

## The controversial role of foreign fisheries consultants in Sierra Leone's coastal waters

### Abstract

The use of foreign fisheries consultants in developing countries is increasing, despite growing controversy about their value. On the one hand, they bring expertise and analytic skills, which can turn around ailing fisheries, but on the other hand, their prescriptions may be inappropriate, based on ignorance or misunderstanding of local circumstances. This study, based on results from 51 key informant interviews and 199 survey questionnaires, finds the contributions of foreign fisheries consultants in Sierra Leone of limited benefit.

**Keywords:** Artisanal fishing; industrial fishing; fisheries management; fisheries policy

### 1. Introduction

The past 40 years has seen a large expansion in the use of consultancies by governments and businesses across the world [1, 2]. In developing African countries, foreign consultants are often perceived as more expert than their local counterparts [3, 4] and as a result, foreign consultancy in Africa is 'a booming business' [5]. However, some researchers question the quality of the services offered by foreign consultants, claiming they do not understand the complexity of the problem they are contracted to advise on [6, 7]. Poor policy recommendations, project failures, deficient evaluations of the impact of projects, expenditure that is vastly over budget, and corruption are frequent allegations [1-3, 8-12]. In fisheries management in developing countries the use of foreign fisheries consultants is common [13-17]. However, despite the increasing demand for, and use of, foreign fisheries consultants (FFCs) in Africa [3, 18, 19] not many studies have been conducted to assess the efficacy of these consultants. This paper aims to help fill this gap by investigating fisheries consultancy work in industrial and artisanal fisheries in Sierra Leone's Tombo and Goderich coastal communities.

### 2. Sierra Leone's fisheries

The fisheries sector in Sierra Leone contributes over 10% to the country's GDP [20]. During 2014, revenue generated from this sector was calculated at US\$34 million, which is double that generated in 2013 [21]. The fisheries sector provides employment for about 8% of the country's working population, and is the main source of animal protein for local communities [22, 23]. However, during the eleven years (1991-2002) of civil war, most sectors of the country's economy, including fisheries, witnessed serious setbacks [24]. The war wasted over four decades of efforts previously invested in developing Sierra Leone's fisheries, because during it there was little or no enforcement of legislation, and very valuable fisheries data were destroyed [25]. Moreover, the civil war caused migration into coastal fishing communities, which increased the number of fishers [26]. Because of the lack of monitoring and surveillance, fishers used illegal nets such as mosquito nets and other types of small-mesh nets as well as monofilament nets and dynamite [27]. After the war ended, the government's financial position was very weak, and it could not afford to enforce fisheries regulations. Neiland et al., [21] say the Ebola epidemic in 2014-2016 may have increased the number of illegal vessels in Sierra Leone waters since during the outbreak, the Ministry of Fisheries and Marine Resources and other offices responsible for monitoring and surveillance were in lock-down [see also 28].

The fisheries sector in Sierra Leone currently faces severe problems of over-fishing. About 10% of the country's six million people depend heavily on small-scale artisanal fishing for food [25], and this puts heavy pressure on the stocks. This pressure is compounded by large-scale industrial fishing conducted mainly by foreign vessels, some of which fish legally with licenses issued by the government, but many fish without licences and constitute illegal, unreported and unregulated (IUU) fishing. Although the total amount of fish landings in Sierra Leone is uncertain because there are few officials who collect data at landing sites [24], it is suggested that out of the estimated total annual legal production of about 150,000 tonnes, the artisanal sector produces 142,000 tonnes and the legal industrial sector (mostly foreign vessels [29]) produces 8,000 tonnes, while an amount of

53 fish estimated at a value of US\$30 million annually is taken by IUU vessels. The problem of IUU fishing is  
54 acute in Sierra Leone and is blamed by observers for the alarming decline in both the number and size of fish in  
55 the country's inshore waters. IUU is facilitated by Sierra Leone's very weak monitoring, control and  
56 surveillance system [28, 15, 30]. This illegal fishing not only reduces fish stocks, but removes fish from local  
57 markets [15, 30]. Consequently, despite its rich marine resources, Sierra Leone is one of the world's poorest  
58 countries [31-35]

### 60 3. FFCs in Sierra Leone

61  
62 In Sierra Leone, the Food and Agriculture Organization claims it has achieved much by working in partnership  
63 with key ministries to deliver its priority objective for coastal fisheries - food security [13, 16]. The World Bank  
64 has worked with the New Partnership for Africa's Development supporting the Sierra Leone West African  
65 Regional Fisheries Project, which started in August 2010 with the aim of improving the country's capacity to  
66 manage its fisheries [36]. The work of foreign fisheries consultants in Sierra Leone has concentrated on two  
67 fishery sectors: industrial and artisanal. Foreign fisheries consultants from the World Bank worked with the  
68 Ministry of Fisheries and Marine Resources to develop a Joint Monitoring Centre in 2012 to track illegal fishing  
69 in the industrial sector [15, 28, 37]. This initiative was successful in reducing the number of illegal trawlers by  
70 over 50%. On Sierra Leone's artisanal fisheries, foreign fisheries consultants and their governmental partner, the  
71 Ministry of Fisheries and Marine Resources claimed the West African Regional Fisheries Project was successful  
72 [36, 38] in achieving a review of the 1994 Fisheries Management and Development Act and the 1995 Fisheries  
73 Regulations [39], and the creation of Community Management Associations for the co-management of fisheries.  
74 According to foreign fisheries consultants, the success of the Community Management Associations in  
75 improving SL's artisanal fisheries was a result of the technical support they gave them [36, 38], and the New  
76 Partnership for Africa's Development claims to be one of Africa's 'leading think tanks' and fisheries experts,  
77 proposing innovative ideas that have improved the lives of fishing communities in Sierra Leone [40].  
78

79 To evaluate these and other claims about the work of the numerous foreign fisheries consultants at work in  
80 Sierra Leone, this study investigates the perception of stakeholders, based on the results of 51 semi-structured  
81 key informant interviews and 199 survey questionnaires. The methods of obtaining and analysing data are  
82 explained and defended in a Supplementary Material file.  
83

### 86 4. Results

#### 88 4.1 Foreign fisheries consultants' work with the industrial sector

89  
90 Many respondents were critical of the efforts made by foreign fisheries consultants to reduce IUU fishing in  
91 Sierra Leone waters. For instance, 40% and 58% of completed questionnaires returned from Tombo and  
92 Goderich, respectively, criticized the strategies used by foreign fisheries consultants. Most key informant  
93 interviewees thought the foreign fisheries consultants-recommended Joint Monitoring Centre did not do much to  
94 reduce IUU fishing in Sierra Leone, and it was closed down after two years of operation due to lack of funds,  
95 electricity shortages, storm damage, and unreliable internet connection [42]. Key informants blamed the failure  
96 of the Joint Monitoring Centre on the fact that foreign fisheries consultants did not undertake sufficient research  
97 to understand the character or trends of IUU fishing in Sierra Leone waters. For example, key informant-14, a  
98 scientist, pointed out that foreign fisheries consultants persuaded the Ministry of Fisheries and Marine  
99 Resources to require trawlers to install transponders, which verified their locations, but ignored the fact that  
100 there was no government resource to check that the transponders were not switched off or to monitor the data  
101 recorded by them. Also, foreign fisheries consultants did not acknowledge that unlicensed boats will not have  
102 transponders, and the Joint Monitoring Centre lacked the capacity to carry out physical monitoring ( key  
103 informant-8).  
104

#### 4.2 Foreign fisheries consultants' work with the artisanal sector

Negative assessments of the work of foreign fisheries consultants with the artisanal fisheries included the charge by key informant-34, a fisherman from Goderich, that the ideas foreign fisheries consultants brought to the country's coastal fisheries were abstract, theoretical, and western – based on 'book knowledge' – not ideas customised for the particular circumstances of coastal fisheries in Sierra Leone, but merely designed to stop them fishing. Key informant-6, an official at the Ministry of Fisheries and Marine Resources, said recommendations from foreign fisheries consultants were not based on reliable research. Other respondents complained that the knowledge transfer model from foreign fisheries consultants was purely one-way - from foreign fisheries consultants to Ministry of Fisheries and Marine Resources and finally to fishers - not two-way, including valuable feedback from fishers. Key informant-6 said "*it is imposition...we want foreign partners that will not impose their ideas on us. Rather we want partners that will sit with us and dialogue and work in our terms, and not in their terms, in the way that it will favour every Sierra Leonean*". Key informant-15 said that foreign fisheries consultants often acted unilaterally in a top-down manner, bypassing the Community Management Associations. He cited foreign fisheries consultants from the World Bank who repeatedly pushed their 'wealth creation' agenda despite the Ministry's opposition to it. Key informant-6 complained that foreign fisheries consultants often ignored the Ministry of Fisheries and Marine Resources: "*World Bank will not listen to us [Ministry of Fisheries and Marine Fisheries], they do not consult us*". A further charge was that foreign fisheries consultants frequently changed their minds in the advice they gave about artisanal fisheries. For example, key informant-6 described a World Bank-sponsored project which constantly altered shape as different consultants were brought in. Also, there were reported cases of corruption and mismanagement of the West African Regional Fisheries Project [28, 42].

Foreign fisheries consultants were also criticised for recommending the establishment of the Community Management Associations without ensuring they would be provided with the funding necessary for them to do their jobs adequately: "*we [Community Management Association] are ready to work...we know our work, our only problem is money*" (key informant-9). Nor did foreign fisheries consultants check that Community Management Associations were adequately monitored in the way they performed their responsibilities. Officers of Community Management Associations were accused of turning a blind eye to illegal fishing activity. Key informant-10, an executive of the Community Management Association based in Tombo, asserted, "*the Community Management Association is not prepared for this fight. Everything is very bad, all our executives are trying to make money. They are looking for money not following the law. Now because of their interest, they put money first and not good fishing*". Indeed, managers of Community Management Associations were themselves accused of engaging in harmful or illegal fishing.

Finally, criticism was made about the so-called 'sensitization' programme recommended by foreign fisheries consultants to persuade artisanal fishers to stop using small mesh nets which caught immature fish, and monofilament nets which did not biodegrade after being lost but continued to 'ghost fish'. Whether such sensitization had any effect was doubtful. Key informant-36, a fisherman from Tombo, said "*since 2015, we have been doing sensitization so that our people [fellow fishermen] can stop bad fishing. I do not know whether we are getting results*". Key informant-23, another local fisherman from Tombo, said that despite the sensitization campaign by the Ministry of Fisheries and Marine Resources against monofilament nets, he still used them "*the marine are the people that say we should sensitize our people to stop using bad method...I use monofilament because it catch plenty big Bonga*". In Tombo, results from the survey questionnaires showed that 67% of fishers used monofilament nets.

## 5. Discussion

There are four questions discussed in this section. The first is whether foreign fisheries consultants have improved Sierra Leone's artisanal fisheries, and the answer appears to be no. Foreign fisheries consultants could not sustain their Joint Monitoring Centre beyond 24 months, and there has been a steady increase in the amount of IUU fishing since its establishment in 2012 [43, 44]. Moreover, foreign fisheries consultants can be criticized

157 for failing to change the mind-set of the artisanal sector, which includes the belief that fish come from God and  
158 this guarantees their continuous supply. This raises the second question, which is whether foreign fisheries  
159 consultants understood Sierra Leone's coastal fisheries. The literature is insistent about the need for foreign  
160 fisheries consultants to be fully aware of all the circumstances of the fisheries they purport to improve, and to be  
161 in synchronisation with the perceptions and values of their clients [45], but foreign fisheries consultants in  
162 Sierra Leone do not appear to have fulfilled these requirements. This may be because their communication skills  
163 were inadequate, which is the issue raised by the third question. Jacobson et al., [46] claim that maintaining  
164 healthy relationships between consultants and their clients is essential to ensure that projects are successful [see  
165 also 4]. In the case of Sierra Leone, foreign fisheries consultants seemed to lack communication skills in relation  
166 to both industrial fishermen and artisanal fishermen. In the industrial sector, according to key informant-8, a  
167 local consultant attached to foreign fisheries consultants said Sierra Leonean politicians sometimes interfered in  
168 communications between foreign fisheries consultants and the Ministry of Fisheries and Marine Resources,  
169 presenting counter-information to the Ministry and to industrial fishers ( key informants-1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 16). In  
170 the artisanal sector, most foreign fisheries consultants followed a linear progression method of knowledge  
171 transfer from foreign fisheries consultants to the Ministry of Fisheries and Marine Resources, then to executives  
172 of Community Management Associations, and finally to fishermen at large, but during this process, important  
173 information about fishermen and from fishermen was often lost and therefore not available to improve the  
174 knowledge transfer process. The fourth question is whether the experience of foreign fisheries consultants in  
175 Tombo and Goderich differed. The results indicated that Goderich fishers were regarded as more responsible  
176 than Tombo fishers. For example, results from the survey questionnaire indicated that while 67% of Tombo  
177 fishers used monofilament nets, only 22% from Goderich did so. Yet Community Management Associations  
178 were no more popular in Goderich than in Tombo, which suggests that Community Management Associations  
179 (and therefore foreign fisheries consultants) are not responsible for the comparatively good behaviour of  
180 Goderich fishers. What appears to have had more influence on Goderich's fishers is the high quality of  
181 leadership displayed by the chairman of Capital River Warf – a local organisation that has nothing to do with  
182 Goderich's Community Management Association ( key informant-18).

## 183 184 **6. Conclusion**

185  
186 In conclusion, this study found evidence that foreign fisheries consultants are deeply involved in Sierra Leone's  
187 artisanal and industrial fisheries, but stakeholders (local fishers, fisheries managers, and local researchers) are  
188 critical of their contributions, claiming that they do not really understand the coastal fisheries, lack  
189 communication skills; and base their interventions on outside perspectives. This study recommends that  
190 consultancy advice offered by foreign fisheries consultants in Sierra Leone should be based on a deeper  
191 understanding of the situation and views of artisanal fishers; on more rigorous research; and be subject to  
192 stricter post-project appraisal, as suggested in [6].

## 193 194 **Acknowledgements**

195  
196 We are grateful to all participants in this research, including staff of the Ministry of Fisheries and Marine  
197 Resources, the leaders of the Sierra Leone Artisanal Fishers Union and Community Management Associations  
198 in Goderich and Tombo, and the fishers who completed survey questionnaires. Special thanks go to to Engr  
199 Kingsley Azubike Okonkwo of Total E&P Nigeria for funding the fieldwork in Sierra Leone. We are also  
200 grateful to the *Marine Policy* anonymous reviewer and to Mr Christopher Azubike, Newcastle University, for  
201 their constructive feedback on earlier versions of this paper.

## 202 203 204 **References**

- 205 1 S. Appelbaum, A. Steed, 'The critical success factors in the client-consulting relationship', *Journal of*  
206 *Management Development* 24(1) (2005) pp.68-93

- 207 2 S. Pellegrinelli, 'Managing the interplay and tensions of consulting interventions: The consultant-  
 208 client relationship as mediation and reconciliation,' *Journal of Management Development* 21 (5)  
 209 (2002) pp.343-365  
 210
- 211 3 L. Ika, J Saint-Macary, 'Why do projects fail in Africa?', *Journal of African Business*, 15(3) (2014)  
 212 pp. 151-155.  
 213
- 214 4 L. Martinez, A. Ferreira, A Can, 'Consultant- client relationship and knowledge transfer in small-  
 215 and medium- sized enterprises change processes', *Psychological Reports*, 118 (2), (2016) pp. 608-  
 216 625.  
 217
- 218 5 S. Belew, 'Niche markets for consultants', (2017) [https://www.thebalance.com/growing-consultants-](https://www.thebalance.com/growing-consultants-niche-markets.845810)  
 219 [niche-markets.845810](https://www.thebalance.com/growing-consultants-niche-markets.845810) [Online] (Accessed: 2/02/2018).  
 220
- 221 6 E. Penno, R. Gauld, 'The role, costs and value for money of external consultancies in the health  
 222 sector: A study of New Zealand's District Health Boards', *Health Policy* 121 (4) (2017) pp. 458-467  
 223
- 224 7 K. Holgeid, M. Thompson, 'A reflection on why large public projects fail', (2013)  
 225 [https://www.jbs.cam.ac.uk/fileadmin/user\\_upload/programmes/emba/downloads/A\\_Reflection\\_on\\_Wh](https://www.jbs.cam.ac.uk/fileadmin/user_upload/programmes/emba/downloads/A_Reflection_on_Why_Large_Public_IT_Projects_Fail_-_Kjetil_Mark_Thompson_s_chapter.pdf)  
 226 [y\\_Large\\_Public\\_IT\\_Projects\\_Fail\\_-\\_Kjetil\\_Mark\\_Thompson\\_s\\_chapter.pdf](https://www.jbs.cam.ac.uk/fileadmin/user_upload/programmes/emba/downloads/A_Reflection_on_Why_Large_Public_IT_Projects_Fail_-_Kjetil_Mark_Thompson_s_chapter.pdf) [Online] (Accessed:  
 227 5/3/2018).  
 228
- 229 8 D. Wight, J. Ahikire, J. Kwesiga, 'Consultancy research as a barrier to strengthening social science  
 230 research capacity in Uganda', *Social Science & Medicine* 116, (2014) pp 32-40  
 231
- 232 9 J. Chelliah, D. Davis, 'What clients really want from management consultants: Evidence from  
 233 Australia', *Journal of International Management Studies* 6(11), (2011) pp.22-30  
 234
- 235 10 M. Ajmal, F. Nordstrom, P. Helo, 'Assessing the effectiveness of business consulting in operations  
 236 development projects', *International Journal of Productivity and Performance Management* 58 (6)  
 237 (2009) pp.523-541  
 238
- 239 11 N. Kakabadse, E. Louchart, A. Kakabadse, 'Consultant's role: A qualitative inquiry from the  
 240 consultant's perspective', *Journal of Management Development*, 25(5), (2006) pp. 416-500  
 241
- 242 12 R. Bennett, C. Smith, 'The selection and control of management consultants by small business  
 243 clients', *International Small Business Journal*, 22 (5), (2004) pp 435-462  
 244
- 245 13 FAO 'Sierra Leone and FAO building resilience and sustainable food and nutrition security', (2017)  
 246 <http://www.fao.org/3/a-au073e.pdf> [Online] (Accessed: 17/2/2018).  
 247
- 248 14 L. Kassam, K. Lakoh, C. Longley, M. Phillips, S. Siriwardena, 'Sierra Leone fish value chain with  
 249 special emphasis on Tonkolili District', (2017) pp. 1-52, [http://pubs.iclarm.net/resource\\_centre/2017-](http://pubs.iclarm.net/resource_centre/2017-33.pdf)  
 250 [33.pdf](http://pubs.iclarm.net/resource_centre/2017-33.pdf) [Online] (Accessed: 5/02/2018).  
 251
- 252 15 R. Finch, 'The evil empire- how the Common Fisheries Policy is recolonising the Third World',  
 253 (2016) pp. 2-60, [http://www.efddgroup.eu/newsroom/latest-news/the-evil-empire-how-the-common-](http://www.efddgroup.eu/newsroom/latest-news/the-evil-empire-how-the-common-fisheries-policy-is-recolonising-the-third-world)  
 254 [fisheries-policy-is-recolonising-the-third-world](http://www.efddgroup.eu/newsroom/latest-news/the-evil-empire-how-the-common-fisheries-policy-is-recolonising-the-third-world) [Online] (Accessed: 21/2/2018).  
 255
- 256 16 FAO 'Voluntary Guidelines on the Responsible Governance of Tenure of Land, Fisheries and Forests  
 257 in the Context of National Food Security', (2012) pp. 1-40,  
 258 <http://www.fao.org/docrep/016/i2801e/i2801e.pdf> [Online] (Accessed: 5/2/2018).

- 259  
260  
261  
262  
263  
264  
265  
266  
267  
268  
269  
270  
271  
272  
273  
274  
275  
276  
277  
278  
279  
280  
281  
282  
283  
284  
285  
286  
287  
288  
289  
290  
291  
292  
293  
294  
295  
296  
297  
298  
299  
300  
301  
302  
303  
304  
305  
306  
307  
308
- 17 NEPAD (nd-a) 'African fisheries continue to grow', <http://www.nepad.org/content/african-fisheries-continues-grow> [Online] (Accessed: 4/2/2018).
  - 18 L. Ika, 'Project management for development in Africa: Why projects are failing and what can be done about it', *Project Management Journal*, 43(4), (2012) pp. 27-41.
  - 19 R. Youker, 'The nature of international development projects', (2003) PMI Global Congress 2003. North America Baltimore.
  - 20 L. Taylor-Pearce, 'Audit service Sierra Leone: Performance audit report on generation and collection of revenue in the fisheries sector', (2012) <http://www.auditservice.gov.sl/report/assl-performance-audit-report-2012-09-18-fisheries-revenue.pdf> [Online] (Accessed: 5/02/2018).
  - 21 A. Neiland, S. Cunningham, M. Arbuckle, A. Baio, T. Bostock, D. Coulibaly, N. Gitonga, R. Long, S. Sei, 'Assessing the potential contribution of fisheries to economic development —The case of post-Ebola Sierra Leone', *Natural Resources*, 7 (6) (2016).
  - 22 E. Manns, 'Sierra Leone News: Fishing is a major contributor to Salone's economy', (2017) <https://awoko.org/2017/06/19/sierra-leone-news-fishing-is-a-major-contributor-to-salones-economy/> [Online] (Accessed: 6/02/2018).
  - 23 MFMR, 'Ministry of Fisheries and Marine Resources: Management and functional review - Update', (2012) pp. 1-56, <http://psru.gov.sl/sites/default/files/sites/default/files/reports/MFR%20Update%202012%20Fisheries%20%26%20Marine%20Resources.pdf> [Online] (Accessed: 7/03/2018).
  - 24 A. Thorpe, D. Whitmarsh, E. Ndomahina, A. Baio, M. Kemokai, T. Lebbie, 'Fisheries and failing states: The case of Sierra Leone', *Marine Policy*, 33(2), (2009) pp. 393-400.
  - 25 K. Seto, D. Belhabib, D. Copeland, M. Vakily, S. Sankoh, A. Baio, I. Turay, S. Harper, D. Zeller, K. Zyllich, and D. Pauly (2015) 'Colonialism, conflicts and fish: A reconstruction of marine fisheries catches for Sierra Leone 1950-2010', [www.searoundus.org/doc/publications/wp/2015/seto-et-al-sierra-leone.pdf](http://www.searoundus.org/doc/publications/wp/2015/seto-et-al-sierra-leone.pdf) [online] (Accessed 6/03/2018)
  - 26 P. Davis, 'Ebola in Sierra Leone: Economic impact and recovery', (2015) pp. 1-33, [https://www.adamsmithinternational.com/documents/resource-uploads/Ebola\\_in\\_Sierra\\_Leone.pdf](https://www.adamsmithinternational.com/documents/resource-uploads/Ebola_in_Sierra_Leone.pdf) [Online] (Accessed: 21/02/2018).
  - 27 A. Khan, S. Sei, 'The co-governance of fisheries in post-conflict Sierra Leone: Is the transition for better or for worse?' In Jentoft, S., Chuenpagdee, R., (eds) *Interactive Governance for Small-Scale Fisheries*. Switzerland: Springer, Cham. (2015)
  - 28 A. Doumbouya, O. Camara, J. Mamie, J. Intchama, A. Jarra, S. Ceesay, A. Gueye, D. Ndiaye, E. Beibou, A. Padilla, D. Belhabib, 'Assessing the effectiveness of monitoring control and surveillance of illegal fishing: The case of West Africa', *Frontiers in Marine Science*, 4. (2017) pp. 1-5
  - 29 K. Seto, D. Belhabib, J. Mamie, D. Pauly, 'War, fish, and foreign fleets: The marine fisheries catches of Sierra Leone 1950–2015' *Marine Policy* 83 (2017) pp 153-163

- 309 30 A. Thomas, 'Sierra Leone is losing over 100 million dollars from its fishing industry', (2016)  
310 [http://www.thesierraleonetelegraph.com/sierra-leone-is-losing-over-one-hundred-million-dollars-from-](http://www.thesierraleonetelegraph.com/sierra-leone-is-losing-over-one-hundred-million-dollars-from-its-fishing-industry/)  
311 [its-fishing-industry/](http://www.thesierraleonetelegraph.com/sierra-leone-is-losing-over-one-hundred-million-dollars-from-its-fishing-industry/) [Online] (Accessed: 4/02/2018).  
312
- 313 31 O. Gooding, 'Sierra Leone News: 2016 HDI: Sierra Leone ranked 179 out of 185', (2017)  
314 <https://awoko.org/2017/03/23/sierra-Leone-news-2016-hdi-sierra-Leone-ranked-179-out-of-185>  
315 [Online] (Accessed: 2/02/2018).  
316
- 317 32 R. Coyle, H. Harrison, 'Emergency care capacity in Freetown, Sierra Leone: A service evaluation',  
318 *BMC Emergency Medicine*, 15 (2), (2015) pp. 1-9.  
319
- 320 33 A. Faroh, 'Economic growth and poverty reduction in Sierra Leone', *International Journal of*  
321 *Economics, Commerce and Management*, 111 (2), (2015) pp. 1-17.  
322
- 323 34 K. Kliesner, 'Brutal poverty in Sierra Leone', (2014) [https://borgenproject.org/widespread-poverty-](https://borgenproject.org/widespread-poverty-sierra-leone/)  
324 [sierra-leone/](https://borgenproject.org/widespread-poverty-sierra-leone/) [Online] (Accessed: 21/1/2018).  
325
- 326 35 R. Glennerster, E. Miguel, A. Rothenberg, A. 'Collective action in diverse Sierra Leone communities',  
327 (2010) pp. 1-55, <http://www.nber.org/papers/w16196.pdf> [Online] (Accessed: 5/02/2018).  
328
- 329 36 MFMR 'Annual Progress Report of WARFP-sl, Freetown, Sierra Leone MFMR' (2014).  
330
- 331 37 D. Agnew, J. Pearce, P. Ganapathiraju, T. Peatman, R. Watson, J. Beddington, T. Pitcher, 'Estimating  
332 the worldwide extent of illegal fishing', *PLoS ONE*, 4 (2) (2009).  
333
- 334 38 S. Akester, 'How improving fisheries governance in West Africa improves fishermen's livelihoods',  
335 (2018) <http://blogs.worldbank.org/voices/how-improving-fisher> [Online] (Accessed: 6/03/2018)  
336
- 337 39 FAO, 'Improving the artisanal fisheries management of Liberia and Sierra Leone', (2010)  
338 <http://www.fao.org/fishery/docs/DOCUMENTleaf-nansen> [Online] (Accessed: 5/03/2018).  
339
- 340 40 NEPAD (nd-b) 'NEPAD Agency Fisheries and Aquaculture Programme, Johannesburg, NEPAD  
341
- 342 41 Kamara, 'Sierra Leone News: Increase in illegal fishing - World Bank frowns at JMC closure', (2016)  
343 <https://awoko.org/2016/02/11/Sierra-Leone-news-increase> [Online] (Accessed: 4/3/2018).  
344
- 345 42 World Bank, 'First Phase of APL-A in support of the West Africa Regional Fisheries Program  
346 (WARFP APL A1)', (2011) pp. 1-26,  
347 [http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/534561467990085196/pdf/618150PJP120e0only0900](http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/534561467990085196/pdf/618150PJP120e0only0900BOX361483B.pdf)  
348 [BOX361483B.pdf](http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/534561467990085196/pdf/618150PJP120e0only0900BOX361483B.pdf) [Online] (Accessed: 4/03/2018).  
349
- 350 43 J. Margai, '60% illegal fishing in Salone waters' (2016) [http://slconcordtimes.com/60-illegal-fishing-](http://slconcordtimes.com/60-illegal-fishing-in-salone-waters)  
351 [in-salone-waters](http://slconcordtimes.com/60-illegal-fishing-in-salone-waters) (Accessed 13 July 2018)  
352
- 353 44 O. Gooding, 'Illegal fishing threatens fisheries-Marine Report', (2017)  
354 <http://www.iuuwatch.eu/2017/06/sierra-leone-news-illegal-fishing-threatens-fisheries-marine-report>  
355 [Online] (Accessed: 2/02/2018).  
356
- 357 45 P. Christensen and K.Klyver 'Management consultancy in small firms: How does interaction work?'  
358 *Journal of Small Business and Enterprise Development* 13(3), (2006) pp. 299-313  
359

360 46 N. Jacobson, D. Butterill, P. Goering, 'Consulting as a strategy for knowledge transfer',  
361 Multidisciplinary Journal of Population Health and Health Policy, 83 (2), (2005) pp. 1-6.  
362  
363  
364  
365  
366  
367  
368  
  
369  
370