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Motorbike Taxies and Statehood Authority in post-conflict Sierra Leone:

Turning Former-military Network into a Public Entity.

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Hello...I am Hideyuki OKANO in Ritsumeikan University.

In this presentation, I examine how a modern state enlarge their powers.

First, I want to begin my this discussion in theoretical argument.

- Western Liberal Democracy is only one model of a state in present days.

-F. Fukuyama

*"Western liberal democracy is
the final form of human government"*

-M. Duffield

"Liberal peace-building"

- Every nation state have to seek to be ideal model of Western liberal democracy.

→Engaging in same "Project of dominance"

IN social science, how to understand a modern state is ambiguous.

But, what we can say that liberal democracy is only conceivable form of a modern state in present days.

As Francis Fukuyama says, Western liberal democracy is the final form of human government.

And Mark Duffield claims that every attempt of post-conflict building is seeking Western liberal democracy.

Thus, in this present days, every country is required to engage in same project of dominance.

- Project---

continuing process of approaching unattainable goal of complete dominance through the form of Western liberal democracy. In this never-ending project, lawlessness and wilderness is continuously invoked. (cf. Das and Poole 2004: 7)

States seek the same project of dominance respectively.

Project in this presentation means “continuing process of approaching unattainable goal of complete dominance through the form of liberal democracy.”

This idea is hinted by the work of Das and Poole. In their argument, a project is not carried out by one specific entity. This project is carried out by various agencies which engaging in political, regulatory and disciplinary practices. I consider that they are intentionally as well as unintentionally seek to enlarge their dominance based on a liberal democracy model.

Thus, every state respectively seek the same project of dominance.

how a state enlarges the power?

Based on this premise, I want to argue how a state enlarges the power

Framework

- Statehood
 1. A seemingly single entity of a state are loosely connected web of various public authorities.
 2. Statehood are consisted not only of governmental institutions, but of non-state public authorities.
 3. Non-state public authority works for maintaining laws and orders, in collaboration with the central government.
 4. Public authorities are conflicting each other for enlarging their own power in the realm of statehood.

(cf. Hagman and Peclard 2011)

So, we need a framework for examining a state.

For the purpose of examination, I abandon a conventional notion of a modern state.

Conventionally, a state is considered as monolithic coherent entity with top-down command with bureaucratic system.

I abandon such a thought.

Instead, I use the concept of statehood. In this concept, a state does not have clear boundary. They are not coherent. A state is just pretend to be coherent.

Statehood is characterized as follows;

1. seemingly single entity of a state are, in fact, loosely connected web of various public authorities.
2. Statehood are consisted not only of governmental institutions. Non-state public authorities are also part of statehood.
3. Non-state public authority works for maintaining laws and orders, in collaboration with the central government.

-Let me think about third point further.

-For example, villagers organize patrolling group. If they catch a criminal, they pass the criminal to police. IT means that non-state public authority works for the central government.

-On contrary, when the central government are not trusted, villagers might bring justice by themselves.

In such a situation, non-government authorities behave independently. They might be the bearer of laws and orders, but never have alliance with governmental institutions.

→Contrary to this, in country where statehood penetrates, non-state public authorities maintain laws and orders along the will of the governmental institutions.

4. Public authorities are conflicting each other for enlarging their power in the realm of statehood.

This notion of statehood is hinted by Hagman and Peclard. I modify some based on their argument.

This presentation argues the process that non-governmental authorities become parts of statehood.

Based on this concept of statehood, I argues the process that non-governmental authorities become parts of statehood.

The case of Sierra Leone

A civil war:
1991- 2002.



http://old-abbey-church.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2011/09/Sierra_Leone.png
<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/sl.html>

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For this presentation, I use the case of Sierra Leone.

Sierra Leone is located in West Africa.

Sierra Leone is involved in civil war from 1991-2002.

- Civil War in Sierra Leone (1991-2002)
 - Sierra Leone was "*Collapsed State*"
 - ✓ *Laws are not made*
 - ✓ *Order is not preserved*
 - ✓ *Societal cohesion is not enhanced.*

(Zartman 1995)

→After the war, the government regain their power

During the period of the war, Sierra Leone was expressed as a "collapsed state". It means, in Sierra Leone....

- Laws are not made
- Order is not preserved
- societal cohesion is not enhanced.

But, after the civil war ended, Sierra Leonean government regained their power. I want to see how non-state public authority behave in the period.

Sierra Leone Commercial Motorbike Riders' Union



The non-state public authority which I pick up for this presentation is Sierra Leone Commercial Motorbike Rider's Union.

This is one of trade unions in Sierra Leone. This union is enrolled under the Labor Unions ordinance. This Union represents motorbike taxi industry.

From now on, I refer this organization simply by "The Union" or "The Union of Motorbike taxis"

Structure

1. Overview of motorbike taxis in Sierra Leone
2. Role of the Union (local)
3. Role of the Union (nation-wide)
4. The process the Union is established
5. Discussion

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The structure of afterwards is as follows

Structure

1. Overview of motorbike taxies in Sierra Leone
2. Role of the Union (local)
3. Role of the Union (nation-wide)
4. The process the Union is established
5. Disucssion

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First, I overview the motorbike taxies in Sierra Leone.

- Motor-bike taxi is new business in post-conflict period (since around 2000).
- Nowadays,
essential for in-town transportation.
(One ride=5000Leones [1.2USD]~)
- Business for young men (20s to mid-30s).
Originally, business for ex-combatants,
but new generation came in.
- 190,000 riders in SL (est. in 2013) (Taylor 2013)
- Majority of Riders (three out of four), rent a bike from motorbike owners.

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- Motorbike taxi is new business emerged in post conflict period. This business developed rapidly since then.
- Nowadays, motorbike taxis are essential for in-town transportation. One ride is around 1.2 USD. It is fixed price. If you want to go to suburb, the fare get higher, and you have to negotiate.
- Motorbike taxi is business for young male. mostly in his 20s to 30s.
 - Just after the war, motorbike taxis are business for ex-combatants. Ex-combatants from different armed factions worked in the same business.
 - As new generations have joined to motorbike taxi business, this business is not for ex-combatant anymore. Nowadays, normal young men are working as taxi riders.
- It is estimated that there are 190 thousand riders in SL.
- Majority of riders, I guess around three out of four riders, rent a bike from motorbike owners.
 - Such owner have motorbike for investment purpose. Generally speaking, owners have their own occupation such as police, government officials and shop owners.

Then, I will show you, where and how I did my fieldwork. The town I did my field work is a town called Waterloo.

Waterloo

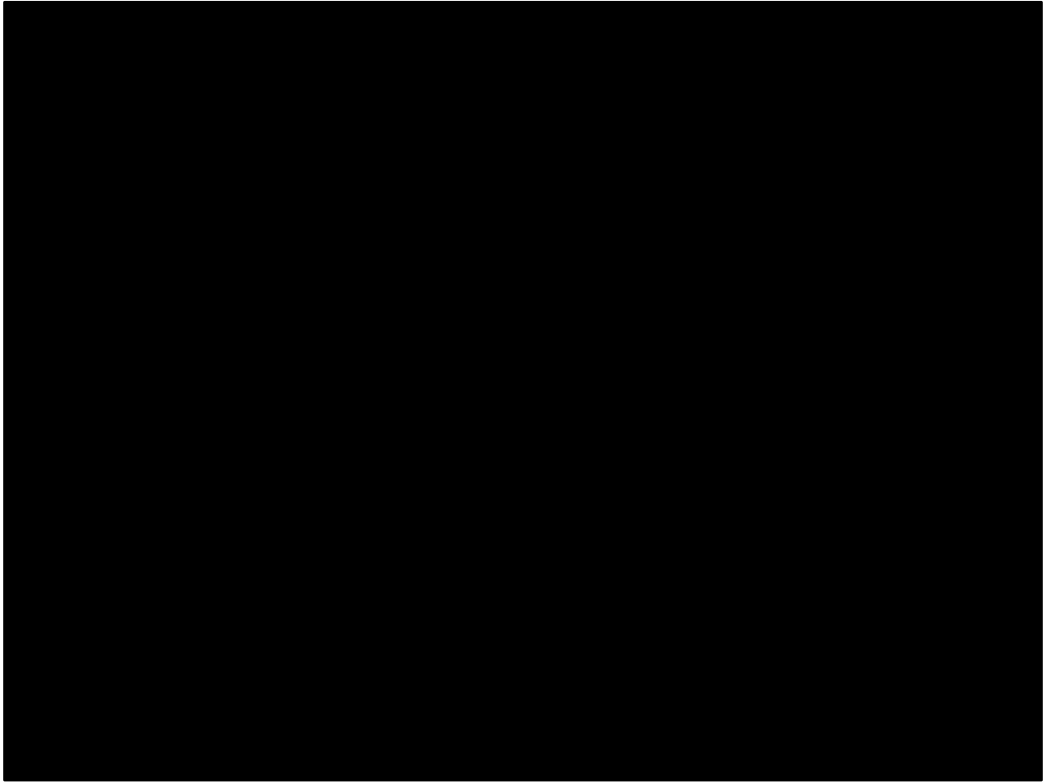


One hour by public bus from Freetown to Waterloo

Waterloo is a suburban town of the capital Freetown.

Waterloo locates on the main highway linking Freetown to the ALL provinces. It takes one-hour from Freetown to Waterloo by public mini-bus.

I was there for three weeks in December 2013. It is before the Ebola outbreak. I also went to Freetown frequently. Especially, I interviewed to national staffs in the national headquarter of the Union.



This is the scene of the Waterloo. It is on main highway.

- As you can see, most of passing are motorbikes.
- Most of motorbike is for commercial purpose, because few can manage motorbike for private purpose,

Structure

1. Overview of motorbike taxies in Sierra Leone
 2. Role of the Union (local)
 3. Role of the Union (nation w
 4. The p
 5. Disuc
- The union works as one of public authorities on motorbike taxies and on public transportations.

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Then I show the role of union in local.

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I want to show that the union works as one of public authorities on motorbike taxies and public transportations.

Role of the Union (Local-level)

(1) Rule-making and Supervision of Riders.

First is rule-making and Supervision of Riders.

- The Union decide the fixed fare. As well as making other rules.

- Ex) Deciding streets where prohibited to enter.

- Fixing the point where motorbike taxis can wait for customers.

- They also set rules on clothes. Not only riders have to wear helmet, but are prohibited to wear slippers and short-trousers.

For making rules, the staffs of the union sometimes have meetings with stakeholders such as market managers and police officers.

Role of the Union (Local-level)

- (1) Rule-making and Supervision of Riders.
- (2) Trouble Solutions

Second is trouble solutions.

This role is not formal, rather informal. But it is a quite important role.

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This is the scenes of the office. Riders are hanging around for rest and for chatting. They stay in the office for break and go back to work. But some riders bring troubles to seek to resolve.

Staffs staying there manage the troubles.

Troubles are with polices, trouble with passengers, and sometimes quarrel between riders.

Staffs try to solve them.

Thus, staffs of the office works for trouble resolution.

Role of the Union (Local-level)

- (1) Rule-making and Supervision of Riders.
- (2) Trouble Solutions
- (3) Matching Riders and Owners of Motorbikes

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Third is matching riders and owners of motorbikes.

Owners of motorbike have motorbikes for the purpose of investments.

Taxi riders have to pay rental fees to bike owners. It is 6 to 7 USD every day.

The union have a role to matching new owners to new riders.

Role of the Union (Local-level)

- (1) Rule-making and Supervision of Riders.
- (2) Trouble Solutions
- (3) Matching Riders and Owners of Motorbikes
- (4) Managing Insurance for Riders.

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Fourth is Managing insurance for riders.

Riders are required to buy insurance everyday.

Bike Monitoring Office (BMO)



Insurance Ticket (0.2 USD daily)



Bike Monitoring Officers owe the role of collecting insurance and of supervising riders. They are called BMO, which is the abbreviation of Bike Monitoring Officer.

BMO have fixed monthly salary and most of them are ex-riders.

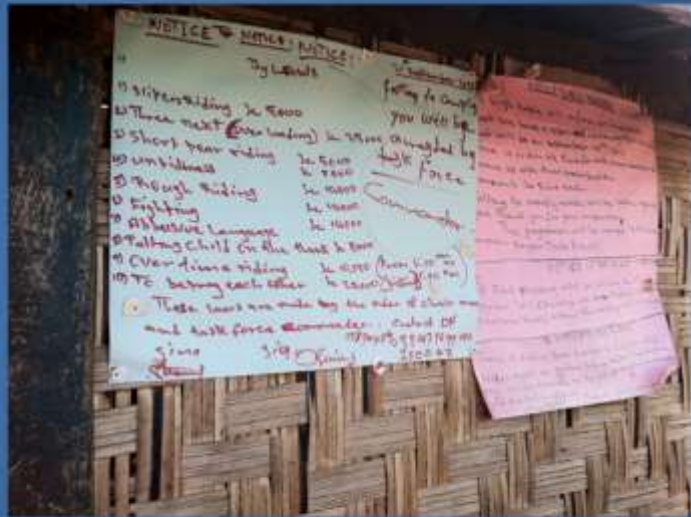
They stand on the corner of a town, and sell insurance ticket to riders. The picture of the right-side is the insurance ticket. If you buy a ticket everyday, it covers hospital fees in the case of accidents.

In the afternoon, they patrol for regulating bike riders. If they find an offender of the rules, they take riders to the office of the union. BMO sit on the back.

If riders pay fines in the office, the bike is freed. But if they cannot pay, they seize motorbike until riders paying the fines.

Fines for violations

- Slipper Riding
5,000Le (1.2USD)
- Three next
(overloading)
25,000Le(6USD)
- Short pear riding
5,000Le



This is the example of fines for violations.

You can see the list of violations on a wall. It is a wall of one of branch offices of the union.

In local-level, the union works as one of public authorities on motorbike taxies and on public transportations.

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Thus, in local level, the union works as one of public authorities on motorbike taxies and on public transportations.

Structure

1. Overview of motorbike taxies in Sierra Leone
2. Role of the Union (local)
3. Role of the Union (nation-wide)
4. The process the Union is established
5. Disu

The union is public authority to control bike-taxies nation-wide. The government also recognize their authority.

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Then I show the role of the headquarter of the capital.

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I want to show that The union is public authority to control bike-taxies nation-wide. The government also recognize their authority.

- The HQ of The Union locate next to Land Transport Authority.
- Lobbying activities concerning transportation.
- Seeking welfare for riders nationwide
- The precursor of the Union participate in “Motorbike Taxi Taskforce Project” by Land Transport authority



A government institution regards the union as one of public authorities in some sense.

The HQ of the union locate next to Land Transport Authority, which is a governmental organization of ministerial level

The union lobby to the government concerning on transportation.

They also seek welfare for riders nationwide like contracting to insurance company.

What is remarkable is that the union join to a project carried out by the land transport authority.

This project is “Motorbike Taskforce Project”.

The proposal of this project says,

Motorbike riders often does not obey rule and laws. Then, motorbike become increasingly cause of accidents.

Police are struggling to regulate them. However, sometimes police officers extort money from riders at checkpoints and roadblocks.



So, this project propose that stakeholders of public transportations have to exchange informations and opinions.

The Union of motorbike taxi is one of stakeholders.

Thus, the government also recognized the union as one of public authorities in some sense.

Structure

1. Overview
2. Role of public authority.
3. Role of public authority.
4. The process the Union is established
5. Discussion

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Then I show how the union is established.

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To simplify this process, this process is development from business mafias to public authority.

- The motorbike taxi business is launched by ex-commanders in respective towns.

Associations=Business Mafia

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First, the motorbike taxi business is launched by ex-commanders in respective towns.

- The motorbike taxi business is launched by ex-commanders in respective towns.

Associations=Business Mafia

Kenema

Bo



In major towns, associations of motorbike taxi developed independently. As they are independent, they have their own name, such as motorbike rider's association, or association of commercial motorbike riders or something similar names.

But, these associations are for collecting money from riders.

ex) Kenema

Young men began rental cycles in the late 1990s. Then, they began to lend motor bikes as well. Nigerian Peacekeepers stationing the town requested them for taxi-service. Motorbike owners employed riders, then, taxi service began. The motorbike owners are the original member of the association.

ex) Bo town

Young men who purchased motorbikes in Guinea failed to sell them. Then, they employed young men and began motorbike taxi.

As these case represent, majority of associations were originally business mafia which control the taxi business. Associations are established by motorbike owners, who employed riders and collected daily payment from tax riders. They also supervise riders for business purpose.

As ex-commanders become bike-owners and employed their junior combatants, motor-bike taxi were a business of ex-combatants.

At that time, owners took care of riders. They have some kind of patron-client relations. Owners take care of riders for their daily issues. Their relations are not limited to business, but have close vertical relation between boss and junior.

- The motorbike taxi business is launched by ex-commanders in respective towns.

Associations=Business Mafia

- Associations turned into public authority concerning transportation.

Ex-NGO Staff join to the associations

Then, associations turned into public authorities.

As this business develop, rules of transportation, such as where to wait customer, and other management issues of riders become more and more important. Respective associations owes the role of managing riders.

As the associations have such public roles, ex-NGO workers generally took leading roles in associations.

Most of them are riders at first.

They had been employed in NGOs when peacebuilding is on the boom. But, they lost jobs when NGOs finished their operations. Such NGO workers began motorbike taxies for temporal jobs. Because of their working experiences, ex-NGO workers began to be employed as administrative staffs of the associations.

They applied NGO grants for public purpose concerning public transportation and motorbike taxis (ex. training for riders, establishing offices). They contribute to develop associations.

Because associations began to have public roles, and NGO workers took the roles, ex-commanders are marginalized from.

Associations in various towns are collaborating each other because most of these associations have similar problems.

- The motorbike taxi business is launched by ex-commanders in respective towns.

Associations=Business Mafia

- Associations turned into public authority concerning transportation.

Ex-NGO Staff join to the associations

- Integration into one nation-wide organization

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Then, these staffs plan to integrate associations all over the nation into one national body.

They choose interim nation-wide staffs and jointly apply to a fund into a local NGO.

“To become a full member of civil society, commercial Motorbike Riders transformed their association(s) into a union. Working on a constitution that will sustain, holding consultative member and delegates meetings, introducing a voting system, organizing a national assembly – Green Scenery facilitated the transformation process and Motorbike Riders practiced democracy.”

This is the homepage of the NGO, Green Scenery, which funded the interim body. It said that....

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Thus, they held meetings, and choose delegate by elections and transform associations into one nation-wide organization. This is the union of motorbike taxi.

Structure

1. Overview
2. Role of
3. Role of
4. The process
5. Discussion

How we can understand the process that business mafias turned into a nation-wide public authority.

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So, discussion.

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How we can understand the process that business mafias turned into a nation-wide public authority.

1. In the situation of “collapsed state,” the bearer of “laws and orders” are not necessarily the central government. Non-state public authorities dominate specific space according to their relevance.
2. In the process for a state to regain power, the non-state public authorities are integrated in the realm of statehood (=inside the loosely connected web of public authorities, centering governmental institutions). Thus, non-public authorities become a part of a seemingly state.

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It seems that the Union are integrated into a statehood, or a loosely connected web of various public authorities centering on a central government.

So, I want to emphasize the four things in this discussion. →読み上げる

3. On one hand, a non-state public authority access to statehood in order to enhance their own power. On the other hand, state institutions also try to ally with non-state public authority in order to enforce their ability to keep laws and orders.
4. These authorities are conflicting each other, but they further enhance their power by alliances.

→3、4も読み上げる

how a state enlarge the power?

Non-state public authorities and state authorities are willingly allying with each other. This process will enlarge the loosely connected web of statehood, and enlarge power of “seemingly state”

So, back to the question...how a state enlarge their power.

The answer to the question is that

Non-state public authorities and state authorities are willingly allying with each other. This process will enlarge the loosely connected web of statehood, and enlarge power of “seemingly state”.

This discussion and the answer is looking at the union of motorbike taxies in the perspective of statehood. It can also analyze from perspective of civil societies, Informal sector, or issue of governance.

Thus, motorbike taxi can be analyzed from various perspective, what I argue here is only one of them.

Thank you.

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Thank you.....

Questions and Comments, Welcome!!

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