

Working paper



Pilot survey on cross border trade from Sierra Leone to other Mano River Union countries



Centre for Economic Research
and Capacity Building
December 2015

DIRECTED BY



FUNDED BY



**Pilot survey on Cross Border Trade from Sierra Leone to other Mano River
Union Countries**

Draft Report

CERCB

12/2/2015

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1.0 Background and context

Informal Cross Border Trade (ICBT) has become a topical issue in Africa, and in particularly the Mano- River Union (MRU) due to its broader impact on the economies of these countries. Whilst this phenomenon (ICBT) may provide short-term solutions to poor households, in the long run, it can seriously challenge the economic development of African countries. The ICBT creates unfair competition vis-à-vis formal traders, reduces the incentives to invest in the formal economy and lowers business opportunities in regional and global markets, which diminishes the prospects for private sector and overall economic development in Sub-Saharan Africa especially between the MRU. This form of trade lowers the efficiency of measures put in place to ensure health, safety and environmental protection. Agricultural commodities which are often traded informally, for example, escape sanitary and phytosanitary controls meant to ensure adequate food safety at home and avoid proliferation of diseases across borders. Also, informal trade erodes government revenues and finally, such practices lead to unreliable external trade statistics which might hinder the formulation of appropriate trade and macroeconomic policies.

Although informal trade takes different forms and is known under different names¹ it is best characterised by its non-inclusion in the national accounts of a country or region in terms of its domestic and International trade (Aryeetey, 2009). At one end of the spectrum lie negotiated relationships between informal traders and state agents designed to facilitate predictable cross-border commerce within a poorly institutionalised setting. At the other extreme lie cases in which relations between traders and state agents are characterised by conflict, arbitrariness, illegality and high levels of informal extraction. However, whilst the existence of these informal realities is increasingly recognised, few efforts have been made to systematically study how they function or to understand differences across population group and locations.

In view of the above, and consistent with its mandate of Trade Promotion and Facilitation the Sierra Leone Investment Export Promotion Agency (SLIEPA) has engaged with the International Growth Centre to undertake a research study on cross border trade with a particular focus on agricultural products which are typically traded, processed and consumed in the MRU or its immediate neighbours.

¹For example, unrecorded trade, illegal trade, unofficial trade, underground trade, part of parallel market activity, the activities of black market, trade subject of over-and under-invoicing, smuggling or hoarding),

This is envisioned as pilot study, though one capable of producing interesting results in its own right, which may then lead to subsequent extension of the research that will aim at providing detailed analysis of informal and formal trade practices in Sierra Leone. The ultimate aims of the broader project are to make the following contributions. Firstly, to generate baseline information on informal trading environment which include a detailed empirical picture of the reality of cross-border trade by informal businesses, including variation in these patterns across locations, seasons and different groups. Secondly, gain a detailed understanding of the nature of informal bargaining processes between state actors and informal business in the border communities. Thirdly, understand the dynamics of informal trade and its implications on border communities to inform policy and decision making. Finally, proffer the type of policy measures that should be taken by governments of the MRU member countries, both individually and at community level to strengthen formal trade and improve business climate in the sub-region.

1.1 Aims of the project

The primary objective of this pilot phase is to gain a clearer understanding of the nature, level, time, cross border formal and informal trade at all points along the land. Specifically we investigated the following:

1. The distance between markets i.e. both foreign and local markets to the border crossing point.
2. The location, as far as possible, of roads and tracks on foreign country's side of the border that can be used by motor vehicles to reach the border.
3. The ease with which the border can be crossed
4. The location of roads and tracks on the nation side of the border which can be used to market goods from the border area to the centers of population.
5. To figure out time, type of good and the extent of informal trade along various crossing points.

OUTPUT/DELIVERABLES

One of the main outputs of the study is to compile an intelligence dossier of comprehensive information on the following:

1. Where and how informal trade takes place
2. Type of goods frequently traded at each border post

3. Taxes, both formal and informal, and levies paid for categories of goods traded formally and informally.
4. Distance of markets to border areas and its implication for informal trade practices
5. The informal cross border trade seasonality and possible determinants;
6. Number of official and unofficial crossing points ;
7. The infrastructure and road network and its implication on ease of informal cross border trade practices.
8. Number of likely winners and losers in trade liberalization
9. Benefits from reducing/eliminating tariffs.
10. The routes used to move the goods to centers of population
11. The extent and nature of malpractices by customs officials

1.2 Method and data source

The methodology used in this report comprises a number of steps and a combination of data collection techniques.

1.2.1 Sample Selection

There are 8 border districts in Sierra Leone of which, 2 are sea borders. In this pilot survey only land borders were surveyed.² In each border district, with the exception of Kailahun District that has two chiefdoms with two main border crossings, there is one chiefdom with an official crossing point.³ On the other note, Bombali District has one chiefdom, out of 13 chiefdoms in the district, with border crossing points. This pilot used a stratified random sampling to select 12 chiefdoms of which, all the seven chiefdoms (100%) with official crossing points, and expected to have cross-border trade through formal and informal channels were selected (see Group A in Table 1). In addition, five border chiefdoms with no official border post but have nearby markets were randomly selected for the informal trade interviews (see Group B in Table 1). In selecting chiefdoms in Group B, we listed all border chiefdoms in each district alphabetically and generated a random number against each, using EXCEL software; chiefdoms with the smallest random numbers in each district were selected.

²We note that sea borders are too vast and difficult to survey thus are excluded.

³Defined as borders with the presence of government or state functionaries, such as Customs, Immigration, and state security personnels.

Table 1: Sample of Chiefdoms surveyed

Group A: chiefdoms with formal border crossings - Formal and Informal Trade Survey (Expected to have cross-border trade through formal and informal channels)			
District	Border Chiefdoms	Official Crossing Points	Markets
Bombali	Tambaka	Sanyina	Sanya, Taylayia
Kailahun	Kissi Teng	Pengubengu	Koindu, Kangama
	Luawa	Bailu	Bunumbu, Kailahun Town, Dodo Kortuma, Nyandehun, Sandeyallu/Sandeyaru, Bandajuma, Manosaweru
Kambia	Gbilehdixon	Gbalamuya	New Custom, Fodoya
Koinadugu	Sinkunya	Dogolia	Gbindi, Sinkunia
Kono	Mafindor	Kaardu	Densimbadu
Pujehun	Sorogbema	Jendema	Jendema, Malleh, Sulima
Group B: chiefdoms with no formal border crossings - Informal Trade Survey (Expected to have trade through informal routes)			
District	Border Chiefdoms	Official Crossing Points	Markets
Kailahun	Kissi Tongi		Buendu, Madoplahun
Kambia	Braimaia		Sumbuya, Kukuna
Koinadugu	Wara-Wara Bafodia		Sakuta, Bafodia, Taelia
Kono	Gbane-Kandor		Gbangbandor, Koardu
Pujehun	Makpele		Gofor, Zimmi, Gissiwulo

- **Participants**

The participants for this study included but not limited to: Traders, Community Leaders in the various border towns, chattermen, Police and Military Personnel, and Customs Officers.

1.4 Data Collection

The research team which comprises 9 personnel, 3 in each province, undertook this exercise for a period of 10 days. In Group A chiefdoms, researchers administered structured questionnaires to traders crossing the border⁴ and informal interviews to community leaders and other stakeholders with the aim to elicit information on both formal and informal trade practices. Overall, 480 questionnaires were administered to traders in the 7 formal border posts, which represents about 45 percent of traders that crossed the borders within the 10 days the survey was conducted. In group B

⁴

chiefdoms, only informal interviews using check lists were conducted to community leaders (i.e. Town Chief, Section Chief, youth leader and the Councillor), Bike Riders, and key informants on informal cross border trade practices in their communities. In addition to the structured and in-depth interviews conducted in all the border chiefdoms and posts visited, the enumerators used observational method to verify existence of physical items such as transaction goods, available infrastructure, conditions under which ICBT takes place, records kept at the border posts, and other indicators which are of valuable input to the study. Finally, one focus group discussion was held with motorbike rides and chattermen in each of the communities surveyed.

1.5 Justification of the Study

Given the ambition of a broader survey, a careful piloting process is essential and Output or deliverable from this pilot will guide the design and methodology required for the successful implementation of the principal survey. As stated in the text earlier, this topic is under researched, particularly in Sierra Leone thus not much information is known about the nature, type, volume and/or exact value of the unrecorded trade flows and participants of the trade which render the design and selection of representative sample for an robust policy research envisaged to be undertaken by IGC in collaboration with CERCB. In addition, the report is intended to inform the work of the Sierra Leone Import and Export Promotion Agency (SLIEPA), particularly with regards cross border trading of agricultural products in the MRU region.

2.0 Data presentation and Analysis

This section starts with analyses of views of traders with regards the nature, type causes and extent of both formal and informal trade in official border crossing points. The next sub-section presents and analyses data collected from the various border communities, data by districts and chiefdoms.

2.1 Trader's perception about the nature, causes and extent of cross border trade in official borders

2.1.1 Description of traders involved in cross border

Table 2 shows that of the 445 traders surveyed, 51.2 percent are females whilst the remaining 48.8% are male, and this is true for the major border posts (Gbalamuya and Jendema). In the smaller official border posts, however, it was observed that more male are engaged in cross border trade than female. This could not be unconnected to the dilapidating road infrastructure in these communities which makes cross border trade very challenging.

Table 2: Gender proportion of border traders

S/No.	Name of Border Post	Chiefdom/District	Gender of Respondents		Total
			Male	Female	
1	Sanyina	Tambaka/Bombali	52	48	100
2	Gbalamuya New Crossing	Gbilehdixon/Kambia	40	60	100
3	Dogolia	Sinkunya/Koinadugu	13	26	39
4	Jendema	Sorogbema/Pujehun	25	34	59
5	Kardu	Mofindor/Kono	30	25	55
6	Pengubengu	Kissi Teng/Kailahun	32	28	60
7	Bailu	Luawa/Kailahun	25	7	32
	Total		217	228	445
	Percentage		48.8%	51.2%	100.0%

Table 3 shows that nearly two-thirds (65.6%) of traders engaged in cross border trade through the official border posts are between the ages of 36-56 years, and those between the ages of 18-35 years account for slightly below one-fourth (26.7%). In all officials' border posts, more individuals between ages 36-56 are engaged in cross border trade.

Table3: Proportion of border traders by age

S/No.	Name of Border Post	Chiefdom/District	Age of Respondents (yrs)				Total
			18-35	36-56	56 or above	Don't Know	
1	Sanyina	Tambaka/Bombali	25	66	7	2	100
2	Gbalamuya New Crossing	Gbilehdixon/Kambia	36	57	5	2	100
3	Dogolia	Sinkunya/Koinadugu	8	31	0	0	39
4	Jendema	Sorogbema/Pujehun	7	51	1	0	59
5	Kardu	Mofindor/Kono	15	38	2	0	55
6	Pengubengu	Kissi Teng/Kailahun	24	27	9	0	60
7	Bailu	Luawa/Kailahun	4	22	6	0	32
	Total		119	292	30	4	445
	Percentage		26.7%	65.6%	6.7%	0.9%	100%

With regards the educational status of traders crossing the official borders, Table 4 shows that less than one-fourth (21.8%) attained secondary education, 29.2 percent attained only primary education, whilst 28.1 percent attained non-formal education, and 20.9 percent never went to school.

Table 4: Proportion of border traders by level of education attained

S/No.	Name of Border Post	Chiefdom/District	Level of education attained				Total
			Never went to school	Non Formal education	Primary Education	Secondary. Education	
1	Sanyina	Tambaka/Bombali	7	50	40	3	100
2	Gbalamuya New Crossing	Gbilehdixon/Kambia	20	18	34	28	100
3	Dogolia	Sinkunya/Koinadugu	25	3	8	3	39
4	Jendema	Sorogbema/Pujehun	3	29	8	19	59
5	Kardu	Mofindor/Kono	30	2	16	7	55
6	Pengubengu	Kissi Teng/Kailahun	3	14	20	23	60
7	Bailu	Luawa/Kailahun	5	9	4	14	32
	Total		93	125	130	97	445
	Percentage		20.9%	28.1%	29.2%	21.8%	100%

2.1.2 Status of official border crossing posts

The environment in which trade takes place is very critical to ensure compliance and promote formal border trade. Thus, traders were required to state their views with regards their level of satisfaction with service provision at the official border posts, and their responses are reported in

Table 5 shows that majority of traders (48.0%) are dissatisfied with services provided at the different official crossing posts, only very (14.5%) stated they are satisfied whilst 18.5 percent stated they are somehow satisfied with the quality of facilities at the official border posts. Principal facilities traders are mostly dissatisfied are public toilet (61.3%), health clinic (61.1%), road leading to border post (59.1%), water supply (50.2%), market place (44.3%), and nature of customs house (43.6%). However, majority of traders (77.7%) stated they are satisfied with banking facility at the border posts.

Table 5: Traders views about the general quality of services at the border posts

Quality of services	Satisfied	Somehow satisfied	dissatisfied	none	Don't know
Customs House	29.9%	18.0%	43.6%	8.3%	0.2%
Canopy for examination	11.0%	20.7%	37.3%	31.0%	0.0%
Warehousing	10.3%	13.9%	43.4%	32.4%	0.0%
Health Clinic	3.8%	16.0%	61.1%	18.9%	0.2%
Banking facility	77.7%	22.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Water Supply	2.7%	15.1%	50.2%	31.3%	0.7%
Road leading to the border post	16.0%	15.3%	59.1%	9.4%	0.2%
Public Toilet	4.0%	18.0%	61.3%	16.6%	0.0%
Market place	18.8%	33.3%	44.3%	3.2%	0.3%
Security of Goods	21.8%	18.7%	41.1%	18.4%	0.0%
Total	14.5%	18.5%	48.0%	18.8%	0.2%

Table 6 presents the perception of traders with regards the ease of crossing official border posts. The Table shows that majority (42.7%) disagree that clearing process is much easier now than before whilst 31.6 percent are indifferent about the ease of clearing, and 23.0 percent view the ease of border crossing positively. Among the clearing processes, more than half (50.8%) of traders disagree that Police, health and port workers have ease cross border trade whilst 46.3 percent of traders disagree that the cost of clearing is lower, 42.0 percent disagree that security and immigration laws are flexible.

Table 6: Traders views about clearing processes and procedures at Border Posts

	Clearing Processes and procedures at the Border Posts	Agree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor disagree	Don't know
1	Easier to clear goods at the border	30.8%	32.8%	36.4%	0.0%
2	Security & Immigration laws are flexible	29.9%	42.0%	27.9%	0.2%
3	Clearing cost is much lower	22.2%	46.3%	31.2%	0.2%
4	Border officials never engage in bribes	18.4%	41.3%	27.4%	12.8%
5	Police, health & port workers ease cross border trade	13.5%	50.8%	35.3%	0.4%
	Total	23.0%	42.7%	31.6%	2.7%

2.1.3 Types and prevalence of informal trade activities

This typology is useful in conceptualising the reality that there is a spectrum of official acceptance of informal practices involving a range of state and non-state actors.

Some basic definitions for clarity in discussions below:

- ✓ **State actors:** Official representatives of the state, receiving government salary or wages.
- ✓ **Non-state actors:** Actors involved in customs clearance processes that do not directly receive a government salary or wage.
- ✓ **Semi-formal:** Non-statutory processes that are unofficially accepted by traders, community members, and frontline officials, while being condoned for practical purposes by government officials at all levels.
- ✓ **Informal:** Non-statutory processes/practices that may be unofficially accepted by traders and the frontline government officials directly involved, but are not explicitly condoned by higher levels of state authority (though higher levels of government may be aware of – and complicit in – such practices)

- **Informally negotiated customs rates**

Negotiation of statutory tax rate setting by frontline government officials/representatives was investigated, and Table 7 shows that of the number of traders (266 of 445 or 59.7%) that were willing to answer the question relating to negotiation, traders with goods worth Le5,000000-10,000000 stated that they on average have paid less than 50 percent (43.8%) of what was charged as duty. Overall however, traders reported to have paid about 62.0 percent of the required taxes or duties at the different official border posts due to negotiation.

**Table 7: Estimated value of imports and tax/fees charged and paid by the border trades
(Estimated average value of imports in Leones)**

Estimated Value of Goods	No. of Respondents	Amount of tax and fees normally charged	Amount of tax and fees normally paid	% of charged fee actually paid
Less than 500,000	90	-	-	
501,000 - 1,500,000	32	150,000	100,000	66.7
1,501,000 - 2,500,000	18	250,000	150,000	60.0
2,501,000 - 5,000,000	49	300,000	200,000	66.7
5,000,000 - 10,000,000	20	800,000	350,000	43.8
10,001,000 - 20,000,000	10	1,000,000	600,000	60.0
20,000,000 - 50,000,000	27	2,000,000	1,500,000	75.0
More than 50,000,000	20	12500000	8000000	64.0
Total	266		Average payment	62.3

Source: Field interview

- **Quantity-based (rather than value-based) duty-setting**

It was observed and based on in-depth interviews with customs officials that Duties on goods are set according to the quantity of goods (i.e. per truckload) rather than on the value of the goods being transported as required by law. In-depth interviews with customs officers, particularly in Gbalamuya explained that this was the practice in reality, based on a mutually beneficial agreement between traders and frontline customs officials. With the high volume of traffic in Gbalamuya, customs officials lack the capacity to do thorough examinations of all of the trucks and magnificently packed

Peugeots (the haul-horses of cross-border trade); accordingly, they rely on the declaration documents submitted whilst applying a minimum duty on the size of the vehicle and load. In Jendema, the customs collector explained in an in-depth interview that because the post lacks canopy and capacity (i.e. only three NRA staff) they do partial examination but inform the Bo Customs Post to collect the differences in duty.

- **Giving of goodwill or Tip to border officials**

Goodwill or tip is defined as any unofficial payment, in cash or in-kind, made to state or non-state actors outside of formal customs rates or, in the case of chattermen in addition to agreed- upon clearing agents' rates. Table 8 shows that a good number of traders interviewed reported to be paying money to officials at the official border posts as goodwill, but particularly to ease challenges at the border posts and to create familiarity with frontline staff.

Table 8: Money paid to border manned officials by border traders and reasons for payment

S/No.	Officials	Number of traders who confirmed payments of money	Average mount giver per crossing (Le)	Reason(s) for payment
a	b	c	d	e
1	Customs revenue officials	197	50,000	Token, goodwill to create familiarity with staff
2	Customs examination /inspection officials	122	20,000	token, avoid delay
3	Immigration officials	238	2,000	Token, pass, for documents
4	Police officials	134	10,000	token, booking, for crossing, avoid checking,
5	Sanitary/ phytosanitary / regulatory standard officials	147	10,000	token, fees for bringing in cattle, licenses
6	Health officials	276	10,000	token, yellow cards, don't know
7	PSSD	100	10,000	avoid arrest, intimidation
9	Chatterman	76	Additional 100,000	for token at border points
10	Others	37	20,000	token, yearly licenses

Note: Columns 'e' and 'f' indicate the border post(s) with the highest number of respondents who confirmed payment to border officials.

When asked the amount of savings they would make for establishing good relationship with both officials or from paying goodwill, 30.6 percent said they save Le400,000-500,000 per border crossing, whilst 12.6 percent states they save between Le1,000,000 and Le1,500,000 (Table 9). However, a good number of traders (26.4%) were not willing to respond to this question because of its sensitive nature despite being assured of their anonymity.

Table 9: Amount saved per every border trade
(Amount in SLL)

Range of amount saved	No. of respondents	percent
100,000 - 200,000	55	12.6%
200,000 - 400,000	30	6.9%
400,000 - 500,000	133	30.6%
500,000 - 1,000,000	17	3.9%
1,000,000 - 1,500,000	55	12.6%
Above 1,500,000	30	6.9%
Don't know ¹	115	26.4%
Total	435	100.0%

- **Use of chattermen/unlicensed clearing agents to process documentation and transport goods across the border**

This involves an informal practice whereby traders pay unofficial customs clearing agents to carry their goods, process their documents, negotiate the customs rates with customs officials, and pay customs officials and other state border officials.

Customs Act 2010, paragraph 88, subsection 1 declares that, “No person shall for compensation make entry of, or lodge a Goods declaration relating to any goods on behalf of any importer or exporter of goods, as the case may be, unless licensed as a Customs clearing agent”, which requires the approval of the Commissioner based on a set of regulations, including “knowledge of the laws and procedures of the Republic of Sierra Leone relating to the importation and exportation of goods” (para. 88, subsection 2). Nevertheless, the use of chattermen is “the order of the day” particularly at the two largest official borders (Gbalamuya and Jendema) posts (see Table 9), and can thus be considered a semi-formal practice.

2.1.4 Causes of informal trade

The reasons for informal trade activities were investigated and Table 10 presents responses by traders. The Table shows that 48.1 percent said the tax rate is too high and therefore could not afford to pay; thus they consider informal practices at the formal border posts or even embark of using unofficial crossing routes. Other reasons of importance include: formal borders are too far from business areas (13.4%), unfair tax system (17.8%), and very few (4.33%) view informal trade as been easy to do.

Table 10: Major reasons why informal trade practices take place

S/No.	Reasons why informal trades take place	% of Respondents
1	Unfair tax system	17.78
2	Tax rate are too high	19.67
3	People cannot afford to pay the correct tax charges	28.33
4	Informal businesses are easy to do	4.33
5	Difficult to work with other state actors at the official border crossing points	9.44
6	It is order of the day & can't be punished	7.00
7	Formal border post is too far from business area	13.44
	Total	100.00

With regards major challenges faced by trader during cross border trade Table 11 shows that multiple and arbitrary charges and loss of goods are the major concerns of traders accounting for 29.5 and 25.8 percent respectively. Other challenges reported by traders include: too many checkpoints along the roads where traders pay informal taxes and bribes (19.2%), imprisonment and detention (6.0%), ambushes and robbers (6%), and sexual harassment (4.7%).

Table 11: Major experience during border trades

S/No.	Experiences during border trades	% of Respondents
1	Imprisonment/detention	5.98
2	Loss of goods to custom & Police Officers	25.77
3	Multiple & arbitrary charges of goods	29.48
4	Ambushes & Robbers	5.98
5	Sexual Harassment	4.74
6	Fights among other traders	8.87
7	Too many checkpoints along business routes	19.18
	Total	100.00

2.2 Presentation and analysis of data by district and Chiefdom

The section presents and analyses data collected from the various border communities, with particular focus on identifying all border crossings (official and unofficial), types of goods traded and distance to markets by chiefdoms surveyed.

2.2.1 Kambia District

Kambia district is in the northern part of Sierra Leone and comprise seven chiefdoms (i.e. Bramaia, Gbileh-Dixon, Magbema, Mambolo, Masungbala, Samu and Tonko Limba). Of the seven chiefdoms three, namely Gbileh-Dixon, Bramaia and Samu are border chiefdoms and borders Guinea. Kambia district is a relatively poor district with majority of the inhabitants engaged in either petty trading or peasant agriculture.

❖ Gbileh –Dixon Chiefdom

Gbileh-Dixon accounts for 7.2 percent of the district population (2004 Census) and is an amalgam of two chiefdoms –Gbileh predominantly of the Susu tribe and Dixon with predominantly Temnes. This chiefdom lies beyond the GreatScarciesRiver and toward Guinea thus spreading along the Guinea border with a wide surface area. The chiefdom has one of the largest official customs post (Gbalamuya,). The Gbalamuya customs is dominated by higher volumes of traffic and larger scale imports of manufactured goods, vehicles and construction materials. The post is given a monthly revenue target of about Le1.5 billion. Majority of traders (85%) who trade across this border post are mainly residing in Guinea, Freetown, Makeni, Bo and Kenema. Another important feature of

this district particularly along the Gbalamuya route is the presence of one of the biggest weekly market “Lumar”Baomoi that attracts huge number of traders from Guinea, Freetown and other cities in Sierra Leone.

In a focus group discussion, it was revealed that there are 18 crossing points in the Gbileh-Dixon chiefdom (see Table 12 for description of crossing points in the chiefdom). It must be noted however that many customs posts do not collect data on imports and exports, and only two land borders that do i.e. Gbalamuya and Jendema, but even that, collection is done manually⁵ and, as a result, data lacks reliability. In addition, the data relating to the specific number of vehicles crossings between Sierra Leone, Liberia and Guinea is not publicly available. One of the aims set out in the ECOWAS protocol is concerned with collecting and compiling data on the inter-state movement of goods, therefore, this data should be made publically available.

⁵NRA has however rolled out ASYCUDA to the new Gabalmuya post which is expected to improve statistics on import and export in the short and medium term.

Table 12: Description of Crossing Points in Gbileh-Dixon

Name of crossing point	Status of border	Topography	Import	Exports	Means of transport	Distance from Crossing Point to the nearest market in Guinea and name of market	Distance from Crossing Point to the nearest market in Sierra Leone and name of market	Preferred route
Gbalamuya	Official route with customs, security, and other state functionaries	Flat land and tarred road	Durable manufactured goods; clothing and foot wears; agricultural unprocessed goods ⁶ ; processed good; building materials, bikes, vehicles	Gari, Cassava, sweet potatos, kola nuts, palm karnel and Spice.	Trucks (20ft and 40ft container like trucks); and vehicles	Less than one mile to Pamlap;	10 miles to the weekly market ,Baomoi; but a considerable distance to Freetown and other cities in Sierra Leone	preferred
Fodaya	Unofficial route with no state presence. i.e.no customs and security personnel even though joint patrols are done in these communities	Swampy, and with small rivers	Motor bikes, onions, food stuff and non-durable manufactured goods	Palm oil, Kola nut, sweet potatos	Vehicles and motor bikes	Two miles; nearest market in Guinea is called Koluyera	There is a weekly market in Fodaya town where smuggled goods are sold, but it is about 17 miles to Baomoi market	Preferred by informal traders because it is motorable
Ketinka	Unofficial route with no state presence	Flatland	Durable manufactured goods, non-durable manufactured goods, bikes, clothing and foot	Palm oil and rice	Trucks and other vehicles, bikes	Less than a mile to Pamlap	About five miles to Baomoi	Mostly Preferred by informal traders

⁶See Table... for agricultural imports and exports through the Gbalamuya post

			wears, cooking condiments and processed food; ground nut					
Tanganie	Unofficial route with no state presence only covered through border patrol by joint border management team	Flatland	Cigarette, pharmaceuticals, clothing and foot wears, dried pepper,	Palm oil, rice , Gari, onion	Vehicles, bikes	n/a	Baomoi market	Preferred by informal traders
Magbengbe	Unofficial	Flatland	Cigarette, motor bikes pharmaceuticals, clothing and foot wears, dried pepper,	Palm oil, rice , Gari, onions	Vehicles and motor bikes	Three miles to Dakhagbe Market in Guinea	Bamoi, cities in Sierra Leone	Preferred by informal traders
Lamuray	Unofficial	swampy	Cigarette, fuel, clothing	Palm oil and rice	Footpath			
Layah	Unofficial route with few police personnel	Swampy	Motorbike, onions, foodstuff and non-durable manufactured goods,	Palm oil, Aficana soap	Vehicles and motor bikes	Two and half miles to Kindia-Guinea	12 miles to Bamoi-Sierra Leone	Preferred by informal traders
Kambu	Unofficial	Hilly	Groundnut, cigarette, foot wear	Palm oil and gari	Vehicles and motor bikes	Seven miles to Dakhagbe market in Guinea	Three miles Bamoi Market in Sierra Leone	Preferred by informal traders
Kabaya	Unofficial route with no state presence	Flat land	Clothing, groundnut, foot wears and dried pepper	Palm oil, rice and Gari.	Vehicles and motor bikes	Five miles to Kindia market in Guinea	Two miles to Bamoi market	Preferred by informal traders
Salatok	Unofficial	Swampy	Cigarette clothing and pharmaceuticals	Palm oil, rice and Gari.	Vehicles and motor bikes	Four miles to Dakhagbe market in Guinea	One and half miles to Bamoi	Preferred by informal traders
Masiaya	Unofficial	Hilly	Durable manufactured and non-durable manufactured goods	Palm oil and rice	Vehicles and motor bikes	Two miles to Kindia	Six miles to Bamoi	Preferred by informal traders
Walibana	Unofficial	Swampy with small streams	Onions, foodstuff and non-durable manufactured goods	Palm oil, rice and kola nuts	Vehicles and motorbikes	Four miles to Kindia market	There is a weekly market in Walibana town	Preferred by informal traders

Gbonkofoi	Unofficial	Flat land	Onions, foodstuff, durable and non-durable manufactured goods	Palm oil, rice and kola nuts	Vehicles and motorbikes	Six miles to Dakhagbe	Four miles to Bamoi	Preferred by informal traders
Funkudeh	Unofficial	Hilly	Onions, foodstuff, non-manufactured goods	Palm oil and gari	Vehicles and motorbikes	Nine miles to Kindia	Eight miles to Bamoi	Preferred by informal traders
Yeamidi	Unofficial	Swampy with small streams	Onions, foodstuff, durable and non-durable manufactured goods	Palm oil, kola nut and gari	Vehicles and motorbikes	Seven miles to Dakhagbe	15 miles to Bamoi	Preferred by informal traders
Gberayeray	Unofficial	Flat land	Clothing, foodstuff, Pharmaceuticals and foot wears	Palm oil, rice and gari	Vehicles and motorbikes	10 miles to Dakhagbe	15 miles to Bamoi	Preferred by informal traders
Moforay	Unofficial	Flat land	Clothing, foodstuff and foot wears	Palm oil, kola nut and gari	Vehicles and motorbikes	16 miles to Dakhagbe	19 miles to Bamoi	Preferred by informal traders
Lungba	Unofficial	Flat land	Motorbikes, foodstuff and non-durable manufactured goods	Palm oil, sweet potatoes and rice	Vehicles and motorbikes	Six miles to Koluyera	There is weekly market in Lungba town	Preferred by informal traders

❖ Braimaia Chiefdom

Braimaia chiefdom accounts for 9.4 percent of the district population and borders Guinea along the river Kolenten and predominantly hosts the Susus. Table 13 is a description of all identified crossing points in the chiefdom. Focus group discussions and in-depth interviews reveal that there are 15 crossing points in the Braimaia chiefdom.

Table 13: Braiama Chiefdom

Name of crossing point	Status of border	Topography	Import	Exports	Means of transport	Distance from Crossing Point to the nearest market in Guinea and name of market	Distance from Crossing Point to the nearest market in Sierra Leone and name of market	Preferred route
Kukuna	Unofficial Route with no state presence	Flat land	Durable manufactured goods	Cassava, gari and potatoes	Vehicles and motorbikes	Eight miles to Koluyera	16 miles to Bamoi	Preferred route to informal traders
Gbolon	Unofficial Route with no state presence	Flat land	Motor bikes, onions, food stuff and non-durable manufactured goods	Palm oil, and kala nut	Vehicles and motorbikes	12 miles to Kindia	19 miles to Bamoi	Preferred route to informal traders
Seduya	Unofficial Route with few police and military presence	Hilly	Food stuff and non-durable manufactured goods	Palm oil, sweet potatoes and gari	Vehicles and motorbikes	17 miles to Darkhagbe	20 miles to Bamoi	Preferred route to informal traders
Bassia	Unofficial Route with no state presence	Swampy	Food ware and clothing	Cassava and Palm oil,	Vehicles and motorbikes	11 miles to Kindia	19 miles to Bamoi	Preferred route to informal traders
Fonthakuray	Unofficial Route with no state presence	Swampy with rivers	Motorbikes, onion and Food stuff	Gari, sweet potatoes and Palm oil	Vehicles and motorbikes	Six miles to Da Darkhagbe	19 miles to Bamoi	Preferred route to informal traders
Darakoreh	Unofficial Route. No state presence only covered by border patrols	Flat land	Onion and food stuff	Gari and Palm oil	Vehicles and motorbikes	Four miles to Koluya	16 miles to Bamoi	Preferred route to informal traders
Kanku-Braiamaia	Unofficial Route with no state patrol	Hilly	Clothing and foot ware	Gari, sweet potatoes and cassava	Vehicles and motorbikes	Nine miles to Da Kindia	18 miles to Bamoi	Preferred route to informal traders
Fatmalaya	Unofficial Route but joint border officials patrol the area	Flat land	Onion and durable manufactured goods	Gari and palm oil	Vehicles and motorbikes	Five miles to Darkhagbe	10 miles to Bamoi	Preferred route to informal traders
Sansankhorie	Unofficial Route	Flat land	Clothing and foot	Gari, cassava and	Vehicles and	12 miles to	18 miles to	Preferred

	with no state presence		wares	palm oil	motorbikes	Koluyela	Bamoi	route to informal traders
Turaya	Unofficial Route with no state presence	Swampy with small streams	Building materials, food stuff and foot wares	Gari and palm oil	Vehicles and motorbikes	17 miles to Kindia	17 miles to Bamoi	Preferred route to informal traders
Tenema-Brimaia	Unofficial Route with no state presence. However, border patrol visit the area	Hilly	Durable manufactured goods, clothing and foot wares	Gari, cassava and potatoes	Vehicles and motorbikes	13 miles to Koluyera	Six miles to Bamoi	Preferred route to informal traders
Sinneya	Unofficial Route with no state presence	Flat land	Clothing and foot wares	Palm oil and cassava	Vehicles and motorbikes	Eight miles to Kindia	Three miles to Bamoi	Preferred route to informal traders
Fanje	Unofficial Route with no state presence	Flat land	Clothing and foot wares	Gari and cassava	Vehicles and motorbikes	16 miles to Darkhagbe	22 miles to Bamoi	Preferred route to informal traders
Darakoneh	Unofficial Route with no state presence	Flat land	Durable manufactured goods	Sweet potatoes and palm oil	Vehicles and motorbikes	20 miles to Darkhagbe	Five miles to Bamoi	Preferred route to informal traders
Banguraia-Laminaya	Unofficial Route with some police and military presence	Flat land	Durable manufactured goods	Sweet potatoes, palm oil, Gari and cassava	Vehicles and motorbikes	15 miles to Kindia	Eight miles to Bamoi	Preferred route to informal traders

▪ **Agricultural goods imported and exported through Gbalamuya Customs**

Tables 14 a and b present agricultural commodities imported from Guinea and export to same using official border posts between 2012 and 2015.⁷ From the Tables it can be observed that Sierra Leone imports a variety of agricultural commodities from Guinea, with its major imports been: Unshelled Ground Nuts, Dried Pepper, Pineapple Suckers, Beans, Fresh Tomatoes, Bennie seeds, Onions, and in 2015 news agricultural commodities such as Nerical Rice L19-L20, Shelled Ground Nut, and Irish Potato have added to the list of imports from Guinea. On the other hand, Gari (from cassava) is the commodity with the largest volume and frequency of export across the border to Guinea. Other agricultural commodities with high volume and frequency of export include: Kola Nut, Sweet Potatos, Spices, and Palm Kernel. Note that exporting of palm oil from Sierra Leone is banned. However, palm-oil is exported through informal routes to Guinea (see Tables 12 and 13).

Table 14a: Agricultural imports from 2012 to 2015

	Unit of measurement	2012 (Jan-Dec)	2013 (Jan-June)	2014 (Jan-April)	2015 (Jan-August)
Unshelled Ground Nuts	bag	40,250	17,800	15,200	24,582
Pineapple Suckers	PCs	234,400	6,900	3	
Dried Pepper	bag	100	2,080	550	4,000
Bennie	bag	483		7	1190
Carrots	bag	153	700	628	744
Cabbage	bag	357	617	467	384
Fresh Tomatoes	case	623	1370	640	1018
Beans	bag	3,080	200	1,750	4,405
Garlic	cartoon	0	0	60	0
Native herbs		10	0	0	0
Pinapple fruits	cases	581	0	0	0
Fresh pepper	bags	324	0	0	0
pea	bags	134	295	0	68
Tiger Nuts	bags	25	0	0	0
Yam	Pcs	1,500	0	0	0
Mango Fruits	bags	452	0	0	0
Water Mellon	pcs	500	0	0	0
Onions	sacks	670	260	0	650
Shelled ground nut	bags	0	0	0	1,200
Fresh potatoes	bags				186
Irish potato	bags	0	0	0	160
Nerica rice L19-L20	bags				1,4700

⁷Generally, data on the volume of trade for various commodities along the designated corridors is unreliable due to in part the poor structure and quality of data collection by border officials, and the absence of records for trade-flows along informal routes.

Table 14b: Agricultural export to Guinea from 2012 to 2015

	Unit of measurement	2012 (January-December)	2013 (Jan-June)	2014 (January-December)	2015 (Jan-August)
Gari	bag	46,750	10,170	23,663	14,774
Cassava	bag	514	115	1,634	1,403
Sweet Potatoes	bag	2,229	1,635	1,704	2,477
Cucumber	bag	0	0	475	465
Kola Nuts	bag	17,095	14,290	54,810	22,335
Palm Kernel	bag	4,095	0	5080	0
Spice	bag	259	1,109	665	2,119
Foo-Foo	bag	48	30	0	46

Source: Phytosanitary Technical Officer, Gbalamuya Post 2015

The Ministry agriculture does collect non-tax revenue from agricultural imports and exports and Table 15 presents the amount generated from January to August 2015. No records are available for previous years.

Table 15: Non-tax dues

Months	Export (Le)	Import (Le)
January	3,640,000	2,720,000
February	3,790,000	2,490,000
March	1,460,000	1,810,000
April	2,810,000	1,840,000
May	950,000.00	1,200,000.00
June	500,000.00	1,550,000.00
July	1,100,000.00	900,000.00
August	1,820,000.00	1,130,000.00
Total	16,070,000	13,640,000

Source: Phytosanitary Technical Officer, Gbalamuya Post 2015

2.2.2 Kailahun District

Kailahun District is in the Eastern Province of Sierra Leone and shares borders with Guinea and Liberia. The land area of the district is about 70 square kilometres and has a population of 358,190 (2004 National Census). There are 14 chiefdoms in the district (i.e. Dea, jawie, Kissi Kama, Kissi Teng, Kissi Tongi, Kpeje Bongre, Kpeje West, Luawa, Malema, Mandu, Ngaluahun, Penguia, Upper Bambara and Yawei). Out of this 14 chiefdoms, eight (Luawa, Kissi Teng, Kissi Kama, Kissi Tongi, Penguia, Upper Bambara, Malema and Dia) share borders with Guinea and/or Liberia. The topography

of the land in the district is partly hilly and partly flat, and is covered by primary and secondary forests. The forest vegetation extends across the borders of Guinea and Liberia, thus giving the area covered by this type of vegetation as the forest region of the ManoRiver Basin.

The mainstay economic activities of the indigenes of the district is cash crop (cocoa, coffee and citrus) and food crop farming, including chicken and ruminants (goats, pigs and sheep) on a small scale. Before the eleven (11) years old rebel war coffee and cocoa crop cultivation was the major source of income for the people in the Kailahun District.

❖ **Luawa Chiefdom**

Luawa is the largest chiefdom in the Kailahun District and accounts for 18.3 percent of the district population. The Chiefdom has one official crossing border, namely, Bailu- bordering Guinea through River Moa and has a custom post (see photo below) that has been abandoned due to what customs officers describe as inappropriate location for revenue collection. The border post (makeshift) has been moved, to about a mile, to the Moa River and is manned by a Custom Volunteer,⁸ immigration officer, a Military Officer, and an OSD Police Officer, Port health personnel, sanitary officer and a local council representative. There is only one custom officer at the rank of a Revenue Officer in Kailahun who is responsible to cover the official borders in the District, and other main crossing points. The Officer resides in Kailahun town and patrols to Bailu, about 2½ miles from Kailahun and Baidu in Kissi Teng, about 69 miles from Kailahun. The customs officer therefore relies on the volunteer in Bailu and as Assistant collector in Baidu to staff the official borders on daily basis, a practice that has serious revenue implications. It was observed and also corroborated by the NRA volunteer that each border personnel collect money from traders. The post has no warehouse, banking facility, canopy and public toilet. The Phytosanitary officers do not have records of agricultural imports and exports. The Custom Volunteer is not even interested in recording statistics on cross border trade in this region. However, it was reported that palm-oil, garri are frequently smuggled through the informal routes out of this chiefdom. Of interest is the fact that though the chiefdom is predominantly cocoa and coffee producers, but no flow of cocoa out of the chiefdom was observed or reported, rather it was reported that cocoa are brought into the country from neighbouring countries. This was attributed to relatively high price of cocoa in Sierra Leone; and due to the lack of enforcement of grading and standardisation

⁸The Volunteer is recruited by the frontline custom officer and not on NRA payroll, so the frontline officer pays this volunteer-an illegal and informal practice.

in the cocoa industry in Sierra Leone, all grades of cocoa carry the same price. Thus, the international quality rating of cocoa from Sierra Leone could be under threat as most cocoa that enters or smuggled into the country are of low grades according to one produce agent.



The abandoned Bailu border-post



The relocated Bailu border-post

Table 16: Description of Crossing Points in Luawa Chiefdom, Kailahun District

Name of crossing point	Status of border	Topography	Import	Exports	Means of transport	Distance from Crossing Point to the nearest market in Guinea and name of market	Distance from Crossing Point to the nearest market in Sierra Leone and name of market	Preferred route
Bailu	Official route with customs officers, local council rep, police, military, port health, pssd, sanitary officers	hilly, rocky	cocoa, coffee, groundnut, palmoil, Kolanut, pepper, fresh vegetables, condiment, clothing, plastic wears, household utensils, pharmaceuticals,	gari, kolanuts, coffee, palmoil, groundnut, pepper.	Vehicles, motorbikes, bikes, head	About 35miles to Nongowa market in Guinea	About 2½miles to Kailahun market in S/Leone	Bailu, especially during the rainy season
Sambaru	Unofficial route but customs officers, local council rep, security and other actors make regular visits	Savanna, hilly, stumpy, riverine	cocoa, coffee, groundnut, palmoil, Kolanut, pepper, fresh vegetables, condiment, clothing, plastic wears, household utensils, pharmaceuticals,	gari, kolanuts, coffee, palmoil, groundnut, pepper.	vehicles, motorbikes, bikes, head	About 3miles to Kenema Wuonday market in Guinea	About 5miles to Kailahun market in S/Leone	Sambaru, especially during the dry season
Kundowahun	Unofficial route but custom officers and security officers make regular checks at this crossing point	hilly, rocky	cocoa, coffee, pharmaceuticals, cigarette, clothing, fresh vegetables, season, condiments and other foodstuffs	gari, kolanuts, coffee, palmoil, groundnut, pepper	motorbikes, head	About 35miles to Kenema Wuonday market in Guinea	About 6miles to Kailahun market in S/Leone	Mostly preferred by smugglers and other informal traders
Gbanyawolu	Unofficial route but custom	rocky, hilly, forest,	cocoa, coffee, pharmaceuticals,	palm oil, rice , gari, kolanuts,	motorbikes, bikes, head	About 9miles to Kenema Wuonday	About 7miles to Kailahun market in	Mostly preferred by smugglers

	officers and security officers make regular checks at this crossing point		cigarette, clothing, fresh vegetables, season, condiments and other foodstuffs	coffee, palmoil, groundnut, pepper		market in Guinea	S/Leone	and other informal traders
Momakoh	Unofficial route but custom officers and security officers make regular checks at this crossing point	savanna, hilly, stumpy, riverine	cocoa, coffee, pharmaceuticals, cigarette, clothing, fresh vegetables, season, condiments and other foodstuffs	palm oil, rice , gari, kolanuts, coffee, palmoil, groundnut, pepper	motorbikes, bikes, head	About 11miles to Kenema Wuonday market in Guinea	About 5miles to Kailahun market in S/Leone	Mostly preferred by smugglers and other informal traders
Manosewalu	Unofficial route but custom officers and security officers make regular checks at this crossing point	rocky, hilly, forest,	cocoa, coffee, pharmaceuticals, cigarette, clothing, fresh vegetables, season, condiments and other foodstuffs	gari, kolanuts, coffee, palmoil, groundnut, pepper	motorbikes, bikes, head	About 9miles to Kenema Wuonday market in Guinea	About 7miles to Kailahun market in S/Leone	Mostly preferred by smugglers and other informal traders
Dambala	Unofficial route but custom officers and security officers make regular checks at this crossing point	savanna, hilly, stumpy, riverine	cocoa, coffee, pharmaceuticals, cigarette, clothing, fresh vegetables, season, condiments and other foodstuffs	gari, kolanuts, coffee, palmoil, groundnut, pepper	motorbikes, bikes, head	About 4miles to Kenema Wuonday market in Guinea	About 9miles to Kailahun market in S/Leone	Mostly preferred by smugglers and other informal traders
Yeibema	Unofficial and only monitored by the local council	savanna, hilly, stumpy, riverine	cocoa, coffee, pharmaceuticals, cigarette, clothing, fresh vegetables, season, condiments and other foodstuffs	Kolanuts, ginger, gari, coffee, palmoil, groundnut, pepper	motorbikes, bikes, head	About 4miles to Kenema Wuonday market in Guinea	About 11miles to Kailahun market in S/Leone	Mostly preferred by smugglers and other informal traders
Yengema	Unofficial and only monitored by the local council	savanna, hilly, stumpy, riverine	fruits, cocoa, coffee, pharmaceuticals, cigarette, clothing, fresh vegetables, season, condiments and other foodstuffs	beans, banana, Kolanuts, ginger, gari, coffee, palmoil, groundnut, pepper	motorbikes, bikes, head	About 8miles to Kenema Wuonday market in Guinea	About 6miles to Kailahun market in S/Leone	Mostly preferred by smugglers and other informal traders
Wayawayehun	Unofficial and only monitored by the local council	rocky, hilly, forest,	cigarette clothing , pharmaceuticals, cocoa, coffee, condiments and other	banana, Kolanuts, ginger, gari, coffee, palmoil, groundnut, pepper,	motorbikes, bikes, head	About 3miles to Kenema Wuonday market in Guinea	About 8miles to Kailahun market in S/Leone	Mostly preferred by smugglers and other informal traders

			foodstuffs					
Boama	Unofficial and only monitored by the local council	savanna, hilly, stumpy, riverine	Durable manufactured and non-durable manufactured goods, cocoa, coffee, pharmaceuticals, cigarette, clothing, fresh vegetables, season, condiments and other foodstuffs	Kolanuts, ginger, gari, coffee, palmoil, groundnut, pepper	motorbikes, bikes, head	About 11miles to Kenema Wuonday market in Guinea	About 5miles to Kailahun market in S/Leone	Mostly preferred by smugglers and other informal traders
Konjo	Unofficial and only monitored by the local council	Swampy with small streams	Onions, foodstuff and non-durable manufactured goods	Kolanuts, ginger, gari, coffee, palmoil, groundnut, pepper	motorbikes, bikes, head	About 10miles to Kenema Wuonday market in Guinea	About 7miles to Kailahun market in S/Leone	Mostly preferred by smugglers and other informal traders
Beiyadou	Unofficial and only monitored by the local council	savanna, hilly, stumpy, riverine	cigarette clothing , pharmaceuticals, cocoa, coffee, condiments and other foodstuffs	gari, kolanuts, coffee, palmoil, groundnut, pepper	motorbikes, bikes, head	About 9miles to Kenema Wuonday market in Guinea	About 4miles to Kailahun market in S/Leone	Mostly preferred by smugglers and other informal traders
Yumboro	Unofficial and only monitored by the local council	savanna, swampy	cigarette clothing , pharmaceuticals, cocoa, coffee, condiments and other foodstuffs	gari, kolanuts, coffee, palmoil, groundnut, pepper	motorbikes, bikes, head	About 13miles to Kenema Wuonday market in Guinea	About 6miles to Kailahun market in S/Leone	Mostly preferred by smugglers and other informal traders

❖ Kissi Teng

Kissi Teng is border chiefdom in the Kailahun district and accounts for 8.5 percent of the district population. There is one official border post (Baidu) in this chiefdom, and several informal routes. Unlike Bailu in the Luawa chiefdom, Baidu has a modern custom house (see photo below) with basic facilities such as canopy, warehouse, port health and public toilet. Other border officials (police, immigration etc) are also found in this post. This post is however manned by an Assistant Collector from NRA. The post borders Liberia and is five miles from Koidu town. Despite the modern facilities at this post revenue generation is almost zero because the route is described as been dead. The Assistant collector stated that since has been posted to the post about four years ago he has never set eyes on a truck carrying goods, rather goods in very small quantities are carried by traders across the border.



Junior Researcher with immigration, security & custom officers at the Baidu Custom house; Baidu crossing point canopy

Adjacent to Baidu, is Pengubengu Border post which borders Guinea in the Kissi Teng chiefdom. State presence is vividly visible with NRA customs volunteer, security personnel, immigration. This post is located closer to Yenga which should actually be the border but because of the Guinean occupation it was moved back to Pengubengu. The traffic flow along this route is relatively good with average reported traders of 40 during normal days and 300 during weekly market days, with an average financial capita between Le500,000 and Le2,000,000. Like all other chiefdoms in the Kailahun the poor road infrastructure creates huge challenge for both formal and informal trade in this chiefdom. Moreover, border officers in this chiefdom are not interested in recording trade statistics thus reliable trade statistics are not available. Table 17 presents the crossing points in the Kissi Teng Chiefdom.

Table 17: Description of Crossing Points in Kissy Teng Chiefdom, Kailahun District

Name of crossing point	Status of border	Topography	Import	Exports	Means of transport	Distance from Crossing Point to the nearest market in Guinea and name of market	Distance from Crossing Point to the nearest market in Sierra Leone and name of market	Preferred route
Pengubengu	Official route with customs officers, local council rep, police, military, port health, pssd, sanitary officers	Savanna, hilly, rocky	salt, maggi, cocoa, plastic wares, clothing, cosmetics, soap, palm oil, grind groundnut, fuel, nails, fresh vegetables and condiments, durable manufactured goods, plastic products, pharmaceuticals,	gari, kolanuts, coffee, palmoil, dried fish, groundnut, pepper.	Vehicles, motorbike s, bikes, boats	About 1½miles to Nongowa market in Guinea	About 2miles to Koindu market in S/Leone	Preferred
Baidu	Official route with customs officers, local council rep, police, military, port health, pssd, sanitary officers	Savanna, hilly, rocky, stumpy	grind groundnut, fresh vegetables	plastic wares, durable manufactured goods, batteries, sugar, salt and other condiments.	vehicles, motorbike s, bikes, head	About 25miles to Foya market in Liberia	About 5miles to Koindu market in S/Leone	Rout is almost abandoned
Fendu	Unofficial and only monitored by the local council crossing point	Savanna, hilly, rocky, stumpy	durable manufactured goods, salt, magi, cigarette, clothing, onions, plastic wares, household utensils cocoa, coffee, pharmaceuticals, cigarette, fresh vegetables, condiments and other foodstuffs	gari, kolanuts, coffee, palmoil, groundnut, pepper	vehicles, motorbike s, boats, head	About 3miles to Nongowa market in Guinea	About 4miles to Koindu market in S/Leone	Mostly preferred by smugglers and other informal traders

Gbamalu	Unofficial and only monitored by the local council	rocky, hilly, stumpy	salt, magi, cigarette, clothing, onions, plastic wares, household utensils cocoa, coffee, pharmaceuticals, cigarette, fresh vegetables, condiments and other foodstuffs	palm oil, rice , gari, kolanuts, coffee, palmoil, groundnut, pepper	motorbike s, boats, head	About 4miles to Nongowa market in Guinea	About 5miles to Koindu market in S/Leone	Mostly preferred by smugglers and other informal traders
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❖ Kissi Tongi

Kissi Tongi is border chiefdom, and accounts for 9.3 percent of the district population. The headquarter town of this chiefdom is Buedu, which is about seven miles from the main crossing point Dawa. There are no official designated border posts in this chiefdom; however there is one main crossing called Dawa where there is a makeshift post that house customs volunteer, and security personnel who collect tax, duties and other informal charges. This chiefdom borders Liberia and trades who use border crossing in this chiefdom mostly sell their wares in Buedu market, Koindu Market, Dia market on the Sierra Leone side; and Foya markets on the Liberia side of the border, which is about 15 miles from the main crossing point in Dawa. Table 18 presents a description border crossing in the Kissi Tongi chiefdom. Cross border activities, in terms of volume of trade in this chiefdom, like other chiefdoms in the district is high during the weekly market days (“Luma”), which are: Koidu-Thursday, Buedu-Friday and Foya is on Saturday.



Junior Researcher at a cocoa buying store in Buedu Junior Researcher with the ward councilor in Buedu

In this chiefdom also, no flow from Sierra Leone for cocoa was observed or reported, rather large quantities of cocoa are brought in from Liberia due to the relatively high farm-gate prices in Sierra Leone. Additionally, the poor road network from production areas close to Sierra Leone to Monrovia forces Liberian cocoa farmers to sell into Sierra Leone.

Table18: Description of Crossing Points in Kissy Tongi Chiefdom, Kailahun District

Name of crossing point	Status of border	Topography	Import	Exports	Means of transport	Distance from Crossing Point to the nearest market in Guinea and name of market	Distance from Crossing Point to the nearest market in Sierra Leone and name of market	Preferred route
Dawa	Official route with customs officers, local council rep, police, military, port health, pssd, sanitary officers	savanna, forest	durable manufactured goods, salt, magi, cigarette, clothing, onions, plastic wares, household utensils cocoa, coffee, pharmaceuticals, cigarette, fresh vegetables, condiments and other foodstuffs	gari, kolanuts, coffee, palmoil, dried fish, groundnut, pepper, household utensils	vehicles, motorbikes	About 15miles to Foya market in Liberia	About 7miles to Buedu market in S/Leone	Preferred
Kamandu	Unofficial and only monitored by the military	swampy, forest	cocoa, fresh vegetables	plastic wares, durable manufactured goods, batteries, sugar, salt and other condiments.	motorbikes, head	About 18miles to Foya market in Liberia	About 11miles to Buedu market in S/Leone	Mostly preferred by smugglers and other informal traders
Mandopolan	Unofficial and only monitored by the military and OSD	swampy, forest	salt, magi, cigarette, clothing, onions, plastic wares, household utensils cocoa, coffee, pharmaceuticals, cigarette, fresh vegetables, condiments and other foodstuffs	palm oil, rice , gari, kolanuts, coffee, palmoil, groundnut, pepper	motorbikes, head	About 17miles to Foya market in Liberia	About 8miles to Buedu market in S/Leone	Mostly preferred by smugglers and other informal traders
Sama	Unofficial and only monitored by the military	swampy, forest	salt, magi, cigarette, clothing, onions, plastic wares, household utensils cocoa, coffee, pharmaceuticals, cigarette, fresh	palm oil, rice , gari, kolanuts, coffee, palmoil, groundnut, pepper	motorbikes, head	About 20miles to Foya market in Liberia	About 6miles to Buedu market in S/Leone	Mostly preferred by smugglers and other informal

			vegetables, condiments and other foodstuffs					traders
Nafadu	Unofficial and only monitored by the military	swampy, forest	cocoa, fresh vegetables	plastic wares, durable manufactured goods, batteries, sugar, salt and other condiments.	motorbikes, head	About 16miles to Foya market in Liberia	About 8miles to Buedu market in S/Leone	Mostly preferred by smugglers and other informal traders
Baladu	Unofficial and only monitored by the police	swampy, forest	cocoa, fresh vegetables	plastic wares, durable manufactured goods, batteries, sugar, salt and other condiments.	motorbikes, head	About 21miles to Foya market in Liberia	About 10miles to Buedu market in S/Leone	Mostly preferred by smugglers and other informal traders
Kondo	Unofficial and not monitored	swampy, forest	pharmaceuticals, cigarette, fuel, cocoa, coffee,	plastic wares, durable manufactured goods, batteries, sugar, salt and other condiments palm oil etc	motorbikes, head	About 18miles to Foya market in Liberia	About 9miles to Buedu market in S/Leone	Mostly preferred by smugglers and other informal traders
Bendu	Unofficial and not monitored	swampy, forest	pharmaceuticals, cigarette, fuel, cocoa, coffee,	plastic wares, durable manufactured goods, batteries, sugar, salt and other condiments palm oil etc	motorbikes, head	About 16miles to Foya market in Liberia	About 7miles to Buedu market in S/Leone	Mostly preferred by smugglers and other informal traders
Kolo	Unofficial and not monitored	swampy, forest	pharmaceuticals, cigarette, fuel, cocoa, coffee,	plastic wares, durable manufactured goods, batteries, sugar, salt and other condiments palm oil etc	motorbikes, head	About 14miles to Foya market in Liberia	About 6miles to Buedu market in S/Leone	Mostly preferred by smugglers and other informal traders
Sanga	Unofficial and not monitored	swampy, forest	pharmaceuticals, cigarette, fuel, cocoa, coffee,	plastic wares, durable manufactured goods, batteries, sugar, salt and other condiments	motorbikes, head	About 15miles to Foya market in Liberia	About 9miles to Buedu market in S/Leone	Mostly preferred by smugglers and other informal traders

				palm oil etc.				
Jalantah	Unofficial and not monitored	swampy, forest	pharmaceuticals, cigarette, fuel, cocoa, coffee,	plastic wares, durable manufactured goods, batteries, sugar, salt and other condiments palm oil etc.	motorbikes, head	About 13miles to Foya market in Liberia	About 11miles to Buedu market in S/Leone	Mostly preferred by smugglers and other informal traders

In the Kailahun district generally, the Local Council reported charging fees for all agricultural commodities leaving the district, whether going out of the country or going to other districts, known as evacuation fee. Table 19 presents the evacuation fees for the different agricultural products.

Table 19: Evacuation fee for agricultural commodities

Name of commodity	Unit of measurement	Evacuation fee per unit
Cocoa	bag	2000
Coffee	bag	2000
Kola Nut	bag	2000
Palm oil	Tin	1000
Timber (red board)	pcs	5000

Source: Kailahun District Council, 2015

2.2.3 KOINADUGU DISTRICT

Koinadugu district is in the Northern Province of Sierra Leone and has 11 chiefdoms (i.e. Dembelia Sinkunia, Diang, Follasaba Dembelia, Kasunko, Mongo, Neya, Nieni, Sengbe, Sulima, wara Bafodia, Wara, Yagala) of which six, namely Sulima, Mongor, Sinkunya, Follasaba Dembellia, Wara Wara Bafodia and Neya share crossing points with Guinea. Like many of the districts discussed, trade in these border chiefdoms is high volume during the weekly “Luma” market days in Sierra Leone and across the border in Guinea. There is only one official border post at Dogoliya with two custom officers in the whole district.

❖ Follasaba Dembellia Chiefdom

Follasaba Dembelia is one of the border chiefdoms which accounts for 5.5 percent of the district population (2004 Census). The Chiefdom has the only official border post called Dogoliya which is located at Musaia Junction, about a mile from Dogolia town. The custom officers are using a three room crumbling house as their office. The location of the border post is very strategic because it connects two roads that lead to different provinces in Guinea; the one on the left leads to Gbentu town that links you to Mamu in Guinea, and the other road, through Koindukura, leads to Farana in Guinea. Koindukura is a comparatively larger town with an officially built custom post though at present, there is no customs officer residing at the post. Asked why he has not relocated his office to Koindukura for better office space, the Collector of Customs responded: *“Koindukura has fine official custom buildings but it is not strategic. Our office may be old and crumbling but it is better here because it connects different communities.”* The post itself has only two NRA officials and they are supported by two regular policemen and an SSD officer. Follasaba Demballia has organised gangs of drugs and cartridges smugglers who execute the activity at night. The poor condition of fundamental trade infrastructure and weak logistics services, resulting in high cost of transportation, remain the greatest challenge to moving goods both within the Chiefdom as well as across borders. Like many other customs posts in the country the post in the chiefdom do not collect data on imports and exports. Table 20 however provides the crossing points identified in the chiefdom through in-depth interviews and Focus Group discussions.

Table 20: Description of Border crossings in Follasaba Dembelia Chiefdom

Name of crossing point	Status of border	Topography	Import	Exports	Means of transport	Distance from Crossing Point to the nearest market in Guinea and name of market	Distance from Crossing Point to the nearest market in Sierra Leone and name of market	Preferred route
Dogolia	Official crossing with 2 customs officer; security, other border officials	Hilly and muddy, rocky	Motor bikes	Local rice, kola nut, banana	Vehicle and motorbike	35 miles to Mamu market in Guinea	11 miles to kabala	Preferred, though the road is swampy and full of pot holes
Koindukura	Semi-official with constructed custom post	Hilly, forested and swampy	Condiments, groundnuts, motor bikes, pepper, used clothing, Chinese lights, hard liquor, cassava, pans and kettles,	rice, okra, banana, thin cattle, spice, palm oil, rubber cups, honey,	Vehicles, bikes	3 miles to Farana in Guinea	7 miles to Gbindi	preferred
Gbentu Post	Semi-official , with two regular police, two OSD,two immigration and military	Hilly, muddy, swampy and forested	Condiments, groundnuts, motor bikes, pepper, used clothing, Chinese lights, hard liquor, , pans and kettles,	rice, okra, banana, thin cattle, spice, palm oil, cassava	Vehicles and motor bikes	3 miles to Banireh Junction on Tuesdays; 7 miles to Suthura on Thursdays	Gbentu on staurdays, and 6 miles to Koba Junction on Fridays	preferred
Serekuday	Unofficial with no state presence	Hilly and swampy	Groundnut, honey, dried pepper	Rice, kolan nuts, palm-oil, marijuana, drugs	Bikes, pathway	12 miles to Sandankoro in Guinea	15 miles to Gbentu	Preferred by informal traders so are more organized in this chiefdom
kalia	Unofficial	Swampy	Groundnut, honey, dried pepper	Rice, kolan nuts, palm-oil, marijuana, drugs	Motor bikes and foot	20 miles to Alphaya	8 miles to Koba junction	Preferred by informal traders and smugglers
Fullamasaia	Unofficial	Hilly and forested	Motor bikes, ground nut	Thin cattle, local rice, banana	Vehicles and Bikes	12 miles to Marrala	25 miles to Gbindi	Preferred by informal traders

❖ Wara-Wara Bafodia Chiefdom

Bafodia town is the chiefdom headquarters of Wara wara Bafodia Chiefdom. It is situated thirty two miles off Kabala town. The road to Bafodia is motorable but challenging. It is hilly, forested and swampy. The road poses more challenges especially during the rains when some steep hills along the way become very slippery. This is made worse by muddy areas that could submerge a vehicles' tyre if not properly navigated. The primary means of transportation here are vehicles (Nissan Patrols), bikes and on foot. The chiefdom accounts for 9.7 percent of the district population. The inhabitants of this chiefdom are mainly Limbas and farming is their predominant occupation. There are Fullahs who have established settlements in the outskirts (worrehs) to tend their cattle. This town is fifty miles from Kamokeh, the boarder area. There is a Police Post in Bafodia town with a handful of officers. These officers are isolated and poorly equipped. They claimed to be conducting regular border patrols but the lack of any official means of transportation create a reasonable doubt about their efficiency, given distances of the stretch of border in question. There are no official border posts in this chiefdom thus no data on imports and exports exist. Table 21 however provides the crossing points identified in the chiefdom through in-depth interviews and Focus Group discussions.

Table 21: Description of Border crossings in Wara-Wara Bafodia Chiefdom

Name of crossing point	Status of border	Topography	Import	Exports	Means of transport	Distance from Crossing Point to the nearest market in Guinea and name of market	Distance from Crossing Point to the nearest market in Sierra Leone and name of market	Preferred route
Talia	Unofficial, no state presence	Hilly, rain forest	Motor bikes, ground nut, bitter kola, drugs, cigarette	Palm-oil, local rice, marijuana	Vehicles and Bikes	7 miles to Gbaraytheya	Talia Luma market	preferred by informal traders
Daliportor	Unofficial with no state presence	, Hilly and forested	Motor bikes, ground nuts, drugs, cigarettes,	Palm-oil, local rice, marijuana	Motor bikes and vehicle	20 miles to Banireh	Luma market at the border, 32 miles to kabala	Preferred by traders
Lumbahara	Unofficial with no state presence	Riverine, swampy and forested	Ground nut, drugs, cartridge	Marijuana, rice, kola nuts, palm-oil	Footpath,	25 miles to Banireh	Luma market at the border	Challenging even for smugglers and informal traders
Kambia	unofficial with no state presence	Riverine and forested	Ground nut, drugs, cigarettes	Kola nut, palm-oil	footpath	4 Miles to Banireh	Luma at border	Preferred by smugglers and informal traders
Mandiya	Unofficial with no state presence	Hilly	Drugs , cigarettes	Palm –oil, cassava, marijuana	Motor bikes and Foot path	3 miles to banireh	Luma at border, 35 miles to Kabala	Preferred route by informal traders

2.2.4 Bombali District

Bomabali district is in the Northern Province of Sierra Leone and comprises 13 chiefdoms (i.e. Biriwa, Bombali Sebor. Unlike other border districts, there is only one chiefdom in Bombali District that shares borders with Guinea, the Tambaka Chiefdom. Informal trade activities are very prominent in the border chiefdom, and occur in two forms which are: Organised gangs and individuals organising group of youths to carry out the activity for negotiated fee.

❖ Tambaka Chiefdom

Tambaka is the only border chiefdom in the Bombali district, and accounts for 4.3 percent of the district population. The chiefdom has one official border crossing at Sanya, which is the last town/village in the Bombali District that leads to Guinea, and about 11 informal crossing borders. Sanya is a large village/town with about 250 houses with a distance of about 20 miles from the Tambaka Chiefdom headquarters town of Fintonia, and about 50 miles from Kamakauwi (one of the largest town in that region of the Bombali District), and about 160 miles from the district headquarters town of Makeni. The road leading to Sanya from Kamakauwi (i.e. Sella Limba and Tonko Limba Chiefdoms) is in a very deplorable state (rough, stumpy and broken bridges overtaken by water and mud). The river that separates Tambaka and Sella/Tonko Limba chiefdoms can only be crossed by a ferry or canoe but the ferry has stopped operations since the start of the year 2015 which means the crossing is only by canoe for a fee of Le10, 000 per person.

Bike rider with
survey logistics



Canoe with survey
personnel at the river



Faulty ferry used for
crossing the river



The poor road infrastructure has hiked transportation fee particularly during the raining season. Traders are charged a minimum fee of Le150, 000 to move their wares to the nearest market.

Sanya has a big market place with about 80 market stalls and tables which can accommodate about 150 or more traders. The volume of trade increases during the weekly market day, which takes place

on Saturdays. The average number of traders crossing the border during normal days is reported to be in the range of 10-15, whilst during the market days it increases to 50-70. The major commodities traded are okra, imported rice, locally produced rice, palm oil, groundnut, and other durable manufactured goods from Guinea. Commodities such as okra and locally produced rice are exported to Guinea whilst commodities such as imported rice, other durable manufactured goods and groundnut are imported from Guinea. However, the border post in Sanya does not record import and export thus, data on volume and value of trade are not reliable.

Sanya border post is manned by two immigration officers, two military officers (one sergeant and one corporal), and four Police officers (two sergeants and two constables). However, Sanya border post has been without customs or revenue officers for two years, and this makes it difficult to take information about tax collection and revenue as there are no current documents to show. The other border officers however collect money from traders and bike riders. For instance, the police collect Le2000 from bike riders and Le5000 from vehicles on daily basis. Facilities such as electricity supply from a grid, water supply from a tap water system are totally absent.

The border-post officials are housed in a 3-room mud block building, about a few walking distance from the village/town; and a single room mud block building as the immigration office. There is no canopy, warehouse and banking facility. The toilet at the post is used as public toilet (see photos of the posts).



The Sanya border-post



The Immigration border-post

Table 22: Description of Crossing Points in Tambaka Chiefdom, Bombali District

Name of crossing point	Status of border	Topography	Import	Exports	Means of transport	Distance from Crossing Point to the nearest market in Liberia and name of market	Distance from Crossing Point to the nearest market in Sierra Leone and name of market	Preferred route
Sanya	Official route with only Immigration officers, military and the police	savanna, rough, mountainous rocky, riverine	cigarettes, pharmaceuticals, imported rice, locally produced rice, palm oil, plastic products, durable manufactured goods, household utensils	okra and locally produced rice, palm kernel, palmoil, millet	ferry or canoes, motorbikes, head	12miles to the Madina Wulla market in Guinea	15 miles to the Fintonia market in S/L	preferred
Gborforthor	Unofficial route not manned	savanna, rough, mountainous rocky, riverine	single-barrel gun cartridges, cigarettes, pharmaceuticals, imported rice, locally produced rice, palm oil, plastic products, durable manufactured goods, household utensils	okra and locally produced rice, palm kernel, palmoil, millet	canoes, motorbikes, head	15miles to the Madina Wulla market in Guinea	23 miles to the Sanya market in S/L	mostly preferred by smugglers and other informal traders
Kuku	Unofficial route not manned	swampy, rainforest, riverine	single-barrel gun cartridges, cigarettes, pharmaceuticals, imported rice, locally produced rice, palm oil, plastic products, durable manufactured goods household utensils	okra and locally produced rice, palm kernel, palmoil, millet	canoes, motorbikes, head	18miles to the Madina Wulla market in Guinea	15 miles to Sanya market in S/L	mostly preferred by smugglers and other informal traders
Lakatha	Unofficial	savanna,	single-barrel gun	palm oil, palm	motorbikes,	14miles to the	20 miles to	preferred

	route not manned	rough, mountainous rocky, riverine	cartridges, cigarettes, pharmaceuticals, imported rice, locally produced rice, palm oil, durable manufactured goods, household utensils.	kernel, local rice, millet	head	Madina Wulla market in Guinea	Sanya market in S/L	
Gaiya	Unofficial but manned by the Navy Wing of the Military	swampy, rainforest, savanna	single-barrel gun cartridges, cigarettes, pharmaceuticals, imported rice, locally produced rice, palm oil, plastic products, durable manufactured goods household utensils	okra and locally produced rice, palm kernel, palmoil, millet	canoes, motorbikes, head	22miles to the Madina Wulla market in Guinea	12 miles to Sanya market in S/L	mostly preferred by smugglers and other informal traders
Gorogori	Unofficial route not manned	swampy, rainforest, savanna, grass land, mountainous	single-barrel gun cartridges, cigarettes, pharmaceuticals, imported rice, locally produced rice, palm oil, plastic products, durable manufactured goods household utensils	okra and locally produced rice, palm kernel, palmoil, millet	canoes, motorbikes, head	19miles to the Madina Wulla market in Guinea	13 miles to Sanya market in S/L	preferred
Takadikuray	Unofficial route not manned	swampy, rainforest, savanna, grass land, mountainous	single-barrel gun cartridges, cigarettes, pharmaceuticals, imported rice, locally produced rice, palm oil, plastic products, durable manufactured goods household utensils	okra and locally produced rice, palm kernel, palmoil, millet	canoes, motorbikes, head	23miles to the Madina Wulla market in Guinea	14 miles to Sanya market in S/L	preferred
Saindara	Unofficial route not manned	swampy, rainforest, savanna, grass land, mountainous	single-barrel gun cartridges, cigarettes, pharmaceuticals, imported rice, locally produced rice, palm oil, plastic products,	okra and locally produced rice, palm kernel, palmoil, millet	canoes, motorbikes, head	17miles to the Madina Wulla market in Guinea	21 miles to Sanya market in S/L	mostly preferred by smugglers and other informal traders

			<p>durable manufactured goods household utensils</p>					
Dugaya	Unofficial route not manned	swampy, rainforest, savanna, grass land, mountainous	<p>single-barrel gun cartridges, cigarettes, pharmaceuticals, imported rice, locally produced rice, palm oil, plastic products, durable manufactured goods household utensils</p>	okra and locally produced rice, palm kernel, palmoil, millet	canoes, motorbikes, head	11 miles to the Madina Wulla market in Guinea	18 miles to Sanya market in S/L	mostly preferred by smugglers and other informal traders
Tinka	Unofficial route not manned	swampy, rainforest, savanna, grass land, mountainous	<p>single-barrel gun cartridges, cigarettes, pharmaceuticals, imported rice, locally produced rice, palm oil, plastic products, durable manufactured goods household utensils</p>	okra and locally produced rice, palm kernel, palmoil, millet	canoes, motorbikes, head	15 miles to the Madina Wulla market in Guinea	16 miles to Sanya market in S/L	mostly preferred by smugglers and other informal traders
Madina	Unofficial route not manned	swampy, rainforest, savanna, grass land, mountainous	<p>single-barrel gun cartridges, cigarettes, pharmaceuticals, imported rice, locally produced rice, palm oil, plastic products, durable manufactured goods household utensils</p>	okra and locally produced rice, palm kernel, palmoil, millet	canoes, motorbikes, head	23 miles to the Madina Wulla market in Guinea	18 miles to Sanya market in S/L	mostly preferred by smugglers and other informal traders
Mona	Unofficial route not manned	swampy, rainforest, savanna, grass land, mountainous	<p>single-barrel gun cartridges, cigarettes, pharmaceuticals, imported rice, locally produced rice, palm oil, plastic products, durable manufactured goods household utensils</p>	okra and locally produced rice, palm kernel, palmoil, millet	canoes, motorbikes, head	26 miles to the Madina Wulla market in Guinea	21 miles to Sanya market in S/L	mostly preferred by smugglers and other informal traders

2.2.5 Pujehun District

Pujehun District is in the Southern Province of Sierra Leone and comprises 12 chiefdoms, namely: Barri, Gallinasperi, Kpaka, Kpange-Kabonde, Makpele, Malen, mano Sakrim, Panga Krim, Pejeh, Soro Gbema, Sowa and YKK. Of these 12 chiefdoms only two, Sorogbema and Makpele are located on the border with the Republic of Liberia. The population is predominantly Mende ethnic group and its main economic activities are mining and agriculture.

❖ Sorogbema Chiefdom

Sorogbema Chiefdom is one of two chiefdoms in the Pujehun District that lies on the border with the Republic of Liberia, and accounts for 14 percent of the district population. The main road that links Sierra Leone and Liberia passes through this chiefdom. As a result, the main crossing point leading to Liberia which has an international recognition- the Mano River Union Bridge is located in this chiefdom. The main border post at Jendema is considered as one of the major Customs Borders in Sierra Leone in terms of volume of trade and revenue generation potential. The post has a monthly revenue target of Le50 million, and a significant point of entry for human traffic flow (i.e. is an International trunk route). Trade on this route however is dominated by small to medium-sized trade of foodstuffs and manufactured goods, as well as transit goods coming from Guinea and as a transit point for traders from Kenema and Bo. A Border Management Committee exists, meant to overcome challenges like long clearance times, high trading costs and security. All required officials are present at the Jendema Border, i.e. Customs, Immigration, Security, Phytosanitary officer etc. the border has a Canopy, toilet and some basic facility. Some trade statistics is recorded, though manually which undermines the validity of such statistics.

The poor condition of the trunk road to the main cities of Kenema and Bo on the Sierra Leone Side of the border makes trade very challenging coupled with several informal payments along numerous check points on the route. In a focus group interview with the chattermen in Jendema, it was reported that the following informal payments are made daily: police check points along Kenema-Jendema highway-Le25,000 per truck and Le50,000 at the last check points to enter Kenema per 40th Foot truck. Le250, 000 (which is negotiable) is paid at the check point in Jimmy, manned by the Preventive Services and Special Duties from the NRA, and Police personnel. Table 23 presents the crossing points identified in the chiefdom.

Table 23: Description of Crossing Points in Sorogbema Chiefdom, Pujehun District

Name of crossing point	Status of border	Topography	Import	Exports	Means of transport	Distance from Crossing Point to the nearest market in Liberia and name of market	Distance from Crossing Point to the nearest market in Sierra Leone and name of market	Preferred route
Mano River Union bridge (Jendema)	Official route with customs officers, local council rep, police, military, port health, pssd, sanitary officers	hilly, muddy, swampy and forested	plastic products, pharmaceuticals, durable manufactured goods, motorbikes, rice, rubber cups, pans and kettles, cassava, provisions, palmoil, dried pepper, animal feed, rice, onion, vegetable oil, tomato paste, sugar, chinese tea, habs (bitter roots), palm oil, fresh pepper, coffee, coconut, beans, bennie seeds, palm fruits, corn, maize seed, chemical manure, fertilizer	Gari, oranges, Foofoo, kola nuts, fresh pepper, plantain, banana, cassava tube, nutoil, pumpkins, potatoe leaves, krain krain, yams, cassava leaves, garden egg, Chinese yam, rubber, cocoa yam, beans, broad, beans, flour, fertilizer	trucks/vehicles, motorbikes 15kilometer to the Jendema market across S/L Sinjay 7 Miles to Jendema market.	7miles to Sinjay market in Liberia	300yards to the Jendema market in S/L	Preferred
Manor Gbendeh	Unofficial route not manned	rainforest, hilly	motor bikes, imported rice, cooking oil, alcohol, cigarettes	oranges, dry fish	canoe, vehicles, motorbikes, head	15 miles to Sinjay market in Liberia	10 miles to the Jendema market in S/L	mostly preferred by smugglers and other informal traders
Sulima	Unofficial but manned	swampy, rainforest	cocoa, coffee, pharmaceuticals,	gari, kolanuts, coffee, palmoil,	motorbikes, head	3 miles to Sinjah market	25 miles to the Jendema	Preferred

	by the Navy Wing of the Military		cigarette, clothing, fresh vegetables, season, condiments and other foodstuffs	groundnut, pepper		in Liberia	market in S/L	
Bombohun	Unofficial route not manned	riverine, swampy, forest, hilly	rubber, vegetables, durable manufacturing goods, vegetable oil, corn flour, praying mat, used clothing, provisions, cooking utensils, shoes, cigarette, coconut, electrical equipment	gari, dry fish, oranges	canoes, vehicles motorbikes	30 miles to Sinjah market in Liberia	15 miles to the Jendema market in S/L	not preferred because of the distance to the market
Mano Salijah	Unofficial but manned by the Navy Wing of the Military	swampy, rainforest, savanna	rubber, vegetables, durable manufacturing goods, vegetable oil, corn flour, praying mat, used clothing, provisions, cooking utensils, shoes, cigarette, coconut, electrical equipment	palm oil, rice , gari, kolanuts, coffee, palmoil, groundnut, pepper	canoes, motorbikes, head	16 miles to the Sinjah market in Liberia	25 miles to the Jendema market in S/L	not preferred because of the distance to the market
Jurin	Unofficial route not manned	hilly, swampy, rainy forest	motor bikes, imported rice, cooking oil, alcohol, cigarettes,	oranges, dry fish	motorbikes, bikes, head	7 miles to Sinjah market in Liberia	15 miles to the Jendema market in S/L	not preferred because of the distance to the market
Jombor Bar	Unofficial route not manned	savanna, hilly, stumpy, riverine	rubber, vegetables, durable goods, dry fish, oranges.	gari, dry fish, oranges	canoes, motorbikes, head	10 miles to Sinjay market in Liberia	22 miles to the Jendema market in S/L	mostly preferred by smugglers and other informal traders
Tusow	Unofficial route not manned	hilly, forested, and swampy	provision, cigarette, onion, cooking oil, imported rice.	fruits, gari, dry fish	motorbikes, bikes, head	28 miles to Sinjay market in Liberia	35 miles to the Jendema market in S/L	not preferred because of the distance to the market
Dia	Unofficial	swampy	rubber, vegetables,	gari, dry fish,	canoes,	23 miles to	31 miles to	not

	route not manned		durable goods, dry fish, oranges.	oranges	motorbikes, head	Sinjay market in Liberia	the Jendema market in S/L	preferred because of the distance to the market
Minah	Unofficial route not manned	swampy, hilly, rainforest,	rubber, vegetables, durable goods, dry fish, oranges.	gari, dry fish, oranges	canoes, motorbikes, head	26miles to Sinjay market in Liberia	29 miles to the Jendema market in S/L	not preferred because of the distance to the market
Ginjamah	Unofficial route not manned	rainforest, hilly	rubber, vegetables, durable goods, dry fish, oranges.	gari, dry fish, oranges	canoes, motorbikes, head	19 miles to Sinjay market in Liberia	38 miles to the Jendema market in S/L	not preferred because of the distance to the market
Jomborbah	Unofficial route not manned	rainforest, hilly	rubber, vegetables, durable goods, dry fish, oranges.	gari, dry fish, oranges	canoes, motorbikes, head	27 miles to Sinjay market in Liberia	32 miles to the Jendema market in S/L	not preferred because of the distance to the market
Senehun	Unofficial route not manned	swampy, hilly, rainforest,	rubber, vegetables, durable goods, dry fish, oranges.	gari, dry fish, oranges	canoe, vehicles, motorbikes	17 miles to Sinjay market in Liberia	27 miles to the Jendema market in S/L	not preferred because of the distance to the market
Madina	Unofficial route not manned	swampy, hilly, rainforest,	rubber, vegetables, durable goods, dry fish, oranges.	gari, dry fish, oranges	canoes, motorbikes, head	24 miles to Sinjay market in Liberia	30 miles to the Jendema market in S/L	not preferred because of the distance to the market
Kabba Dukoh	Unofficial route not manned	swampy, hilly, rainforest,	rubber, vegetables, durable goods, dry fish, oranges.	gari, dry fish, oranges	canoes, motorbikes, head	21 miles to Sinjay market in Liberia	29 miles to the Jendema market in S/L	not preferred because of the distance to the market

Kalia 1	Unofficial route not manned	swampy, hilly, rainforest	rubber, vegetables, durable goods, dry fish, oranges.	gari, dry fish, oranges	canoes, motorbikes, head	15 miles to Sinjay market in Liberia	38 miles to the Jendema market in S/L	not preferred because of the distance to the market
Kalia 2	Unofficial route not manned	swampy, hilly, rainforest	rubber, vegetables, durable goods, dry fish, oranges.	gari, dry fish, oranges	canoes, motorbikes, head	20 miles to Sinjay market in Liberia	31 miles to the Jendema market in S/L	not preferred because of the distance to the market
Kalia 3	Unofficial route not manned	swampy, hilly, rainforest	rubber, vegetables, durable goods, dry fish, oranges.	gari, dry fish, oranges	canoes, motorbikes, head	22 miles to Sinjay market in Liberia	33 miles to the Jendema market in S/L	not preferred because of the distance to the market

Table 24a: Agricultural Export to Liberia

ITEMS	PACKING	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	TOTAL
Gari	bag	1,387	2,264	2,064	1,653	1,570	1,996	10,934
Oranges	bag	1,424	27	8	-	-	-	1,459
Foofoo	bag	184	156	149	104	178	187	958
Kola Nuts	bag	-	-	-	-	189	200	389
Fresh Pepper	bag	40	28	40	68	72	48	296
Plaintain	bag	150	146	180	176	140	154	946
Banana	bag	210	240	248	214	218	231	1,361
Cassava Tube	bag	110	210	46	20	40	54	480
Nut Oil	container	46	36	28	30	24	42	206
Pumpkins	bag	89	68	70	68	40	48	383
Potatoe Leaves	bag	1,200	220	210	240	265	284	2,419
Krain Krain	bag	115	143	120	151	270	294	1,093
Yams	bag	86	104	96	78	20	-	384
Cassava Leaves	bag	130	140	230	241	264	224	1,229
Garden Egg	bag	84	60	76	58	46	65	389
Chinese Yam	bag	112	98	36	46	-	-	292
Rubber	bag	-	22	-	-	-	-	22
Cocoa Yam	bag	48	60	76	58	-	42	284
Beans	bag	45	34	52	40	-	-	171
Broad Beans	bag	38	40	48	38	21	25	210
Flour	bag	96	78	60	500	290	48	1,072
Fertilizer	bag	-	-	300	-	-	-	300

Table 24 a and b present the agricultural exports and imports from January to June 2014.⁹ Table 24a should that Gari remains Sierra Leone's exports to Liberia, and within the first 6 months in 2014 about 10,934 bags of Gari were exported. Other exports of importance include oranges, cassava leaves, and Banana. Table 24b shows that Dried Pepper , animal feeds, Rice, Onion are the major agricultural imports from Liberia.

⁹No data is however for the previous years and 2015 compilation is ongoing.

Table 24b: Agricultural imports

ITEMS	PACKING	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	TOTAL
Dried Pepper	bag	435	58	560	610	407	483	2,553
Animal Feed	bag	600	460	850	840	800	2,850	6,400
Rice	bag	480	180	285	300	670	275	2,190
Onion	bag	240	60	170	286	288	315	1,359
Vegetable Oil	container	78	70	28	430	38	48	692
Tomatoe Paste	cartoon	100	40	30	54	45	26	295
Sugar	bag	30	20	38	68	70	71	297
Chinese Tea	container	25	350	22	30	15	20	462
Habs (bitter roots)	bag	50	42	8	300	550	-	950
Palm Oil	bag	38	-	46	74	68	110	336
Fresh Pepper	bag	-	-	-	-	64	180	244
Coffee	bag	-	-	-	4	6	8	18
Coconut	bag	-	28	-	-	-	-	28
Beans	bag	16	35	30	34	40	44	199
Bennie Seeds	bag	31	38	40	48	-	-	157
Palm Fruits	bag	47	78	28	40	-	-	193
Corn	bag	80	-	10	68	35	42	235
Maize Seed	bag	8	-	-	-	30	53	91
Chemical manuel	bag	-	-	-	-	250	-	250
Fertilizer	bag	-	-	-	-	59	-	59

Source: Phytosanitary office, Jendema 2015

❖ Makpele Chiefdom

Makpele Chiefdom is other border chiefdom in the Pujehun District. The chiefdom's population accounts for 9.6 percent of the district population. Unlike Soro Gbema Chiefdom, there is no official border crossing in this chiefdom, however several unofficial crossing do exist and are often patrolled

by the joint border security officers to minimize smuggling activities and the transportation of contraband goods. Table 25 therefore shows the crossing points identified during the in-depth interviews in the chiefdom.

Table 25: Description of Crossing Points in Makpele Chiefdom, Kailahun District

Name of crossing point	Status of border	Topography	Import	Exports	Means of transport	Distance from Crossing Point to the nearest market in Guinea and name of market	Distance from Crossing Point to the nearest market in Sierra Leone and name of market	Preferred route
Dar Es Salaam	Official route with customs officers, local council rep, police, military, port health, pssd, sanitary officers	rainforest, swampy, hilly	condiments, imported rice, cigarettes, cooking oil, plastic products, provisions, fuel, durables manufacturing goods, vegetable oil, corn flour, praying mat, used clothing, provisions, cooking utensils, shoes, cigarette, electrical equipment	coconut, cassava, gari, kolanuts, coffee, fruits, palmoil, dried fish, groundnut, pepper, locally produced rice, foofoo,	canoes, vehicles, motorbikes	32 miles to the Sinjay market in Liberia	27 miles to the Zimmi Market in S/L	Jendema
Gbaa	Unofficial route but manned by the police	rainforest, swampy, hilly	vegetable oil, corn flour, praying mat, used clothing, provisions, cooking utensils, shoes, cigarette, coconut, electrical equipment	Fresh vegetables, dried fish, palm oil, pepper, local rice, foofoo, cassava , gari	canoes, vehicles, motorbikes	27 miles to the Sinjay market in Liberia	24 miles to the Zimmi Market in S/L	Preferred
Tolo	Unofficial route not manned	rainforest, swampy, hilly,	vegetable oil, corn flour, praying mat, used clothing, provisions, cooking utensils, shoes, cigarette, coconut, electrical equipment	gari, kolanuts, coffee, palmoil, groundnut, pepper	canoes, motorbikes, head	23 miles to the Sinjay market in Liberia	29 miles to the	Gbaa
Gbeakoh	Unofficial and only monitored by the local council	rocky, hilly, stumpy	vegetable oil, corn flour, praying mat, used clothing, provisions, cooking utensils, shoes, cigarette, coconut, electrical equipment	palm oil, rice , gari, kolanuts, coffee, palmoil, groundnut, pepper	canoes, motorbikes, head	21 miles to the Sinjay market in Liberia	32 miles to the	mostly preferred by smugglers and other informal traders s

Shenge	Unofficial route not manned	swampy, rainforest	vegetable oil, corn flour, praying mat, used clothing, provisions, cooking utensils, shoes, cigarette, coconut, electrical equipment	palm oil, rice , gari, kolanuts, coffee, palmoil, groundnut, pepper	canoes, motorbikes, head	25 miles to the Sinjay market in Liberia	36 miles to the	
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2.2.6 Kono District

Kono is in the Easter Province of Sierra Leone and a 14 chiefdom (i.e. fiama, Gbane, Gbane Kandor, Gbense, Gorama Kono, Kamara, Lei, Mafindor, Nimikoro, Nimiyama, Sandor, Soa, Tankoro, and Toli) district. The district is has diamond mining as the dominant economic activity. About two-thirds of working population was engaged in mining before the war. However, with the gradual depletion of the alluvial deposits, there has been substantial labour movement to other productive sectors, especially agriculture. As with minerals, a sizeable proportion of agricultural products especially cash crops like, cocoa, coffee and palm oil are smuggled out of the country through the porous borders in the district. The five (5) chiefdoms in Kono district having borders with Guinea include: Gbaneh Kandor, Mafindor, Toli, Lei and Soa.

❖ Mafindor Chiefdom

Mafindor is one of the border Chiefdoms and has an official border point at Kardu. The Chiedom's population accounts for two percent of the district population. Though Kardu route is considered official but there are no Customs officers based at the post, rather customs officers are based in Koidu City about 63 miles from the border. The post is therefore manned security personnel who collect money from trades and motor bike riders. There are no facilities at the post and post is a makeshift structure. The nearest market to border point is three (3) miles away from the Guinea axis. The types of goods transported along this crossing point are Cocoa, Coffee, local rice, pineapple and banana. The Common market at the Guinea axis where traders take commodities to is the Condo market, and on the sierra Leonean side the nearest market is at Koidu town which is Sixty three (63) miles away from the border. Densimbadu has being hosting a weekly market however after the Ebola Outbreak this weekly market has now been moved to the Guinea side of the border, Condu, which is about 13-15 miles away from Densimbadu.

No data is recorded on imports and exports; however Table 26 presents a description of border crossing in the Mafindor chiefdom.

Table 26: Description of Crossing Points in Mafindor Chiefdom

Name of crossing point	Status of border	Topography	Import	Exports	Means of transport	Distance from Crossing Point to the nearest market in Guinea and name of market	Distance from Crossing Point to the nearest market in Sierra Leone and name of market	Preferred route
TofaWondeh	Unofficial with no state presence	Hilly & rocky	Cattle, cigarette, Kerosene, salt, battery	Rice, palm oil, kola nuts, foodstuff and weaving materials	Foot	5 miles to Mano	44 miles Koidu market	Preferred by informal traders
Kelema	Unofficial with no state presence	Hilly	Cattle, cigarette, Kerosene, salt, battery	Rice, palm oil, kola nuts, foodstuff and weaving materials	Motorbikes and vehicles	3 mles Krigbema	35 miles Koidu market	Preferred by informal traders
Gbegbekor	Unofficial with no state presence	Swampy, Hilly	Cattle, cigarette, Kerosene, salt, battery	Rice, palm oil, kola nuts, foodstuff and weaving materials	Motorbikes and vehicles	7 miles Sandia	67 miles Koidu market	Preferred by informal traders
Wasaya	Unofficial with no state presence	Swampy	Cattle, cigarette, Kerosene, salt, battery	Rice, palm oil, kola nuts, foodstuff and weaving materials	Motorbikes and vehicles	3 miles to Kolowadu	33 miles Koidu market	Preferred by informal traders
Keledu	Unofficial with no state presence	Swampy	Cattle, cigarette, Kerosene, salt, battery	Rice, palm oil, kola nuts, foodstuff and weaving materials	Motorbikes and vehicles	11 miles Yendeh2	49 miles to Koidu market	Preferred by informal traders
Gbaindadu	Unofficial with no state presence	Swampy	Cattle, cigarette, Kerosene, salt, battery	Rice, palm oil, kola nuts, foodstuff and weaving materials	Foot	2 miles to Baedu	23 miles to Koidu market	Preferred by informal traders
Chaiseneh	Unofficial with no state presence	Hilly and swampy	Cattle, cigarette, Kerosene, salt, battery	Rice, palm oil, kola nuts, foodstuff and weaving materials	Motorbikes and vehicles	10 miles Yendeh1	55 Miles to Koidu market	Preferred by informal traders
Dendorbengu	Unofficial with no stae presence	Swampy	Cattle, cigarette, Kerosene, salt, battery	Rice, palm oil, kola nuts, foodstuff and weaving materials	Foot	8 miles to Kelegbadu	23 miles to Koidu market	Preferred by informal traders
Kormborndu	Unofficial with no stae presence	Hilly	Cattle, cigarette, Kerosene, salt, battery	Rice, palm oil, kola nuts, foodstuff and weaving materials	Motorbikes and vehicles	6 miles to Krigbema	46 miles to Koidu market	Preferred by informal traders

❖ **Gbanekandor Chiefdom**

Gbane Kandor is border chiefdom with a population of 1.2 percent of the district population. There is no official border crossing in this chiefdom, however Kaardu is considered as the main crossing route in the chiefdom. Kaardu crossing is motorable is three miles away from the *Meli River*. The types of goods transported along this crossing point are Cocoa, Coffee, local rice, pineapple and banana. The Common market at the Guinea axis where traders take commodities is the Faredugu market, and on the sierra Leonean side the nearest market is at Koidu town which is 50 miles away from the border. No official data exist on import and export from this chiefdom as no official border posts are located in the chiefdom. Table 27 presents a description of border crossing in the chiefdom.

Table 27: Description of Crossing Points in Gbane- Kandor

Name of crossing point	Status of border	Topography	Import	Exports	Means of transport	Distance from Crossing Point to the nearest market in Guinea and name of market	Distance from Crossing Point to the nearest market in Sierra Leone and name of market	Preferred route
Gbandu	Unofficial no state presence	Savanah	Cattle, Cigarette, salt, battery clothing	Rice, palm oil, coffee, cocoa, foodstuff, weaving materials	Footpath	8 miles to Bamba	67 miles to Koidu market	Preferred by informal traders
Gbakodu	Unofficial no state presence	Savanah flat and swampy	Cattle, Cigarette, salt, battery clothing	Rice, palm oil, coffee, cocoa, foodstuff, weaving materials	Footpath	7 miles to Bamba	55 miles to Koidu market	Preferred by informal traders
Mano	Unofficial no state presence	Flat	Cattle, Cigarette, salt, battery clothing	Rice, palm oil, coffee, cocoa, foodstuff, weaving materials	Footpath	9 miles Bamba	57 miles to Koidu market	Preferred by informal traders
Kaardu	Unofficial with police and military personnel Presence	Rough leading to Meli River	Cattle, Cigarette, salt, battery clothing	Rice, palm oil, coffee, cocoa, foodstuff, weaving materials	Motorbikes and vehicles	15 miles to Densimbadu market	63 miles to Koidu market	Preferred by informal traders
Yigbema	Unofficial no state presence	Swampy	Cattle, Cigarette, salt, battery clothing	Rice, palm oil, coffee, cocoa, foodstuff, weaving materials	Footpath	10 miles Gbagbabengu	55 miles Koidu market	Preferred by informal traders
Konbondu	Unofficial no state presence	Swampy	Cattle, Cigarette, salt, battery clothing	Rice, palm oil, coffee, cocoa, foodstuff, weaving	Footpath	10 miles Kehdoy	Koidu market	Preferred by informal traders

				materials				
Dedonbenga	Unofficial no state presence	Swampy	Cattle, Cigarette, salt, battery clothing etc	Rice, palm oil, coffee, cocoa, foodstuff, weaving materials etc	Footpath	12 miles to Kenegbado	Koidu market	

3.0 Conclusion

The study has identified all border crossings in selected border chiefdoms in six border districts. The study reveals that there exist large volume of trade (both formal and informal) between the three Mano River countries of Sierra Leone, Liberia and Guinea. However, many customs posts do not collect data on imports and exports, and those that do, like Gbalamuya and Jendema, collection is done manually and, as a result, data lacks reliability. Informal trade further exacerbates the data reliability situation. The study however reveals that Sierra Leone remains a major exporter of Gari to Guinea and Liberia and a net importer of manufactured durable goods, Ground nut, Dried Pepper etc. And despite the ban on palm-oil exportation, exportation of palm-oil particularly to Guinlifting of ban on this trade maybe necessary to reduce the informal trade practices.

The need therefore for an integrated system of data generation on cross border trade in the MRU is very critical, and can help promote planning and better research in the MRU. Finally, to be able to get better and more comprehensive understanding of trade practices in the region, there is need for broader study that will embark on some ethnographic methodology in all three countries.

Annex1:

Spreadsheet of border crossing with estimated trade volume- **to follow soon**

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