



SABI Theory of Change
Behaviour Change for Improved Governance
December 2019

Introduction

This document is the SABI Theory of Change, which describes how SABI sees change happening towards its intended Outcome. This document has five sections: the first section sets out the context and the accountable governance problem in which SABI is situated and introduces the local governance structures and relationships that SABI will work with and support over the course of the programme. The second section lays out the SABI areas of change in relation to its intended Outputs and Outcome, and overall larger impact showing its relevance towards the governance problem and context. From here, Section three lays out how SABI will work towards its intended outcome, what needs to happen for results to be achieved illustrating the overall broad SABI Theory of Change (ToC) and the specific pathways of change within the broad ToC. Section four presents the overarching key assumptions of the SABI ToC that describes how change is hypothesised to happen from community to national level. Section five has the conclusions.

1. Context and Problem

SABI enters a context where **poor service delivery continues** at local level, particularly the health sector after the Ebola crisis. In terms of demand and voice, there is little incentive for citizens to get involved in **social accountability interventions which are poorly organised. This is partly due to low responsiveness** on behalf of government at local and national levels, and partly due to the high levels of corruption that exist. Citizens have expressed their feelings of disempowerment and lack of trust.¹

National and local government **structures and processes are weak**. Planning and budgeting activities remain largely without the input of citizens and civil society. **Ministries and local councils remain poorly resourced**, have weak quality monitoring systems and often lack the capacity to deliver in response to the demands and needs of citizens if they do arise.

Collective action by citizens continues to need strategic support and strengthening. There is weak and inconsistent citizen involvement and engagement with duty bearers on issues which affect their lives (e.g. poor service delivery or lack of services).

During the Ebola outbreak, ordinary citizens and youth were involved in mobilising their communities to the challenges of halting transmission of the virus. Here civil society and its many organisations and associations played a part to engage communities and respond in an organised way to the crisis. There has been **positive work and achievements** from the citizenry and civil society sector through INGOs, NGOs, campaigns, citizen advocacy groups and this has built upon a history of civic mobilisation through programmes like ENCISS.

However, despite the gains made through the Ebola response, citizen-government engagement on policy and local service delivery, platforms for dialogue and monitoring of services remain largely weak and ineffective. Overall, citizens and representatives of citizens are not challenging the status quo and as a result, service providers are not making themselves accountable: they argue that there is 'not a desire or demand for it.'² The problem cycle is clear: poor Sierra Leoneans have very limited access to opportunities, resources and services; their power and agency to challenge this is constrained; and the government/ duty bearers and power holders are not being held to account to respond positively to the voice of the people.

¹ DFID SABI Business Case 2016

² SABI Kick off meeting July 2016

The middle class, on the other hand, is proving to function in spite of government rather than thriving through the facilitation of government, as they can afford to procure private services (for example generators and fuel, tanks to provide water, and private schooling and health care) where government services are lacking. Some argue this is undermining the necessary incentives for government and middle-class citizens, who often have more influence than more vulnerable groups, to work through state, public performance and accountability structures. In essence, this is contributing towards the lack of a 'united front' of citizenry to work alongside state as part of a social contract. With a lack of social accountability addressing the concerns of vulnerable citizens, in particular, poor people, most duty bearers do not act on commitments to deliver services that are desperately needed and are the right of citizens.

Though SABI's mandate is to work directly with citizens to enhance social accountability, a 'systems of behaviour' approach³ has been applied in recognition that the actions of national and local government - including elected representatives, traditional leaders and civil servants - will have an impact on the extent to which citizens' behaviour for social accountability sustainably changes. For example, if citizens begin to engage the state through SABI's facilitation but are met with hostility or a lack of responsiveness, this change in practices on behalf of citizens is unlikely to be maintained.

Sierra Leone has three spheres of government: central government, local councils and chiefdom councils. The Local Government Act 2004 provides the main legal framework for local council operations while the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development (MLGRD) has responsibility for coordinating and overseeing the work of local councils, who along with the chiefdom councils have powers to raise revenue (including local taxes, property rates, licences, fees and charges), and to receive mining revenues, interest and dividends etc. Transfers from central government include recurrent and development components. Issues relating to local council performance are under the purview of the Ministry of Planning and Economic Development (MoPED), a new ministry created by the new SLPP government after the 2018 elections. Moreover, issues relating to the continued process of devolving agreed functions currently lies with the Office of the Vice President.

Within this context, and given the problem outlined above, the systems of behaviour approach have led SABI to focus on six key groups of actors (See Diagram 1) to promote the social accountability it aims to bring about.:

1. **Citizens and communities** – All citizens of Sierra Leone who reside in the communities and wards targeted by SABI. The SABI GESI Strategy context analysis, provides an overview of the marginalised groups that SABI aims to directly engage, whilst the GESI Strategy outlines the 'GESI sensitive' approach that SABI aims to implement.
2. **Local Government Authorities (LGA)** – Local Councils (LCs), both the elected councillors and administrative wings, and Ward Development Committees (WDCs), within the wards targeted by SABI in all 16 districts. These structures should act as representatives for citizens in holding service sector ministries accountable for service provision, development planning and more.
3. **District level service-providing ministries** – The decentralised offices of ministries responsible for delivering services to citizens on behalf of the Government of Sierra Leone (GoSL). Ministries include the Ministry of Basic and Senior Secondary Education (MBSSE), Ministry of Health and Sanitation (MOHS), Ministry of Social Welfare, Gender and Children's Affairs (MSWGCA). The district-level offices are responsible for the effective delivery of services within the confines of policy set by their national counterparts. Also, a key focus for SABI within these bodies are the front-line workers of these ministries e.g. head teachers, nurses and social workers.
4. **National level ministries, departments and agencies (MDAs) responsible for local government and service provision** – The national offices of ministries responsible for delivering services to citizens on behalf of GoSL. These are MBSSE, MOHS, MSWGCA, NaCSA, MoPED, Ministry of Finance (MoF), and the National Commission for People with Disabilities (NCPD). The national MDAs are responsible for setting and implementing service

³ COM-B, Power Mapping etc – see Christian Aid website

delivery policies. Also included is Ministry of Local Government and Rural development (MLGRD), which is responsible for oversight of LGAs and Chieftaincy structures outlined below.

5. **Traditional Authorities and Leadership** – The Paramount Chiefs and their related chiefs and leaders within the chiefdom (e.g. Section Chief, Village Chief, Chiefdom Women’s leader). The paramount chieftaincy is recognised as an important institution in the governance of Sierra Leone. Under the constitution ‘the institution of chieftaincy, as established by customary law and usage, and its non-abolition by legislation is guaranteed and preserved’. Traditional authorities are often revered by their constituents and thus act as a vital ‘gate keeper’ to working with citizens.
6. **Civil Society Organisations** –CSOs, including local and national media, should be a key force within the accountable governance space, asking critical questions of government and state service providers, as well as representing the views and needs of citizens. In Sierra Leone, however, this space is marred by a lack of strategic coordination and funding, making agencies vulnerable to political co-option, and loss of independence. In many cases, CSOs have become quasi-service providers, particularly with donor funding, and so operate in parallel or on behalf of the state to provide services, rather than supporting citizens to ask for improvements from government.

Given the interconnections between these actors, whilst recognising the need to prioritise interventions in line with resources and mandate, SABI undertook a COM-B (capability, Opportunity, Motivation – Behaviour) model⁴ analysis of a) the behaviour of citizens relating to engaging the state (see Table 1), b) the functioning of Ward Development Committees (see Table 2) and c) the Local Councils (see Table 3) along with other forms of political economy, power and GESI analysis as an evidenced-based framework. The COM-B model states that:

‘Changing the incidence of any behaviour of an individual, group or population involves changing one or more of the following: capability, opportunity, and motivation relating either to the behaviour itself or behaviours that compete with or support it.’⁵

Christian Aid’s Power Analysis Model states that: *“Power can be understood as the ability to create or resist change seen in individuals and groups ‘agency’ (that can be less visible) and institutions (‘structures’ and context that are more settled and define the rules of the game). Understanding how power changes hands, shifts and is built is key to understanding how social and economic change happens. A gender-oriented understanding of power relations is essential to bringing about an equal society. All groups in society have varying senses of their own power, tied up with understandings of rights, entitlements, behaviours and unwritten rules, and the structural and systemic inclusion or exclusion and inequality that characterises their community”*

The COM-B analyses undertaken by SABI diagnose the **factors** that influence the behaviour of systems: citizens, civil society and their representatives as well as duty-bearers, local leaders, WDCs and LCs:

- the behaviours of citizens and functioning of LGAs are influenced by a range of factors that fall primarily across psychological capability, social and physical opportunities, and reflective motivation.

- this affects the power and agency of citizens to voice their demands as well as the structural problems of government to respond and behave accountably.

- the relationships between the key focal actors outlined above have been undermined, perpetuating the factors that lead to disengagement.

- The relationships between these actors are central to the maintenance of social accountability.

SABI’s approach is grounded in *behaviour change toward relationship building*, supporting and facilitating stronger collaboration, social accountability and responsiveness across actors.

⁴ COM-B Model – <http://sabi-sl.org/com-b/> - adapted from Mitchie, Atkins, West - The Behaviour Change Wheel (2014)

⁵ Mitchie, Atkins, West - The Behaviour Change Wheel (2014)

Factors influencing citizen behaviour (i.e. lack of engagement in social accountability)	COM-B category
Citizen knowledge of rights and referral mechanisms	
Some citizens do not know or trust the process for raising concerns relating to service delivery (who to raise them with, how to contact them)	Psychological capability
Some citizens do not know what their rights and entitlements to services are	Psychological capability
Lack of opportunity to raise concerns	
Some citizens do not have rigorous evidence of the service delivery challenges they experience to reference when raising concerns about challenges	Physical opportunity
Many government officials and elected representatives do not host meetings with citizens to discuss service delivery issues	Physical opportunity
Many government officials and elected representatives do not share their contact details with their constituents and so are not readily available to be contacted regarding citizens' concerns relating to service provision	Physical opportunity
Easy to use, reliable mechanisms for raising concerns relating to service provision do not exist	Physical opportunity
The environment is not conducive to travelling for discussions and meetings (poor road network, poor phone network, expensive private transport), particularly for citizens such as PWDs, the elderly and pregnant women	Physical opportunity
Many citizens who require support to travel to attend meetings do not have access to such support (i.e. many PWDs do not have walking aids)	Physical opportunity
Many citizens and government officials confuse disability for inability and so do not consult PWDs on service delivery issues that affect them	Social opportunity
Citizen confidence to engage with elected representatives and government officials	
Some citizens, particularly women, PWDs and young people, do not have the confidence or skills to publicly and cordially describe the service delivery issues affecting them	Reflective motivation
Citizens (in particular women, young people and PWDs) are deterred from raising concerns about service provision because social norms dictate that they should show deference to leaders	Social opportunity
Citizens have experienced a lack of response from government for years and so have come to have low expectations of the value of engaging with the state	Reflective motivation
Some citizens are satisfied with alternatives to government services (i.e. traditional healers or private schools) and so do not feel motivated to work towards improvement in government services	Reflective motivation
Many citizens are habitually resigned to ignoring poor service delivery and not engaging for improvements	Automatic motivation

Table 1: COM-B diagnosis of the factors influencing the lack of engagement of the state by citizens

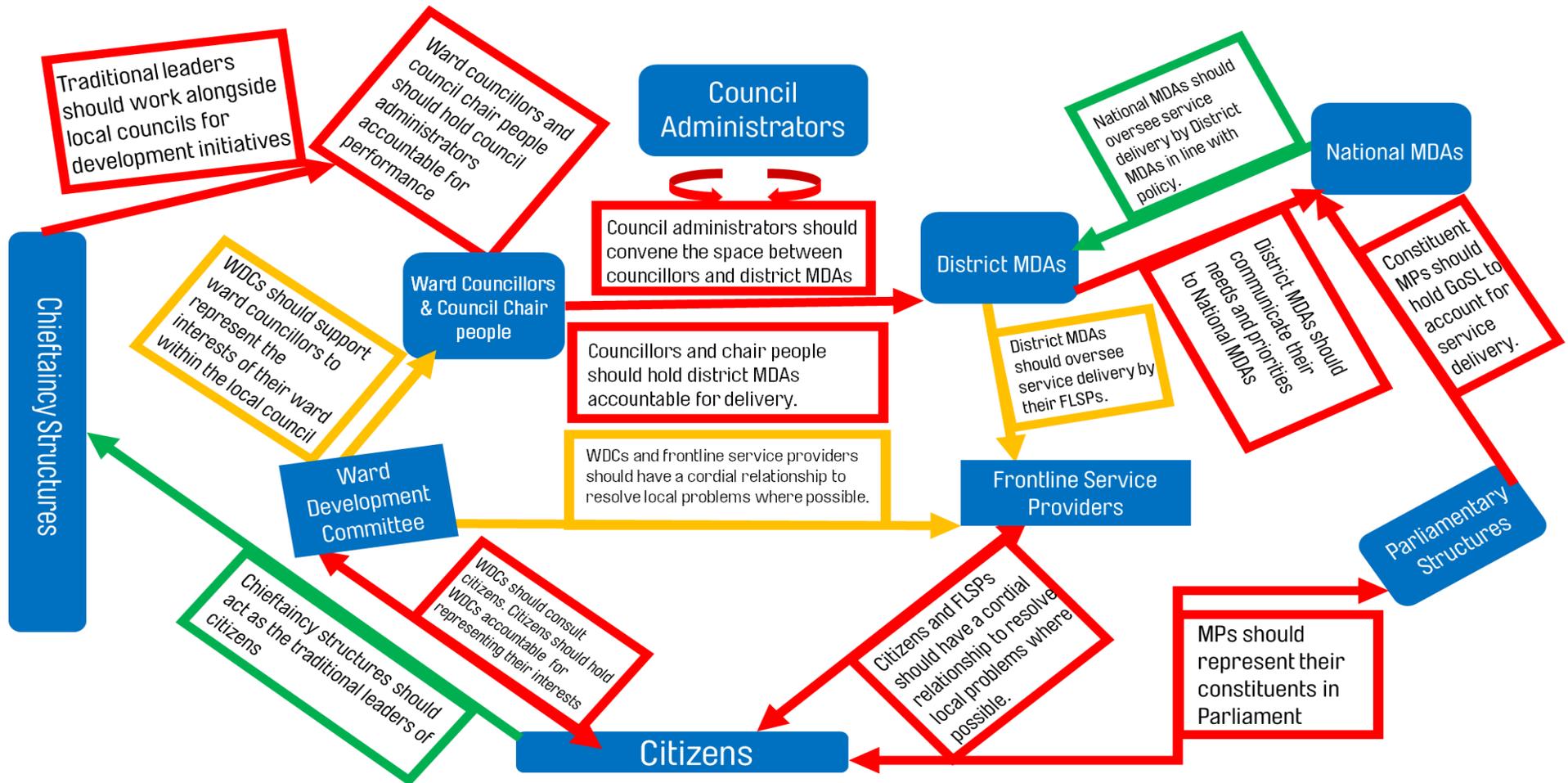
Factors inhibiting effective functioning of WDC	COM-B category
Roles and responsibilities of WDC members and councillor	
WDC members lack knowledge of the roles and responsibilities of the committee and of the WDC Chairperson/leadership	Psychological Capability
WDC members lack skills and knowledge related to delivering their functions, including but not limited to: - adult education (to educate their constituents about rights and responsibilities) - how to write proposals to Council on levying local taxes - administrative management of WDC (i.e. how often to meet, how to keep meeting minutes etc.) - identify priority problems	Psychological Capability
Without skills in identifying priority problems, WDCs do not know what the priorities of their constituents are	Psychological Capability
Disagreement amongst WDC members	Reflective Motivation
WDC members do not believe that money collected through levies will benefit their ward	Reflective Motivation
Lack of a system for managing local taxes/revenue within councils including getting proposals from WDCs	Physical Opportunity
Lack of resources from central government to carry out WDC responsibilities (e.g. to travel amongst their constituents etc.)	Physical Opportunity
Lack of negative consequences from constituents for poor performance and lack of initiative on behalf of WDCs. Complaints are often not made, and feedback not provided. Voting is sometimes not impacted on perceptions of performance of WDCs.	Reflective Motivation
Lack of positive feedback from constituents experienced by WDCs who demonstrate good performance (i.e. effectively carry out their responsibilities as outlined in the LGA, 2004) and initiative resulting in improved services within the ward. Relatedly, positive gains are often provided for actions that benefit higher power individuals, through providing career opportunities and other incentives.	Reflective Motivation
Composition of WDC and election of members	
WDC members and the general public lack knowledge about what the law says about WDC composition/ selection/ election processes	Psychological Capability
Process of elections may not be being carried out as per law/ethical means, which limits the extent to which general members of the public can stand for election to WDC	Physical Opportunity
Legal frameworks do not stipulate that PWDs should be represented in WDCs so when they are formed councillors/constituents do not think to include them	Social Opportunity
PWDs lack required knowledge/capacity to be selected/elected as WDC members (i.e. how to stand in elections etc.)	Psychological Capability
Lack of personal income/ institutional support/ facilities for PWDs to become active members in WDCs	Physical Opportunity
Invisibility of disability as an issue means that the public does not consider PWDs when voting in WDC elections	Social Opportunity

Table 2: Diagnosis of the factors influencing functioning of Ward Development Committees

Factors influencing functioning of Local Councils	COM - Category
Relationship between elected councillors and public servants	
Poor leadership skills within some District Council Chair people (i.e. setting a vision, setting strategy to meet vision e.g. YAS in FT)	Psychological capability
Lack of understanding of the role of councillors by some administrative staff	Psychological capability
Lack of respect toward councillors from some administrative staff (e.g. some administrative staff have stated that 'councillors interfere in council operations')	Reflective motivation
Some councillors don't have the confidence to hold council administrators to account for their performance	Psychological capability
Some councillors do not know that they can hold council administrative staff accountable for their performance	Psychological capability
Majority of council meetings are held in English and/or Krio and not in a local language that some councillors and many citizens are able to understand.	Reflective motivation
Status attached to English speaking motivates people to conduct formal meetings in English	Automatic motivation
Internal management of public servants and resources	
Central funds are generally transferred late and are generally less than the full budgeted amount required by the council to function effectively	Physical opportunity
No system for performance management for council administrative staff	Physical opportunity
Lack of knowledge and skills for delivering effective staff performance management within some senior council administrators and chair people	Psychological capability
Lack of knowledge and skills for delivering effective business systems management (i.e. oversight of financial affairs, operations, time management, prioritisation, meeting management) within some council administrative staff	Psychological capability
Lack of positive reinforcement/negative consequences to demonstrate good performance as a council	Social opportunity
Working with Traditional Leaders to generate local revenue	
Traditional leaders, who are entitled to collect local taxes within their locale, on the proviso that they remit precepts to the local council, are either failing to collect or retaining the funds because:	
- they may not trust that council will use the income in line with the needs of their locale	Reflective motivation
- they may have their own plans for spending the funds and do not believe that council will provide them with budget to carry this out	Reflective motivation
- they are expected to contribute toward local events (i.e. marriages, funerals etc.), for which they need funds to pay	Social opportunity
- prominent individuals expect traditional leaders to spend money to honour their visits (i.e. through slaughtering a goat etc.) for which traditional leaders need funds to pay	Social opportunity
- they may be angry about previous interventions that have sought to support councils to generate local revenue but have implemented work that has been unaccepted by Chiefs and has increased tensions between traditional leaders and the council bodies	Reflective motivation
- they may want to use the funds for personal gain	Reflective motivation
- social norms dictate that traditional leaders should display wealth through their lifestyle	Social opportunity
- they may be leaning on long-held approaches, whereby Paramount Chiefs have directly managed funds collected for generations	Automatic motivation
- they may not have knowledge or understanding of the clauses within LGA, 2004 and Chieftaincy Act, 2000 which related to the role of traditional leaders in local revenue generation	Psychological capability
- there are administrative burdens to depositing funds (i.e. travelling to the council, trying to engage an inefficient revenue collection system etc.)	Physical opportunity
- they may lack skills and experience in systematising a process for local tax collection and onward payment of precepts	Psychological capability

Table 3: Diagnosis of the factors influencing functioning of Local Councils

Diagram 1. Current relationships between Accountable Governance Stakeholders - relationships are strong and familiar in green (e.g. traditional authorities and citizens); relationships, roles are less familiar, disillusioned and a lack of trust exists between actors (red to yellow arrows between citizens and government). Black lines represent relationships about which SABI has insufficient information to diagnose the strength of the relationship.



2. The Long-term change SABI aims to support and influence

The overall **Impact** that SABI is contributing to is that:

Citizens access more and better-quality services and government achieves its Recovery Plan objectives.

SABI's overall **Outcome** is:

Increased awareness of and demand for improved services, with service providers increasingly accountable to citizens for results.

There are **four interlocking Outputs** leading to the Outcome that the programme has control over and will adapt as the programme evolves:

Output A. Strengthened and coordinated community feedback mechanisms to demand better services.

Output B. Citizens and duty bearers innovate to resolve service delivery challenges locally.

Output C. Improved understanding of what works through conduct and dissemination of research and assessments.

Output D. Improved data on service delivery outcomes and recovery plan progress

3. Broad Process of Change: What needs to happen to enhance social accountability for improved service delivery in Sierra Leone

SABI interventions focus on the intersection between i) Public sector (Local Government, Traditional Authorities, Service Providers - all not mutually exclusive) and ii) Citizens and communities, to see higher-level results in social accountability for improved delivery of services.

The programme theory of change is premised on the belief that relationships are weak as a result of a) the non-engagement with the public sector by citizens and b) the poor functioning of institutions within the public sector. Those relationships are subsequently further weakened as a result of this status quo. In short, relationships are weak due to unfitting behaviours, and these unfitting behaviours are further embedded by the weak relationships.

As noted above, SABI adopted the COM-B model to diagnose the causes of the specific behaviours targeted for change through this programme. Annex 1 provides a matrix of interventions that might address the problems and COM-B issues. With reference to this matrix, SABI has established the following interventions to address the specific factors influencing the behaviour of citizens, WDCs and LCs (see tables 4-6).

Two key considerations were employed when proposing the interventions outlined below, namely **sustainability** of change and **acceptability** of action.

Sustainability | Many physical opportunity barriers exist that inhibit citizens from engaging the state with feedback and complaints on service provision. These include lack of resources such as time, money, road infrastructure, transport, phone network and others. SABI has limited remit to address these physical opportunity barriers directly. Instead, SABI has designed interventions that seek to support citizens to think through how they may address these opportunity barriers themselves, thereby imparting skills and knowledge that will remain with citizens following programme closure, increasing the likelihood that citizens will continue to engage the state as they had with programme facilitation. It is for this reason that SABI has focussed more on citizen power and agency interventions that address psychological capabilities, social opportunities and reflective motivation.

Acceptability | Similarly, SABI has considered acceptability of interventions as integral to all interventions designed. As noted above, SABI's intention is to strengthen relationships between

citizens and state, the poor status of which has been identified as a key inhibitor of appropriate social accountability. Interventions that may be less acceptable by key stakeholders, therefore, such as coercion and restriction, were considered counter to our overall programme intention, and as such have not been taken forward.

Diagram 2 summarises the change pathway envisaged for the SABI programme, as detailed in tables 4 – 6, and outlines top level assumptions that accompany the design. It is important to note that SABI takes a GESI sensitive approach, and as such, reflects on the different factors influencing marginalised groups (women, youth and PWD) and designs participatory interventions that are sensitive to different needs to ensure that they are accessible for all groups, and tailored to the relevant context.

Factor influencing citizen behaviour (i.e. lack of engagement in social accountability)	Intervention to be delivered by SABI	Change intended from intervention	Impact
Citizen knowledge of rights and referral mechanisms			
Some citizens do not know the process for raising concerns relating to service delivery (who to raise them with, how to contact them)	Education through policy literacy sessions focussing on the accountable governance pathways that can be engaged to provide feedback and complaints on services	Citizens gain knowledge of the accountable governance pathways available to them.	Citizens have relevant knowledge relating to their rights and entitlements to services and referral mechanisms
	Enablement through the provision of low literate accountable governance pathway posters which citizens can refer to when needed		
Some citizens do not know what their rights and entitlements to services are	Education through policy literacy sessions focussing on rights and entitlements ascribed by law	Citizens gain knowledge of their rights and entitlements to services as enshrined by policy and law	
	Enablement through interviewing citizens with the Citizen Perception Survey, which will impart information relating to the proper functioning of services i.e. if a citizen is asked 'were drugs available when you visited the health clinic', they will infer that drugs should be available		
Lack of opportunity to raise concerns			
Some citizens do not have rigorous evidence of the service delivery challenges they experience to reference when raising concerns about challenges	Enablement through the collection and feedback to communities of Citizen Perception Survey evidence which is used to identify problems with service provision from the perspective of service users	Citizens have access to evidence of service delivery challenges being faced within their communities	All citizens, including marginalised groups, are provided the opportunity to raise their concerns relating to poor service delivery with service providers and/or elected representatives
Many government officials and elected representatives do not host meetings with citizens to discuss service delivery issues	Environmental restructuring through directly holding GESI sensitive community meetings to discuss service delivery challenges, at which service providers and local leaders are present.	All citizens have access to meeting spaces to discuss service delivery issues affecting them	
	Modelling, in line with the above and with actions intended to improve the functioning of WDCs and LCs (see tables 5 and 6), by demonstrating how inclusive citizen engagement can be carried out and encouraging these bodies to adopt these principals in their own operations.	WDCs and LCs begin hosting effective and GESI-sensitive meetings with citizens to discuss service delivery issues affecting them	

Factor influencing citizen behaviour (i.e. lack of engagement in social accountability)	Intervention to be delivered by SABI	Change intended from intervention	Impact
Many government officials and elected representatives do not share their contact details with their constituents and so are not readily available to be contacted regarding citizens' concerns relating to service provision	Environmental restructuring through encouraging elected representatives (i.e. councillors) and relevant state officials to make their official contact details available to citizens to ease the process of engagement	Citizens have access to contact details for their elected representatives and relevant government officials	All citizens, including marginalised groups, are provided the opportunity to raise their concerns relating to poor service delivery with service providers and/or elected representatives
Easy to use, reliable mechanisms for raising concerns relating to service provision do not exist	Environmental restructuring by encouraging central and district level government to establish easy to use, reliable feedback and complaints mechanisms for citizens to raise service delivery concerns	Easy to use and reliable mechanisms to raise concerns relating to service provision are available to citizens	
The environment is not conducive to travelling for discussions and meetings (poor road network, poor phone network, expensive private transport), particularly for citizens such as PWDs, the elderly and pregnant women	Enablement through supporting Peer Group Champions for all groups, including women, PWDs and young people, to represent their peers in key discussions with minimal resources raised by their peers to fund engagement (i.e. travel, phone credit etc.)	All citizens, including marginalised groups, are represented at meetings, regardless of the non-conductive environment	
	Environmental restructuring by encouraging WDC members to travel to their constituents to gather their feedback on service delivery issues to inform their own problem identification processes (see table 5)	Meetings with WDC members are held within communities, thereby reducing the need for citizens to travel to attend meetings to discuss service delivery issues	
Many citizens who require support to travel to attend meetings do not have access to such support (i.e. many PWDs do not have walking aids)	Enablement through the implementation of the SABI Community Expenses policy which allows for the provision of transport refunds to PWDs and their accompaniers (if required) to enable their engagement in meetings for which they are required to travel.	Particularly vulnerable citizens are provided financial assistance to travel to meetings facilitated by SABI, if appropriate	
	Modelling, in line with the above, through highlighting the low cost and efficacy of providing low-level funds (available within communities for replication) to marginalised citizens such that they may travel to meetings	Citizens begin to see the value in contributing low level funds in order to enable vulnerable citizens to travel to meetings if appropriate	
Many citizens and government officials confuse disability for inability and so do not consult PWDs on service delivery issues that affect them	Enablement through identifying PWD Peer Group Champions, who are directly engaged in the accountable governance processes that SABI facilitates, on behalf of their peers	PWDs are provided the opportunity to showcase their abilities to engage in citizen-led accountable governance processes	
	Modelling through highlighting the abilities of PWDs through the above actions to power holders (WDC members, councillors etc.) who can replicate this approach	Power holders assumptions of disability are questioned through their observations of PWDs' abilities	

Factor influencing citizen behaviour (i.e. lack of engagement in social accountability)	Intervention to be delivered by SABI	Change intended from intervention	Impact
Citizen confidence to engage with elected representatives and government officials			
Some citizens, particularly women, PWDs and young people, do not have the confidence or skills to publicly and cordially describe the service delivery issues affecting them	Modelling through encouraging citizens who are nominated by their communities, on the basis of their abilities and confidence, to engage service providers and elected representatives. These citizens act as role models to others to engage.	All citizens (including marginalised groups) gain confidence to engage in citizen-led accountable governance processes	All citizens, including marginalised groups, have the belief in their abilities to engage service providers and/or elected representatives for improvements to service delivery, and judge engagement to be an appropriate thing to do
Citizens (in particular women, young people and PWDs) are deterred from raising concerns about service provision because social norms dictate that they should show deference to leaders	Modelling through facilitating a citizen-state relationship building process that is respectful, acknowledges challenges on all sides, and seeks an amicable resolution to challenges and is thereby acceptable to all key stakeholders	All citizens (including marginalised groups) feel less deterred from engaging in citizen-led accountable governance processes	
Citizens have experienced a lack of response from government for years and so have come to have low expectations of the value of engaging with the state	Modelling through directly facilitating citizen-led accountable governance processes which result in improvements to services	Citizens begin to question their assumptions, based on their previous experience that the state will not respond.	All citizens, including marginalised groups, have belief in value of engaging service providers and/or elected representatives for improvements to service delivery
	Persuasion by sharing and promoting positive stories of service delivery improvements that have been brought about by citizen feedback to service providers and/or elected representatives		
	Incentivisation by highlighting the improvements to service delivery that can be realised through effectively engaging service providers and/or elected representatives with feedback and/or complaints		
Some citizens are satisfied with alternatives to government services (i.e. traditional healers or private schools) and so do not feel motivated to work towards improvement in government services	Persuasion by reflecting upon alternative services when discussing problems identified through the Citizen Perception Survey with communities	Citizens begin to acknowledge the issues with alternative service provision and feel more motivated to engage the state for improvements to formal services	
Many citizens are habitually resigned to ignoring poor service delivery and not engaging for improvements	Enablement through facilitating GESI-sensitive citizen-led accountable governance processes, which are designed to change habits over time.	Citizens' habits of ignoring poor service delivery begin to change over time	

Table 4: Interventions required to change citizen behaviour in relation to engaging service providers and/or elected representatives regarding the need for service delivery improvements

Factor inhibiting effective functioning of WDC	Intervention to be delivered by SABI	Intervention required by other actors	Change intended from intervention	Impact
Roles and responsibilities of WDC members and councillor				
WDC members lack knowledge of the roles and responsibilities of the committee and of the WDC Chairperson/leadership	Education through the provision of low literate Standard Operating Procedures for WDCs (i.e. a user-friendly version of the LGA, 2004) and through a workshop to be provided to target WDCs	Development and finalisation of Standard Operating Procedures manuals for WDCs by MLGRD	WDC members gain knowledge on the roles and responsibility of the WDC Chairperson	WDC members and councillors have the capability to carry out their responsibilities
WDC members lack skills and knowledge related to delivering their functions, including but not limited to: - adult education (to educate their constituents about rights and responsibilities) - how to write proposals to Council on levying local taxes - administrative management of WDC (i.e. how often to meet, how to keep meeting minutes etc.) - identify priority problems	Training workshop to be delivered to target WDCs to provide required skills	Development and finalisation of WDC training manual	WDC members gain the knowledge and skills required to carry out their responsibilities	
Without skills in identifying priority problems, WDCs do not know what the priorities of their constituents are	Enablement through providing Citizen Perception Survey reports and community action plans, and facilitating the process of prioritising problems for WDC action		WDCs know the priority problems of their constituents and plan actions to seek improvements	
Disagreement amongst WDC members	Training through providing conflict management skills during workshop referenced above		WDC members are able to manage disagreements effectively	
	Modelling by sharing case studies of WDCs who have managed conflict well resulting in higher performance			
WDC members do not believe that money collected through levies will benefit their ward	Modelling by sharing case stories of resources collected through local taxes and revenue being used to improve service delivery for constituents	Incentivisation by administrative wing of local councils by involving councillors in planning for the spend of revenue generated locally, making funds available to WDCs to perform their functions, and by transparently implementing the agreed spending plan	WDC members become more motivated to work with traditional authorities to collect levies from constituents	
	Persuasion and incentivisation in line with interventions designed to address general lack of motivation to perform effectively			

Factor inhibiting effective functioning of WDC	Intervention to be delivered by SABI	Intervention required by other actors	Change intended from intervention	Impact
Lack of a system for managing local taxes/revenue within councils including getting proposals from WDCs	Enablement to be piloted by SABI grant to build relationships between traditional authorities and local councils to address longstanding tensions relating to local taxes.	Education and training to be provided by Technical Assistance embedded within the local councils. Further diagnosis required to design specific intervention.	An effective system is established for the management of income from local taxes and revenue, including proper planning and accountability for us, and transparency in communicating use to citizens	WDC members have access to the resources required to perform effectively
Lack of resources from central government to carry out WDC responsibilities (e.g. to travel amongst their constituents etc.)	Persuasion through lobbying MLGRD to amend the LGA such that budgets may be provided to WDCs to carry out their functions, and to provide these funds	Environmental restructuring by MLGRD by amending the LGA and providing required budgets to WDCs to carry out their responsibilities	WDC members can access central budget to carry out their functions	
Lack of negative consequences from constituents for poor performance and lack of initiative on behalf of WDCs. Complaints are often not made, and feedback not provided. Voting is sometimes not impacted on perceptions of performance of WDCs.	Modelling by sharing case stories of WDCs who fail to perform effectively and have faced negative social consequences as a result, i.e. were not voted in again or were publicly criticised	Coercion by civil society in publicising cases where WDCs and councillors intentionally acted outside of the interest of their constituents, bringing about negative outcomes for the ward	WDCs are motivated to improve their functioning in order to avoid negative social consequences	WDC members want to perform effectively
	Persuasion by supporting WDCs to map the potential negative consequences of failing to perform			
Lack of positive feedback from constituents experienced by WDCs who demonstrate good performance (i.e. effectively carry out their responsibilities as outlined in the LGA, 2004) and initiative resulting in improved services within the ward. Relatedly, positive gains are often provided for actions that benefit higher power individuals, through providing career opportunities and other incentives.	Incentivisation by a) publicly praising WDCs who create positive change in service provision through their effective functioning, b) certifying WDC members and councillors who can evidence their effectiveness in bringing about improvements to service provision, c) providing 'graduation ceremonies' for this public certification, demonstrating that the WDC has 'graduated the SABI programme' and is ready to function independently		WDC members and councillors become more motivated to perform effectively and bring about improved service delivery for their constituents to gain positive social outcomes	
	Modelling by a) sharing case stories of WDCs who have performed well and have received positive feedback for bringing about improvements to service provision, b) asking WDC members to share positive experiences during workshops			
	Persuasion by supporting WDCs to map the potential positive social outcomes of performing effectively			

Factor inhibiting effective functioning of WDC	Intervention to be delivered by SABI	Intervention required by other actors	Change intended from intervention	Impact
Composition of WDC and election of members				
WDC members and the general public lack knowledge about what the law says about WDC composition/ selection/ election processes	Education through low literate IEC materials, policy literacy sessions, radio discussions, religious leader sermons, community dramas and sports events	Education by MLGRD by approving content for activities to be implemented by SABI	WDC members and the general public will gain knowledge in what the law says about WDC composition/selection/election process	WDC composition falls in line with policy and is more representative of the constituents of the ward
Process of elections may not be being carried out as per law/ethical means, which limits the extent to which general members of the public can stand for election to WDC	Persuasion through developing a policy position paper and lobbying for WDC elections to be conducted in line with policy	Restrictions by MLGRD and/or national election commission to refuse to approve WDCs that are not established in line with elections policy	WDC elections begin to be carried out in line with policy	
Legal frameworks do not stipulate that PWDs should be represented in WDCs so when they are formed councillors/constituents do not think to include them	Persuasion by SABI through the development of a policy position paper, and lobbying MLGRD to amend the Local Governance Act relating to the selection criteria for WDCs, such that PWDs are included as a group that must be represented	Environmental restructuring by MLGRD to amend the LGA relating to the selection criteria for WDCs, such that PWDs are included as a group that must be represented Restrictions by MLGRD, following the approval of the LGA amendment, by refusing to approve WDCs that are not in compliance with the Act	LGA is amended to stipulate that WDCs must include PWD representatives, and WDCs comply. PWDs are represented on all WDCs	WDCs include representatives of the PWD community
PWDs lack required knowledge/capacity to be selected/elected as WDC members (i.e. how to stand in elections etc.)	Education of PWD constituents through low literate IEC materials, policy literacy sessions, radio discussions, religious leader sermons, community dramas and others		PWDs will gain knowledge on how to stand for election to become WDC members	
Lack of personal income/ institutional support/ facilities for PWDs to become active members in WDCs	Persuasion through lobbying government for LGA, 2004 or Disability Act (2011) to stipulate what additional costs associated with enabling PWD to function effectively as a member will be provided to WDCs	Environmental restructuring by NCPD and/or MLGRD to provide assistive devices and/or transport refunds for PWDs and guides to enable their active functioning as a WDC member	PWDs will have access to the resources required to effectively function as a WDC member	
Invisibility of disability as an issue means that the public does not consider PWDs when voting in WDC elections	Modelling by identifying and supporting PWDs to take a lead in the education activities outlined above	Persuasion by SLUDI and other DPOs through radio discussions, community dramas and others	Society recognises disability as an issue that is a collective responsibility to address, and thus considers PWDs for election to WDCs	
	Education of general public through low literate IEC materials, policy literacy sessions, radio discussions, religious leader sermons, community dramas and others	Modelling by key leadership figures in Sierra Leone through public discussions of the importance of recognising disability within society		
	Enablement through implementation of the SABI GESI strategy in all activities			

Table 5: Interventions required to improve functioning of WDCs

Factor influencing functioning of Local Councils	Intervention to be delivered by SABI	Intervention required by other actors	Change intended from intervention	Impact
Relationship between elected councillors and public servants				
Poor leadership skills within some District Council Chair people (i.e. setting a vision, setting strategy to meet vision e.g. YAS in FT)		Training through a leadership programme that could be delivered by Technical Advisors	Local Council Chairpeople and Mayors being to demonstrate strong leadership through setting visions and delivery strategies for their constituents	Elected councillors and council administrative staff begin to work together more effectively to deliver the mandate of the council
		Enablement through a mentorship programme which could be delivered by Technical Advisors		
Lack of understanding of the role of councillors by some administrative staff	Enablement through addressing councillors as responsible for overseeing service delivery in public meetings at which council administrative staff are present	Enablement through relationship building forums which could be delivered by Technical Advisors	Council administrators begin to recognise, respect and value the role of elected councillors to represent their constituents and deliver the mandate of the council	
Lack of respect toward councillors from some administrative staff (e.g. some administrative staff have stated that 'councillors interfere in council operations')	Persuasion through sharing case stories of positive change brought about by councillors effectively working with council administrative staff			
Some councillors don't have the confidence to hold council administrators to account for their performance	Modelling through sharing case stories of councillors who have effectively held council administrative staff to account for their performance with councillors			
Some councillors do not know that they can hold council administrative staff accountable for their performance		Education through workshops which increase knowledge on the role of councillors and their responsibility to hold council administrators responsible which could be delivered by Technical Advisors	Elected councillors begin to understand their role and gain confidence to hold council administrative staff accountable for their performance	

Factor influencing functioning of Local Councils	Intervention to be delivered by SABI	Intervention required by other actors	Change intended from intervention	Impact
Majority of council meetings are held in English and/or Krio and not in a local language that some councillors and many citizens are able to understand. Status attached to English speaking motivates people to conduct formal meetings in English	Modelling through facilitating any district level fora delivered by SABI in local languages	Enablement through supporting council administrative staff (who may not speak local languages) to consider the positives of conducting meetings in local languages, and to plan how to deliver this whilst ensuring they can still participate and take minutes in English (as prescribed by law)	Local Council meetings are held in languages that all councillors can understand	Elected councillors and council administrative staff begin to work together more effectively to deliver the mandate of the council
	Persuasion by highlighting the positives of using local languages to council administrators and councillors prior to public meetings	Persuasion by highlighting the positives of using local languages to council administrators and councillors prior to public meetings		
	Modelling through the processes above which will enable people to question the habit of conducting meetings in English or Krio	Modelling through the processes above which will enable people to question the habit of conducting meetings in English or Krio		
Internal management of public servants and resources				
Central funds are generally transferred late and are generally less than the full budgeted amount required by the council to function effectively	Link with PFM project and include report on budget tracking in policy literacy sessions	Environmental restructuring by central government through the full and timely provision of funds in accordance with approved budgets, which could be facilitated by Technical Advisors	Local Councils have the required funds to function effectively	Local council staff and resources are managed more effectively, leading to improved delivery of functions by local councils
No system for performance management for council administrative staff		Environmental restructuring by instituting an effective staff performance management system, which could be facilitated by Technical Advisors	Council administrative staff performance improves	
Lack of knowledge and skills for delivering effective staff performance management within some senior council administrators and chair people		Education and training through workshops, mentoring and in-service guidance in staff performance management		
Lack of knowledge and skills for delivering effective business systems management within some council administrative staff		Education and training through workshops, mentoring and in-service guidance in business systems management	Management of business systems without local councils improves	
Lack of positive reinforcement/negative consequences to demonstrate good performance as a council		Environmental restructuring through positive reporting in local and national media of good performance by councils.	Environmental restructuring through public questioning of councils based on their performance by local media and civil society organisations	

Factor influencing functioning of Local Councils	Intervention to be delivered by SABI	Intervention required by other actors	Change intended from intervention	Impact
Working with Traditional Leaders to generate local revenue				
Traditional leaders, who are entitled to collect local taxes within their locale, on the proviso that they remit precepts to the local council, are either failing to collect or retaining the funds because:				Traditional leaders and local councils begin to work together more effectively to deliver the mandate of the council and the Chieftaincy councils
- they may not trust that council will use the income in line with the needs of their locale	Enablement through relationship building for a between traditional leaders and local councils at which use of funds generated through tax collection will be discussed, piloted by SABI Grantee, DADA and scale up		Traditional leaders are more motivated to gather local taxes and pay precepts to local councils to contribute toward development initiatives	
- they may have their own plans for spending the funds and do not believe that council will provide them with budget to carry this out				
- they are expected to contribute toward local events (i.e. marriages, funerals etc.), for which they need funds to pay	Enablement through public fora at which the role of traditional leaders in the tax collection process are discussed, with reference to the funds available to traditional leaders to be piloted by SABI Grantee, DADA			
- prominent individuals expect traditional leaders to spend money to honour their visits (i.e. through slaughtering a goat etc.) for which traditional leaders need funds to pay	Discuss the issue during SABI hour to raise awareness	Public dialogue to be instigated through national and public media which references the expectations placed on traditional leaders by prominent individuals, possibly with reference to anti-corruption efforts		
- they may be angry about previous interventions that have sought to support councils to generate local revenue but have implemented work that has been unaccepted by Chiefs and has increased tensions between traditional leaders and the council bodies	Enablement through relationship building fora between traditional leaders and local councils to be piloted by SABI Grantee, DADA			
- they may want to use the funds for personal gain	Enablement through public fora and relationship building fora, at which will highlight the potential consequences of using funds for personal gain, to be piloted by SABI Grantee, DADA			
- social norms dictate that traditional leaders should display wealth through their lifestyle	Enablement through public fora at which the role of traditional leaders in the tax collection process are discussed, with reference to the funds available to traditional leaders to be piloted by SABI Grantee, DADA			
- they may be leaning on long-held approaches, whereby Paramount Chiefs have directly managed funds collected for generations	Enablement through relationship building for a between traditional leaders and local councils at which the process of tax collection will be discussed showing respect for traditional processes and highlighting the positives of an updated process, to be piloted by SABI Grantee, DADA			

Factor influencing functioning of Local Councils	Intervention to be delivered by SABI	Intervention required by other actors	Change intended from intervention	Impact
- they may not have knowledge or understanding of the clauses within LGA, 2004 and Chieftaincy Act, 2000 which related to the role of traditional leaders in local revenue generation	Education through public for a which share information about the clauses in the LGA, 2004 and Chieftaincy Act, 2000 which relate to revenue generation		Traditional leaders have greater understanding of their role, as outlined in law, in gathering local taxes and paying precepts to council	Traditional leaders and local councils begin to work together more effectively to deliver the mandate of the council and the Chieftaincy councils
- there are administrative burdens to depositing funds (i.e. travelling to the council, trying to engage an inefficient revenue collection system etc.)		Environmental restructuring by establishing easy to use, transparent and effective fund depositing system, which could be facilitated by Technical Advisors	Traditional leaders have access to the systems needed to gather local taxes and deposit precepts to local councils.	
- they may lack skills and experience in systematising a process for local tax collection and onward payment of precepts		Environmental restructuring by establishing easy to use, transparent and effective fund collection and depositing system, which could be facilitated by Technical Advisors		

Table 6: Interventions required to improve the functioning of Local Councils

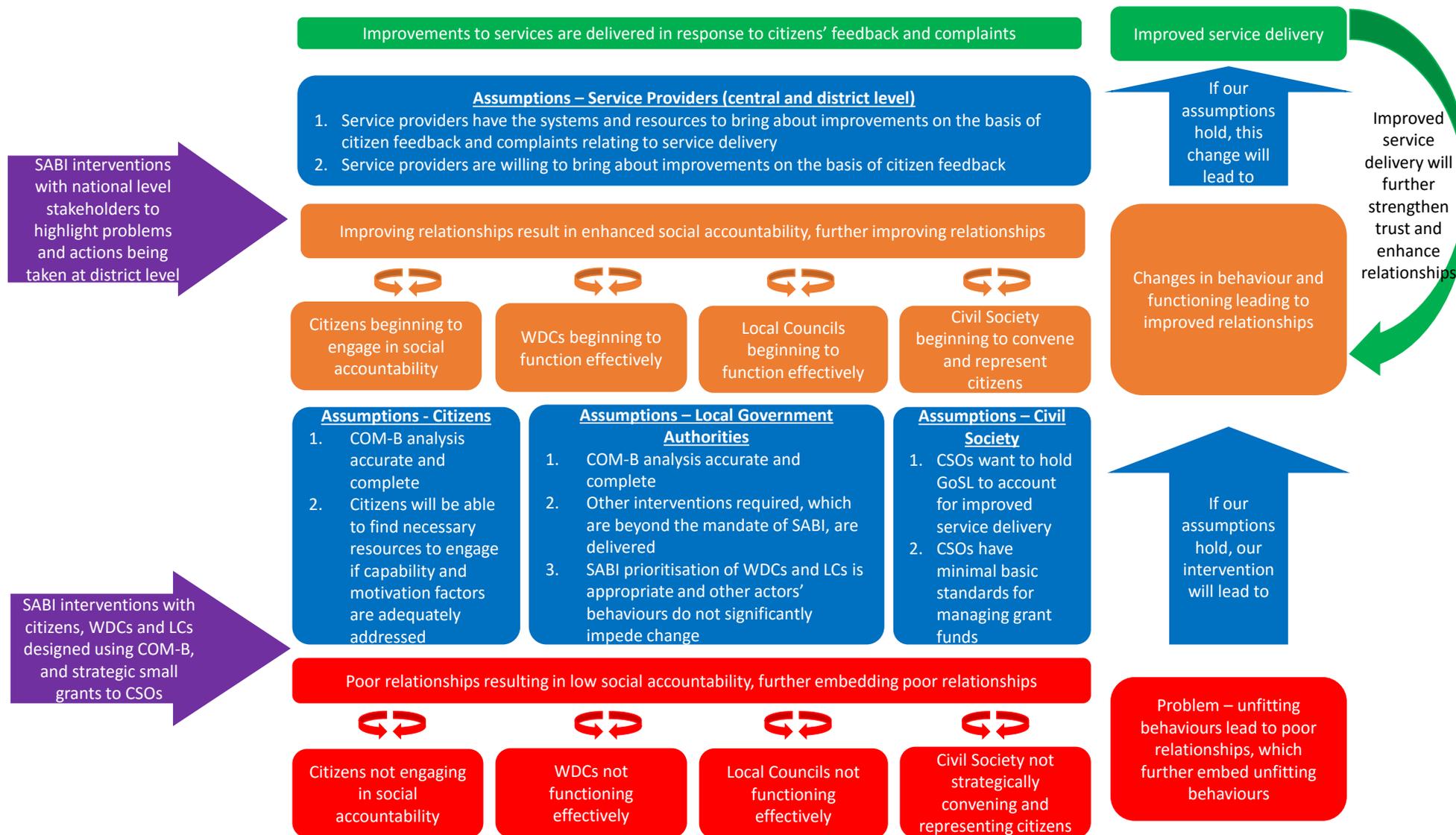


Diagram 2: Summary of SABI's pathways of change

4. Incremental Change – levels of engagement

SABI recognizes that change in citizens' engagement of the state will happen 'incrementally'. By this we mean that it is not expected that citizens will begin engaging ministers and central government immediately, but will instead go through a process of 'testing the system'. It is hypothesised, therefore, that citizens may take collective action to address problems directly within their control, before moving onto taking collective action to engage their local Ward Councillor to seek redress of problems, and then higher levels of government. In this regard, SABI has outlined a number of 'levels' of engagement, as outlined below:

Level 1: Citizens resolve the issue themselves such as organising the cleaning of a school. Even Level 1 actions require the engagement and approval of town or village chiefs, thus have some involvement with the structures of decentralised governance.

Level 2: Citizens lobby local decision-makers such as requesting that a ward development committee fix a primary health unit roof. Given the many intermediaries and decision-makers that communities can lobby, we sub-divided this into:

- Level 2a: **Local leaders and associations** such as parents' associations, and women and youth leaders
- Level 2b: **Local front-line workers** such as teachers and nurses
- Level 2c: **Local supervisory committees** mandated by the government such as school, health and village committees
- Level 2d: **Local decision-makers** including paramount chiefs, ward councillors, and ward development committees.

Level 3: Citizens lobby district decision-makers such as lobbying the district council to ensure that a primary health unit is adequately stocked. This lobby may be direct or be supported by local-level intermediaries like ward development committees.

Level 4: Citizens lobby national decision-makers such as requesting the approval of an informal school from the National Ministry of Education. This lobby may be direct or be supported by intermediaries.

Note: A question that SABI is interested in answering through operational research relates to the movement of citizens across the different levels. Is this movement linear? What is required to support citizens to engage at increasingly high levels of government?

5. Conclusion - Complementary interventions of citizen and state

Fostering more responsive services implies i) citizens can voice their priorities and are willing to exercise their power and agency in social accountability actions and ii) that service providers can and do respond in a meaningful way. *SABI focused interventions are focused on the first, while trying to influence the second.* Meaningful responsiveness is most likely to take place with effective systems in place and service providers who have the capacity to respond.

The need for policies, systems and resources to be in place is critical for SABI higher outcomes and impact to be reached, which in turn will influence the achievement of SABI's primary mandate. SABI aim is to generate and convene both bottom up and top down approaches to mutually reinforce each other, at the District and National level, with continuous active and informed feedback loops that provide greater responsiveness

Annex 1: Matrix of links between COM-B categories and intervention functions



	Intervention functions								
	Education	Persuasion	Incentivisation	Coercion	Training	Restriction	Environmental restructuring	Modelling	Enablement
Physical capability									
Psychological capability									
Physical opportunity									
Social opportunity									
Automatic motivation									
Reflective motivation									

Source: ¹ Mitchie, S., Atkins, L., West, R. (2014), 'The Behaviour Change Wheel: A Guide to Designing Interventions' Great Britain, Silverback Publishing (electronic) pg 192