				4	Mboyawah
				5	Yoko
				6	Blango
130.	Southern	Moyamba	Kamajei	1	Mbayenge/ Bai Yaingay
				2	Ngebeh
				3	Yovonie
				4	Sovula
				5	Kobai
				6	Yakana
				7	Fangawa
				8	Silo
131.	Southern	Moyamba	Kongbora	1	Banya
				2	Kangaju
132.	Southern	Moyamba	Kori	1	Brewah
				2	Gbappie
				3	Gbaya Kokoye

				4	Gbenjeh
133.	Southern	Moyamba	Kowa	1	Quee
				2	Fummeh
				3	Kpanabondor
				4	Tibbie
				5	Yavana
				6	Boinjama
134.	Southern	Moyamba	Lower Banta(Mokele)	1	Bota
				2	Yoryor/Yoyo
				3	Margai
				4	Nyama
				5	Walters
135.	Southern	Moyamba	Ribbi	1	Cole
				2	Bendu/Mahoi
136.	Southern	Moyamba	Timdale	1	Kaindor
				2	Yimbo
137.	Southern	Moyamba	Upper Banta (Gbangbatoke)	1	Jombla
				2	Kokpai
				3	Sengeh/Dendeh
138.	Southern	Pujehun	Barri	1	Magona
				2	Kallon
				3	Goba
				4	Bobor
				5	Yajowai
				6	Bockarie
				7	Nyalor

				8	Jabatiwi
				9	Gbennie
139.	Southern	Pujehun	Gallinas Perri	1	Massaquoi Sembehun
				2	Massaquoi Gendema
				3	Kpakra /Massalay,
				4	Jakema
140.	Southern	Pujehun	Kpaka	1	Rogers/ Kpaka
141.	Southern	Pujehun	Kpanga Kabonde	1	Kaikai
				2	Jah
				3	Sillah
				4	Koroma
				5	French
				6	Kamara
				7	Bakon
142.	Southern	Pujehun	Makpele	1	Konneh
				2	Tamu
				3	Pessima
				4	Kamara
				5	Sesay
				6	Metzger
				7	Gbavia
				8	Kengo
				9	Goma

143.	Southern	Pujehun	Malen	1	Kebbie,
				2	Oniel
				3	Sengova
				4	Bakundu
144.	Southern	Pujehun	Mano Sakrim	1	Fawundu
				2	Kaiba
145.	Southern	Pujehun	Panga Krim	1	Gbonda
				2	Tucker
146.	Southern	Pujehun	Peje	1	Malikie Koroma
				2	Kallon
				3	Salia
				4	Gbanjahun
				5	Yah
					Source: Reed & Robinson (2012 page 123).
147.	Southern	Pujehun	Soro Gbema (Amalgamated)	1	Zombo
				2	Zoker
				3	Pabai
				4	Kamara/Koroma
				5	Kemokai
				6	Massaquoi
148.	Southern	Pujehun	Sowa	1	Sowa
				2	Wundu
				3	Tapima
149.	Southern	Pujehun	Yakemo-Kpukumu-Krim	1	Minnah
				2	Kpukumu
				3	Fortune

APPENDIX 3
List of Sample forms and reporting format for the PC electoral process
(Courtesy of National Electoral Commission**)**

REPUBLIC OF SIERRA LEONE

NATIONAL ELECTORAL COMMISSION

PARAMOUNT CHIEFTAINCY ELECTION

CHIEFDOM COUNCILLORS FORM

(PCCC -FORM 01)

………………………Chiefdom   ………………………District

………………………Section   Date………………………

No	Name	Town/Village	Office
1			
2			
3			
4			
5			
6			
7			
8			
9			
10			

11			
12			
13			
14			
15			
16			
17			
18			
19			
20			

Prepared by:

1. **Revision Officer (Ministry in Charge of Chieftaincy):**_____**Date:**_____

2. **NEC Representative:** _____ **Date:** _____

1. **Witnessed by Section Chief:**_____ **Date:**_____

   Note: One Councillor shall be elected/appointed out of every 20 tax payers.

   Source:

(National Electoral Commission

REPUBLIC OF SIERRA LEONE

NATIONAL ELECTORAL COMMISSION

PHOTO

ELECTORAL LAWS ACT, 2002 S. 61 (1), (2).

THE CHIEFTAINCY ACT 2008 (Sections 5, 13)

PARAMOUNT CHIEFTAINCY ELECTION DECLARATION OF RIGHTS/NOMINATION FORM

(PCDR - FORM 02**)**

Paramount Chieftaincy Election for ………………………………Chiefdom.

We, the undersigned, being gazetted Chiefdom Councillors in the above Chiefdom, and members of the ……………………………………… Chiefdom Council nominate the under mentioned person as Paramount Chief Candidate at the Paramount Chieftaincy election.

Candidate's Name in full	Place of Residence	Occupation	Symbol

Name   **Signature or Mark**   **Chiefdom**

                                                   Treasury Receipt No.

1. ....

2. ....

3. ....

Witness........................   ....

Received this........day of..................... 2009 at ....a.m./p.m

....

Provincial Secretary/Declaration of Rights

Officer

Source:

(National Electoral Commission)

REPUBLIC OF SIERRA LEONE

NATIONAL ELECTORAL COMMISSION

PCDR- FORM 03

STATUTORY DECLARATION FOR PURPOSE OF DECLARATION OF

RIGHTS/NOMINATION AT A PARAMOUNT CHIEFTAINCY ELECTION

I, ……………………………………….of…………………………. Chiefdom

do solemnly and sincerely declare as follows:

1. I do hereby consent to my nomination as a candidate at the Paramount Chieftaincy Election to be held in the above Chiefdom.

2. I am duly qualified and I am not disqualified by law/custom for election as a Paramount Chief.

3. I am sufficiently conversant with the customs and traditions of ………………………….…………Chiefdom.
4. I am qualified under, and have complied with, the customs and traditions of the aforesaid chiefdom relating to persons thereof wishing to declare their rights to stand as candidates at Paramount Chieftaincy elections.

And I make this declaration conscientiously believing the same to be true and according to the Oaths and Statutory Declaration Act.

Declared at …………………………….

This ………… day   of ……………….2009 at …………… am/pm.

……………………………….

Signature or mark of Declarant

BEFORE ME

…………………………………………………….

A Magistrate / Commissioner for Oaths/

Justice of the Peace /Provincial Secretary

Note: The declarant's name must be written in the order in which he wishes it to appear on the notice of poll and the ballot paper commencing with the surname.

No person may subscribe to more than one declaration of rights form for this election

Source: (National Electoral Commission)

Republic of Sierra Leone

Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development and

The National Electoral Commission (NEC)

Paramount Chieftaincy Elections

Joint Reporting Format Form (PCE-JRFF04)

ELECTION OF PARAMOUNT CHIEF, ...CHIEFDOM, ... PROVINCE

JOINT REPORT

of the PROVINCIAL SECRETARY, ... PROVINCE

and the NATIONAL ELECTORAL COMMISSION

to the MINISTER OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT

INTRODUCTION

The office of Paramount Chief of .... Chiefdom, became vacant on [*date*] on the death of PC ....

[*The… Chiefdom is an amalgamated chiefdom, comprising of the following former chiefdoms: ………… The immediate past paramount Chief hail from the ……*]

The election of the paramount Chief was conducted in accordance with the provisions of the Chieftaincy Act 2009, as set out below.

REVISION OF GAZETTE LIST

The gazette List of the Chiefdom Council was revised for the purpose of the PC election on [date] at [location/s for revision]. The revision was undertaken by the office of the provincial secretary in collaboration with NEC. The revised list included office- holders specified by law [[*number*] *ceremonial Chiefs*] and [*number*] Chiefdom councillors representing the tax-payers of the Chiefdom.

The revised Gazette List was published three times in Vols. Xxx of [date], xxx of [date] and xxxx of [date].

DECLARATION OF RIGHTS

The Declaration of Rights meeting was convened by the Provincial Secretary, xxx province as Declaration Officer, on … [date] ….. at [location]. The two Assessor Chiefs appointed by the Minister, namely PC Y of ….. Chiefdom… District and PC Z of …. Chiefdom,… District attended and fulfilled their functions under the Act.

The following aspirants claimed to be qualified under the law to stand as candidates:

1. XXX

2.

3.

Objection was made to aspirants' title claims as follows:

[For each aspirant objected to: specify who objected, the ground of objection, the decision and process (whether a ballot of councillors or decision of Declaration Officer and Assessor Chiefs].

The following aspirant/s were disqualified from standing as candidate in this PC election on the grounds that the ruling house from which he/she they hail is disqualified from contesting in the current PC election by virtue of the rotational crowning provisions of the Act.

The Declaration Officer declared that the following aspirants were qualified to stand as candidates for this PC election:

1. XXX
2. YYY
3. ZZZ { Give the full list }

[Reference objection to any aspirant, process for decision and outcome]

[Reference if Assessor Chief/s differed on any issue causing the filling of separate reports

The meeting accepted the claims of [*names*]. The Declaration Officer accordingly declared that the following were qualified to stand as candidates for this PC election.

[Reference any petition or litigation which resulted in any change from the outcome of the Declaration of Rights meeting]

POLLING

Polling was conducted on [*date*] at [*location*], the Chiefdom headquarters town. NEC supervised the polling process. The Provincial Secretary and Assessor Chiefs were in attendance. *[NOTE: if different Assessor Chiefs to those at the Declaration of Rights stage give full details]*

All the Chiefdom councillors present who voted in the election signed the Attestation Document, pledging to support the person who would be elected paramount Chief.

At the end of polling, after the reconciliation of the ballots and the counting of the votes, the results were announced as follows:

[List names of candidates and number of votes obtained]

Invalid votes   [number]

As no candidate received 55% of the votes cast, a second ballot was conducted between the two candidates who received the highest number of votes. At the end of

polling, after the reconciliation of the ballots the votes were counted and the result was as follows:

[List names of candidates in run-off and number of votes obtained]

Invalid votes   [number]

[Alternate wording if 2 candidates: There being only two candidates competing in the election, the Declaration Officer declared [name] to be the winner and duly elected paramount Chief of [name] Chiefdom, [name] District].

[*Name*] having scored the highest number of votes cast was declared winner by the Declaration Officer and therefore duly elected paramount Chief of [*name*] Chiefdom.

The Attestation Document was endorsed by the Provincial Secretary and Assessor Chiefs.

RECOMMENDATION

Honourable Minister: In pursuance of the provisions of section 17 of the Chieftaincy Act 2009, we have the honour to present the above as our joint report on the conduct of the election of a paramount Chief for the *[name]* Chiefdom. We request you to accept the joint report, and recommend to the Government that **[name of new PC]** be recognized as paramount Chief of *[name]* Chiefdom by bestowing upon *[him/ her]* the staff of Office by the President and by publication of the election in the Gazette.

Signed   signed

XXXX   XXXXXXX

Provincial Secretary, *[xxx]* Province   [Designation]
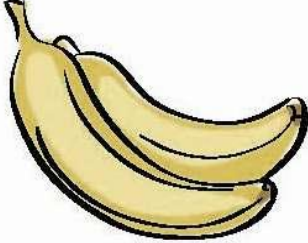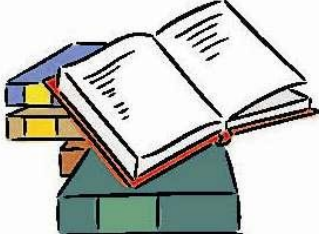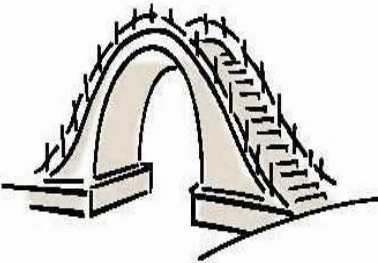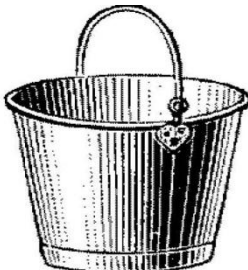
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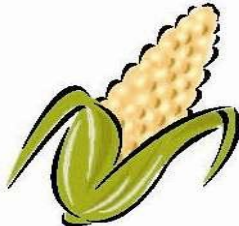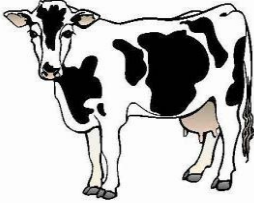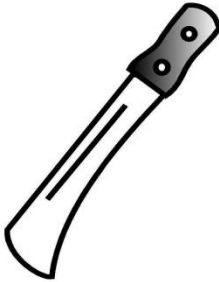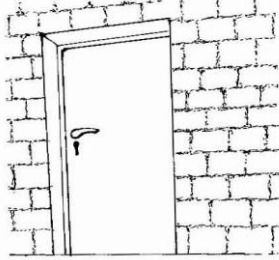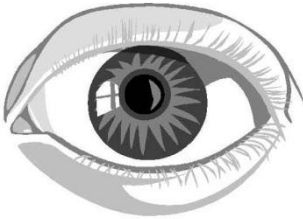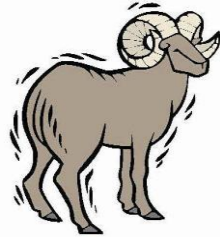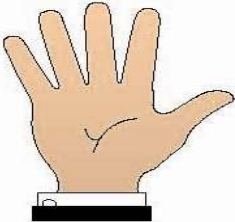
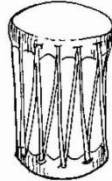*Courtesy: Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development, and the National Electoral Commission of Sierra Leo*
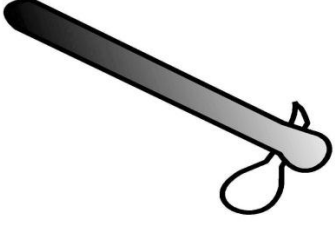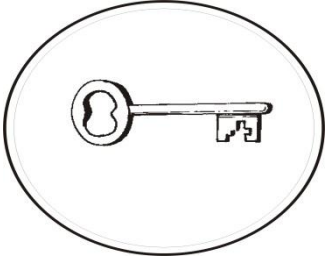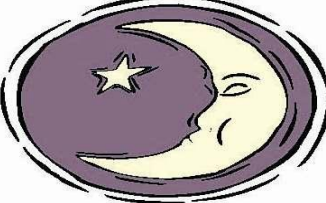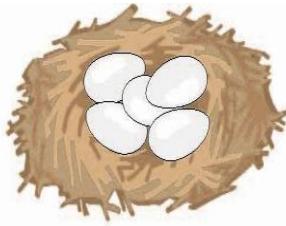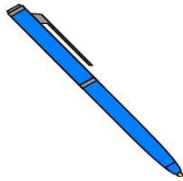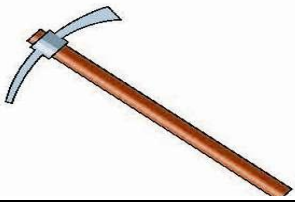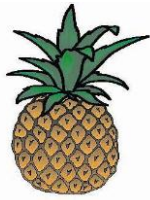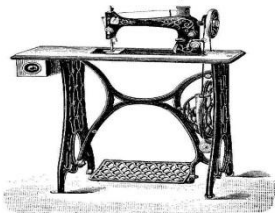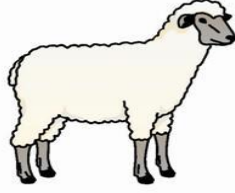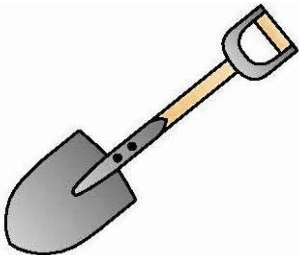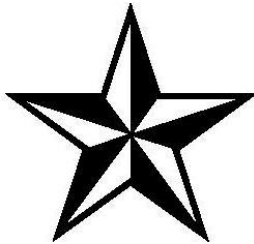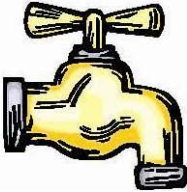
PPENDIX 4
LIST OF SYMBOLS
National Electoral Commission (NEC)
OAU Drive, Tower Hill
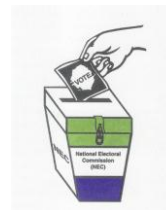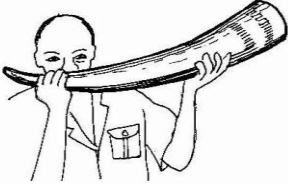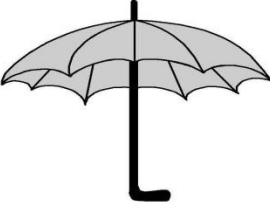
Name: Banana **Code: 001**	**Name: Basket** **Code: 016**	**Name: Bell** **Code: 038**
Name: Bicycle **Code: 010**	**Name: Bird** **Code: 022**	**Name: Book** **Code: 029**
Name: Bridge **Code: 028**	**Name: Broom** **Code: 032**	**Name: Bucket** **Code: 002**
Name: Bus **Code: 011**	**Name: Candle Light** **Code: 019**	**Name: Canoe** **Code: 014**

Name: Cock **Code: 004**	**Name: Corn** **Code: 012**	**Name: Cow** **Code: 015**
Name: Cutlass **Code: 046**	**Name: Door** **Code: 043**	**Name: Eye** **Code: 034**
Name: Fish **Code: 013**	**Name: Flower** **Code: 037**	**Name: Goat** **Code: 024**
Name: Hand **Code: 035**	**Name: Handshake** **Code: 044**	**Name: Head Tie** **Code: 020**

Name: Hoe **Code: 045**	**Name: House** **Code: 009**	**Name: Husk Rice** **Code: 031**
Name: Key **Code: 027**	**Name: Ladder** **Code: 049**	**Name: Leaf** **Code: 040**
Name: Mango **Code: 008**	**Name: Moon** **Code: 017**	**Name: Motar & Pestle** **Code: 030**
Name: Motor Cycle **Code: 005**	**Name: Nest** **Code: 023**	**Name: Pen** **Code: 047**

Name: Pick Axe **Code: 006**	**Name: Pineapple** **Code: 025**	**Name: Pot** **Code: 039**
Name: Segbureh **Code: 051**	**Name: Sewing Machine** **Code: 050**	**Name: Sheep** **Code: 041**
Name: Shovel **Code: 036**	**Name: Star** **Code: 018**	**Name: Talkin Drum** **Code: 042**
Name: Tap **Code: 007**	**Name: Torch Light** **Code: 033**	**Name: Tractor** **Code: 053**

Name: Tusk **Code: 021**	**Name: Umbrella** **Code: 003**	**Name: Wall Clock** **Code: 052**
Name: Wheel Barrow **Code: 026**	**Name: Window** **Code: 048**	

APPENDIX 5

LIST OF AMALGAMATED CHIEFDOMS

Source:

(Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development)

Tristan Reed and James A. Robinson in "The chiefdoms of Sierra Leone" 2012.

Ser. No	Region	District	Chiefdom	Part(s) of the Amalgam
1	Eastern	Kailahun	Kpeje- Bongre	Kpeje & Bongre
2	Eastern	Kenema	Kandu- Lekpiama	Kandu& Lekpeama
3	Eastern	Kenema	Malegohun	Sawula,Kojo &Hunlorhun
4	Northern	Bombali	Sanda- Loko	Sanda & Loko
5	Northern	Bombali	Gbanti- Kamaranka	Gbanti & Kamaranka
6	Northern	Bombali	Bombali- Sebora	Bombali & Konta Baisiaray
7	Northern	Bombali	Gbendembu- Ngowahun	Gbendembu & Ngowahun
8	Northern	Bombali	Makari –Gbanti	Panlap & Gbanti
9	Northern	Bombali	Sanda-Tenraren	Sanda & Rogboreh
10	Northern	Bombali	Magbaiamba- Ndorhahun	Ndorhahun & Kagbere
11	Northern	Bombali	Paki Massabong	Mapaki & Masabong
12	Northern	Bombali	Tambakha	Sammaia, Fintonia
13	Northern	Kambia	Bramaia	Kholimakah & Bramaia
14	Northern	Kambia	Gbinle-Dixing	Gbinle & Dixing

15	Northern	Kambia	Masungbala	Masungbala, Munu & Thalla
16	Northern	Port loko	Bureh Kase Maconteh	Burreh, Kasseh & Maconteh
17	Northern	Port loko	Tainkatopa Makama safroko	Safroko, Thainka Tuppa & Makama
18	Northern	Tonkolili	Gbonkolenken	Gonkolenken, Masakong, Mayeppoh & Poli
19	Northern	Tonkolili	Kafe Simira	Kafe & Simira
20	Northern	Tonkolili	Kalansogoia	Dansogoia, & Kalantuba
21	Northern	Tonkolili	Kholifa Ruwalla	Kholifa Mamuta, kholifa Mayossoh & Kholifa Rowala
22	Northern	Tonkolili	Konike	Kunike Folawoso, Kunike Sanda
23	Northern	Tonkolili	Malal Mara	Malal, Mara
24	Northern	Tonkolili	Yoni	Yoni Mabanta, Yoni Mamilla
25	Northern	Koinadugu	Dembalia Sinkunia	Dembelia; Sinkulia
26	Northern	Koinadugu	Diang ?	Diang
27	Northern	Koinadugu	Folosaba Dembalia	Folosaba; Dembelia
28	Northern	Koinadugu	Kasonko	Gbongobon; Tamiso; Kayaka; Kakelian; Kasonko
29	Northern	Koinadugu	Mongo	Mankalia; Deldu; Benadugu; Morifindugu; Mongo;
30	Northern	Koinadugu	Neya	Neya; Saradu; N'Yedu; Kulor
31	Northern	Koinadugu	Nieni	Burawa; Kalian; Wullay; Nieni
32	Northern	Koinadugu	Sengbeh	Sengbe; Yiraia; Kamadu
33	Northern	Koinadugu	Sulima	Sulima; Kabelia
34	Northern	Koinadugu	Wara-Wara Bafodea	Wara Wara Bafodia; Kamuke

35	Northern	Koinadugu	Wara-Wara Yagala	Wara Wara, Yagala
36	South	Bo	Jiama Bongo	Old Bongor; Old Jaiama
37	South	Bo	Niawa Lengah	Niawa Lenga; Upper Niawa
38	South	Bo	Valunia	Lunia; Old Vanjelu
39	South	Bonthe	Bendu Cha	Bendu; Cha
40	South	Bonthe	Kpanda Kemo	Kpanda; Kemoh
41	South	Bonthe	Kwamebai Krim	Baiama; Kwako; Messi
42	South	Bonthe	Nongoba Bullom	
43	South	Bonthe	Yawbeko	Bekowa; Yawma
44	South	Moyamba	Bagruwa	Kpakru; Seilolo
45	South	Moyamba	Fakunya	Fakoi; Kunayafoi
46	South	Moyamba	Kamajei	Majei; Ngegbeh
47	South	Pujehun	Gallinas Perri	Gallinas; Perri
48	South	Pujehun	Kpanga Kagonde	Kabonde; Kpanga
49	South	Pujehun	Soro Gbeima	Gbema; Soro
50	South	Pujehun	Yakemo Kpukumu Krim	Kpukumu; Yakemoh; Krim (Yabai) Fortune

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