

Perceptions of Justice in Sierra Leone 2019

A cross-national examination of justice needs and experiences prepared by the Institute for Governance Reform (IGR) for UNDP and the JSCO

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Executive Summary

This study expands empirically our understanding of justice and security in Sierra Leone in two ways: it assesses institutional perceptions of citizens towards the formal justice and security sectors, and secondly evaluates the justice needs and experiences of citizens around the country. Taken together, this research informs us significantly of current perceptions of justice and security around the country. Survey data collected in all 16 districts, augmented with qualitative interviews conducted with formal institutional stakeholders provides a comprehensive image of justice and security in Sierra Leone, from both the 'demand' (citizen or user) and 'supply' (institutional) sides.

Main Institutional Perceptions Findings

The Police continue to enjoy the highest level of **institutional familiarity** among citizens. However, they also receive the poorest **performance** and **trust** scores. Citizens widely hold the Police to privilege politicians, the rich and the powerful, and are considered the most **corrupt** branch of the formal security sector. Despite forming the primary providers of security at the community level, when operating in isolation, the police are ranked as less effective than informal security providers. However, when operating alongside and in cooperation with informal security providers, perception scores of police effectiveness increases.

Institutions that are highly perceived to be **citizen-oriented** receive the **highest performance ratings** (The Legal Aid Board and Human Rights Commission of Sierra Leone specifically). Conversely, institutions that experience high visibility and citizen engagement challenges, receive the highest 'unknown' performance ratings. **Customary informal justice providers** enjoy the highest levels of citizen **trust**, with respondents generally reporting that customary informal justice providers are more effective than formal courts. Formal court proceedings are frequently characterized as long and complicated, and the cost of justice is widely held to be high. Institutional **capacity** (constraints) in both the justice and security sectors do not significantly determine citizen **trust** or **corruption** levels towards these formal sectors. Rather, corruption is widely held to stem from poverty and money grabbing within the formal sectors. Bribery, as a manifestation of corruption that engages citizens directly is widely associated with the Police.

Main Justice Needs and Experiences Findings

The Police are a **significant justice service provider** across the country. Overwhelmingly, citizens look to the police not only as providers of community security, but also as sources of legal advice, and they are identified as the most frequently used justice path among citizens who take action to resolve their legal problems. Citizens who seek legal advice are very likely to take action to resolve their legal problems. Citizens rely heavily on personal networks, and the Police, for advice.

While respondents who experience legal problems take action to resolve this, some do not. Among them, the most frequently reported reason for not pursuing resolution is **power**, with many answering that they took no action because 'the other party is too powerful'. This supports institutional corruption findings on bias and privilege in service provision in both the formal justice and security sectors.

Customary informal justice paths evidence the most positive procedural performance scores among citizens. For citizens who address their legal problems through a single justice path, informal justice paths perform the best. Among those who utilize multiple paths to seek resolution for their legal problems, institutional or formal justice actions provide more meaningful access to justice. Citizens continue to rely heavily on their personal networks for **legal advice** and **action**. However, while personal networks perform well as sources of legal advice, they perform very poorly as justice paths. Legal empowerment is therefore very effectively pursued through personal networks, though legal action is inappropriately directed to these paths, which provide low resolution rates and little voice and equality to justice users.

Introduction

The justice and security infrastructure of a state together are responsible for two fundamental tenants of governance and human rights: security and accountability. Ensuring equitable access to these sectors as well as their effective service provision is therefore of critical importance to the meaningful democratic character of the State. Since gaining independence in 1961, Sierra Leone has faced persistent governance challenges, that culminated in an 11-year civil war, ending in 2002. In the aftermath of the civil war, the country's Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) determined the lack of public access to justice as both an instrumental cause of the war and a factor that fuelled its longevity. Since the end of the civil war in 2002, laudable reforms in both the justice and security sectors have taken place, illustrated for instance in the establishment of Local Police Partnership Boards (LPPBs), Family Support Units (FSUs), and the constellation of legal reforms dedicated to addressing violence against women.

In 2017 a Public Perception Survey on Sierra Leone's justice and security sectors was conducted. This survey usefully observed local levels of awareness and knowledge around the formal justice and security sectors in the country. It highlighted that issues of access to formal justice and security services form the biggest challenges that justice users in Sierra Leone face. The survey revealed that institutional distrust and perceptions of institutional corruption within the formal justice and security sectors remain high among citizens. Building from this work, as well as other research, including reports by OSIWA, CARL and the World Bank, and in order to avoid repetition, this current 2019 Perceptions of Justice Research broadens and deepens our empirical knowledge on perceptions and experiences of justice in Sierra Leone.

Drawing from extant research on localized perceptions and experiences of justice in Sierra Leone, problems of inequitable access to justice present persistent and formidable barriers to the effective and satisfactory pursuit of redress by users. On the institutional level, resource deficits inhibit effective service delivery significantly. Taken together this paints a picture of low institutional trust, poor access and inadequate institutional capacity. Informal actors and institutions have historically played a significant role in the delivery of community security and accountability, and continue to do so, especially in rural areas, where the limited reach of low state institutional capacity is felt most acutely. Understanding user perceptions and experiences of justice therefore requires both acknowledging and incorporating the hybrid character of governance in Sierra Leone within research and interventions designed to enhance overall justice satisfaction. Additionally, the issue of access to justice for women is significant, representing one of the most marginalized segments of the country's population, who face unique challenges in the pursuit of justice and security.

Lending heavily from the Justice Needs and Satisfaction (JNS) research methodology adopted across the globe by The Hague Institute for Innovation in Law (HiIL), this 2019 Perceptions of Justice (PoJ) study expands our empirical understanding of justice and security service awareness, to focus on the justice needs and experiences of users. Questions that drive this research include: *what are the legal and security problems that sierra leoneans face? Where and how do they seek redress for these problems? What barriers and challenges do they face in this pursuit? And how satisfied are people with the process and outcomes of their legal journeys?* Through a combination of survey data and qualitative justice and security sector stakeholder interviews this study focuses on both the 'demand' side of justice and security service provision, and its 'supply' side.

Research Design and Methodology

This research employed a mixed methods and multi-level research design to generate a robust and comprehensive understanding of the justice perceptions, needs, experiences and challenges that Sierra Leone faces today. Quantitative survey data collection across the country has been used to gather 'bottom-up' data on the justice needs, experiences and institutional perceptions of citizens, while qualitative interviews with formal institutional stakeholders has been used to supplant this data, and identify formal service provision bottlenecks at the institutional level. A desk review of extant literature on research undertaken around justice

and security in Sierra Leone specifically, and a review of the broader academic discourse on access to justice moreover were undertaken to help inform survey questionnaire, and interview guide, design.

Drawing heavily from the Justice Needs and Satisfaction (JNS) research undertaken by HiiL around the world, this study adopts a bottom-up, national- and multi-level (engaging justice users and institutional actors) survey research design for the purposes of measuring empirically perceptions of justice in Sierra Leone. The locus of this research is to understand the justice needs of ordinary Sierra Leoneans, their paths to justice, and identify credible, concrete and empirically-based policy recommendations for enhancing justice delivery and user satisfaction in the security and justice sectors.

The research design focuses on people's experiences of justice. This means we draw from HiiL's concept of 'justice journeys' to gain an empirical understanding of the process, outcomes and costs of their justice experiences. The use of the concept of justice journeys is additionally significant for the case of Sierra Leone, as it not only allows for this research to measure experiences of justice in their entirety, but also enables us to investigate the diversity of justice paths, or the diversity of dispute resolution mechanisms for which redress and resolution is sought. In particular, it has allowed for an assessment of both informal and formal dispute resolution mechanisms, as part of the justice journeys employed by justice users.

Data collection for this study includes a combination of large-scale surveys across the country, engaging with a wide and representative demographic of justice users that accommodate for important potentially causally significant factors such as gender, youth, education, and income; and key informant interviews with key institutional representatives (such as the SLP, Ministry of Justice, etc). Through such a mixed methods approach, we assess bottlenecks from both a user and service provider perspective. Gathering data from the perspective of justice and security service providers is an important measure of data validation and triangulation, and allows us to identify bottlenecks and challenges to justice delivery at the institutional level.

The survey questionnaire, designed to capture citizen perceptions, needs and experiences, employs a combination of different types of survey questions, including dichotomous variables, multiple response questions, and nominal and ordinal scale questions, using predominantly 5 point Likert scales to capture respondent experiences. Semi-structured qualitative interviews with formal sector stakeholders lends robustness and breadth to the research, capturing institutional level bottlenecks, challenges and recommendations for sector service improvement.

Key term definitions:

Justice paths: a justice path refers to a 'commonly applied process which users address in order to cope with their legal problem'. We operationalize justice paths as a process with an observable beginning, process and end.

Legal problems: we define a legal problem as a problem that arises in daily life, a dispute, disagreement, grievance or violence of a right, for which there is a resolution in the formal/informal law. Importantly, respondents do not need to frame or understand their 'legal problems' in judicial terms.

Justice 'users': the term justice users refers to the ordinary Sierra Leonean citizen who identifies a legal problem in their everyday life.

Sampling

The sample in this survey has been designed as a representative cross-section of all citizens of voting age in Sierra Leone. The goal is to give every adult citizen an equal and known chance of selection for participation in the survey interview. This was done by;

- a) strictly applying random selection methods at every stage of sampling and by
- b) applying sampling with probability proportionate to population size

Sample Size

A randomly selected sample of 1204 was selected for this survey. This number is in line with national perception surveys of similar characteristics. This number allows inferences to national adult populations with an average margin of sampling error of no more than plus or minus 3 percentage points (2.8 points) at a confidence level of 95%. IGR has used the National Census data of 2015 as the sampling frame for the perception survey and with necessary adjustments to variations between urban and rural settings. Also, the perception survey uses actual population data, which has formed the basis for such stratification and for drawing the sample.

The survey adopts a clustered, stratified, multi-stage, probability sample design. To increase the precision of the estimate, the survey stratified the sample of 1204 respondents by the key social characteristics in the population, by districts. The stratification reduces the likelihood that distinctive types of people were left out of the sample. The proportion of the sample allocated to each stratum is be the same as its proportion in the national population as indicated by the 2015 census data. Also, clustering helps achieve greater logistic efficiency and has lowered the costs of contacting our sample.

In multi-stage sampling, geographically defined sampling units of decreasing size at each stage were selected. There were four stages of the sampling process in urban areas and five stages in rural areas. In the first stages of sampling, random sampling was conducted with probability proportionate to population size. This has ensured that that larger (i.e., more populated) geographical units had a proportionally greater probability of being selected in the sample.

In sampling rural respondents in the survey, the following steps were followed:

- i. randomly select secondary sampling units (SSUs) in which we subsequently selected all rural primary sampling units;
- ii. In the second stage, we randomly selected two primary sampling units (PSU's) from within each selected SSU.
- iii. In the third stage, we randomly selected sampling start-points (SSPs) within the selected PSUs.
- iv. In the fourth stage, we randomly selected eight households within each selected PSU; and
- v. In the fifth and final stage, we randomly selected an individual Respondent from within each selected household.

For urban respondents, the sampling adopted the following steps;

- i. We randomly selected urban primary sampling units (PSUs).
- ii. In the second stage, we randomly selected sampling start-points (SSPs) within the selected PSUs.
- iii. In the third stage, we randomly selected households within each PSU.
- iv. And in the fourth and final stage, we randomly selected individual Respondents from within the selected households.

Abbreviated Literature review

Hybrid Governance in Sierra Leone

According to McCormack-Hale, hybridity in governance denotes the existence of 'multiple sites of political authority and governance where security is enacted and negotiated.' For the purposes of this research hybridity refers to the co-existence of formal and informal (also referred to as traditional, local, informal or customary) systems of governance in the spheres of justice and security provision in Sierra Leone. Such hybrid governance systems are prevalent across African contexts where 'intersections of formality and informality dominate the practice and nature of authority across actors and institutions' (McCormack-Hale). These actors and institutions co-exist and 'compete, cooperate and contend for power' (McCormack-Hale). In Sierra Leone, customary systems of governance have long been recognized as feasible alternatives to justice provision, and indeed have 'long enjoyed legitimacy alongside the state, a legitimacy that has even been formally

circumscribed in law' (McCormack-Hale). Sierra Leone therefore operates under a bifurcated legal structure, with elements of customary and traditional law alongside a formalized legal system based on English common law (World Bank). According to a WB study in 2008, 'traditional systems (of justice) remain the primary avenue for redress of violations of rights or law' (World Bank), a finding which is further reinforced in recent work by McCormack-Hale who cites that at least 70 percent of Sierra Leoneans 'access justice through the network of community-based local courts'. Informal justice systems therefore stand at the frontline of Sierra Leone's justice sector, which is widely attributed to issues of access and legitimacy. However, despite the significant role informal systems play in justice service delivery, reforms have 'largely ignored local institutions' (McCormack-Hale). According to McCormack-Hale, despite the plurality of actors active in providing justice and security, the state is paradoxically most prominently featured in reform efforts, leaving out non-state actors with possibly greater legitimacy and citizen support. A World Bank Report further highlights that 'justice reform efforts that work primarily with formal justice systems may, in leaving out the customary systems used by most citizens, miss an opportunity to improve an aspect of the sector that is most relevant to a wide swath of the population' (World Bank).

Any study purporting to capture perceptions of justice and security in Sierra Leone must therefore acknowledge and incorporate the hybrid state of governance in these sectors, if it is to comprehensively observe, measure or understand this. Failing to do so paints an incomplete picture of the realities around issues of power, legitimacy, access and experiences. The entrenched and acknowledged role of informal justice systems expands the range of possible justice paths that users may seek to pursue redress in. Clarity around why and when Sierra Leoneans decide to pursue legal problems remains absent (World Bank), and through fundamentally and explicitly embedding these systems and actors into our research design this research contributes to filling an important empirical lacuna in knowledge with direct implications for enhanced justice and security service delivery reform recommendations. In other words, in line with calls from the World Bank that a 'comprehensive approach to justice reforms requires an understanding of, and engaging with, customary systems' (World Bank), IGR adopts exactly such a comprehensive approach, reflective of the realities of hybrid justice and security provision in Sierra Leone, and the predominance of informal systems in these spheres for the majority of Sierra Leoneans. In light of the significant role that informal justice and security provision plays in Sierra Leone, throughout our research design we have incorporated such informal actors and institutions as potential avenues for redress in our operationalisation of justice paths. An enhanced understanding of why and when people choose particular justice paths is further achieved through embedding informal actors and institutions in our research design. Finally, this incorporation adds robustness to evaluations of institutional trust.

Awareness levels

In 2017, UNDP and the JSCO conducted a nation-wide Perceptions of Justice Survey in Sierra Leone. The bulk of this research was dedicated to assessing user knowledge and awareness of the country's security and justice sectors. Understanding user awareness and knowledge levels around these sectors is an important first step in the ultimate pursuit and achievement of equitable and effective justice and security provision. Overall, the 2017 PoJ research highlights that there is high unawareness among Sierra Leoneans about the country's formal justice and security sectors. An overall understanding of the core functions of each is evidenced, but knowledge of the various organs and institutions that constitute each sector is low. Unsurprisingly, awareness of reforms that have been implemented in the past five years* is also low. Awareness appears to be a function of two factors: outreach and enforcement. Poor outreach or communication by these sectors to inform and educate the public fundamentally prohibits awareness, and prevents users from exercising rights and pursuing remedies they are not aware of in the first place. Poor enforcement additionally and significantly inhibits awareness in several ways. Policy or reform in the absence of enforcement lacks credibility and visibility, and may even serve to further erode institutional trust, especially when enforcement is uneven and perpetuates inequitable access to justice. Enforcement deficits may subsequently further distance the public from these

sectors, forming an additional push factor towards the use of informal systems. Finally, the report highlights that even among respondents who report a high awareness of these institutions and their recent reforms, that the majority do not feel that reforms address the needs and concerns of average citizens. It is argued that poor, and uneven, enforcement may play a significant contributing role towards this perception.

Promoting awareness of the justice and security sectors is a necessary component in the pursuit of public accountability for these sectors. In this second PoJ research project, we advance the empirical state of knowledge around justice and security sector awareness, examining the potential for change over time in awareness and knowledge levels in comparison to the previous PoJ research. Significantly, we also go beyond this to observe and analyse perceptions more comprehensively, as well as expectations, justice needs, and experiences, that together have significant and concrete implications for both knowledge accumulation and policy reform.

Institutional Trust

The concept of institutional trust is a keystone concept in previous studies on local experiences and perceptions of justice and security in Sierra Leone. Low engagement with both sectors is attributed widely to low institutional trust, and linked to questions of legitimacy, ownership and power. However, the concept remains treated very simply by previous studies, and is generally restricted to low user levels of institutional trust in relation to the formal justice and security sectors. This research disaggregates and problematizes institutional trust more robustly and advances an empirically rigorous understanding of what institutional trust is, how it can be observed and what causes its poor performance.

Corruption

The previous PoJ report undertaken in 2017 highlights corruption in formal justice and security sectors as one of the primary causes of low satisfaction and performance perceptions by users. Research from the World Bank similarly argues that poor institutional capacity in the areas of oversight and resource shortages cultivates space for abuse in these institutions, that manifests as corruption. Poor and inconsistent funding for informal justice bodies is similarly highlighted as a breeding ground for money ‘grabbing’ practices. This study’s examination of corruption, and the particular practice of bribery, allows for a comparative assessment over time, to observe the strength of findings on the causes of corruption, and whether institutions improve or experience deterioration in perceived levels of corruption among citizens.

Types of Legal Problems

According to the World Bank ‘analysis of frequent causes of dispute, coupled with in-depth studies of crime and case trajectories has yet to be undertaken. Such research would provide a more nuanced view of disputes and resolution pathways in Sierra Leone, and contribute to the development of targeted, effective interventions’ (World Bank). By adopting the HiiL legal problem identification approach, this research has taken steps to fill precisely this lacuna in our empirical understanding of what the most frequent, severe and actionable legal problems in Sierra Leone are.

Survey Respondent Demographics

A total of 1204 respondents participated in the survey, with a gender distribution of 638 female respondents (53% of the total respondent population) and 566 male respondents (47% of the total respondent population). 593 of the survey’s respondents reside in rural areas (comprising 49.3% of the total survey sample), and 610 respondents reside in urban areas (accounting for 50.7% of the respondent population)

Regional Distribution

The survey was conducted throughout Sierra Leone, with data collection taking place in all 16 districts.

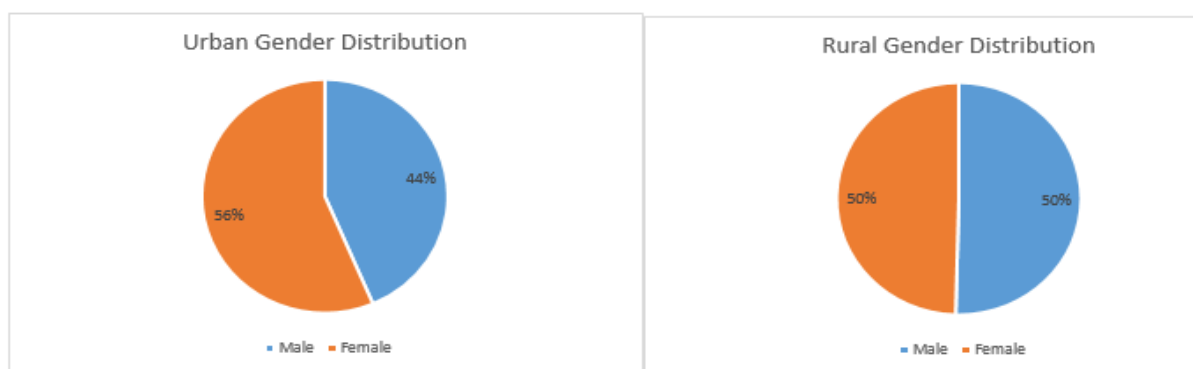
In descending order, the regional representation of respondents is:

IGR Perceptions of Justice (Citizens and Institutions sections)

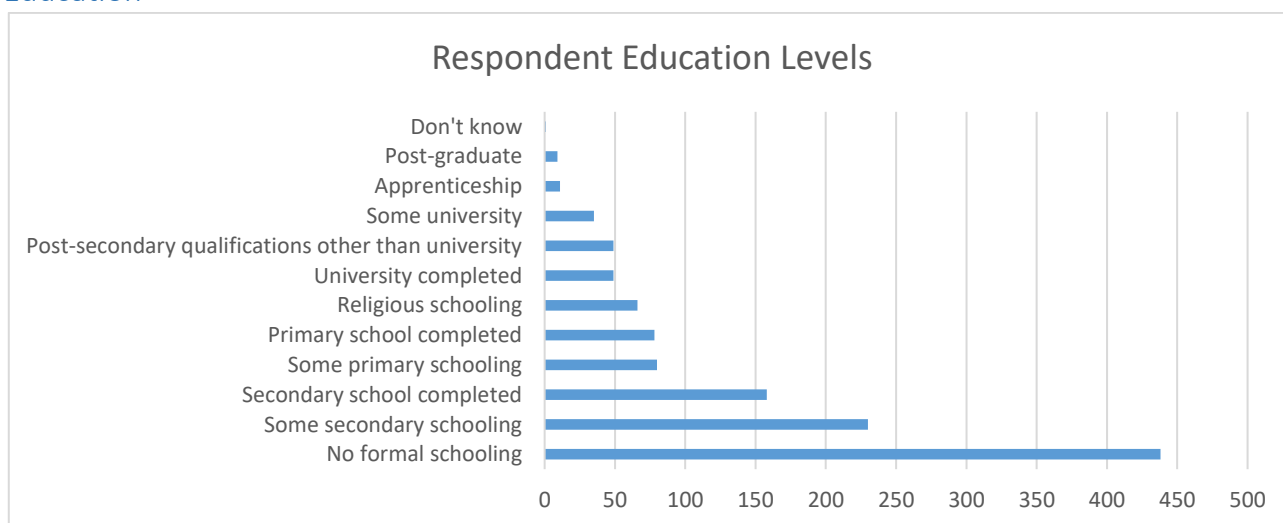
1. West: 23.8% (287)
2. East: 22.7% (273)
3. South: 19.9% (239)
4. North: 17.9% (215)
5. North West: 15.8% (190)

Gender and Geography

The survey was conducted among 294 women residing in rural areas, comprising 49.6% of the total sampled rural population, and 46.1% of the total sampled female respondent population. The survey was conducted among 299 men living in rural areas, comprising 50.4% of the total sampled rural population, and 52.8% of the total sampled male respondent population.



Education



Education levels among respondents are generally low, with 36.4% having no formal schooling, and only 13.1% having completed secondary school. This is unsurprising and reflects the larger problem of access to, and levels of, education within contemporary Sierra Leone, which has been highlighted as a critical area for improvement by its current administration. It is important to note that, fundamentally, access to education is itself a justice issue, and should be treated as such by both the education and justice sectors. Low education levels are disproportionately evidenced among female respondents, who constitute 62.1% of the total respondent population with no formal schooling, and 63.7% of all respondents who have only completed some primary schooling. Male respondents account for 61.2% of the total respondent population with completed University degrees, and comprise 62.9% of the total number of respondents with some university education.

Citizens and Institutions

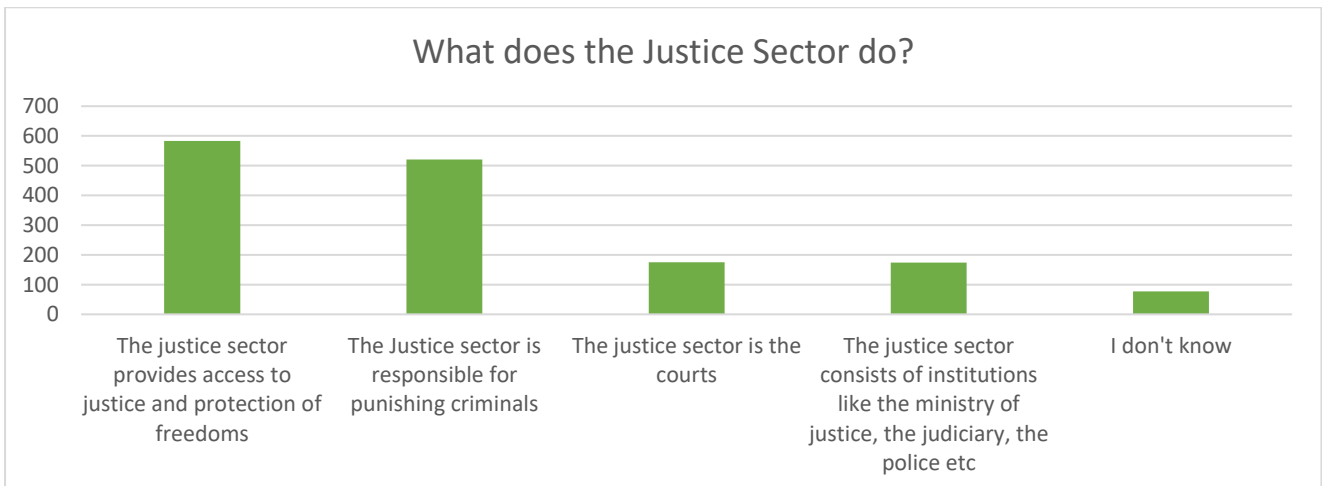
4 sections of the survey conducted addressed questions of citizen perceptions regarding justice and security in Sierra Leone, with a particular focus on furthering an understanding of citizen perceptions of the formal justice and security sectors. All 1204 survey respondents were asked to answer questions belonging to these 4 sections, regardless of whether they reported experiencing legal problems in the past 12 months. The 4 survey sections that together comprise this study’s findings on citizen understandings of the formal justice and security sectors are:

1. Awareness and Knowledge of Formal Justice and Security Sectors
2. Community Security
3. Institutional Trust and Sector Capacity and Effectiveness
4. Observing Corruption
 - a. Bribery (disaggregated for all respondents and respondents who report experiencing legal problems)

Awareness and Knowledge of Formal Justice and Security Sectors

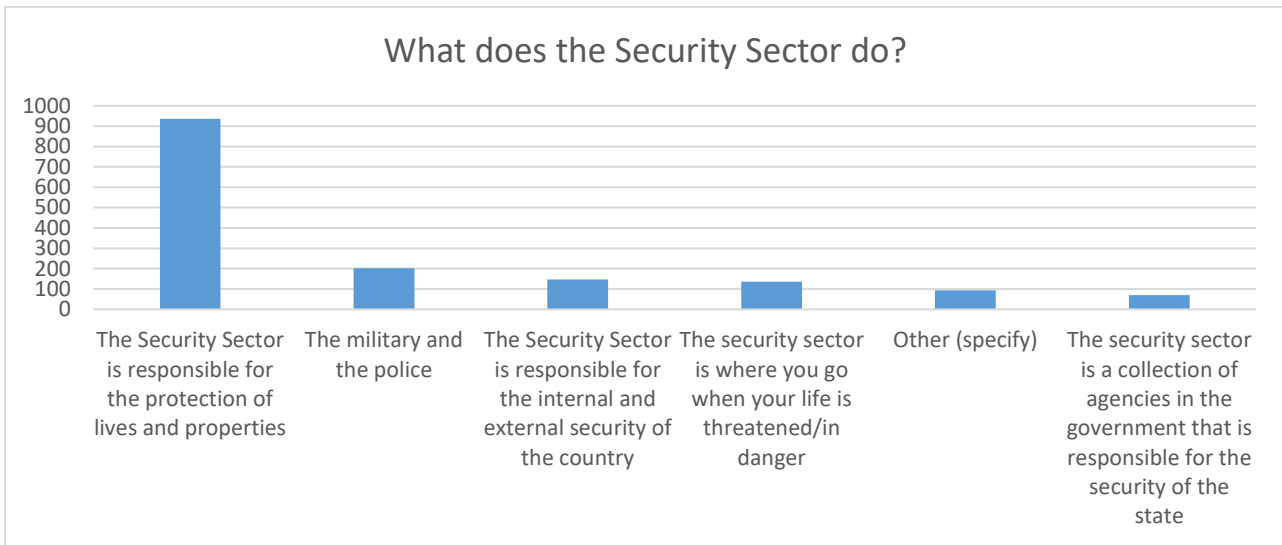
Formal Justice Sector Awareness

Respondents were asked to explain what, according to them, the formal justice sector does. The majority of respondents, 48.4%, believe that the justice sector provides access to justice and protection of freedoms, followed by 43.3% who believe that the justice sector is responsible for punishing criminals. These findings reinforce those of the previous Perceptions of Justice Survey conducted in 2017, which also found that respondents most commonly understand the formal justice sector to be responsible for punishing criminals; to consist of the courts; to consist of institutions such as the Judiciary, Ministry of Justice, the Police, etc; and to provide access to justice and protection of freedoms. Only 6.4% of respondents report not knowing what the justice sector does. This indicates an overall high level of awareness by respondents of the justice sector and its functions.



Formal Security Sector Awareness

When asked what the security sector in Sierra Leone does, overwhelmingly, respondents report that the security sector is responsible for the protection of lives and properties (77.7% of received responses). This further validates findings from the previous Perceptions of Justice Survey conducted in 2017 that also found the protection of lives and properties to be the most common associated understanding of the formal security sector among citizens in Sierra Leone. No respondents report not knowing what the security sector does, indicating a very high level of overall security sector awareness among respondents.



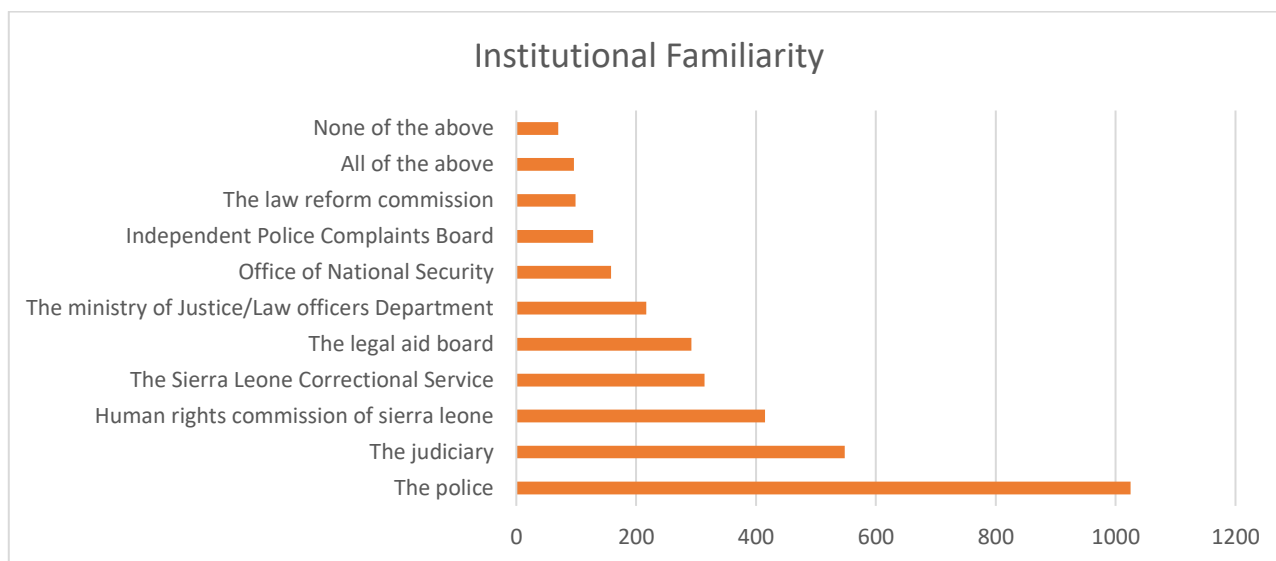
Cooperation between sectors

Respondents were asked whether the formal justice and security sectors worked together. A vast majority of respondents (74.0%) report that the justice and security sectors work together, with only 8.5% answering that they do not. 17.5% of respondents (211 respondents) report not knowing whether the two sectors work together. Locality (urban or rural residence) does not impact citizen perceptions that the justice and security sectors work together, with 71.1% of urban respondents reporting that the justice and security sectors work together, and 76.9% of rural respondents similarly answering that the sectors work together.

Levels of perceived cooperation between the sectors by respondents is very high, with the majority of respondents (463, comprising 38.5% of the survey sample) answering that cooperation between the justice and security sectors is very high. 27.2% (328 respondents) of survey respondents report that the justice and security sectors sometimes cooperate, meaning that overall positive perceptions of cooperation between the sectors represents a total of 65.7% of respondent opinions. Respondents therefore widely perceive high cooperation between the justice and security sectors.

Institutional Familiarity

Respondents were asked to select which institutions belonging to the justice and security sectors they are familiar with. A vast majority (85.1% of answers) report being familiar with the police, followed by the judiciary and the Human Rights Commission. The Law Reform Commission receives the lowest score, with only 8.0% of answers indicating a familiarity with this institution. This validates qualitative interview findings with formal justice sector stakeholders who report that low visibility and awareness of the Law Reform Commission impedes its ability to meaningfully engage with citizens immensely. In an interview with the Chairperson of the Law Reform Commission, a key performance inhibitor to the effective functioning of the LRC is reported to be the difficulties that the LRC faces in promoting participation in its citizen consultation activities. Low awareness levels around the LRC, observed through this survey data, offer a salient explanation for why meaningful citizen engagement and inclusiveness is difficult to achieve by this institution.



Institutional familiarity is slightly higher in urban areas than rural areas, and differences in reported familiarity are especially evident for the following institutions:

1. The Human Rights Commission of Sierra Leone: which receives a 39% familiarity score among urban respondents, but only 29.7% of rural respondents report being familiar with the HRCSL.
2. The Legal Aid Board: receives a much higher familiarity score among urban respondents, with 31.1% reporting to be familiar with it, in comparison to only 17% of rural respondents.
3. The Ministry of Justice/Law Officers Department: receives a much higher urban familiarity rating, with 25.1% of urban respondents reporting a familiarity of this institution, and only 10.6% of rural respondents reporting a familiarity.
4. The Law Reform Commission: familiarity with the Law Reform Commission is low across both urban and rural settings, but much lower in rural settings, where only 2.5% of respondents are familiar with it, as compared to 13.3% of respondents in urban areas.

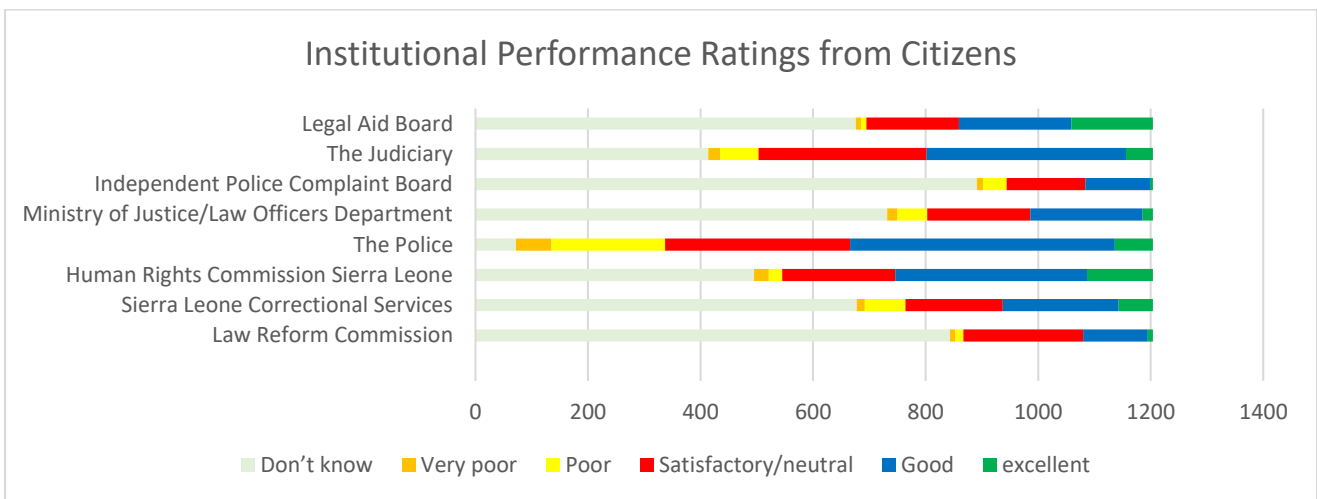
The 2017 Perceptions of Justice Survey similarly asked respondents to indicate their institutional awareness of different institutions that together constitute the formal justice and security sectors. While the current survey has disaggregated some of the institutions treated as groups by the previous survey, noteworthy patterns and discrepancies around institutional familiarity are nonetheless evident. The 2017 Survey observed that institutional familiarity is most highly associated with the Police, with 43% of respondents indicating familiarity with this institution. This mirrors findings from the current survey, wherein the Police are also observed to be the institution that respondents report the highest frequency of familiarity with. The Police therefore remain a highly visible branch of the formal security sector, in both urban and rural areas. High respondent familiarity with the Police also corroborates the 2017 Survey indication that this high familiarity is most likely a function of the high presence of the police and levels of direct respondent (citizen) engagement with this particular segment of the formal security sector, relative to the other institutions treated. Out of all institutions that together comprise the formal justice and security sectors, respondents are most likely to come into direct contact and interaction with the police, than compared to other institutions, which strongly explains high frequency of familiarity ratings associated with the Police among them. The institution which received the second highest familiarity score in the 2017 Perceptions of Justice Survey is the Judiciary, with 6% of respondents reporting familiarity with the Judiciary. The current Perceptions of Justice Survey also finds the Judiciary to be the second most commonly reported institution with which respondents are familiar with, though observes a much higher percentage of familiarity, with 45.5% frequency of familiarity of the Judiciary reported.

IGR Perceptions of Justice (Citizens and Institutions sections)

While findings around which two institutions are reported to exhibit the highest familiarity among respondents, within the formal justice and security sectors, are shared across both surveys, a number of significant differences between the two surveys, on the question of institutional familiarity, are also observed. The 2017 survey indicates a high frequency of respondents reporting to be familiar with all institutions treated in the survey (indeed this category constitutes the second largest familiarity grouping, constituting 15% of respondent answers). The current survey however, finds that familiarity with all institutions in the assessment is very low, with only 8% of respondents reporting to be familiar with all institutions, and ranking near the bottom of answer groupings. The Human Rights Commission of Sierra Leone is the third most frequently reported institution with which respondents are familiar, according to the present Survey (out of 11 possible answer categories, allowing for multiple answers). However, the 2017 Perceptions Survey finds much lower familiarity among respondents in relation to this institution, with the HRCSL ranking as the 6th most familiar institution among respondents (out of a possible 13 answer categories). This could indicate a fairly dramatic increase in familiarity with this institution in the two years between surveys. Similarly, the Law Reform Commission, appears to have experienced a decline in familiarity among citizens, dropping from ranking 8th (in descending order) out of 13, to 9th out of 11. Within the 2017 Survey, the Independent Police Complaints Board receives the lowest familiarity scores, while the current survey ranks familiarity with the IPCB at 8 out of 11, sitting slightly higher than familiarity scores attributed to the Law Reform Commission. This could indicate that the IPCB has also achieved some gains in its familiarity among citizens. However, it must be noted that overall familiarity percentages observed by the current survey are, on average, much higher than those reported by the 2017 survey and that this survey was conducted in isolation from the 2017 survey.

Sector Performance Perceptions

The 2017 Perceptions Survey asked respondents to rate the performance of various institutions that constitute the formal justice and security sectors. The current survey also asked respondents to rate the performance of the same institutions. Respondents were asked to rate the performance of the following institutions: The Law Reform Commission (LRC); The Sierra Leone Correctional Services (SLCS); The Human Rights Commission of Sierra Leone (HRCSL); The Police (SLP); The Ministry of Justice (MoJ); The Independent Police Complaint Board (IPCB); The Judiciary; and The Legal Aid Board (LAB).



The Legal Aid Board receives the highest performance rating, with 46.9% of respondents rating its performance as excellent. The Human Rights Commission of Sierra Leone receives the second highest performance score, with 9.7% of respondents rating its performance as excellent. The Police receive the poorest performance rating by respondents, with 5.2% rating its performance as very poor, and a combined 22% rating its performance as either poor or very poor. Many respondents choose to respond to the question of institutional performance rating with 'I don't know', indicating a lack of sufficient individual direct

interaction with these institutions. The Independent Police Complaints Board and Law Reform Commission receive the highest 'don't know' responses, reinforcing the low visibility and awareness of these two institutions, as previously revealed. The 2017 Perceptions of Justice Survey similarly highlighted that 'respondents struggled with rating them (the LRC and IPCB) especially as they have not directly interacted with them'. The police receive the fewest 'Don't Know' answers, in line with the high level of direct citizen engagement between this institution and the citizenry.

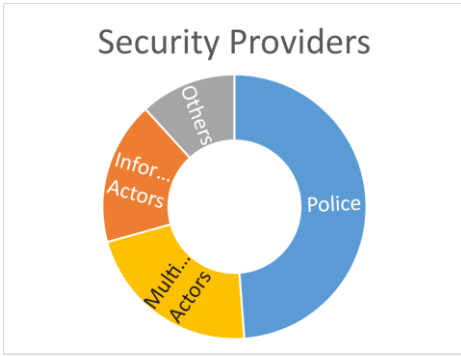
As stated above, respondents were asked to rate the same institutions as in the 2017 Perceptions Survey, using the same 5 point Likert scale for responses (very poor, poor, satisfactory/neutral, good, and excellent) with an additional answer category of 'I don't know'. The current survey supports findings from the 2017 Survey in several ways: the Legal Aid Board continues to receive the highest 'excellent' performance rating, followed by the Human Rights Commission. This substantiates the proposition put forward by the 2017 Survey that these institutions are 'accessible, people friendly and provide services of good quality'. Furthermore, this lends support to the argument in the 2017 Survey that high excellent performance scores for these two institutions is likely due to their *citizen-orientation* – meaning that they are seen to work in the interests of citizens, as they 'provide legal aid and are seen publicly defending the rights of both victims and perpetrators'. The current survey also reiterates previous findings around poor performing institutions, with the Police once more exhibiting among the poorest performance scores. According to the 2017 Survey, the Ministry of Justice receives the highest 'very poor' performance scores (though this is only marginally above the Police, with a 1% difference in ratings), while current survey findings place the Ministry of Justice 4th in very poor performance ratings (but also ranks highly along the rating of 'Don't Know'), indicating some improvements in institutional performance perceptions among respondents for this institution.

Community Security

Overall, respondents rate the level of security in their communities as either good or very good, with these two categories comprising 60.9% of all respondent answers. Comparing these findings to those of the 2017 survey indicate some overall improvement in perceptions of security levels by respondents in the two years between surveys. However, it must be noted that the ability to compare these statistics is quite limited due to the fact that the 2017 survey asked respondents to rate security on the district level, while the current survey has taken a more disaggregated approach, asking respondents to rate security at the community level. The 2017 survey also used a 3 point scale to measure perceptions of security, while the current survey adopted a 5 point scale, to add depth to findings.

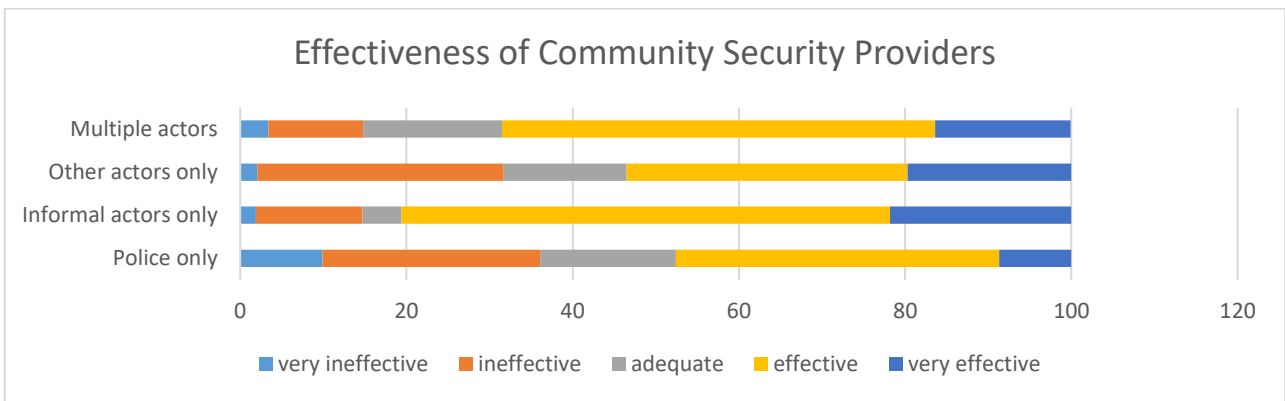
Levels of perceived community security are reported to be higher in rural areas than in urban ones, with 24.5% of rural respondents rating their level of community security as very high, in comparison to 18.2% of urban respondents. Similarly, a higher percentage of urban respondents rate community security as very poor (11.1%) when compared to rural respondents (of which 3.5% rate their community security as very poor). A possible explanation for higher reported security levels in rural areas is social cohesion. Population density is higher in urban areas, making crime more anonymous, and social control is correspondingly lower. This indicates that presence and density of formal security structures do not fully determine perceived security levels at the community level, where urban areas exhibit higher density of formal security personnel and institutions, but whose work is impeded by the high population density in these areas. Conversely, less formal resources are likely able to exert a higher influence in rural areas with sparse population densities, indicating that presence does not necessarily equal impact. Social control exercised through informal community structures that operate more saliently in rural areas (as evidenced in the higher percentage of informal security provision observed below), with higher homogeneity among inhabitants also offers a contribution the explanation for higher reported levels of community security in rural areas.

Community Security Providers



The majority of respondents (48.8%) report that security is exclusively provided by the Police within their communities, and 17.5% indicate that informal actors provide security in their communities, with 21.9% reporting that security is provided by a combination of formal and informal actors. The provision of community security by informal actors is more highly reported in rural areas than urban ones, where 44% of rural respondents report that security in their community is provided by informal actors. Only 19.8% of urban respondents report the provision of security by informal security actors (in isolation or in combination) in their communities.

While most respondents report that security is provided by the police within their communities, the police are not rated as the most effective security providers. Security provided exclusively by informal actors is rated the most effective, while police receive the lowest effective scores and highest ineffective rankings. However, where multiple actors are reported to provide security (combination of police and informal actors), police are ranked by 48.7% of respondents as the most effective security provider. This evidences that, in isolation, the police are seen as less effective security providers than informal actors, though when providing security with informal actors in communities, they receive more positive effectiveness ratings by citizens.



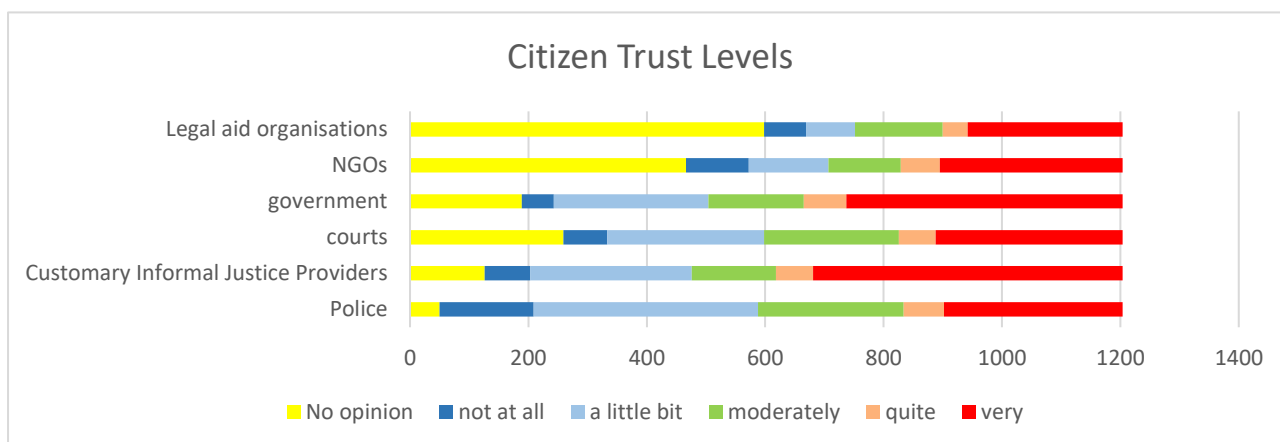
Where multiple security actors provide community security, cooperation between them is generally perceived as good.

Institutional Trust

The concept of institutional trust is a keystone concept in previous studies on local experiences and perceptions of justice and security in Sierra Leone. Low engagement with both sectors is attributed widely to low institutional trust, and linked to questions of legitimacy, ownership and power. However, the concept remains treated very simply by previous studies, and is generally restricted to low user levels of institutional trust in relation to the formal justice and security sectors. This research has taken a nuanced approach to expanding current understandings of institutional trust among citizens in relation the justice and security sectors in Sierra Leone. Respondents were asked, in the first instance, to rate their trust levels in relation to 6 categories of institutions that each constitute justice and security service providers. These categories of service providers are:

1. The Police
2. Traditional Justice Providers (Customary Informal Justice Actors)
3. NGOs
4. Formal Courts

- 5. The Government
- 6. Legal Aid Organisations



A 5 point Likert scale was once again used, to allow for nuance in positive and negative responses as well as a neutral answer possibility. In addition to asking respondents to rate their trust levels in relation to these institutions, the survey employed a number of trust statements, which respondents were asked to express their degree of (dis)agreement with. These statements allow the survey to examine in more disaggregate detail, what institutional trust means more concretely, and identify nuanced dimensions of this nebulous but critical concept. This has presented an opportunity for the current survey to problematize institutional trust robustly and enhance an empirically rigorous understanding of what institutional trust is, how it can be observed and what causes its poor performance.

Overall Trust Levels

In response to the question of how much respondents trust each of the 6 groups of actors listed above, the following patterns of overall trust levels are observed.

Overall, customary informal justice providers enjoy the highest levels of citizen trust, with 43.4% of respondents reporting very high trust levels for customary informal justice providers. Legal aid organisations receive the lowest high trust levels ((with 21.8% of respondents reporting very high trust for legal aid organisations). The police receive the lowest trust scores, with 13.2% of respondents reporting not to trust the police at all. This rises to 44.7% when combined with the 31.5% that only trusts the police a little bit. Government ranks second highest among high trust ratings, with 38.8% of respondents reporting very high trust in the government. NGOs and legal aid organisations receive the highest ‘no opinion’ ratings, likely resulting from low visibility.

Disaggregated Institutional Trust Ratings

The Police

31.5% of respondents report only trusting the police a little bit. This rises to 44.7% when added to the 13.2% of respondents who do not trust the police at all. 30.7% of respondents report high trust ratings, of either ‘quite’ or ‘very’ high trust in the police. 20.4% of respondents report moderately trusting the police, at 4.2% report no opinion around the question of trust and the police. Overall, trust for the police, is fairly low, and this institution exhibits the poorest trust ratings among respondents, out of all 6 categories of institutions examined.

Customary Informal Justice Providers

Respondents report high levels of trust for customary informal or traditional justice providers. 43.4% of respondents have very high trust in informal justice providers, and only 6.4% report not trusting customary

IGR Perceptions of Justice (Citizens and Institutions sections)

justice providers at all. Trust levels rise to 48.6% when the upper rankings of quite and very high trust are combined. Customary Informal Justice providers receive the highest overall institutional trust ratings among sampled respondents.

Formal Courts

26.2% of respondents report very high levels of trust in relation for formal courts. This rises to 31.3% when combined with the quite high trust scores given. 22% of respondents trust formal courts only a little bit, which rises to 28.1% when combined with the 6.1% of respondents who report not trusting the formal courts at all.

The Government

38.8% of respondents report very high overall trust for the government, which rises to 44.8% when combined with the 'quite' high trust scores given. 15.7% of respondents report holding no opinion around trusting the government, and 21.7% trust the government only a little bit. Only 4.5% of respondents report not trusting the government at all. The government receives the second highest positive trust rating scores among respondents.

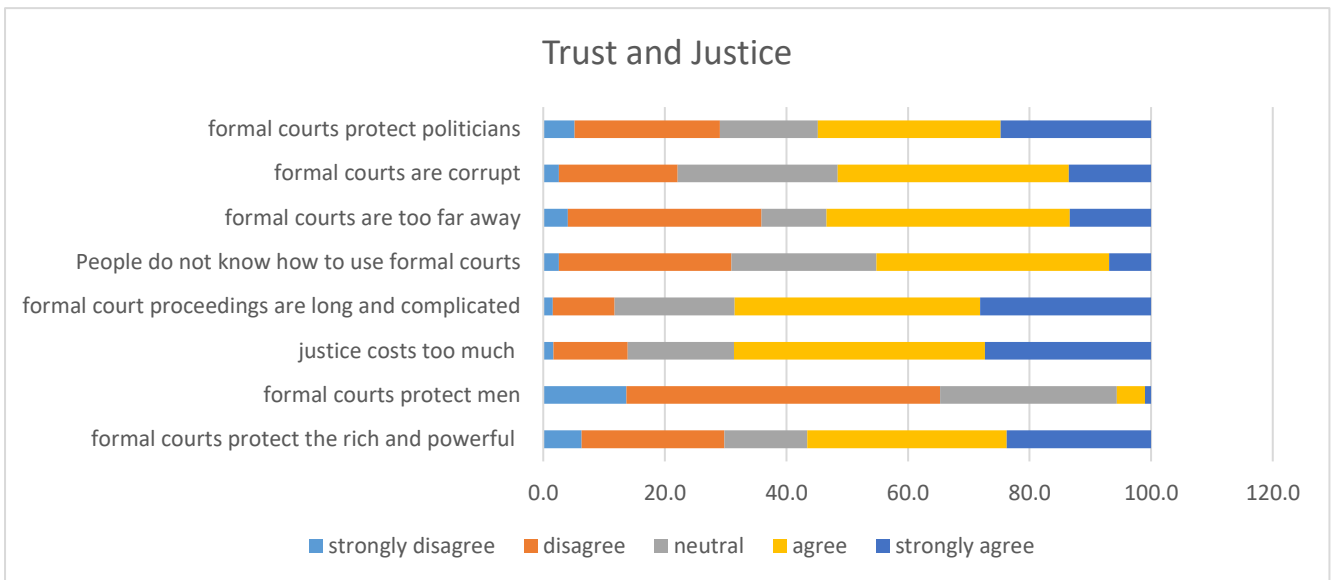
NGOs

38.7% of respondents report holding no opinion with regards to trusting NGOs (receiving the second highest 'no opinion' ratings out of all 6 categories). 25.7% respondents report very high trust for NGOs, which rises to 31.2% when combined with the 5.5% of respondents who report trusting NGOs quite a lot. 8.8% report not trusting NGOs at all.

3.2.6 Legal Aid Organisations

Most respondents (49.7%) report no opinion when asked how much they trust legal aid organisations, and they receive, overall, the highest 'no opinion' ratings among respondents. 21.8% report very high trust for legal aid organisations, and 5.9% report not trusting legal aid organisations at all.

Trust Statements and Justice



As previously highlighted, in addition to asking respondents about their overall trust ratings for the 6 institutions listed above, a number of trust statements were employed, to disaggregate understandings of institutional trust. 8 trust statements relating to justice and the formal justice sector were presented to respondents who were asked to respond with how much they agreed or disagreed with those statements.

32.8% of respondents agree that courts protect the rich and powerful (and 23.8% strongly agree with this statement). 24.8% of respondents similarly strongly agree with the statement that formal courts generally

protect politicians, with a further 30.1% agreeing with this. 38% of respondents agree that courts are corrupt, while 19.5% disagree with the statement that courts are corrupt.

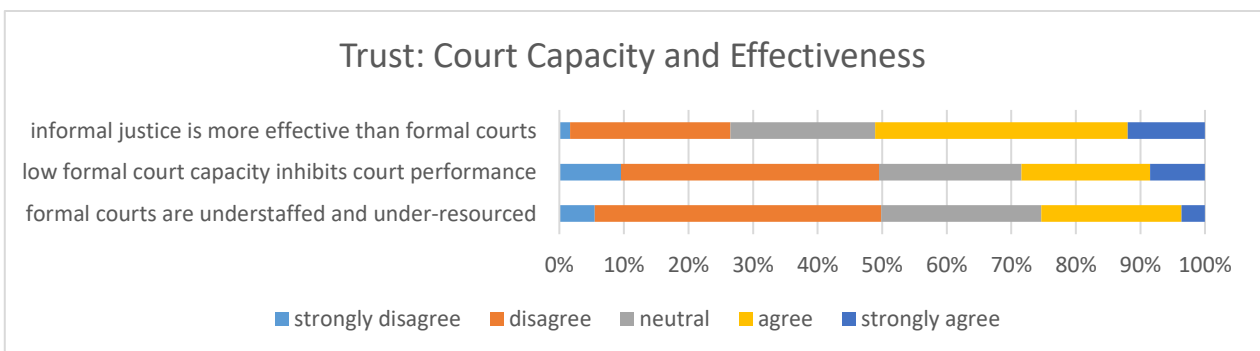
51.6% of respondents do not feel that courts generally protect men. Interestingly, even when controlling for gender in responses, female respondents do not report to feel that courts protect men. Only 0.8% of female respondents feel strongly that courts protect men, and only 6.8% express an overall agreement with the statement that courts generally protect men (when combining the agree and strongly agree score categories). 52.3% of female respondents do not think that courts generally protect men, and 11.9% strongly disagree with the statement that courts protect men. Overall, formal courts are not seen to discriminate along the basis of gender by respondents. When asked about the costs of justice, the majority of respondents agree and strongly agree that justice costs too much, with 27.3% strongly agreeing that justice costs too much, and 41.3% agreeing that justice is too expensive. Even when controlling for urban and rural respondents, justice remains understood as too expensive by the majority of respondents, regardless of whether they are urban or rural residents. 66.6% of rural respondents agree or strongly agree that justice costs too much, and 70.5% of urban respondents similarly either agree or strongly agree that justice costs too much. The majority of respondents agree or strongly agree that formal court proceedings are long and complicated, with these responses constituting 68.6% of all respondent answers. 40% of survey respondents agree that courts are too far away, a number that rises to 53.4% when combined with respondents who strongly agree that courts are far away. The view that courts are too far away is held more strongly among rural respondents, who constitute 61.4% of the respondent population express that courts are too far away. Among rural respondents, 50% agree with the statement that formal courts are too far away, which rises to 61% when combined with the 11% of rural respondents who strongly agree that courts are too far away. In comparison, only 31% of urban respondents express that they agree with the statement that formal courts are too far away, which rises to 46% when combined with the 15% of urban respondents who strongly agree that courts are too far away.

Overall, when looking at respondent answers to trust statements surrounding Sierra Leone’s formal justice sector, respondents agree most strongly with the statements that formal court proceedings are long and complicated, and that justice costs too much. Respondents also express high agreement with the statements that formal courts are too far away, that formal courts protect the rich and powerful, and that formal courts protect politicians. Respondents strongly feel that formal courts do not discriminate on the basis of gender.

Court Capacity and Effectiveness

A further 3 trust statements were employed to assess levels of institutional trust around the issues of formal court (and justice) capacity and effectiveness. These statements were:

1. formal courts are understaffed and under-resourced
2. Low capacity in formal courts makes it hard for them to deliver justice effectively
3. Informal justice is more effective than formal courts



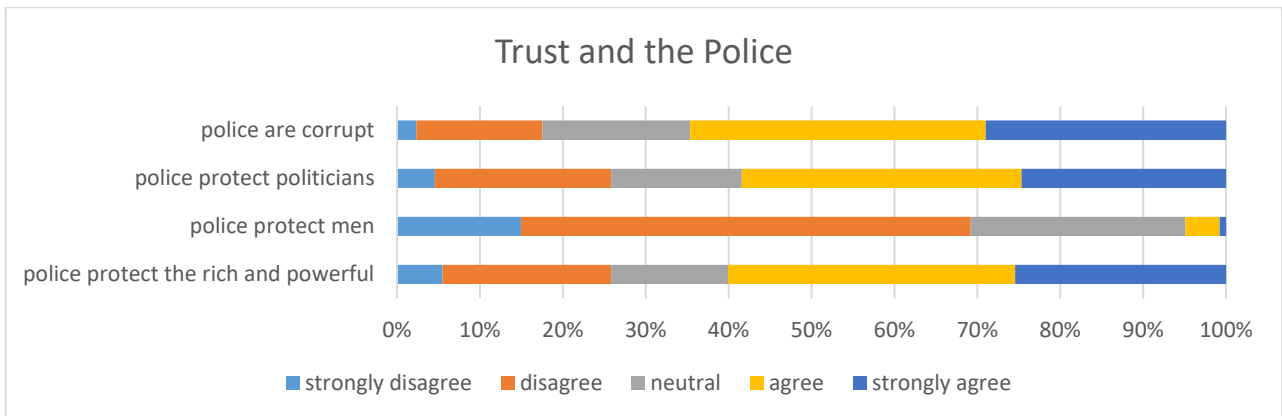
IGR Perceptions of Justice (Citizens and Institutions sections)

44.4% of respondents disagree with the statement that courts are understaffed and under-resourced. 24.8% of respondents provide a neutral response to this question. This is indicative of two things: citizens do not associate poor formal sector performance with capacity problems, highlighting that the previously identified problems of complicated formal court proceedings, the high costs of justice, and bias in formal courts (protecting the rich and power; protecting politicians) are the predominant sources of poor institutional trust among respondents. Secondly this also highlights low citizen awareness of the very real capacity constraints that the formal justice sector faces in effective service delivery. This sentiment is further reinforced with answers to the question of whether respondents agree that low court capacity inhibits their effective justice delivery. 39.9% of respondents disagree that low court capacity constrains formal justice delivery, highlighting once again the general consensus among citizens that formal courts are not inhibited by low capacity constraints. 39.1% agree that informal justice is more effective than formal courts. Overall, the data reveals that institutional capacity and trust do not exhibit a significant correlation, indicating poor citizen awareness of the significant capacity constraints that the formal justice sector faces, the absence of an associated link among respondents between capacity and effectiveness, and the predominance of other sources of institutional distrust in relation to formal courts.

Despite the absence of associated links among citizens between capacity and performance within the formal justice sector, institutional stakeholder interviews highlight capacity constraints as a fundamental challenge in effective service delivery. Increasing the depth (quality) and breadth (quantity) of institutional capacity, along financial, human and infrastructural dimensions, is universally held as necessary for the formal justice and security sectors to meet the justice needs and demands of the country.

Trust Statements and Security (the Police)

As above, respondents were given 4 trust statements regarding the Police, and asked to respond using a 5 point Likert scale, ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree.



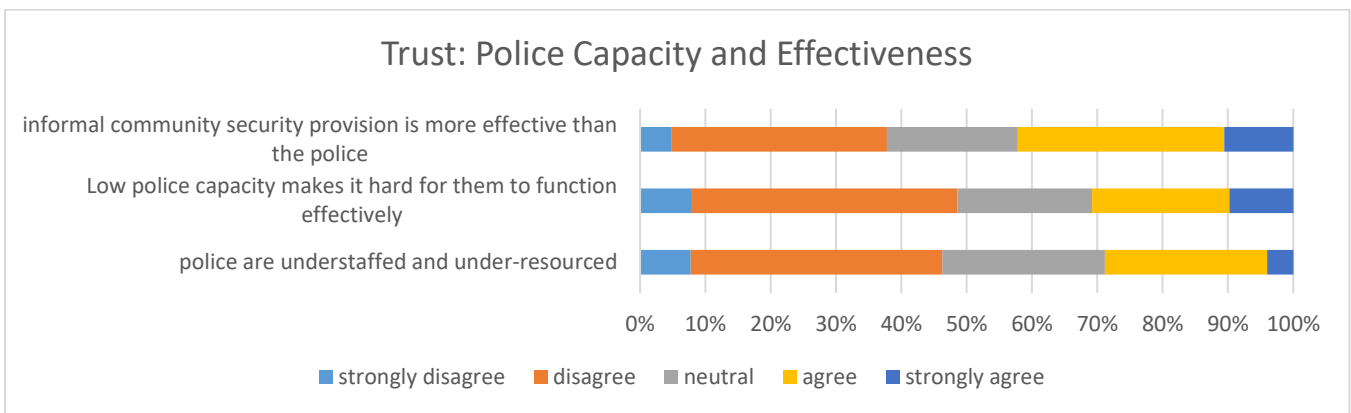
Responses to trust statements for the Police widely mirror to answers given in relation to trust statements about formal courts. Similar to respondent answers around the justice sector, when asked if the police protect the rich and powerful, 34.6% of respondents agree that the police are biased in favour of the rich and powerful (compared to 32.8% agreement expressed in relation to the justice sector protecting the rich and powerful). Respondents also widely agree that the police generally protect politicians, with 24.7% strongly agreeing with this statement, and 33.7% agreeing that police protect politicians. The sentiment of privileging politicians, and the rich and powerful more broadly, by formal sectors is closely shared across perceptions of the police and formal courts. Respondents also similarly report that the police do not discriminate on the basis of gender, with 54.2% of respondents disagreeing with the statement that police protect men, and only 4.9% of respondents agreeing or strongly agreeing that police privilege the protection of men. Even when controlling for gender, responses do not change, with 53.6% of female respondents disagreeing with the statement that the police protect men. This rises to 67.8% when combined with the 14.2% of female respondents who

strongly disagree with the statement that police generally protect men. Only 4.8% of female respondents report agreeing with the statement that police generally protect men, and 0.5% express strong agreement with this statement.

A majority of respondents (35.6%) agree with the statement that the police are corrupt. This rises to 64.6% when combined with those respondents who strongly agree (29%) that the police are corrupt. When combining the scores of ‘agree’ and ‘strongly agree’ respondents report higher corruption within the police than within formal courts, with 51.5% of respondents either agreeing or strongly agreeing that formal courts are corrupt. Overall perceptions of corruption within the Police are higher than within formal courts.

Police Capacity and Effectiveness

To assess levels of respondent trust in relation to police capacity and effectiveness, the same 3 trust statements used for formal courts were given to respondents, in relation the Police.



Most respondents do not feel that the police are understaffed or under-resourced, with a majority 38.5% reporting that they disagree with the statement that the police face capacity constraints. 24.8% agree however that the police are understaffed and under-resourced. Disagreement over formal sector capacity constraints by citizens is once again evidenced, though not as strongly as with formal courts, where 44.4% of respondents disagree that formal courts in Sierra Leone are understaffed and under-resourced. When asked whether low police capacity inhibits police effectiveness, 40.8% of respondents disagree, once again evidencing the consensus that respondents do not associate formal sector capacity as a primary cause of poor sector performance.

The absence of a perceived relationship among respondents between formal institutional capacity (constraints) as associated with institutional trust or perceptions of effectiveness is once again significantly evidenced. This adds weight to findings from the 2017 Survey that identified corruption and political interference as the primary factors undermining public trust in the formal justice and security sectors. Likewise, the 2017 Survey found limited institutional capacity to be rarely reported as a reason for low institutional trust.

Lastly, 33.1% of respondents disagree that informal community security provision is more effective than the police; however, conversely, 31.6% agree that informal security provision is more effective than the police, producing a fairly even spread of answers. When taken together with previous findings around community service provision, this reinforces the variation in answers around police effectiveness reported by respondents when controlling for single or multiple community service providers.

Observing Corruption

Reported levels of corruption within formal courts and the police are high. To add nuance to respondent perceptions of corruption, a full section of the survey dedicated itself to the issue of observing corruption within Sierra Leone’s Justice and Security sectors. In the first instance, respondents were asked to characterize the level of corruption within the justice and security sectors. Respondents could provide answers along a 5 point Likert scale, ranging from non-existent, low, neutral, high and very high.

Levels of corruption in the Justice and Security Sectors

35.7% of respondents perceive corruption in Sierra Leone’s formal justice sector to be high. 17.5% report that corruption in the formal justice sector is very high, while only 2.2% of respondents feel that corruption is non-existent, and 15.0% report it to be low, in the formal justice sector.

25.7% of respondents report the level of corruption within the police as high, which rises to 64.2% when combined with the 38.5% of respondents who characterize corruption within the police as very high. Compared to perceptions of the level of corruption in formal courts, more respondents characterize the police as very highly corrupt than they do formal courts (38.5% compared to 17.5%).

Disaggregated Institutional Corruption in the Formal Justice and Security Sectors

Corruption in Justice Sector Institutions

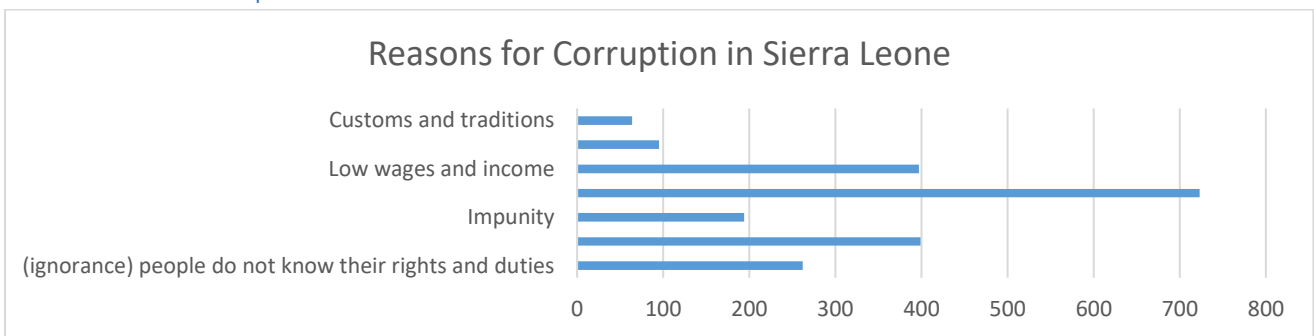


Respondents were asked to identify which institutions in the justice and security sectors they feel are the most corrupt. The judiciary is most frequently cited as the most corrupt institution in the country’s formal justice sector, displaying a frequency of 36.1%. Noteworthy is that the second most frequent response to the question of which institutions respondents consider the most corrupt in the justice sector, is that 35.6% of respondents report ‘none of the above’, contrary to previous respondent statements on the overall level of corruption associated with the formal justice sector. This discrepancy may be possibly explained by the variation in levels of awareness of the various organs that constitute the formal justice sector, together with (and flowing from) low direct engagement between citizens and most of the institutions that comprise the formal justice sector. Additionally, when considering low reported levels of respondent understandings of the formal justice sector as comprised of several institutions. 16.0% of respondents report the Ministry of Justice/Law officers Department to be the most corrupt institute within the formal justice sector.

Corruption in Security Sector Institutions

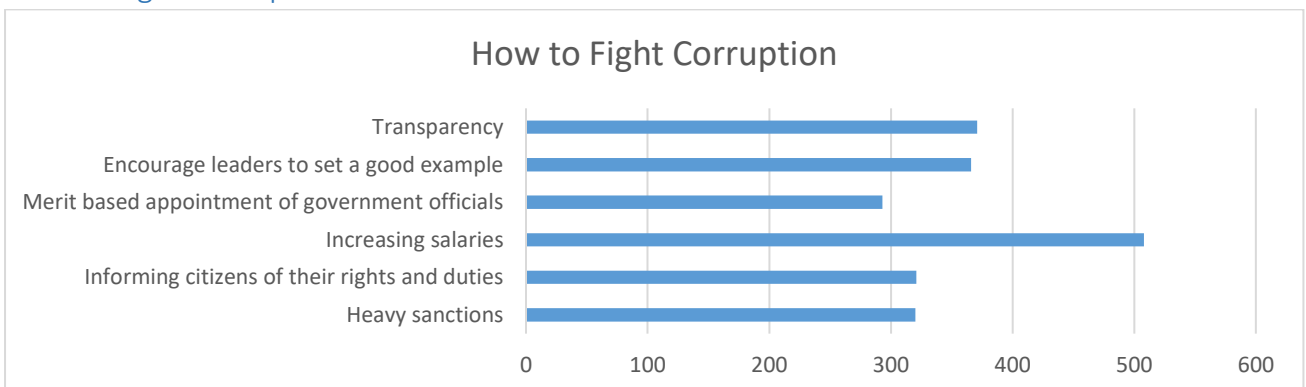
The police receive the highest corruption score within the formal security sector, accounting for 58% of respondent answers to the question of which institutions in the formal security sector are most corrupt. Perceived corruption within the police far exceeds reported corruption levels for any other formal sector institution, across both the justice and security sectors. While this finding is significant, it must be noted that questions of visibility and direct engagement likely inform such high respondent perceptions of police corruption. It has already been established that the Police are the most visible branch of either the formal justice and security sectors, and the institution with which respondents are most likely to engage directly with. Accounting for high awareness levels among respondents warrants consideration when assessing perceived corruption levels. 22% of respondents report that none of the assessed security institutions belong to the category of the most corrupt components of the Security Sector, with a further 10% categorizing the Independent Police Complaints Board as the security sector’s most corrupt institution.

Reasons for Corruption in Sierra Leone



The two most frequently reported reasons for corruption in Sierra Leone’s formal sectors are reported to emanate from low income levels, poverty and money grabbing among people employed in the justice and security sectors. Poverty (money grabbing) is most frequently cited as the primary reason for corruption, constituting 60% of respondent answers. Bad examples set by leaders, indicating high perceptions of corruption among leaders, is also frequently cited as a reason for corruption. Low capacity of the formal justice and security sectors is rarely cited as a reason for corruption, accounting for 5.3% of respondent answers, and in line with previous findings around perceptions of institutional capacity in these sectors and the (absence of a perceived) link between capacity and service provision. When considering prior trust statements and the high frequency of reported bias within the police and formal courts, with a high percentage of respondents agreeing and strongly agreeing with the statements that the police and formal courts protect politicians, and the rich and powerful, associations between corruption and poverty are unsurprising. It follows that poverty and money grabbing incentivizes the privileging of certain populations (rich, powerful, politicians) to accrue particular benefits (financial gains).

How to Fight Corruption



Unsurprisingly, given the high association between poverty and corruption among respondents, the most frequent solution offered to fight corruption is increasing salaries. This constitutes 42.2% of respondent answers to the question of how to fight corruption. Transparency and promoting better examples in leadership are the second and third most frequent responses.

Bribery

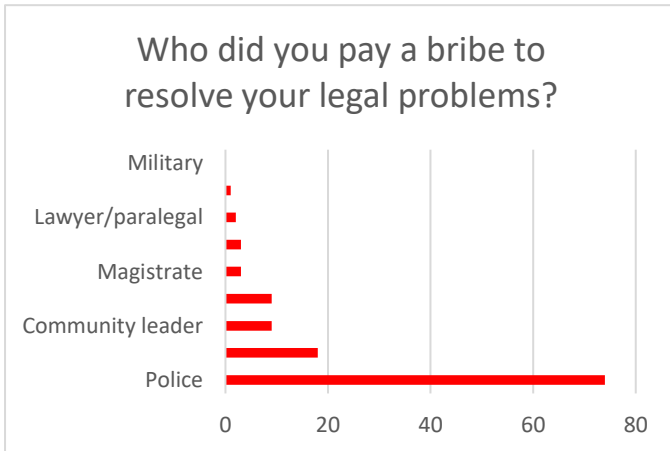
One particular manifestation of corruption is the practice of bribery. The above sections on institutional trust and corruption were answered by all respondents who participated in the survey, totalling 1204 participants. 347 respondents reported experiencing legal problems in the past 12 months. For these 347 respondents, we additionally asked whether they directly experienced corruption, in the form of bribery, in relation to their experienced legal problems.

29.4% of respondents who experienced legal problems report paying some form of bribe to resolve their experienced legal problems. 26.2% of women who experience legal problems report paying a bribe to resolve their legal problem. Men who experience legal problems report paying bribes to address their legal problems slightly more frequently, with 32.2% of men who experience legal problems paying bribes to resolve them.

Geography and Bribery Practices

Respondents who experience legal problems in urban areas are much more likely to report paying a bribe to resolve their problems, with 71.6% of respondents who pay bribes to resolve their legal problems residing in urban areas.

Actors



Respondents who pay bribes to resolve their legal problems overwhelmingly reporting bribing the police, with 72.5% of bribes going to the Police. Court clerks are the second most frequent actors reported to which respondents pay bribes to resolve their legal problems, accounting for 17.6% of reported bribes among respondents.

53.9% of respondents who pay bribes to resolve their legal problems report that their legal problems were resolved. 46.1% who pay bribes to resolve their legal problems report that their legal problems were not resolved. Bribery does not

appear to be a significantly effective means of resolving legal problems.

Overall Bribery Patterns and Histories

All survey respondents were asked whether they had been asked to pay bribe or perform another favour by someone in the past. 22.6% of respondents report having been asked to pay a bribe in the past, while 77.4% report not having ever been asked to pay a bribe.

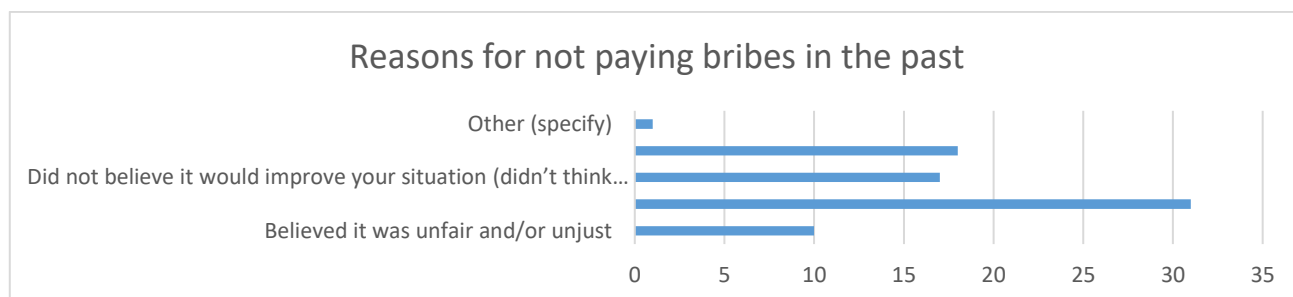
When controlling for location (urban or rural) and gender, once again urban respondents comprise the largest population of respondents asked to pay a bribe in the past. 62.1% of respondents who report being asked to pay a bribe in the past are urban residents, while the remaining 37.9 are rural residents. Similarly, when controlling for gender, men report higher instances of being asked to pay a bribe in the past, with 54.8% of respondents who have been asked to pay a bribe in the past being male.

Actors

Overwhelmingly, respondents report being asked to pay bribes by members of the police, with police comprising 53.3% of actors that respondents report being asked for bribes in the past. Several respondents (27.9%) select ‘other’ actors when indicating who they have been requested to pay a bribe to in the past. An analysis of the actors reported by respondents within this category of ‘others’ reveals the following salient categories (in descending order of reported frequency):

1. Healthcare providers
2. Education providers
3. Friends and Family
4. Government Officials
5. Employers
6. Community Leaders

71.7% of respondents who report being asked to pay a bribe in the past reporting complying, and paying the requested bribe. Hope or expectations that this would produce a positive result or lead to service provision are the most commonly stated reason for complying with requests to pay bribes, constituting 59.9% of why respondents report paying bribes in the past. 28.3% (77 respondents) of respondents who have been asked to pay a bribe in the past, report not complying with the request for a bribe. 40.2% report that their reason for non-compliance was because they could not afford the bribe. Unwillingness to pay a bribe accounts for 23.4% of non-compliance with past requests for bribes, and the belief that being asked for a bribe was unfair or unjust accounts for a mere 13% of non-compliance actions.

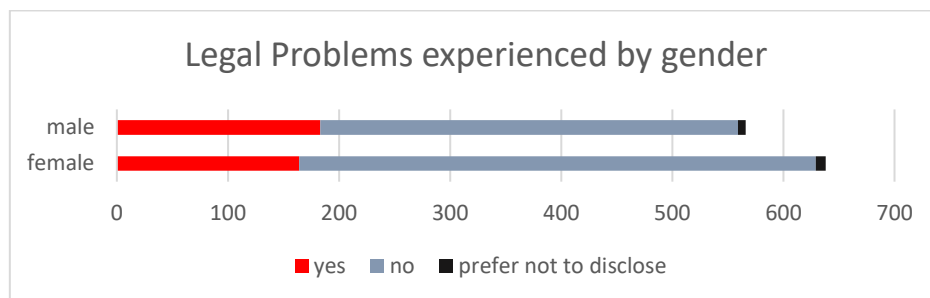


Legal Problems

347 (28.8%) respondents report experiencing at least 1 legal problem in the past 12 months. 69.9% of respondents (841) report not having experienced any legal problems. 1.3% (16) respondents prefer not to disclose whether they have experienced any legal problems. The majority of survey respondents therefore do not report experiencing legal problems in the past 12 months.

Gender and legal problems

164 women report having experienced legal problems, constituting 47.3% of the population of respondents who report experiencing legal problems. 183 men report having experienced legal problems, constituting 52.7% of the population of respondents who report experiencing legal problems. Men therefore report experiencing legal problems more frequently than women. 24.7% of sampled female respondents report experiencing legal problems, with 1.4% preferring not to disclose this. 32.3% of sampled male respondents report experiencing legal problems, with 1.2% of men preferring not to disclose this. Based on survey findings, men are therefore more likely to (report to) experience legal problems than women.

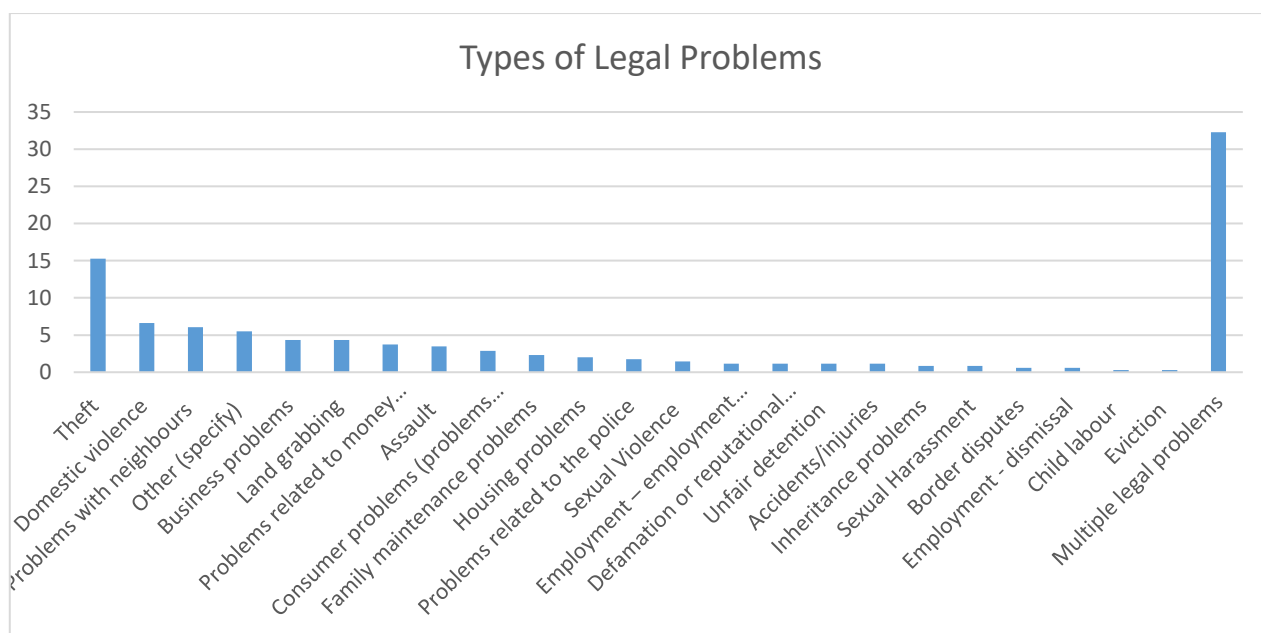


Legal Problems and Education

Legal problems are most frequently experienced by respondents with no formal schooling. 28.8% of respondents who experience legal problems have no formal schooling. This is unsurprising, as this is the largest education grouping among the sample, and reflects once more the challenges that Sierra Leone continues to face in providing access to education, which requires attention as a matter of fundamental human rights and access to justice moreover.

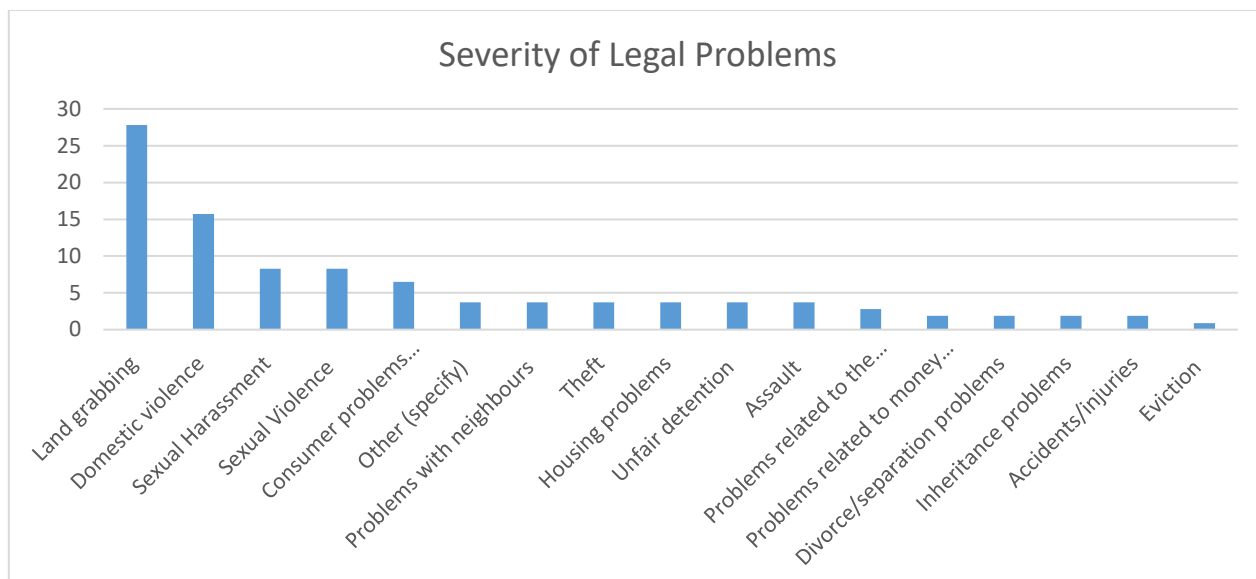
Types of Legal Problems

Over 30% (32.3%) of respondents who experience legal problems report experiencing multiple legal problems in the past 12 months. The most commonly experienced legal problems are: **theft, domestic violence and problems with neighbours.**



Severity of Legal Problems

Respondents who experienced legal problems were asked to specify which legal problems impacted them the most. The most serious legal problems experienced by respondents are: **land grabbing, domestic violence, sexual harassment, sexual violence and consumer problems.**



Domestic violence stands out as a legal problem that is both experienced frequently (the second most frequently cited legal problem, constituting 6.6% of experienced legal problems) and with high severity (the second most severe legal problem, constituting 15.7% of the total population of severe legal problems experienced by respondents) among respondents.

54% of respondents who report experiencing domestic violence are female. Female respondents also report experiencing domestic violence more frequently than men, with domestic violence constituting 20.7% of the legal problems among female respondents who have experienced legal problems in the survey. Domestic violence is more frequently experienced in urban areas, with 60.3% of such cases being reported by respondents in urban areas.

Geography and Legal Problems

64% of respondents who report experiencing legal problems reside in urban areas, while 36% reside in rural areas. This lends support additionally to survey findings that perceived levels of security are generally lower in urban areas than in rural areas.

Severity of Legal Problems

The majority of respondents who experience legal problems report being very negatively affected by their legal problems, constituting 42.4% of all those who have experienced legal problems

Willingness to pay

Among the respondents who report experiencing at least one legal problem, 59.1% report a willingness to pay to resolve their problem(s).

Did you seek legal advice?

The vast majority of respondents who experience legal problems seek legal advice. 72.9% (253 respondents) seek legal advice to address their legal problems. Men seek legal advice slightly more frequently than women do, with 74.9% of men who experience legal problems seeking legal advice, and 70.7% of female respondents seeking legal advice.

Education and Advice

When comparing seeking advice against levels of education, legal advice is most frequently sought by respondents with no formal schooling, which comprise 25.3% of all respondents who seek legal advice for their legal problems. Respondents with some or completed secondary schooling comprise the next two largest

categories who seek legal advice. This is unsurprising and reflects the overall distribution of education levels within the survey data. More telling is the frequency of legal advice sought within education categories, among respondents who experience legal problems. 100% of respondents with post-graduate levels of education seek legal advice, though the sample size for this category is small. Respondents with some level of university education who experience legal problems are also very highly likely to seek legal advice, with 92.9% who experience legal problems seeking advice to resolve this. In third place are respondents with religious schooling, of which 89.5% who experience legal problems seek advice. Relative to their education category totals, respondents with some primary schooling and respondents with no formal schooling are the least likely to seek legal advice when faced with legal problems. 58.1% of respondents with some level of primary schooling and who experience legal problems seek legal advice, and 64% of respondents who have no formal schooling and experience legal problems seek advice for their legal problems. This indicates that education and advice seeking are linked, with higher levels of education corresponding to higher levels of legal advice seeking among respondents who experience legal problems.

Among respondents who experienced legal problems but did not seek legal advice, the most common reasons for not seeking legal advice are:

- they did not believe the advice would help
- they did not have enough money to seek legal advice
- they did not have the time to seek legal advice
- they did not know where to look for information

Most Helpful sources of Legal Advice

Family are reported to be the most helpful source of legal advice, followed by the Police and then Friends. With the notable exception of the Police, who are the second most helpful cited source of legal advice, respondents rely heavily on personal networks for legal advice. Of note is that the three most helpful sources of legal advice are also observed to be the three most frequently used sources of legal advice (family, the police, and friends).

Public sources of information as legal advice

The vast majority of respondents who experience legal problems do not seek legal advice from public sources of information. Only 32.6% of respondents who experience legal problems seek legal advice from such sources. Among respondents who utilize public sources of information for legal advice, the most popular public sources of information are: **radio, TV, social media, and the internet.**

Taking Action

Most respondents who experience legal problems report taking action to resolve their problem(s). 64.3% of respondents report taking some form of action after experiencing legal problems.

Seeking Legal advice and taking action exhibit a strong correlation, with respondents who seek legal advice indicating much higher rates of pursuing action to address their legal problem(s). 70.7% of respondents who experience legal problems and seek legal advice go on to take action to address their legal problems (and constitute 80.3% of the total sample of respondents who take action for their legal problems). 53.2% of respondents who do not seek legal advice report not taking action to address their legal problems. Seeking legal advice therefore plays a formative role in the decision to take action to address legal problems.

Most respondents who take action to resolve their legal problems do so in order to realize/exercise their rights. Recovering property and punishing someone for wrongdoing are the second and third most frequently reported reasons for taking action.

No Action

Among the 124 respondents who experienced legal problems but did not take any action to address this, the most common reasons for not taking action are:

1. Other party was more powerful
2. Problem was not serious enough
3. Not enough money

25.8% of responses for not taking action are due to power asymmetries between the respondent and other party. This supports survey findings that justice remains a biased undertaking, with powerful populations (ie the rich, the powerful, and politicians) privileged. Expectations of preferential treatment in favour of the other party, as a significant deterrent to taking action, highlight the need to address and alleviate the uneven and inequitable application of justice services that respondents experience. Significantly, high expected financial costs associated with taking action vastly outweigh the expected time costs associated with taking action, as a deterrent to taking action. Only 4 out of 347 respondents who experienced legal problems cite time costs as a deterrent to taking action.

Legal Problems and Taking Action

Survey response analysis allows us to address the question of *which types of legal problems are respondents most likely to take action for?* By cross tabulating legal problem types against respondents who chose to take action to address their legal problems the following legal problems evidence very high action rates, meaning that most respondents who experience these particular legal problems report taking action to address them:

1. Defamation or reputational assault (insults)
2. Employment (dismissal) problems
3. Border Disputes
4. Child Labour
5. Housing problems
6. Assault
7. Problems with neighbours
8. Theft
9. Land grabbing

When compared against the most frequently reported types of legal problems, taking action and frequency of reported legal problems exhibit the following overlap (among the top 9 of each):

1. Theft
2. Problems with neighbours
3. Land grabbing
4. Assault

Theft, problems with neighbours, land grabbing, and assault crimes therefore are both experienced with high frequency (among the top 9 most frequently reported legal problems) and subsequent action rates (also belonging to the top 9 most frequently reported legal problems for which action is taken). Notably, when compared to the severity of experienced legal problems, it is clear that severity of legal problems experienced does not strongly determine the decision to take action. **Land grabbing, theft, housing problems and problems with neighbours** both rank highly in terms of severity and action taken to resolve them, while other legal problems that rank highly in terms of severity of impact do not similarly exhibit high action rates. This indicates gaps in access to justice for legal problems that seriously impact respondents.

Gender and action

Men and women are almost equally likely to take action when faced with legal problems. 64.6% of women who report experiencing legal problems take action to resolve them, and 63.9% of men who experience legal problems take action.

Geography and Action

58.3% of respondents who take action are urban residents. However, 74.4% of rural respondents who report experiencing legal problems report taking action to resolve their legal problems (compared to 58.5% of urban respondents who experience legal problems). Taking legal action is therefore more frequent in urban areas, though more likely among rural residents who experience legal problems.

Education and Action

Higher education and taking action appear to correlate somewhat, with high levels of action being taken by respondents who experience legal problems and have either completed a university degree or a post-graduate level of education. Some or completed secondary schooling also exhibits high action response rates. Respondents who have completed primary school levels of education are also highly likely to take action to address their legal problems. Respondents with some primary schooling only or who have religious schooling are the least likely to take action to resolve their legal problems. Access to quality education does appear to hold some potential explanatory power for taking action to resolve legal problems. Studies by HiiL point to the link between education, legal empowerment and taking action to resolve legal problems, and further qualitative investigation into this relationship in Sierra Leone warrants attention. While no strong conclusions can be drawn based on the current data, patterns sufficiently indicate the value in exploring this further, and further supports the previous link outlined between access to education and access to justice.

Justice Paths

Respondents who take action to address their legal problems commonly pursue multiple actions in their pursuit for justice (comprising 46.6% of individual justice journeys). 17 out of an identified 28 possible justice paths are sometimes pursued in isolation, with the remaining 11 only pursued as part of a combination of justice paths in the journey to seeking resolution for experienced legal problems.

Justice paths have grouped into the following three categories: personal networks and individual action, customary informal justice providers, and institutional paths.

Personal Network and Individual Action	Customary/Informal Justice Providers	Institutions
Contact the other party	Paramount chief	NGOs/Human Rights Organisations (specify)
Gather evidence	Informal court barrays	Paralegal
Contact witnesses	Contact religious leader	Court of law
Contact Family	Contact community leader (specify)	arbitrator
Contact Friend	Chair lady	Legal aid board
Contact neighbour	Mammy queen	Mediator
Contact Colleague	Section/Town chief	Public Authority (specify)

IGR Perceptions of Justice (Citizens and Institutions sections)

Contact employer	Sowe/Digba	Police
	secret society	Lawyer
	Native court administration (local court)	Other (specify)

When respondents use only one justice path to pursue redress for legal problems, they most commonly use the police, followed by paramount chiefs, local courts (native administrations), section/town chiefs and family members. The 17 justice paths identified as used in isolation by respondents who experience legal problems are: Paramount chiefs; local court (native administration); section/town chiefs; contact friend; contact community leader; court of law; police; contact family; public authority; contact other party; lawyer; legal aid board; NGOs; Informal court barrays; paralegals; secret society; and other.

Out of all respondents who experience legal problems and rely on single justice paths to resolve their problems, institutional paths are the most commonly used justice path. 61.7% of respondents who experience legal problems and address them through a single justice path rely exclusively on institutional justice paths. Customary informal justice paths account for 29% of single path justice journeys, and 9.3% of respondents rely exclusively on single personal network paths. 62.5% of single justice paths pursued by rural respondents belong to the category of institutional paths. Similarly, 60.8% of single justice paths pursued by urban respondents are institutional paths, indicating that respondents who experience legal problems and rely on single justice paths are most likely to pursue justice through institutional paths. The police account for a vast majority of single institutional justice path action taken in both urban and rural settings.

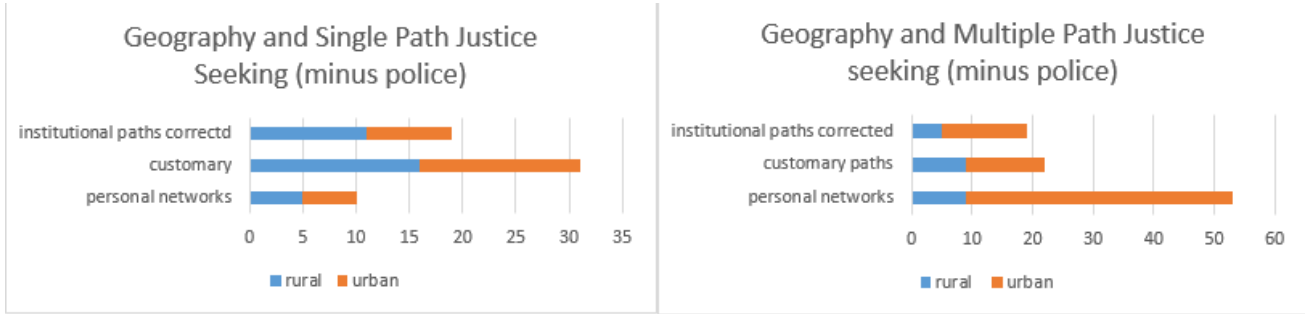
This illuminates the frequency of different justice paths when used in isolation. However, as indicated, a majority of respondents pursue multiple justice paths in their individual justice journeys. When accounting for the use of multiple justice paths, the frequency distribution of justice paths changes slightly, though still evidences that the police remain the most frequently used justice path by respondents who experience legal problems. Out of the majority of respondents who use multiple justice paths to address their legal problems, 73.1% are urban residents. 58.5% of urban respondents who experience legal problems and take action, utilize multiple actions. Conversely, 30.1% of rural respondents who take action to address their legal problems use multiple actions to address their legal problems. 57.9% of urban respondents who use multiple legal actions report personal networks to be their most helpful justice path, while rural respondents rate institutional paths the highest (with 35.7% of rural respondents who use multiple actions indicating that institutional paths are the most helpful). Personal network paths are the most frequently utilized type of justice path observed from the data, accounting for 51% of justice paths identified as most helpful by multiple path users. However, personal network justice paths are more frequently pursued by urban respondents, who account for 83% of the total population of respondents who indicate that personal networks were the most helpful when using multiple justice paths.

Justice Paths that are only used as part of a multiple path justice journey:

Personal Network and Individual Action	Customary/informal Justice Providers	Institutions
Gather Evidence	Contact Religious Leader	
Contact Witnesses	Chair Lady	Arbitrator
Contact Neighbour	Mammy Queen	Mediator
Contact Colleague	Sowe/Digba	

Contact Employer		
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It is necessary to note that customary informal justice paths, contrary to expectations, do not constitute the majority justice path category among respondents, in either rural or urban settings. This would appear to contradict conventional wisdom around the prevalence of the frequency of use of customary informal justice actors as justice providers. However, these statistics, while accurate, need to be observed in context. The very high frequency of utilizing the police as a justice path, which belongs to the category of institutional paths, skews the statistics towards institutional paths, in urban and rural settings. When removing the police as a reported justice path action (due to its high outlier frequency), the justice seeking landscape dramatically changes. For single path justice users, customary informal justice paths emerge as the most frequently utilized justice path in isolation, though there is no meaningful difference in use across urban and rural settings, with urban respondents accounting for 48.4% of customary informal justice paths used in isolation, and rural justice seekers accounting for the remaining 51.6%. For multiple justice path users, once again customary informal justice paths increases to constitute 23.4% of multiple justice paths identified as most helpful by respondents who take action to resolve their legal problems. Personal Networks continue to dominate multiple path justice seeking, identified as the most frequently cited helpful path when pursuing multiple paths. However, personal networks score consistently low in justice journey evaluations, as the following section shall reveal, evidencing much room for improvement in enhancing meaningful access to justice for citizens in Sierra Leone.



For respondents who utilize more than one justice path to address their legal problems, the most frequently reported justice paths (in descending order) are contacting: **the police, family member(s), friend(s), local courts (native administrations), and section/town chiefs.**

Helpfulness of justice paths

Given that respondents frequently use multiple justice paths to address their legal problems, the survey asked respondents who pursued multiple paths to express which path was the most helpful in addressing their legal problem(s). Among respondents who used multiple paths to pursue their legal problems, the most helpful paths are reported to be: **contacting family and contacting friends.** Engaging **the police** is the third most helpful justice path that respondents report, when using multiple justice paths. This indicates that while engaging the police is both the most common justice path, in isolation and as part of combination approach to resolving legal problems, they are not considered the most helpful justice path for respondents who engage multiple justice paths, ranking third, below family and friends that both belong to the category of personal networks.

Helpfulness of justice paths used in isolation

For respondents who used only one justice path, the survey asked them to rate the helpfulness of that particular justice path. Generally, respondents report high levels of helpfulness for their chosen justice path. Below are the helpfulness ratings reported by respondents for the 4 most commonly used justice paths in isolation:

The Police

For the police, as the most commonly used justice path in isolation, 51.1% of respondents report that this path was very helpful in addressing their legal problem(s). 19.1% of respondents report the police to have been quite helpful in addressing their legal problems, and 17.0% report the police to have been not helpful at all. Overall, 70.2% of respondents who relied exclusively on the police to address their legal problem(s) report the police as being either quite or very helpful. 29.8% of respondents rate the police as either not helpful at all or only a little bit helpful in addressing their legal problems.

Paramount Chiefs

The second most commonly used justice path in isolation are paramount chiefs. Overall, respondents who utilize this particular informal justice path report high levels of helpfulness associated with paramount chiefs. 61.5% of respondents who use paramount chiefs (exclusively) to address their legal problem(s) rank this justice path as very helpful (this increases to 76.9% when combining the very helpful and quite helpful scores provided). 23.1% rank the use of paramount chiefs as not helpful at all.

Local Courts (native administrations)

Local courts (native administrations) are the third most commonly pursued justice path when justice paths are pursued in isolation. Once again, the majority of respondents report the use of this justice path as helpful, with 41.7% of respondents ranking such courts as very helpful, and 75% of respondents ranking these courts as either very or quite helpful. 16.7% of respondents who rely on this justice path report it as being either not helpful at all or only a little bit helpful.

Section/Town Chiefs

The fourth most popular justice path pursued in isolation are recourse to section/town chiefs. 63.6% of respondents who rely on this justice path report Section/Town Chiefs as being very helpful in addressing their legal problem(s). This rises to 100% of respondents when adding the category of quite helpful. Overall, respondents therefore report very high levels of helpfulness, and no poor levels of helpfulness, around the use of section/town chiefs to address their legal problem(s).

Among these single justice path users, section/town chiefs receive the highest relative helpfulness score, followed by paramount chiefs, the police, and lastly local courts (native administrations).

Resolution rates

Most respondents who have experienced at least one legal problem report that their legal problem has been completely resolved.

Resolution Rates for Multiple Path Users

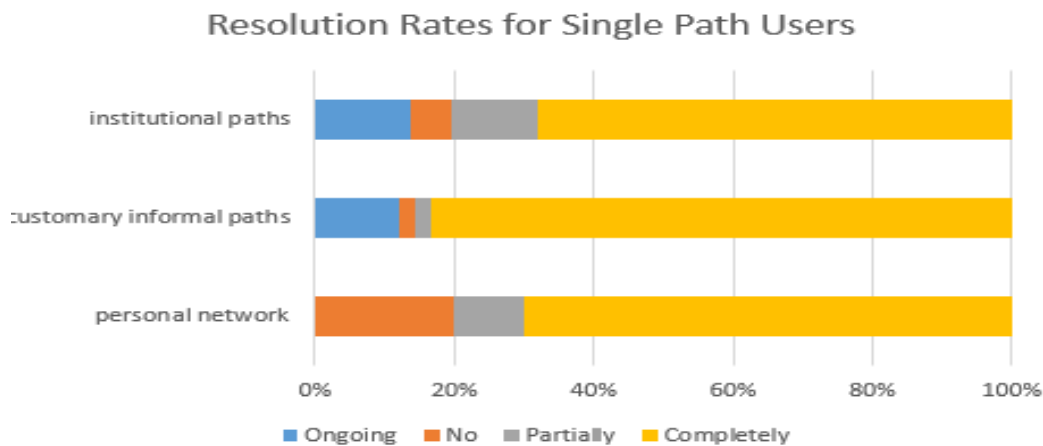
For respondents who pursue multiple justice paths to address their legal problems, 36.2% report that their legal problems have been completely resolved. However, 34.3% report that their legal problems have not been resolved at all. 18.1% report that their legal problems are still in the process of being addressed.

Single Justice Paths and Resolution Rates

Respondents who pursued a single justice path report much higher resolution rates, with 73.7% of respondents reporting that their legal problems have been completely resolved. 11.9% of respondents who use single justice paths report that their legal problems are ongoing, and only 5.9% of respondents report that their legal problems have not been resolved at all. This indicates that respondents pursue multiple justice paths when single justice paths do not provide adequate resolution for their legal problems. High resolution rates for single path users indicate no need for further actions. This further implies that personal networks, as the most frequently cited helpful justice path in multiple path journeys, do not provide high resolution rates

for respondents who experience legal problems. This further evidences the need to enhance access to justice paths that provide meaningful resolution for legal problems that citizens encounter.

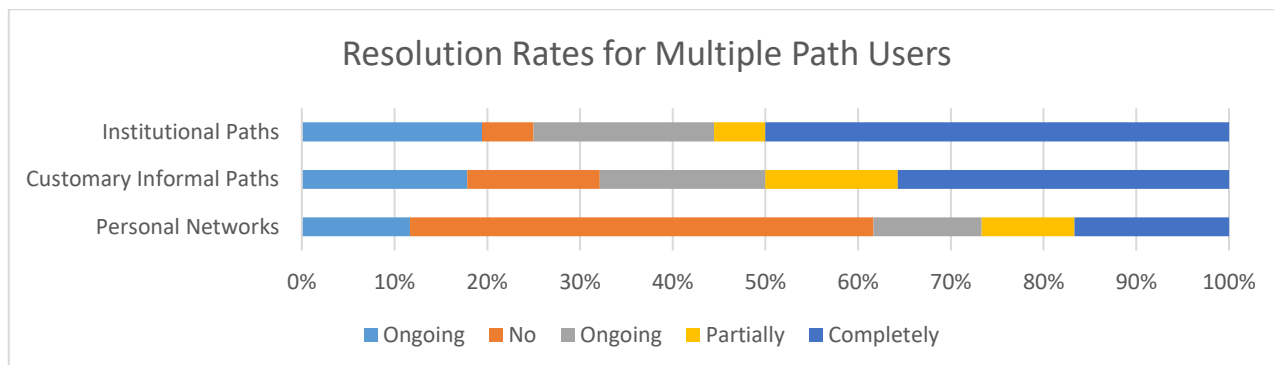
The Police are observed to exhibit the highest complete legal problem resolution rates, though this is largely attributed to their frequent use by respondents as a justice path (constituting the most commonly used justice path, in combination and in isolation).



When examining relative resolution rates, section/town chiefs showcase the highest complete resolution rates, with 90.9% of respondents who rely on this justice path exclusively to address their legal problems reporting that their legal problems have been completely resolved. Following from this, paramount chiefs perform second best in resolving legal problems, with 76.9% of respondents who rely on this justice path reporting that their legal problems have been fully resolved. 75% of respondents who use local courts (native administrations) report complete resolution of their legal problems through the exclusive use of this pathway. The police therefore, while most frequently used, as a justice path in isolation and as part of a combined justice journey, exhibit much lower complete resolution rates than other commonly used justice paths. In particular, customary informal paths exhibit the highest relative resolution rates for single justice path users.

Multiple Paths and Resolution Rates

50% of multiple path users that use institutional paths report complete resolution for their legal problems. In second place, 35.7% of multiple path users that use customary informal paths report complete resolution for their legal problems. The lowest resolution rates are attributable to personal network justice paths.



Among respondents who took action for their legal problems but who chose not to use formal courts, the most common reasons for not involving formal courts are:

1. Financial costs
2. Preference for non-institutional dispute settlement
3. Did not believe courts would treat them fairly
4. Distance

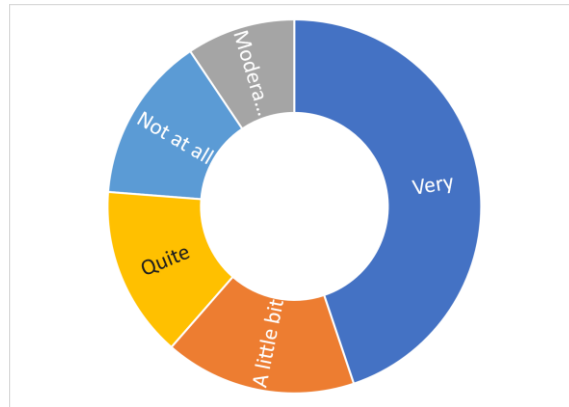
Once again, bias in the application of justice prevents use of formal justice paths. Perceived high costs of justice are the primary deterrent for involving formal courts. Interesting to note is the high frequency of responses indicating a preference for non-institutional paths. This adds support to the need to acknowledge the significant role that informal justice plays in addressing and resolving the legal problems that citizens face. Rather than pushing reforms that address enhancing the formal justice sector exclusively, access to justice needs to be reframed in terms of ‘appropriate and meaningful justice spaces’ and recognize the important and positive role that the informal justice sector, as an appropriate and widely used justice service provider category, does and can contribute to access to justice in Sierra Leone.

Justice Journey Evaluation

Respondents who took action for experienced legal problems were asked to evaluate the experience of their justice journey. Respondents were asked about the quality of their justice journey, along three dimensions: respect, voice and neutrality, and procedural clarity and capacity. Secondly, respondents were asked to evaluate the quality of the outcome of their justice journey, looking at the issues of damage restoration, problem resolution and outcome explanation. Finally, respondents evaluated the costs of their justice journey, responding to questions around time, money and negative emotional impact. The following section illuminates findings from the procedural evaluation of respondents’ justice journeys.

Quality of Procedure

Respect



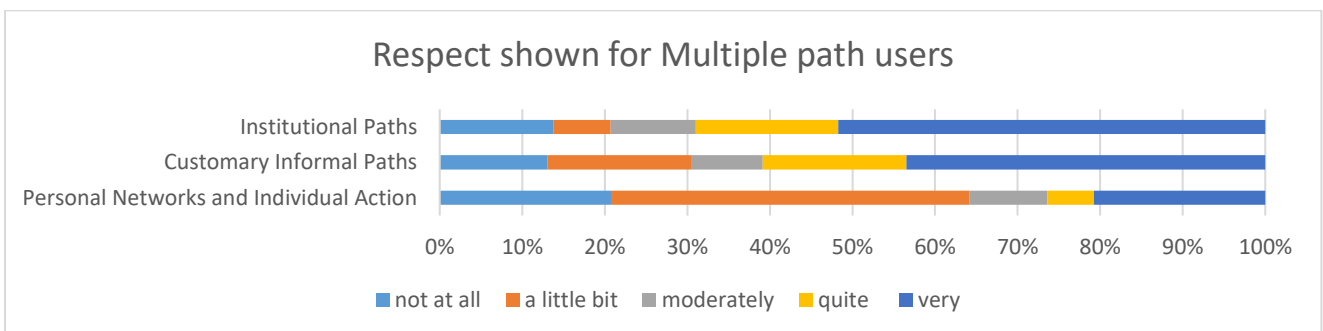
Respect for Multiple Path Users

As highlighted previously, respondents who pursued multiple justice paths in their justice journeys were asked to rank the most helpful justice path they pursued. They were subsequently asked to evaluate their experience of seeking justice through their most highly ranked (most helpful) justice path. Among the most helpful justice paths pursued by respondents who used multiple justice paths to address their legal problems, the survey asked respondents to rate the level of respect they were given within this justice path. The highest levels of respect are reported by respondents who used formal courts to address their legal problems. 100% of respondents who used formal courts as part of their combination justice path approach report feeling either quite or very respected in their use of this justice path. Respondents who used the Police, lawyers and paramount chiefs all report experiencing high levels of respect by these paths, with answers in the upper two categories (of quite and very) constituting 80% of respondent respect rankings for all three justice paths.

When separating out the two highest categories of respect, paramount chiefs exhibit the highest level of reported respect by respondents, standing at 80% of respondents who state that they felt very respected.

The personal network categories of contacting family and contacting friends stand out as exhibiting the lowest respect ratings, with 23.7% of respondents who rated Family as their most helpful source of justice in a combined approach stating that they were not treated respectfully at all. When combining the lower two respect rankings (of 'not at all' and 'a little bit'), this rises to 68.4%. Similarly, 18.2% of respondents who cited contacting friends as their most helpful justice path report not being treated respectfully at all by their personal network. This rises to 63.6% when combining the two lowest respect rankings categories.

When grouping justice paths according to the categories of personal networks, customary informal justice paths, and institutional justice paths, the following is evidenced. The highest levels of respect are experienced by multiple path users who utilize institutional justice paths, and the lowest levels of respect are reported by those who use personal networks.

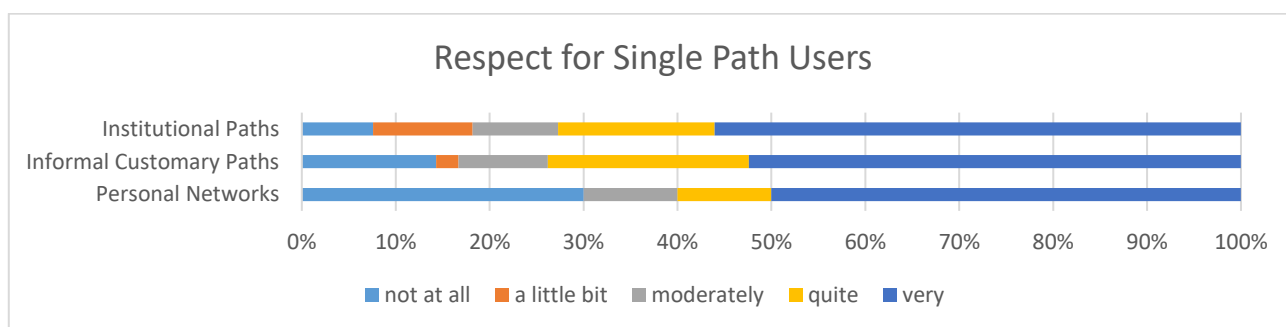


Respect and Single Path Users

Of the 5 most frequently used justice paths that respondents employ when utilizing a single justice path, levels of respect are reported to be highest among section/town chiefs, where 63.6% of respondents who rely exclusively on this justice path to address their legal problems report being treated with very high levels of respect by section/town chiefs. Among the most popular justice paths used in isolation, contacting friends once again receives a low respect rating, with only 20% of respondents reporting being treated very or quite respectfully (the top two respect ratings), and 60% of respondents reporting experiencing no respect at all when taking action through friends.

Justice paths used in isolation that receive the highest respect ratings, regardless of frequency of use are: contacting the other party and contacting the legal aid board. Both these justice paths exhibit a 100% ranking along the highest possible respect ranking, though it must be noted that the frequency levels of each of these two paths is small (with only 3 reported instances of the exclusive use of each). When combining the upper two respect ratings, contacting family and the use of paralegals also show 100% positive respect ratings, though once again the population of cases for each is very small (with only 2 reported cases of respondents contacting family in isolation as their justice journey, and only 1 case of the exclusive reliance on paralegals). Section/town chiefs continue to reveal high respect ratings, of 90.9% (as indicated above). Local courts (native administrations) demonstrate an 83.3% respect rating, and formal courts receive a 75% combined positive respect ranking. The police also receive high respect rankings, with 72.3% of respondents ranking their treatment by the police as either quite or very respectful.

When combining justice paths for single path users into the categories of personal networks, informal customary paths and institutional justice paths institutional justice paths show the highest respect rankings by respondents, with personal networks exhibiting the poorest respect rankings.



Voice and Neutrality

The second axis along which procedural quality of justice journeys is evaluated is that of voice and neutrality. Respondents were asked questions around how much they were able to express their views and feelings and whether the same rules were applied equally to them and other parties, within their chosen justice paths. Once again, a 5 point Likert scale was used to assess answers, ranging from not at all, a little bit, moderately, quite, and very.

Expression (voice)

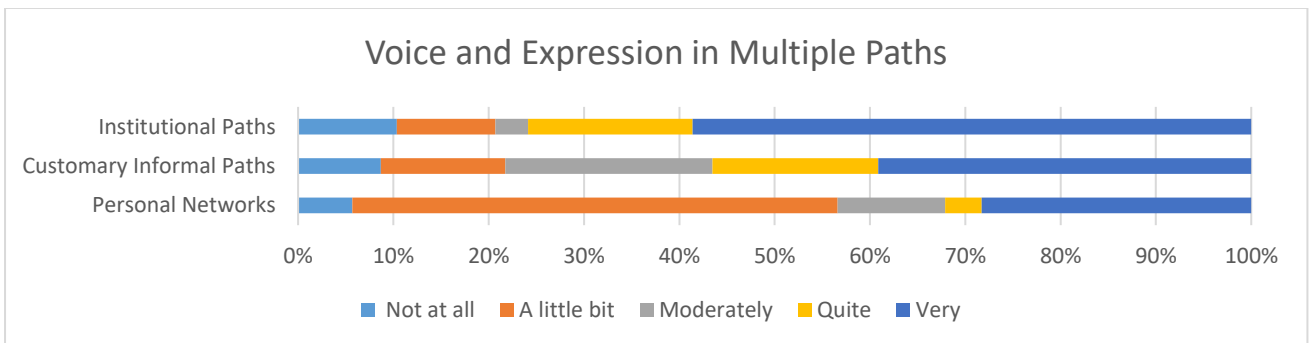


Expression for Multiple Path Users

For justice users that experience legal problems and pursue multiple paths of justice, among their most helpfully rated justice path, the police and paramount chiefs both receive very high expression ratings, with 80% of respondents (in both groups) reporting a very high ability to express themselves when using the police and paramount chiefs. When grouping the upper two expression categories, of very and quite high, together, lawyers stand out as receiving a 100% positive expression rating, as well as formal courts. Once again, personal networks exhibit the poorest expression ratings, with 63.6% of respondents reporting feeling only able to express themselves a little bit when contacting friends, and 57.9% of respondents feeling only able to either express themselves a little bit or not at all when contacting family to address their legal problems.

High Expression for Multiple Path Users

When grouping respondents' most helpful path in their multipath justice journeys into the categories of personal networks, customary informal paths and institutional paths, institutional paths exhibit the highest relative positive ratings around respondent abilities to express their views and feelings. Personal networks once again exhibit the lowest ratings.



Expression and Single Paths

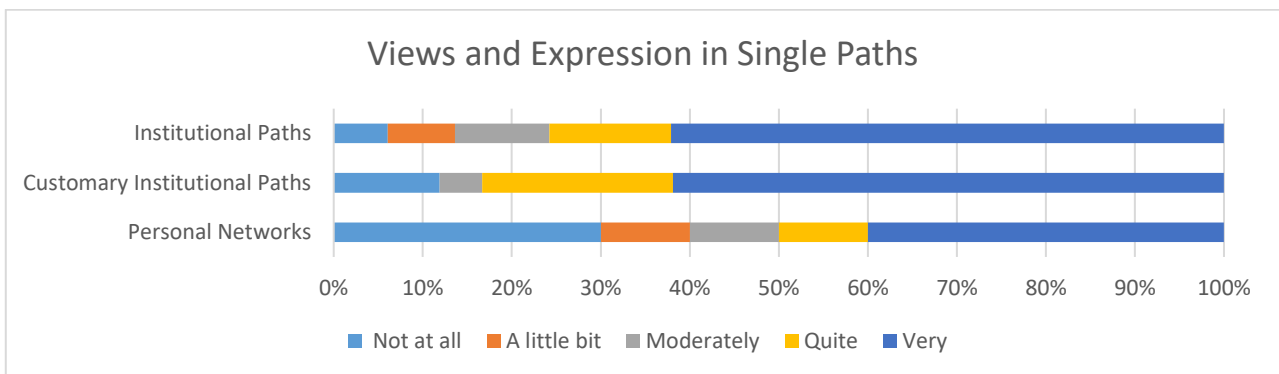
For respondents who utilize a single justice path in their pursuit of taking action for their legal problems, informal/customary justice paths show remarkably high levels of expression. Respondents were asked to rate their ability to express themselves in their chosen justice path, using a 5 point scale, ranging from not at all to very high ability to express themselves. Of the 5 most commonly used justice paths, in isolation, local courts (native administrations) are rated the highest by respondents, with 75% who rely on this justice path reporting a very high ability to express themselves therein. This rises to 91.2% of respondents when grouping the top two voice categories together. 63.6% of respondents who made exclusive use of section/town chiefs similarly rate their ability to express themselves as very high, which rises to 90.9% when grouping the top two expression rankings together. Lastly among the most frequently used and informal customary justice paths, paramount chiefs receive a 61.5% very high expression ranking, that rises to 92.3% when combining the top

two expression categories. Out of the respondents who rely exclusively on the police to address their legal problems 61.7% report feeling a very high ability to express themselves, which rises to 74.5% when combining the upper two positive expression score categories. Once again, contacting friends ranks the lowest along procedural criteria, among the most popular justice paths pursued in isolation, with 60% of respondents who rely on this path reporting not feeling any ability to express themselves at all, and a further 20% reporting to only feel a little able to express themselves. The remaining 20% of respondents report only moderately being able to express their views when taking action involves exclusively contacting friends. No respondents who rely exclusively on friends for legal action report high levels of expression.

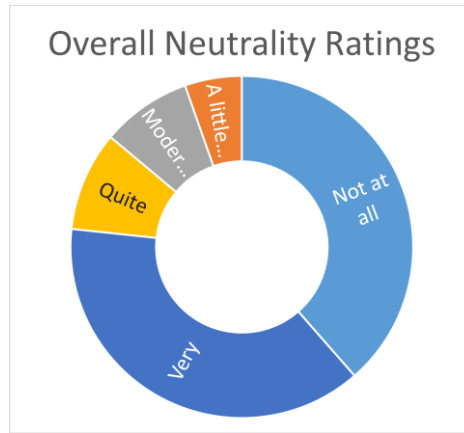
High expression for Single Path Users

For single path users, contacting the other party, and contacting the legal aid board remain justice paths with the highest expression rating, similar to findings around respect. However, as noted previously, the small observed frequency of these justice paths must be accounted for. Similarly, along the dimension of expression, contacting the legal aid board also receives a 100% very high expression rating, though here the frequency too, of 3, is very small. When controlling for justice paths with such small frequencies we can compare the paths exhibiting the highest expression ratings by respondents who use either multiple paths or a single path in addressing their legal problems.

When grouping single justice path users into the categories of personal networks, customary informal justice paths and institutional paths, institutional paths receive the highest views and expression ratings, when looking at each of the 5 possible answers in isolation. When combining the upper two high expression ratings, customary informal justice paths receive the highest scores, with personal networks once again exhibiting the lowest procedural expression rates.



Neutrality

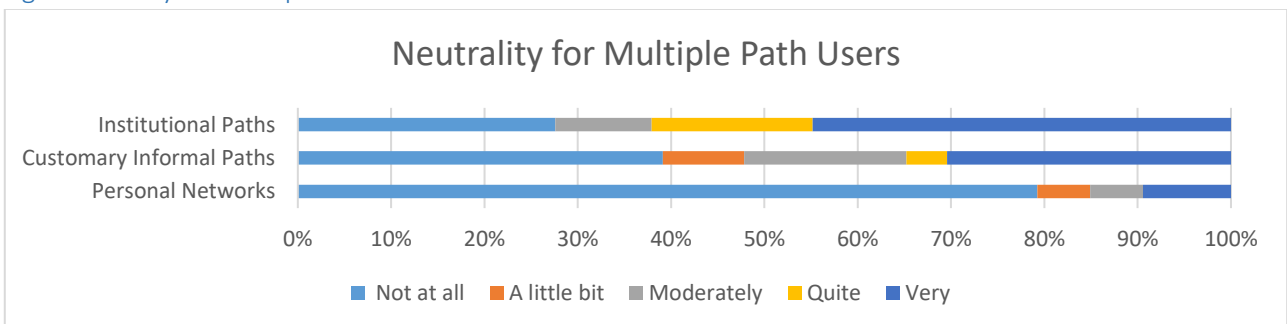


Respondents who took action to address their legal problems were asked to rate how neutral they felt their chosen justice path(s) were. Enumerators asked respondents whether the same rules were applied equally to them and to other parties, and respondents answered using the same 5 point scale, ranging from not at all, to very neutral (high procedural neutrality/equality).

Neutrality and multiple paths

Along the dimension of procedural neutrality, respondents who use multiple justice paths rank paramount chiefs the most positive, with 80% of respondents ranking paramount chiefs as applying rules very equally among parties. The police also exhibit high neutrality scores, with 70% of respondents who use multiple paths reporting the police to be very neutral as a justice provider. When combining the two upper rankings of 'quite' and 'very' neutral, the figures change however. Formal courts receive a combined 'quite' and 'very' neutral score of 83.3%, followed by lawyers and paramount chiefs, who received a combined positive neutrality ranking of 80% each (the neutrality score for paramount chiefs does not change when combining the two upper neutrality ranking scores). The police rank fourth in neutrality when these two upper scores combined, remaining at a 70% positive neutrality score. As with the dimensions of respect and expression, contacting friends and family receive the lowest neutrality scores, with 90.9% of respondents who contact friends as part of their multiple path justice journey reporting that this justice path provides no neutrality at all. 78.9% of respondents who report contacting family as the most helpful of their multiple justice path journey similarly report that contacting family provides no neutrality or equal application of rules in seeking justice for their legal problems. Local courts (native administrations) receive the third lowest neutrality ranking, with 33.3% of respondents reporting the total uneven application of rules in this justice path as part of their multiple path journey.

High Neutrality for Multiple Path Users



Institutional paths are reported to provide the highest degree of neutrality, treating parties equally, by respondents who employ multiple justice paths to resolve their legal problems. Though customary informal paths remain the second most neutral category of justice paths for multiple path users, the discrepancy

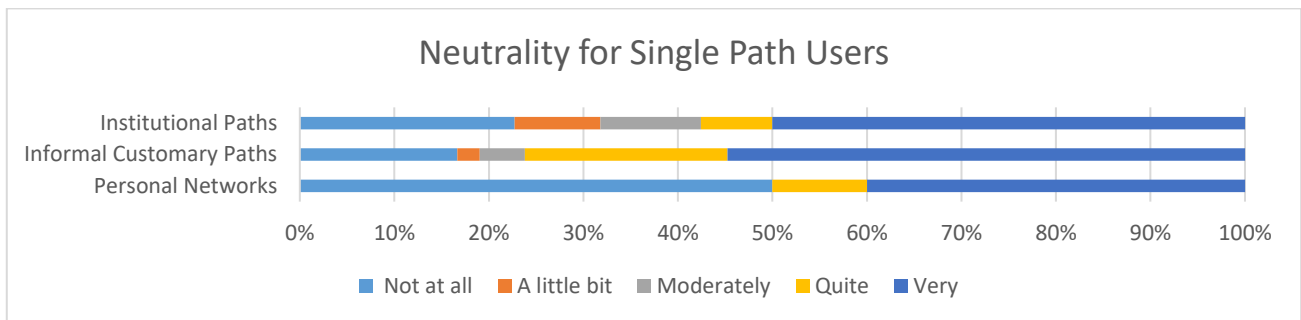
between levels of reported neutrality between institutional paths and customary informal ones increases significantly along the dimension of neutrality, with institutional paths exhibiting far higher levels of positive neutrality ratings. Personal networks continue to perform poorly.

Neutrality and Single path users

For respondents who seek justice through a single justice path, the use of local courts (native administrations) is reported as the most neutral justice path pursued, with 66.7% of respondents who rely exclusively on such informal courts rating the equal application of rules as very high. Section/Town Chiefs receive the second highest neutrality score, with 54.5% of respondents ranking procedural neutrality as very high. This is followed by Paramount Chiefs, who receive a 53.8% very high neutrality score. Overall, informal/customary justice paths are widely ranked to provide the most neutral justice paths, exhibiting the highest scores along the question of whether respondents feel that the same rules were applied to them as to other parties. The numbers alter slightly when combining the upper two neutrality scores, of quite and very high experienced path neutrality and equality of treatment. However, it is only the relative ranking of these same three customary informal justice paths that changes, with Section/Town chiefs exhibiting a combined score of 90.9% neutrality, Paramount Chiefs standing at 84.6% high neutrality, and Local courts (native administrations) falling to third place when combining upper neutral scores, to 75.0% ranking among respondents.

Contacting friends continues to exhibit poor procedural performance, with 60% of respondents reporting to experience no neutrality at all from this particular personal network path. Rankings for the police also demonstrate some decline along this dimension, with 25.5% of respondents who rely exclusively on the police to address their legal problems reporting to experience no neutrality or equality of rules application at all. Similarly, 25% of respondents who rely on formal courts for legal problem redress also report low neutrality by courts, a number that rises to 50% when combining the lower two possible neutrality scores.

For single path users, neutrality is ranked higher for contacting friends than for formal courts (which is given a 25% high neutrality rating). Conversely, among multiple path users, formal courts are ranked as the most neutral justice path they utilize. Paramount chiefs rank highly along the dimension of neutrality for both single justice path and multiple path users.



When grouping justice paths for single path users into the categories of institutional paths, informal customary justice paths and personal networks, customary informal justice paths show the highest neutrality scores among single path users. Personal networks perform poorly once again.

Combining voice and neutrality scores

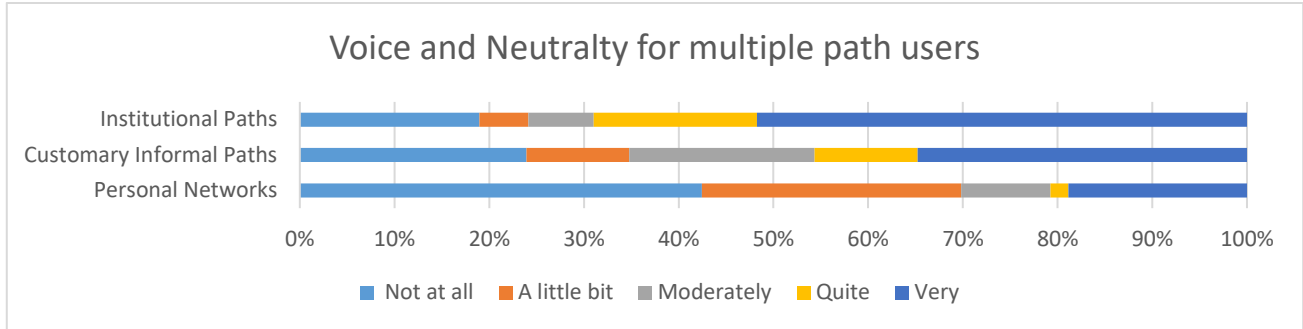
Voice and Neutrality together are taken to constitute one evaluative procedural dimension of an individual’s justice journey, that captures justice user agency when taking action to address legal problems, and experiences of justice path neutrality or equality of treatment within particular justice paths.

Voice and Neutrality for Multiple Path Users

When combining scores across the individual questions for voice and neutrality, for respondents who seek justice through multiple paths, the Police perform best along the category of ‘very’ neutral and ‘very’ high

IGR Perceptions of Justice (Citizens and Institutions sections)

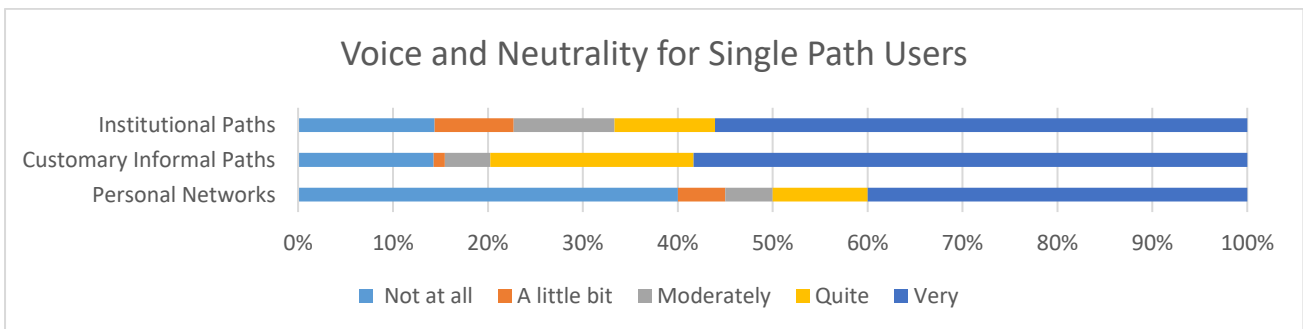
expression, with an average score of 75%. However, when combining the two upper ranking scores of ‘very and quite’, formal courts overshadow the Police, achieving a positive combined and average score of 91.6%. Contacting family and friends continues to score poorly, with 43.4% and 45.5% of respondents, respectively, reporting experiencing no voice or neutrality at all through these justice paths. Local Courts (native administrations), receive mixed rankings, with 16.7% of respondents reporting a low average voice and neutrality score, and equally 16.7% reporting very high neutrality and voice within this justice path.



Grouped into path categories, institutional paths perform the best along the combined axes of voice and neutrality for multiple path users. Institutional Paths showcase a markedly higher positive evaluation by respondents along the combined axis of voice and neutrality, than either customary informal paths or personal networks.

Voice and Neutrality for Single Path Users

When combining voice and neutrality scores for single path users, local courts (native administrations) demonstrate the highest overall combined rating, with 70.8%. When combining the average scores across voice and neutrality, across the ‘high’ and ‘quite’ high ranking categories, section/town chiefs achieve an average high score of 90.9%, with local courts (native administration) falling slightly behind, at 83.3%. Overall, customary informal justice paths rank far higher along the dimension of voice and neutrality, with paramount chiefs reported as the third most neutral justice path wherein respondents feel very highly able to express themselves.



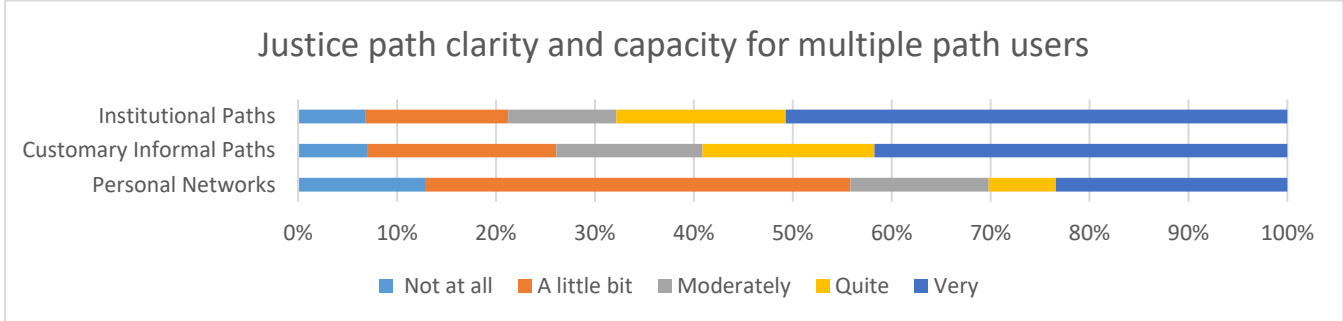
When grouping justice paths into categories, for single path users, customary informal paths evidence the highest positive combined voice and neutrality ratings, and personal networks perform poorest.

Procedural Clarity and Capacity

The third dimension along which an individual’s procedural justice journey is evaluated, is that of procedural clarity and capacity.

For multiple path users, paramount chiefs score highest along the dimension of procedural clarity and capacity, with 76% of respondents who find this their most helpful justice path ranking paramount chiefs as exhibiting very high clarity and capacity, on average. Lawyers and the police, on average, also receive high clarity and capacity rankings by multiple path justice users, achieving an average score of 72% and 70%

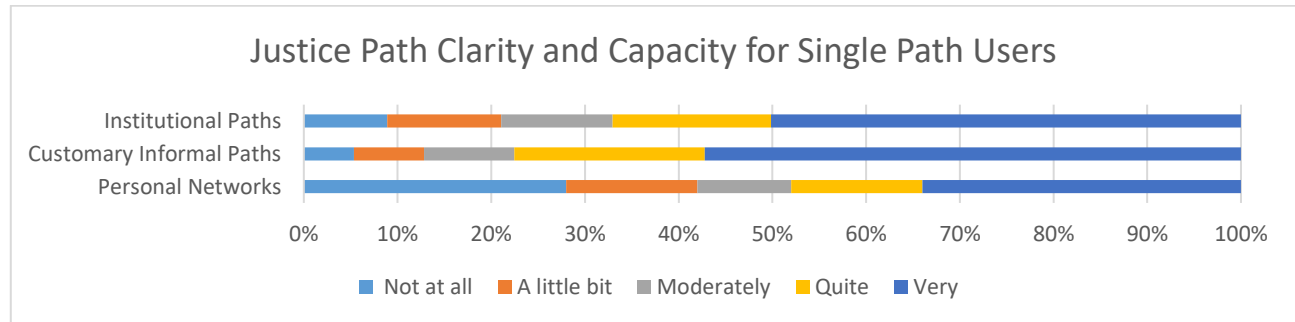
respectively along the category of very high. When combining the very high and quite high (top two categories), lawyers achieve the highest average rating, with a combined total of 96%. Paramount chiefs and the police each receive an average combined score of 80% quite or high procedural capacity and clarity scores, among multiple path users.



Procedural clarity and capacity are reportedly highest within institutional paths, for multiple path users, in line with findings from the previous two procedural evaluation dimensions. Once again, customary informal paths rank second highest, while personal networks evidence the lowest procedural clarity and capacity scores.

Procedural Clarity and Capacity for Single path users

For single path justice users who take action to address their legal problems, local courts (native administrations) rank, on average, the highest along the dimension of procedural clarity and capacity, with 71.7% of respondents who rely on this justice path exclusively ranking it as having very high procedural clarity and capacity. Section/town chiefs are ranked second highest, with a ‘very’ high score of 61.8% on average. Formal courts rank third, at 55%, followed by paramount chiefs (53.8%). Police score low on on the ‘very’ high category of procedural clarity and capacity for single justice path users, with an average score of 48.5%. No respondents who rely exclusively on contacting friends to address their legal problems report this path as having very high procedural clarity or capacity. When combining the ‘very’ and quite’ high procedural clarity and capacity scores, local courts remain the most highly ranked along this dimension, with an average rating of 86.7% in these two upper categories. Formal courts rise significantly, with 85% of respondents who rely on them ranking them as either ‘very’ or ‘quite’ high. Paramount chiefs receive a combined average of 81.5% high procedural clarity and capacity scores, with the police score increasing to 65.5%. Contacting friends remains very poorly scored.



Once again, customary informal paths rank highest among single path users regarding procedural evaluation scores. Institutional paths continue to stand in second place, also receiving high clarity and capacity scores, with personal networks firmly occupying last place.

Overall Procedural Evaluation of Justice Journeys

Overall, the dimensions of procedural clarity and capacity, voice and neutrality and respect each receive high ratings by respondents who take action to address their legal problems. Voice and Neutrality stands out as

receiving the lowest score, while respect is reported to be on average very high. Patterns around positive rankings for the three categories of justice paths are consistent across all 3 procedural evaluation dimensions, across single path and multi-path justice seekers. Consistently, for single path users, informal customary paths receive the highest evaluation scores, followed by institutional paths, and lastly personal networks. Among multiple path users, institutional paths receive the highest procedural ratings, followed by customary informal paths, and lastly, once again, personal networks.

Outcome Evaluation

Respondents were asked questions in order for the survey to evaluate the outcomes of their justice journeys. Outcome evaluations comprised questions around damage restoration, problem resolution and outcome explanation.

Damage Restoration

Most respondents who take action to address their legal problems report not being fairly compensated at all. 43.9% of respondents occupy this category. Men report poor compensation levels slightly more frequently than women, with 47% of men reporting no fair compensation at all, compared to 40.6% of women.

Damage Restoration and Multiple Paths

The majority of respondents who use multiple justice paths to address their legal problems report receiving no fair compensation at all. 59% of respondents report receiving absolutely no fair compensation. 17% of respondents who use multiple paths report that their dispute resolution process is still ongoing (no resolution yet). Only 9.5% of respondents report receiving very fair compensation for their legal problems.

Single Path Users

Satisfaction with damage restoration is much higher among respondents who rely exclusively on a single justice path. 30.5% of respondents report not being fairly compensated at all, while 33.9% report being very fairly compensated. Respondents who rely on a single justice path also report lower rates of ongoing resolution procedures, with only 11.9% stating that their legal problem is still in process (no resolution yet). This lends support to findings around resolution rates and the frequency of multiple actions by respondents who take action. Similar to the logic that complete legal problem resolution through single path action prevents further actions (multiple actions), it follows that where single justice paths provide satisfactory damage restoration, that further action is unlikely.

Respondents who rely exclusively on personal networks to resolve their legal problems report very low levels of damage restoration, with 70% stating that they were not fairly compensated at all. 20% report being very fairly compensated.

Respondents who rely exclusively on customary informal justice paths report higher levels of damage restoration, with 40.5% of respondents reporting to be very fairly compensated. 33.3% of respondents who rely on informal customary justice actors report not being fairly compensated at all, and 9.5% of respondents relying exclusively on informal customary justice paths report that their legal problems are still being addressed (no resolution yet).

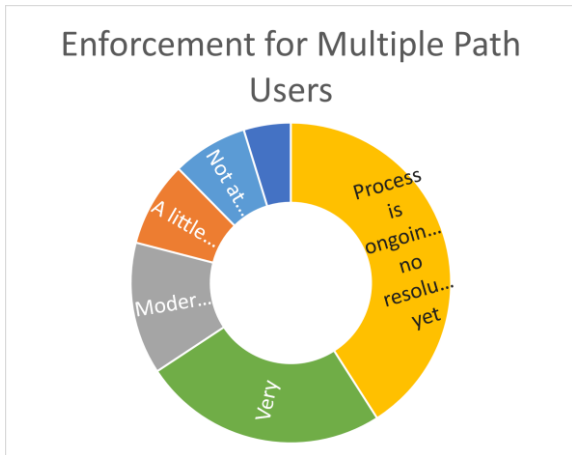
Overall, respondents who rely on customary informal justice paths report higher levels of fair compensation, and lower levels of ongoing dispute settlement proceedings. This follows the same pattern of high positive ratings for customary informal justice paths among single path users, followed by institutional paths, and lastly personal networks.

30.8% of respondents who rely exclusively on institutional paths report very fair compensation for their legal problems, with 13.8% reporting that their legal problem is currently ongoing. 23.1% report receiving no fair compensation for their legal problems at all.

Problem Resolution

Respondents who took action to address their legal problems were asked to what extent outcomes for completed actions (paths) have been enforced.

Enforcement and Multiple Paths



Out of respondents who took multiple actions to address their legal problems, a majority report that their legal problem has not yet been resolved, amounting to 40.9%. 24.8% of respondents who pursue multiple justice paths report that enforcement of the decision around their legal problems is very high, which rises to 29.6% when combining 'very' and 'quite' high scores. 7.6% of respondents who pursue multiple paths state that the decision made around their legal problems has not been enforced at all, which rises to 16.2% when combining the lower scores of 'not at all' with only 'a little bit'. Once again, enforcement rates are reportedly higher among institutional paths, followed by customary informal justice paths, and lastly personal networks.

Enforcement and Single Path Users

For respondents who use single justice paths and rely on personal networks, 30% report that their legal problems have not yet been resolved. 40% of respondents who use personal networks, in isolation, report that enforcement for legal problem decision is very high, while the remaining 30% report that enforcement is moderate.

Single path respondents who rely on customary informal justice paths once again report high enforcement rates, with 59.5% indicating that decisions around their legal problems are very highly enforced. 16.7% of respondents report that enforcement of decisions by informal customary justice actors is quite high, producing a combined positive enforcement score of 76.2%. Only 9.5% of respondents report that their problem has not yet been resolved, evidencing high resolution rates for informal justice paths.

10.6% of respondents who rely on institutional justice paths report that their legal problems have not yet been resolved. 50% of respondents who rely on institutional justice paths report that enforcement for their legal problem decisions is very high, which rises to 59.1% when combined with the second highest ranking of 'quite' high enforcement. 6.1% report no enforcement at all, rising to 12.2% when combined with the second lowest score of only a little bit of enforcement.

Overall, customary informal justice paths evidence the highest enforcement rankings, and the lowest unresolved disputes among single justice path users. Enforcement rates are reportedly higher for single path users than multiple path users.

Outcome Explanation

Multiple Paths

27.6% of respondents who utilize multiple justice paths report that justice outcomes were very thoroughly explained to them. This rises to 32.4% when combined with the score of quite high outcome explanations. However, overall outcome explanation scores for multiple path justice users is low, with 38.1% of respondents

reporting that outcomes were either not explained at all (3.8%) or only explained a little bit. 19% of multiple path users indicate that their legal problems have not yet been resolved through the use of multiple paths.

Single Path Users

Respondents who rely exclusively on personal networks and individual action to address their legal problems report a 30% very high rating for outcome explanation of their legal problems. A combined 40% high outcome explanation is observed when combining the 'quite' and 'very' rankings. 10% report that their legal problem has not been resolved yet, and 40% of respondents report that outcomes were not explained at all (20%) or only explained a little bit (20%).

64.3% of respondents who rely exclusively on customary informal justice paths report very high outcome explanation ratings. This rises to 81% when combined with quite high ratings (16.7%). 9.5% of respondents report that their legal problems have not yet been resolved, and only 4.8% report only receiving a little bit of explanation around their legal problem outcomes by informal customary justice actors. No respondents report not receiving any outcome explanation at all. Overall, outcome explanations are highly positively reported among respondents who exclusively use customary informal justice paths.

57.6% of respondents who rely exclusively on institutional justice paths report very high levels of outcome explanation for their legal problems. This rises to 66.7% when combined with the 'quite' high positive rating category. 6.1% of respondents report that their legal problems have not yet been resolved. 6.1% report not receiving any outcome explanation at all, which rises to 15.2% when combined with the second lowest score of only receiving a little bit of explanation concerning outcomes.

Overall, customary informal justice paths once again evidence the highest positive ratings, with the majority of respondents who rely on these paths reporting very high levels of explanation for the outcome of their legal problems when using customary paths. Respondents who use customary informal justice paths also report low rates of unresolved legal problems. Overall positive enforcement and outcome explanation ratings are higher for single path users than multiple path users.

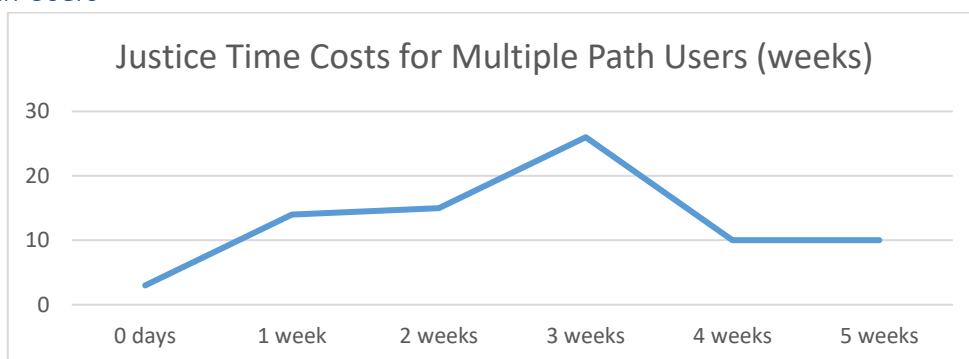
Costs of Justice

The costs of justice are identified as significant deterrent to the pursuit of legal problem resolution in past research. Costs can be financial, emotional as well as time costs incurred. Indeed, this survey also specifically identifies the cost of justice as high among respondents, as evidenced in trust statement responses provided by respondents and analysed in the second part of this report, dedicated to citizen perceptions of institutions, institutional trust and observing corruption.

Time

Respondents were asked how many days they spent taking action to address their legal problems.

Multiple Path Users



For respondents who use multiple justice paths, most respondents spend between 15 to 21 days resolving their legal problems (where a frequency of 26 is observed during this time frame). Generally, respondents spend a maximum of 13 weeks (85 to 91 days) resolving legal problems when using multiple paths, with 2 respondents reporting taking up to 13 weeks to resolve their justice problems. Longer time costs are very rare, with a total of 11 respondents reporting to spend over 120 days resolving their legal problems through multiple paths. Notably, 6 of those respondents who have incurred very high time costs in the pursuit of addressing their legal problems, report spending 1 year (365 days) resolving their legal problems. 1 respondent reported spending over 1 year (385 days) to resolve their legal problems using multiple paths.

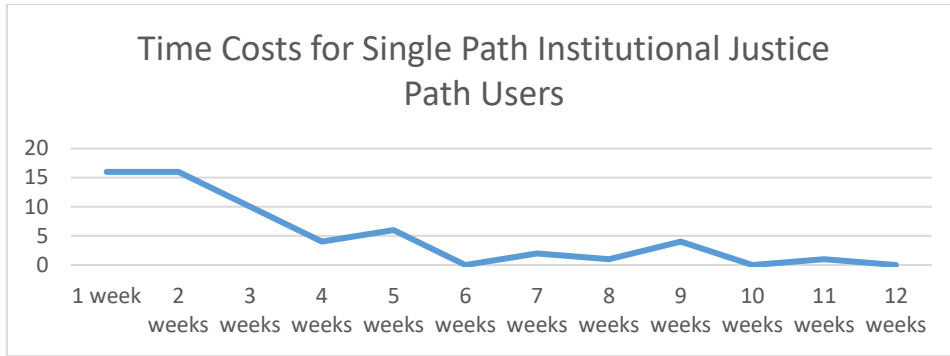
Single Paths and Time Costs



Time costs for single path users is reportedly much lower than for multiple path users. The majority of single path justice users report addressing their legal problems within 1 to 7 days (1 week), constituting 40.2% of respondents who use single justice paths to address their legal problems. 72.3% of respondents resolve their legal problems within 3 weeks (up to 21 days). 5 respondents (comprising 4.5% of the total single justice path population from the survey sample) report excessive time costs for resolving their legal problems, with 2 reporting to have spent over 4 months addressing their legal problems, and 3 reporting to have spent a year or more addressing their legal problems through single justice paths.

Most respondents who rely exclusively on personal networks to address their legal problems resolve their legal problems within 3 weeks (70%), with 40% of respondents resolving their legal problem within 1 week. 20% of respondents (a population of 2) report taking 5 weeks to resolve their legal problem through personal networks and individual action, and 1 respondent reports an excessive time cost for addressing their legal problem, spending over 8 months addressing their legal problem through the exclusive use of personal networks and individual action.

Time costs for single path users that rely on customary informal justice paths are low. 63.4% of respondents who rely exclusively on this category of justice providers resolve their legal problems within 1 week, and 78% resolve their problems within 2 weeks. Excessive time costs for justice seeking are reported by 9.8% of these respondents, with 7.3% spending 9 weeks addressing their legal problems, and 1 respondent reporting to have spent 90 days addressing their legal problem(s). Overall, even the outlier excessive time costs reported by a minority of respondents within this population of justice seekers is much lower than when compared to the excessive time costs reported by outlier respondents who use multiple paths or who rely on personal networks and individual action exclusively.



24.6% of respondents who make exclusive use of institutional justice paths resolve their legal problems within 1 week, with 64.6% of respondents resolving their legal problems through institutional justice paths within 3 weeks. 7.7% of respondents relying exclusively on this category of justice paths report excessive (outlier) time costs for their justice journey, spending between 4.5 months and 2.5 years addressing their legal problems.

Once again, for single path users, customary informal justice paths perform best, with the lowest associated time costs. However, personal networks rank second, with lower associated time costs than institutional paths. This presents a deviation from other, consistent patterns between categories of justice paths for single path users.

Financial costs of justice seeking

11.2% of respondents who take action to address their legal problems report not spending any money to address their legal problems. The remaining 88.8% of respondents who take action to address their legal problems report spending some amount on money to address them.

8.5% of respondents who took action to address their legal problems spent over 1 million to address their legal problems (frequency of 19).

Most respondents who take action to address their legal problems spend less than 250,000 Leones addressing their legal problems. 57% of respondents who take legal action spend less than 250,000 leones to resolve their legal problems. When controlling for the 11.2% of respondents who take action but do not pay anything to resolve their legal problems, this rises to 64.1% of respondents who take action and pay to resolve their legal problems. Out of this majority category of respondents, most (17.3%) report spending 250 leones to address their legal problems.

33.3% of respondents who take action but do not pay to address their legal problems report using institutional paths, with 50% of that category relying on the police as their institutional justice path. 29.2% of respondents who take action but do not spend money in the process report using multiple actions. Customary informal justice paths constitute 25% of the justice paths chosen by respondents who take action but do not pay to address their legal problems.

11.1% of respondents who take action and pay to address their legal problems report spending 1 million leones or above in addressing their legal problems. 68.2% of this category of highest paying justice seekers report using multiple justice paths to address their legal problems. Multiple paths therefore account for the highest level of spending in addressing an individual’s legal problems. For respondents that spend high amounts of money (1 million leones or above) and pursue single justice paths, institutional justice paths account for the majority of high spending, with 57.1% of respondents who spend 1 million leones or more on justice seeking relying exclusively on formal courts and lawyers. 42.9% of high justice spending takes place in local courts (native administrations), where this segment of respondents report spending between 1 and 1.8 million leones to address their legal problems. Among institutional paths, high expenditures on lawyers is reported at either 1 or 2 million leones, while high expenditures in formal courts is reported at the levels of 3.6 and 27 million

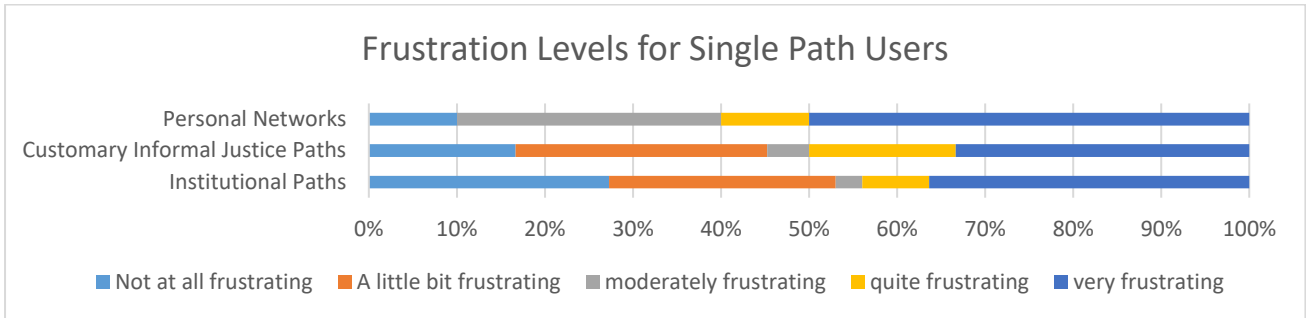
leones. High justice expenditures (of 1 million leones and above) are rare, but more frequent among respondents who rely on institutional paths exclusively.

Stress and Negative emotions

Respondents were asked whether the process of taking action made them feel frustrated and whether it made them feel angry.

Frustration

Single Path Users



Respondents who use single justice paths and rely on personal networks report high levels of frustration, with 50% of respondents stating that seeking justice through personal networks and individual action caused them very high frustration. This rises to 60% when combining the ‘quite’ and ‘very’ high frustration ratings given. Only 10% of respondents who rely exclusively on single personal network and individual action paths report no frustration in their chosen justice path.

Frustration levels among respondents who rely exclusively on customary informal justice paths in isolation are lower than among those relying on personal networks, though 33.3% of respondents still report feeling very frustrated when relying on customary informal justice paths. This rises to 50% when combining the 2 highest frustrating ratings. Low frustration levels are also higher among respondents who rely on customary informal justice paths, with 16.7% of respondents reporting no frustration at all in their use of customary informal justice, a number that rises to 45.3% when combined with the only a ‘little bit’ frustrating score.

36.4% of single path justice users who rely on institutional paths report very high levels of frustration with their chosen justice path. This rises to 44.0% when combined with the second highest frustration rating. Conversely, low levels of frustration are also high, with 27.2% of respondents reporting no frustration at all with chosen institutional paths. Institutional paths therefore exhibit the lowest overall frustration levels, with more respondents reporting low levels of frustration when relying on this category of justice paths than compared to those who rely on personal networks and customary informal justice paths. However, along the ranking of very high frustration, customary informal justice paths enjoy the lowest percentage of very high reported levels of frustration, with institutional pathways ranking second, above personal networks.

Multiple Path Users

For respondents who employ multiple justice paths, the personal network paths of contacting friends and family exhibit the highest levels of associated frustration, with 39.5% of respondents who contact family as part of their justice journey reporting very high levels of frustration. Local courts (native administrations) exhibit the best scores, with 50% of respondents reporting no frustration at all in their use of these informal justice actors.

Anger

Single Path Users

Single path justice users that rely on personal networks experience the most anger in their justice journeys, with 70% reporting very high levels of anger associated with their justice path. Institutional justice paths score the most positively, with 24.4% of respondents responding to experience no anger at all when relying on institutional justice paths.

Multiple Path Users

For multiple path users, personal networks exhibit the highest levels of associated anger. Local Courts (native administrations) perform the best, with 66.7% of respondents reporting no or only a little bit of anger when using this informal customary justice path as part of their combined justice journey.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Citizens and Institutions

The Police enjoy the highest institutional familiarity ratings among survey respondents. However, they also receive the poorest performance and trust scores. The Police are widely held to privilege the rich, the powerful, and politicians, and are overwhelmingly considered to be the most corrupt branch of the formal security sector. Most respondents report that security in their community is provided exclusively by the police, though rank informal security providers as more effective when operating in isolation. However, when multiple security actors provide security in a community, perceptions of police effectiveness rises. The high visibility of the Police, and the high level of direct engagement between the Police and citizens moreover has the ability to contour the data somewhat. However, they remain the poorest performing component of the formal security sector, while also its most visible and directly engaging one. Findings from the justice experiences of respondents who experience legal problems (see separate report) highlight that the police also play a significant role as justice providers, constituting the most frequently used justice path among respondents who take action to resolve their legal problems. Increasing citizen trust towards, and performance of, the police is therefore critical in the meaningful enhancement of access to justice and effective security and justice service delivery in Sierra Leone. Enhancing cooperation between the Police and informal service (justice and security) providers in communities where a combination of formal and informal actors exist is one significant way to address poor performance and low institutional trust. As revealed through this survey, perceptions of police effectiveness rise when they are part of a combination of security providers in communities, and where multiple actors provide security, cooperation is generally perceived as positive by respondents.

Institutions that are highly perceived to be citizen-oriented receive the highest performance ratings. Institutions with visibility and citizen engagement challenges receive the highest 'unknown' ratings. Enhancing the visibility of formal institutions such as the Law Reform Commission and Legal Aid Board, which suffer from visibility problems has the potential to significantly enhance overall institutional trust within Sierra Leone's formal Justice Sector. Customary Informal justice providers enjoy the highest levels of citizen trust, with respondents frequently characterizing formal court proceedings as long and complicated, and describing the costs of justice as too high. Formal courts too, are seen to privilege the rich, the powerful and politicians. The formal justice sector therefore has much to learn from the informal justice system, which is widely seen to be more effective than formal courts. Addressing issues of complex formal court proceedings and bias linked to corruption based on money grabbing and poverty can significantly enhance both the performance, and perceptions, of the formal justice system. Greater collaboration between formal and informal justice and security providers can significantly increase overall institutional performance and trust. Informal justice and security providers, contribute to the landscape of justice and security provision in Sierra Leone, a fact that requires greater recognition in the work of the formal sectors. In particular, the contribution that informal

customary justice providers play in filling the justice vacuum in Sierra Leone requires acknowledgement and should be utilized to improve access to justice for Sierra Leones, through formal and informal means, more broadly.

Significantly, corruption and institutional trust is not perceived to be linked to institutional capacity by respondents. Rather, corruption is widely held to stem from poverty and money grabbing, and respondents frequently put forward increasing salaries of justice and security providers as an effective means to fight corruption. A particular manifestation of corruption that affects citizens is bribery. Most respondents who encounter requests for bribery report being asked to provide bribes to members of the Police. Once again, the links between institutional trust and corruption intersect along the dimension of poverty, where low wages and money grabbing can be linked to formal sector bias towards the rich and powerful, the prevalence of bribery and the widespread frequency of increasing wages as a solution to counter corruption. Significantly, a segment of respondents who report being asked to pay a bribe in the past report non-justice and security actors. In particular, healthcare and education providers are commonly reported to seek bribes from citizens.

Justice Needs and Journeys

The police emerge as a significant actor and provider of both security and justice in Sierra Leone. Overwhelmingly, respondents look to the police not only as providers of community security, but as sources of legal advice, and importantly also identify them as the most frequently used justice path when pursuing action for experienced legal problems. This reinforces qualitative interview findings with institutional stakeholders that show that members of the police, due to their high presence, visibility, levels of direct citizen engagement, and capacity constraints in the justice sector, are disproportionately relied upon by citizens in their justice journeys. However, qualitative stakeholder interviews also reveal that members of the police are inadequately prepared to take on justice provision roles. Given the high frequency with which respondents use the police as a justice path, introducing and enhancing some form of legal training for members of the police can significantly contribute to meaningfully increasing access to justice for citizens across Sierra Leone.

The correlation between seeking legal advice and taking action to resolve legal problems is strong. However, use of public sources of legal advice and information is low. This study therefore recommends dedicating resources to increase the accessibility of public sources of legal advice and information. This stands to contribute to the legal empowerment of citizens in meaningful ways. Enhancing access to public sources of legal advice and information must take into account challenges that rural populations disproportionately face, in for instance the availability of technology, as well as consider the overall low levels of education and literacy in Sierra Leone. Pictographic public legal resources made available in, for instance, police stations throughout the country could harness the high visibility and levels of justice path engagement that the police already enjoy, while taking into account low education levels, and therefore be more accessible to the majority of the population. Overall, public sources of legal advice and information remain an untapped resource for legal empowerment.

The most common reason given for not taking action when experiencing legal problems is that the 'other party is too powerful' – when taken with trust findings that show that formal sectors favour rich, powerful and politicians, this contributes to the overall view that justice seeking is the privilege of the few, rather than the right of all. This indicates the persistent inequitable application of justice, that privileges actors based on 'power' rather than treating legal problems on the basis of merit, evidence and equality.

Customary informal justice paths play a significant role in providing meaningful access to justice for citizens. Use of customary informal justice paths is consistently reported to exhibit high positive procedural evaluation scores, with this category of justice paths emerging as the best performing category for single justice path users. This adds support to the need to acknowledge the significant role that informal justice plays in addressing and resolving the legal problems that citizens face. Rather than pushing reforms that address

enhancing the formal justice sector exclusively, access to justice needs to be reframed in terms of ‘appropriate and meaningful justice spaces’ and recognize the important and positive role that the informal justice sector, as an appropriate and widely used justice service provider category, does and can contribute to access to justice in Sierra Leone.

Consolidating actions taken to resolve legal problems by citizens stands to improve overall resolution and satisfaction rates. Respondents who use single justice paths report higher complete resolution rates and damage restoration, while also spending less time resolving their legal problems. Given also the high performance of customary informal justice paths for respondents who employ single justice actions, it is evident that enhanced meaningful collaboration between the formal justice sector and customary informal justice paths can decrease the costs of justice and increase procedural and outcome satisfaction levels for users. Additionally, qualitative interviews with members of the police highlight the value of consolidating justice resources within police stations, given the high frequency with which the police are requested to provide justice services. Introducing ‘one stop’ solutions that can inform and direct citizens experiencing legal problems to the most appropriate resources can help to consolidate the many justice pathways used, as well as enhance collaboration and knowledge transfer between them.

Severity of legal problems experienced does not necessarily result in action taken. Several legal problems cited as very severe do not exhibit high action rates. This indicates significant deficits in access to justice for the most pressing legal problems faced in the country by its citizens. One such example is domestic violence, which is observed to be a legal problem that is experienced with both high frequency and severity, but which does not result in frequent action taken to resolve this. Legal problems such as theft, problems with neighbours, land grabbing and assault exhibit both high frequency and high action rates. Closing the disparity between frequency and severity of experienced legal problems, and action taken to address them, is necessary to ensure fair, satisfactory and equitable access to justice.

Personal networks perform very well as sources of legal advice, but rank very poorly when used as justice paths. Nonetheless personal networks emerge as the most frequently cited helpful path for multiple path users, but also exhibit very low procedural evaluation scores. This indicates that legal empowerment, to be effectively enhanced, must address the country at the citizen level. Greater education on rights and remedies for citizens will enhance not only individual legal empowerment, but has the potential for cascading impacts, across the personal networks of individuals, who reportedly rely highly on personal networks as a source of action (when using multiple paths, which constitutes the majority of citizens who experience legal problems and take action) to resolve their legal problems. Another implication of the high reported frequency of personal networks as the most helpful justice path for multiple path users, is that high frequency of reported helpfulness of personal networks contributes to the use of multiple paths in the first instance, due to the low procedural evaluation scores that personal networks consistently exhibit within justice journey evaluations. Enhancing legal empowerment on the citizen level therefore also has the potential to decrease the number of actions that people take, by enhancing the procedural quality of personal networks through legal empowerment at the citizen level.

Customary informal justice paths perform on par with institutional paths in terms of resolution rates, and provide the highest resolution rates for single path users. Institutional paths perform better for multiple path users, but the difference is small. Personal networks perform very poorly regarding resolution rates, indicating low citizen capacity to resolve legal problems themselves. This is in and of itself not necessarily problematic, and does not mean that augmenting personal network legal resolution capabilities is needed to enhance access to justice. Rather, institutional and customary capacity needs to be enhanced to promote their use as justice paths by citizens, given their high effectiveness with regards to providing complete resolution for legal problems. Institutional and customary paths clearly emerge as the appropriate spaces for citizens to

meaningfully and completely resolve their legal problems, and capacity within these two path categories requires augmentation.

The government of Sierra Leone has taken laudable steps in addressing the persistent justice and security gaps that continue to form a critical source of fragility and inequality in Sierra Leone. However, persistent problems in equitable access to justice and deficits in security provision remain, as highlighted in this report. Institutional trust between citizens and the formal sectors remains low and perceptions, and experiences, of corruption are high. Informal service providers are significantly relied upon and viewed as more effective, impartial and trustworthy than their formal counterparts. They contribute significantly to filling the vacuum of justice and security service provision that the State is constrained in providing, due to a combination of corruption and capacity constraints. While this research takes important steps to fill the data gap in our knowledge and understanding of the justice landscape and user needs in Sierra Leone, more is needed to identify, and govern, concrete justice solutions. This study therefore strongly recommends the establishment of the Justice Innovation Center (JIC) in Sierra Leone, an initiative that is currently being developed, in partnership between the Ministry of Justice, the Directorate for Science, Technology and Innovation (DSTI), and IGR. The JIC, as a structure dedicated to iterative data collection (undertaken along similar but expanded lines to this research), concrete justice innovation incubation, and strategic reform recommendation, and premised on the pillars of independence and sustainability, holds true transformative and catalytic justice enhancement potential for Sierra Leone. It also provides an opportunity to consolidate the formal and informal providers of justice in Sierra Leone, and create a space for meaningful, bi-directional collaboration and knowledge transfer