

McMaster  
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Centre for  
Human Rights and  
Restorative Justice

# SIERRA LEONE INTERVIEW CODING

Sierra Leone Truth Commission

## Abstract

Coding for Sierra Leone interviews discussing the Sierra Leone Truth Commission.

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## Coding for the Sierra Leone Interviews

The following chart breakdowns the themes and sub-themes used for coding the Sierra Leone interviews.

Coding Themes	Description
Commission	Discussions or references to the Truth Commission - opinions of, origins, mandate, etc.
Hearings	Discussion or references to TRC hearings
Inclusivity	Discussions or references to TRC inclusivity
Issues Addressed	Discussions or references to issues addressed by the TRC
Mandate	Discussions or references to TRC mandate
Opinion of	Discussions or references to the interviewee's opinion of the TRC
Origins	Discussions or references to TRC origins
Recommendations	Discussions or references to TRC recommendations
Relationship to	Discussion or references of the interviewee's relationship to the TRC
Forget	Discussion or references to forgetting
Forgiveness	Discussions or references to forgiveness
History	Discussions or references to history
Human Rights Violations	Discussions or references to human rights violations
Justice	Discussions or references to justice
Reconciliation	Discussions or references to reconciliation
Truth	Discussions or references to truth
Victims	Discussions or references to victims

Coding Themes	Description
Violence	Discussions or references to violence
Women	Discussions or references to women
Youth	Discussions or references to youth

## Sierra Leone Coding References

This section contains all coding references from the Sierra Leone interviews.

### *Commission*

Discussions or references to the truth commission - why they were created, mandates, what the interviewee thinks of them, etc.

<Files\\Sierra Leone\\Amputee War Wounded Association Interview Transcripts> - § 28  
references coded [60.03% Coverage]

#### Reference 1 - 0.80% Coverage

*P: yes. Sure. I did not only hear it; I was also among the team that implemented the TRC recommendations of the country*

#### Reference 2 - 1.42% Coverage

**I: so, were you directly or indirectly involved on the process?**

*P: for the TRC?*

**I: Yes**

*P: I was among the team*

**I: you were among team? That means you were directly involved on the TRC process**

*P: obviously*

#### Reference 3 - 6.10% Coverage

*P: First of all, with regards to the TRC recommendations, according to my understanding on it utilization and how we were there, firstly I know for sure that the TRC recommendations came mainly according to what they implemented to us that we should forgive and forget and some of the things they stated on the TRC recommendations like for us the victims in this country when the war broke out in 1991, 23<sup>rd</sup> March, in Bomaru, by then I was physically fit up to 1999 the war entered in (Freetown). Unfortunately, the war affected me when the rebels arrested me and amputated my hand and many of us. More than nine of us though others have died. To start with the TRC recommendations came to console us for us to forgive and forget and to forget the happenings to us. They stated things they promised to do for us from the government, international donors so that it will not reoccur again in the country*

#### Reference 4 - 2.89% Coverage

*P2: The TRC did as much as they were able to bring the perpetrators to booking. But what the spelled out to the victims, they never implemented them ok. and the most vulnerable people in the country today are the war victims. Most of us today are dying from lack of medicines, hospitals, no proper medications ok. We are suffering a lot as we have experienced. Nobody has come to our aid up to this moment you are here with us.*

#### Reference 5 - 3.52% Coverage

I: so on the process, who were involved in establishing the TRC?

*P: Firstly, the government was involved, mostly us the amputees*

**I: as civil society?**

*P: civil societies were involved and different other organizations were involved on the process. Human rights*

**P: human rights organizations?**

*P: yes, human rights organizations were involved on the process.*

**I: were there also other organizations from other countries?**

*P: yes. International organization. Even the inter-religious council were involved on the process*

#### References 6-7 - 4.35% Coverage

*P: yes, sure. They started. That is the truth. But according to the what the TRC recommended they were not able to implement as how it was spelled out. They started the process up to date we have the document. According to the TRC, we have five categories of victims: the amputees, war wounded, sexually abused, war widows and war orphans. All those people are categorized as war victims. And on the TRC recommendations, the first recommendation to implement for the war victim in this country is for the war victims is to have free medical. This is the first one and I think we should have it. But what we see today is very difficult for us*

#### Reference 8 - 2.90% Coverage

*P2: yes. The situation on the TRC we are talking about is that the TRC wrote the recommendations and hand it over to government and then involved all the civil societies in this country. They involved the chiefs; they involved the securities and the involved the perpetrators that did the act as some are in Rwanda ok. But after the TRC submitted the document to government, the government never implemented the TRC report to us.*

#### Reference 9 - 1.06% Coverage

**I: governments never implemented the TRC report?**

*P2: They started it and neve continued*

I: They did not complete it you mean?

*P2: they did not complete it*

#### Reference 10 - 1.92% Coverage

*P2: they started and it does not really appear as something that is recommended for a victim that will heal pains because they recommended that our children should have free education up to university level and to date, we have been fighting for that but no avail. That is the reality*

#### References 11-12 - 0.60% Coverage

*P2: it was transparent to all but it was not implemented according to the recommendations*

Reference 13 - 2.74% Coverage

**I: Mr. Tarawallie do you want to add what Mr. Bah said?**

*P: Yes. Because I am looking at it as if the TRC was not transparent to us because when you say transparent it means whatever comes, what has been recommended and approved and implemented to us but as long as it is not implemented according to how it was spelled out, it is not transparent. So that is that.*

**I: but it was inclusive?**

*P: yes. sure*

Reference 14 - 0.46% Coverage

**I: were women and men equally involved on the process?**

*P: obviously*

Reference 15 - 1.77% Coverage

*P: obviously. Even on the launching of the TRC recommendations we were there. Women, children... like I said all the five categories were all included-the amputees, the war widows, sexually abused, the war wounded, the war orphans. All were included in the process*

Reference 16 - 1.39% Coverage

**I: so, what about the perpetrators that did the act were they also involved on the process?**

*P: yes. They too were involved. They tried to beg and asked for forgiveness from us for what had happened. So yes*

Reference 17 - 1.33% Coverage

**I: so, what were the most important issued the TRC addressed?**

*P: the most important issued I know the TRC addressed is first they gave us*

*P2: welfare*

*P: courage that we should forgive and forget*

Reference 18 - 3.75% Coverage

*P: yes. The second one is promises; they gave promises. And these promises and up to date we are fighting for these promises. Because in Africa, when they want to persuade people, they will promise you of doing this and that for you so you believe but in along the lime it become difficult to be implemented. The promises they gave us give us hopes that though we have got this problem we are ready to forgive and forget. But we appreciated what they promised to do for us like medical, education for our children and they promised us free transportation*

Reference 19 - 3.52% Coverage

*P: yes, to government vehicles. All of these were promised. And they even said that they will help some our brothers that are in upcountry to support them with agriculture. Government will give support to them and support from international donor and even pension was promised to us the war victims that have suffered in this war. Really the pension came, were follow up and later we given six million Leones donors for life. We see that as disappointment. But we are still on the follow up gradually; we will not give up*

Reference 20 - 0.95% Coverage

*P2: The President has said the most vulnerable things we are suffering from presently*

*I: The promises?*

*P2: the promises without fulfilment*

Reference 21 - 4.13% Coverage

*P: I want to talk on the promises that I think the fulfilled. Firstly, the money I mentioned and the second on according to the TRC recommendations when I said they started it but it was not completed. To present, we have about Eight hundred and eight-eight houses done by the Norwegians friends of Sierra Leone and known that no NGO will come to Sierra Leone to implement anything without the approval of the government. So, they did that though not everything was done. Many victims, over one and two thousand victims did not benefit from the reparations, shelters. But few of us benefited on the reparations*

Reference 22 - 0.45% Coverage

*P: Well for me the TRC report...*

*P2: No*

*P: I have not yet seen it.*

Reference 23 - 0.17% Coverage

*P: I have not yet read it*

Reference 24 - 1.08% Coverage

*P2: I have seen the book, but it was never handed over to me for me to look at the recommendations in the book (report) and to present it is not in this office*

Reference 25 - 0.62% Coverage

*P2: I am not pleased about that honestly because it should direct me what is expected of me.*

Reference 26 - 1.94% Coverage

**I: so, you want to allege that some of the recommendations were not done**



*P2: nothing*

**I: like the promises, pensions, free education, free medical**

*P2: They mentioned them on the recommendations that they will address them, but to present day, governments has not yet to make an attempt*

Reference 27 - 2.91% Coverage

**I: ok. Do you think the TRC fostered peace and national reconciliation?**

*P: yes.*

**I: By bring you together, brought peace and the nation reconciliation?**

*P: yes. We were the one that went throughout the country to preach peace to our colleagues on the happening to us to forgive and forget that this is our country. They took up that responsibility to courage us but what the promised to do, this government is yet to fulfill them*

Reference 28 - 7.24% Coverage

*P: yes, because we even talk to our colleagues that it is God's destiny. Whatever Allah's has destined that what would be and it is our country, there is no need for revenge and cut off our perpetrators hands that will not bring peace and we want peace to reign in the country forever and ever. The only problem, we want is... because the reason why we a pressing for the education is for our children because if they did not receive better education, they are observing, they thinking so that they will create any problem in the future that will create problem and hampered the peace in the country. That is why we want these children to receive the benefits the TRC recommendations spelled out so that the government could implement them so that our children will go to college. Maybe we will manage to complete their primary and secondary schooling, but the college is the problem. And if your child did not reach college level, he will not acquire anything of benefit to him, he/she will work in office and it will be difficult for survival. So, this is our problem ok*

<Files\\Sierra Leone\\Fourah Bay College Students Interview Transcripts> - § 36 references coded [66.99% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.89% Coverage

*P1: yes. I know about the Truth and Reconciliation Commission that was established just after the war of which the Commission was set up by the SLPP Late President Tejan Kabba Government. They brought forward some documents, called witnesses and lot of people that participated in the war that gave their testimonies, explained the challenges they faced during the war, what led to the war and so many things done by the TRC. So, I know about it establishment.*

References 2-3 - 0.59% Coverage

*P2: yes. I think... like what my brother has said, they wanted to know those who bear the greatest responsibility of the eleven years civil war.*

References 4-5 - 2.14% Coverage

*P3: well, for me, what I know about the TRC-Truth and Reconciliation Commission that was established after the war was for some of the grievances or to vent out the bitterness some people have. For example, some people know certain neighbors or friends that burnt down their houses, or killed their wives or child or did gross atrocity to him/her during the war of which they have the feeling that if Sierra Leoneans are still holding on to those issues, it would have the tendency of causing greater problem in the future.*

#### Reference 6 - 2.10% Coverage

*So, setting up of the TRC so that some of those issues would be brought forward; those that perpetrated the war from the national level and those that were directly involved into our war and some of the lower ranks or junior rank that burnt houses down, hands amputations and other gruesome atrocities for them to be identified that this is the one that burnt my house so that he/she would come forward and answer yes, I burnt it but I am sorry, and beg, and ask for acceptance to live peaceful in the country*

#### Reference 7 - 0.76% Coverage

*P3: well, unfortunately, I was not involved because of my age then but I got little knowledge and I am able to recall some of the issues that took place, but directly I was not involved*

#### Reference 8 - 0.41% Coverage

**I: Ok, Sir you too were not involved right?**

*P2: yes*

**I: so, none of you were involved on the process**

#### References 9-10 - 1.35% Coverage

*P1: for me, the TRC, the setting up was good because when conflict occurred, the truth should come out of the it Your side, my side and the truth will prevail. For me it was good. My problem with this particular TRC is that with all the recommendations made by the TRC they have not even yet implement 10% of those recommendations.*

#### References 11-12 - 3.63% Coverage

*P3: Well, that has to do with the recommendations because if some of those recommendations that are in the TRC report been implemented or been acted upon I think even the coming of this Commission Of Inquiry those issues should have been addressed because it has look at corruption, because of the issues that led to our war has to do with corruption, tribalism, nepotism and even ( p1:injustice ) injustice. We are seen them going on and even our political heads are not working to address some of these issues that are going on and this putting the country at lost because setting up of another commissions or other institutions that would be looking into those issues involved money, you have to pay workers and you have to get an establishment which is a lost to*

*the country. If only we implement some of those recommendations, we shouldn't have been were we are today as a country.*

#### Reference 13 - 1.60% Coverage

P2: yes. I think what has said by my sister and brother are very good point. My brother said 90% but I will say 99% of the TRC recommendations were never implemented because when you talk about the youths, you talk about the women and all of those (P3: employment), providing employment for youths. All these are not evidence and the issues that brought about the war are surfacing again now

#### Reference 14 - 1.59% Coverage

*P1: yes, because the process was opened. Meaning it was not a secret and there was a called for anyone that think has something to say on the process. So, both men and women were involved. So, I believe it was an opened process where they were equally involved. They were not discriminated on the bases that women shouldn't talk. That was not the case. It was opened and it was not a secret*

#### Reference 15 - 1.50% Coverage

*P3: yes, for me, in that light, yes, the process, the platform was created for the different sex-women and men, but for me personally, I think women were not having proper representation because if we traced back the level of women status then when considering the fact that it is now we are seeing organizations, activists are fighting women to come out to speak.*

#### Reference 16 - 3.37% Coverage

*P1: Well, one of the most important issues is about the judiciary which is talking about injustice that led to some of these issues. Because if listen to Foady Sankoh himself, if you listen to the testimonies of some of the key players in the war, it reveals to you that there were lot of injustice that led them to the bush, because there were not having justice. So, like the judiciary, it is one of the most important issues looked into specifically by the TRC. And the issues of corruption itself was opened which led some people aggrieved or whatsoever, but the injustice of sacking at work place, from cases at court where orders from the above could jeopardize the entire case or give orders to the judges and ended up making wrong decisions. I think the judiciary was one of the keys/most important issues discussed.*

#### Reference 17 - 7.23% Coverage

*P3: yes, for me, if I have to access, I don't know much, but the other area I read or knew was part of the TRC is the military coming into politics and we are witnessing it presently. Solider fights his colleague soldier because of his party or because of his surname, we are witnessing dismissals of certain officials because they carry certain surnames and he is from certain tribe of which some of those issues if we could trace back our war, some of those issues were captured. And even what the soldiers or the military should benefit, for instance their salaries, their welfare up to date have*

*not been looked into. Some of those issues you might consider them as little ones, but those are the people that are training now to fight war and some of them know the uses of weapon, they know how to access those weapons. If some of those people up to date are being treated as if not important by our leaders or tend to use them for their selfish gain, I think that is one area we have to pay attention to. Because we have seen a soldier shoot his colleague soldier because of party A or party B and up to date we are yet to see...just like what my brother said injustice, to date we are yet to see report to the public stating that'' ok, .the soldier that shot his colleague did so because of this and that and this and that will be the punishment levied against him/her. We have seen a whole corporal that was beside the former president, former President Koroma that was in jail or whatsoever and then they passed a judgement they said he just disappear like that; we don't have any information about his whereabouts. I think, for me on the military issue though there are other major issue to look at, but they really need to pay key attention on the military issue*

Reference 18 - 1.38% Coverage

**I: so, you are saying that the TRC also looked at the issue of the military...**

*P3: yes, because military personnel according to the profession, you shouldn't be political. You shouldn't either side, you should be independent, serve the people, your nation, but to date we are witnessing the opposite and their welfare is not being addressed*

Reference 19 - 0.24% Coverage

*P2: yes, another issue discussed in the TRC was the economy*

Reference 20 - 2.01% Coverage

*P2: yes, it state of suffering in the country goes back to from the 1960s to 1970s, 1980s how the economy began to depreciate that led to the two main reasons for the war which is the livelihood of the people and the injustices when the people are not earning just as people are... it has been so for the past twenty years and so, the economy, sky rocket prices, there is no money for food to eat and people go to court they got injustices. So, these were the main reasons the TRC spoke about.*

Reference 21 - 0.45% Coverage

*P1: yes, I have read part of the TRC. You know it has volumes, but I have read part of the TRC report anyway?*

Reference 22 - 1.37% Coverage

*P1: well, it is the implementation. Like I said, the key issues on the TRC is that the report is in the shelves gathering lot of dust. Nobody has time for it... look at the discussion about the Bintumani 3, there was no need for Bintumani 3. Let go back to the TRC; everything is in there. The implementation is my problem with the report*

Reference 23 - 2.58% Coverage

*P3: well, for me, the report, I just glanced, I just took that kind of brief look at it, I have never read it in detail but I was cared about the recommendations like on the education, how we think we should give strength to the education because when someone is educated, you will be liberated from so many things, but if that individual is left behind, anything can carry him away*

*P2: yes, like what brother said, Bintumani 3 was needless if we had ever read the TRC report on the recommendation made by the TRC if it would have been implemented in the last eighteen years, I don't think we should have been in this present state*

Reference 24 - 0.23% Coverage

*P2: that off course you know. 99% is not been implemented*

Reference 25 - 5.09% Coverage

*P3: and for me, I will say even if they have been implemented it was just done shallow. They just did the surface to gain international face-look because at then, the setting up of TRC has to do with international bodies coming on board to work for us to have peace in the country that was done through the help of the then though late now, the then government of the Late President Kabba that was very instrumental individual that wanted peace and was able to achieved it. And think we are just deceiving ourselves or our leaders are just deceiving ourselves because not that they are not aware of some of those recommendations, they just want to give it a kind of look from international perspective wherein when you say injustice, they will establish such kind of sectors, because we are seeing the establishment of the court being extended, we are seeing recent specialized courts which is good, but even if you have the specialized courts, you have the specialized lawyers, how credible they are from politic, from religion or in everything you have to serve your country and possess that sense of loyalty point of view in term of handling issues. So, they are just doing it for international attention but not in the interest of the people*

Reference 26 - 1.53% Coverage

*P2: no I don't call it was a challenge. We had never tried to implement this peace and national cohesion as it was said by my brother. We are still witnessing tribalism which was spelled clearly on the TRC report. Women are still underrepresented, people are facing injustices, there is still economic hardship wherein people cannot create livelihoods for themselves and so...*

Reference 27 - 1.90% Coverage

*P1: well, I don't there would have been much to do; they did what they supposed to have done at that particular time and they tried to bring to booking those who committed the greatest atrocities to bear the greatest responsibility that was done by the TRC. They did a proper recommendation and I think they did a lot on that and I think not much should be added, it all about the implementation, but TRC did what they supposed to have done at that particular time*

Reference 28 - 1.41% Coverage

*P2: well, concerning the discussion, I don't think that the TRC mention all the individuals that were involved in the war. I don't think so. For me I think people were handpicked and those were some people whom the united nations and some others organizations think they should bear the greatest responsibility whiles other people were excluded.*

#### References 29-30 - 7.03% Coverage

*P3: well, so far, they did their best. I think it left with governments to endeavor to add to what the TRC has done. I am saying so because every now and then new issues are re-surfacing, things are showing up, new development and the more developments the more bad things keep showing up. So, I am just thinking that an institution, or committee, or whatsoever or commission should have those particular recommendations to be established that is charged to look into some of the issues that are showing up now that have the tendency that might not have been captured by the TRC to be added to in and work upon and not only to add them but to also to implement them and make sure it is worked upon because when we look at the welfare of teachers, looking at the welfare of medical people, looking at the welfare of different people; People are aggrieved, people are really disgruntle, we are seeing the misused of drugs, the used of pampers, tramadol and those things were not before and now with the profession am in, when talking to people normally, they will tell you that if then when those things were not, people got the spirit to look at individual and amputated their hands in broad day light, amputated foot, burnt people alive, spilt pregnant women pregnancies, what would happen if youth, young peoples of today that are taking some of those drugs and if God forbid it, anything shoot up, would be one of the worst issues and that is why our governments really need to look at them and not just to give a shallow look and continue begging to the international bodies, but to work on some of those issues so that we would have a change and that nothing like that should take people minds to those bad issues*

#### Reference 31 - 1.96% Coverage

*P1: yes, it changed my knowledge in a sense it gives a lesson learnt; a lesson learnt from the TRC educated me what were the causes of the war, because when the war was going on, at the end we found out that it was a senseless war. What led to the war? the TRC taught me them and it changed my perception. To this job I am doing now, with regards to what the TRC taught me, to what I am seeing now, it is only God that can save us and we too have to contribute to save ourselves.*

#### Reference 32 - 1.66% Coverage

*That is why for the younger ones, we want the proper implementations of the TRC. Not only outside implementations, but even to the schools because most of the youths that are of age 18 years, 20 years did not witness the war entirely. So, I think their perceptions need to be change and brought up in way that we could experience a real peace in the country. Implementation is the real problem on the TRC.*

#### Reference 33 - 2.94% Coverage

*P3: yes, through the TRC, I got knowledge that not only players within Sierra Leone or within the country, but our war was having another external players outside of the country that were having*

*hands in the war but they were pretending as if they were not...because Sierra Leone do not have even the factory to process matches sticks let alone Sierra Leone to produce gun, to produce weapons, it means we were having some other countries that were sponsoring people in the country to make sure such wicked practices were carried out in the country. And also having knowledge on the brutal happenings like the movie. For me, I am not able to watch it to end because it always reminds me that war is not good for anybody.*

Reference 34 - 3.13% Coverage

*P2: yes, but I think that one area I want to talk about from what I have read on the TRC report is not about the war, because the war is the aftermath of what happened since 1961 when we the black took power in Sierra Leone, what happened: tribalism, nepotism, economic hardship (p3: segregation), segregation, injustice resulted to all of those issues. So, if we don't want that to happen again, what we will do? we have to cut the bridge and return to the root cause of the war. Now we are talking about drugs in fact that should make us fear, people who have been killing people had not been taken these hard drugs and they were not like that. It was difficult for you to know people who take brown-brown, but now it is common; people just take tramadol, take kuss*

Reference 35 - 1.59% Coverage

*P3: now, the last one I want to say is that I never read the TRC to in detail so I don't know whether it is there or not. One thing I have gathered from elderly people and what I have seen is that the one that came to help fight the war, it appears that they entered into the system and they killed an amount that might have been close to that of the rebels or even more than the rebels.*

Reference 36 - 2.34% Coverage

*P2: that why I said earlier on that people were excluded because the Ecomog committed great atrocities that people are not talking about, innocent people (p3: they raped women), they raped, if they see little children they will identify them as rebels; they were killing people rapidly all over the place, but they were excluded because they were sent by the organizations that helped that gave help to the peace so they were never...so there were some people that were called that I agree that they bear the responsibility, but not everybody bear the greatest responsibility*

<Files\\Sierra Leone\\Govt Official in Ataya Base Org> - § 35 references coded [79.22% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.21% Coverage

*P:I have heard about the TRC*

Reference 2 - 0.22% Coverage

*P: I was not directly involved*

Reference 3 - 1.66% Coverage

*P: because, maybe I don't understand what you mean. And if I could interpret what you are try to say in my understanding whether I was directly involved as war warrior or not. And if so, I did not fight nor I as a war warrior*

Reference 4 - 1.54% Coverage

**I: I mean whether you participated as government officials, or witnessed, or heard when TRC was on course, or someone told you or maybe you read it from newspaper**

*P: No. But I knew that the TRC was on course*

Reference 5 - 1.46% Coverage

**I: So in directly you were involved. Firstly, as a citizen of this nation and also you survived the war.**

*P: yes . I survived the war*

**I: so in directly you were involved because you heard it**

*P: ok*

Reference 6 - 3.01% Coverage

*P: For me. I think it was good because at the end of their work made recommendations that to be followed because certain things were not addressed in term of bad governance and other issued that led to the war. So, they looked into all of those issues and concluded with recommendations that A, B and C, D were the causes of the war, and that they should settled it or make sure A, B,C did not happen again.*

Reference 7 - 1.13% Coverage

**I: Do you the concerns of the TRC were addressed?**

*P: I will not comment either. But I am quite sure that some were addressed and some were not addressed*

Reference 8 - 0.50% Coverage

*P: I think if I could recall, they discussed about youth empowerment*

Reference 9 - 2.96% Coverage

*P: During the former government, they discussed youths empowerment, since the governance of the Late President Tejah Kabba he discussed youths empowerment; he did what he was able to do, again former President Ernest Bai Koroma also discussed youths empowerment; he did his own part and now President Maada Bio has took up governance he is discussing youths empowerment; he too will play his own part*

Reference 10 - 0.37% Coverage



*p: and also, they established the youth commission*

References 11-12 - 1.30% Coverage

*p: and they also tried to discuss about the judiciary; they reformed the judiciary*

**i: they reformed the judiciary? Ok**

*p: They said that also contributed to the war break out*

Reference 13 - 1.33% Coverage

*p: by chance, DEFID come and sponsored and changed the narratives from what it was before and during the war to what it is now. I believed they played what suppose to be done then.*

Reference 14 - 0.85% Coverage

*p: and also the paramount chiefs, chieftom clerks were all trained because they also see it as contributors the war*

Reference 15 - 1.43% Coverage

*P: They did their best to be transparent. They did their level best on transparency because I don't know how you people will determine it, but they did their best to be transparent and inclusive*

Reference 16 - 1.09% Coverage

*P: Not all were involved, not all were able to witness because maybe some were not in the country; some were out of the country. Do you understand?*

Reference 17 - 3.01% Coverage

*P: some were even in the country that were involved but did not participated and so on. You know, there is this mentality about Sierra Leoneans, sometimes not only Sierra Leoneans alone. Human beings particularly would just look at something and decide not to participate. Hope you understand right? So, that is why I said they tried their level best to reach the necessary actors. They did their best on it.*

Reference 18 - 1.05% Coverage

**I: whom do you think established the TRC? Who were involved in establishing the TRC?**

*P: The head of the TRC I think it wasn't Bishop Humper?*

Reference 19 - 6.23% Coverage

**I: Did the TRC came out from government, or civil society or wasn't from the International Community that requested for setting up the TRC?**

*P: After the war, the International Community saw that many things have happened in this country and for it not to be repeated again everybody should say his/her mind. That is why they produce a song title 'say your mind' (singing continues). Something like that shown up. Hope you understand right?*

**I: yes**

*P: they saw that saying your mind ... hope you understand right? will help to solve problems and it would be looked into and figure out the reason for ones fighting or this was why he/she becomes aggrieved. Hope you understand right? So that they will be able to address the problem*

**I: so, is like it was the International Community that made the recommendation for establishing the TRC?**

*P: Yes*

Reference 20 - 2.10% Coverage

**I: what about government and civil society? Were they not also involved?**

*P: They were because at the end government accepted and gave the open platform for it to be done and civil society popularized it*

**I: ok**

*P: so they too contributed including myself. I contributed as a citizen*

Reference 21 - 1.49% Coverage

**I: yes. Do you think men and women were equally involved on the process?**

*P: I cannot say they were equally involved because I was not knowledgeable on the composition of the Commission structure set up*

Reference 22 - 1.64% Coverage

*P: That is what I am saying. That I do not know. So I would not say because had I known the percentage of women that were part of the TRC and the percentage of men then I would have known. So on the equality, I don't know.*

Reference 23 - 7.57% Coverage

**I: ok. What were the main important issues addressed by the TRC?**

*P: The most important issue addressed by the TRC is for us not to return again to war.*

**I: for us not to return again to war?**

*P: yes. Bad governance. We should not return to war again because that found out that it was bad governance that brought us to the war. For me, that is the reason.*

**I: ok. So that is the only issue you think is the most important issue addressed by the TRC**

*P: Yes. One of the most important issues addressed by the TRC.*

**I: Any other one again?**

*P: because I have used broad term. Bad governance could mean youths empowerment, education and so on, the judiciary, everything*

**I: what do you mean everything?**

*p: All are part of the issues addressed by TRC*

**i: Bad governance this includes the judiciary, the education sector, so they addressed all of those issued?**

*P: youths empowerment and so on*

**I: youths empowerment**

*P: and inequality*

**I: inequality**

*P: men and women to be involved*

**I: ok. gender balance**

*P: gender equity*

Reference 24 - 0.52% Coverage

**I: you have never seen it?**

*P: yes*

**I: you have never read it?**

*P: yes*

Reference 25 - 3.13% Coverage

**I: ok. Do you think the TRC recommendations have been implemented?**

*P: yes. They have been implemented*

**I: they have been implemented?**

*P: yes.*

**I: ok. Which ones were implemented?**

*P: just like I mentioned earlier, they tried to reform the judiciary*

**I: reforms. Good. yes**

*p: yes. And they tried to put structures in place like the Youth commission and education also*

**i: ok**

*p: they tried to look into all of those issues*

Reference 26 - 0.51% Coverage

*P: yes. Also contributed (to the war). Now the democracy has deepened*

Reference 27 - 0.55% Coverage

*P: well, they should have... I think they should have been doing follow ups.*

Reference 28 - 2.21% Coverage

*P: yes. In other words, like after the conclusion on the report, they should have suggested that maybe after every three years or five years conduct surveys on the people perceptions about the TRC report. They should look at the impact the report has been doing. But I don't think that is happening.*

Reference 29 - 3.10% Coverage

**I: ok. Like you mentioned about follow ups, i spoked with the War Amputee Association and they mentioned what they had thought the TRC could have done. It is similar to this one. They had wanted the TRC to conduct follow ups. Because up to date... they have requested that they want the TRC to continue it work; an ongoing process to reconcile especially when they have accepted to forgive and forget.**

*P: exactly, exactly*

Reference 30 - 3.24% Coverage

**I: so on the TRC hearing, was it only held in Freetown?**

*P: no. The TRC was not only in Freetown. I believe it done across the country*

**I: across the country**

*P: But most especially in bigger towns, districts, chiefdoms. They reach as far as chiefdom level. Do you understand?*

**I: ok**

*P: it is only at village level I think they didn't reach but I am sure they must had had representatives there. But they reached as far as chiefdom levels*

Reference 31 - 7.03% Coverage

**I: ok. The next question is do you think the TRC changed your knowledge on the country, peace, war...**

*P: yes. It impacted me.*

**I: how?**

*P: because, am seeing it... because, it unveiled issues to me that brought about the war that I didn't know before.*

**I: they unveiled issues?**

*P: yes.*

**I: to you?**

*p: That I didn't know were the causes of the war. Hope you understand right?*

*p: yes. And by so doing, it shaped me. Even on politics. if we are arguing, and someone is talking, I allow him/her to say his/her views. Hope you understand right?*

**I: yes**

*P: when he/she concludes I then make my contributions. If I sense he/she want to get annoy or other thing, I will try as best as possible to come up with funs and crake jokes and forget about it. But before this time, had it been so, maybe I should have reacted to the individual that he/she must not say a word or I should have done something. So by so doing on political discussions, it contributed.*

Reference 32 - 0.19% Coverage

*P: yes. It added knowledge*

Reference 33 - 5.08% Coverage

**I: and it changed your knowledge on how issues are going and it should be. And I want to take you back really, the workers at the TRC were they only Sierra Leoneans?**

*P: no. I believe they came with expatriates also*

**I: expatriate also?**

*P: yes. To join*

**I: from other countries?**

*P: yes, from other countries. Sierra Leoneans...*

**I: you mean from the structures?**

*P: yes from the structures*

**I: on to the field workers**

*P: yes. The commission?*

**I: yes**

*P: the TRC commission I mean. You know they have expatriates that know about peace ideas*

**I:ok**

*P: like UN involved.*

**I:ok**

*P: UN was part of it and other organizations that were international bodies were also involved... Sierra Leoneans*

Reference 34 - 6.20% Coverage

**I: so earlier on you mentioned that it broaden your knowledge or changed your knowledge on the issues that had occurred in the country. So those issues that had occurred, do you really think they are still evidenced around?**

*P: if visible?*

**I: yes**

*P: yes. It shows up sometimes, but it fades away again*

**I: ok**

*P: it comes and goes, because I have been in two, three forums where people discuss and they even mentioned that this and these were the issues discussed by the TRC report that this and that were the causes of the war. Hope you understand? So that allows it to fade away. But really, there are still some evidences of it. Like political violence. Hope you understand?*

**I: yes**

*P: that brought about the war. It is evidence. Not only in present date but also since the past reign to date, there are evidence of political violence*

Reference 35 - 5.32% Coverage

**I: Do you see any need for keeping the information alive about the TRC?**

*P: That is why initially I mentioned that the TRC did not conduct follow ups*

**I:ok**

*P: yes. There is need for keeping it alive. Although, maybe as a result of the TRC, it birth to other institutions like if my knowledge could serve me well, the NCD I think?*

**I: National Commission for Democracy**

*P: yes. I think comes with it and I am sure, believe that it is the NCD that should be responsible to start the sensitization. I am sure of it. That is my opinion. Hope you understand. But they need step up again to educate people because they have the know-how*

**I: yes**

*P: should come and disseminate more message, educate people and sensitize them.*

<Files\\Sierra Leone\\P FR MWA 006 Interview Transcripts> - § 33 references coded [50.07% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 2.15% Coverage

**I: ok. And were you directly or indirectly involved?**

*P: I was directly involved.*

**I: As what? What was your role?**

*P: I was the treasure for the Western Area;*

**I: Western Area**

*P: under the civil society*

*I: under the civil society?*

*I: what is the civil society?*

**P: working group**

**I: working group?**

*P: a TRC working group*

Reference 2 - 0.56% Coverage

*P: After the war, there a stride for a solution that will bring a win, win situation.*

Reference 3 - 0.44% Coverage

*P: yes. Within the warring factions and the people of Sierra Leone.*

Reference 4 - 3.54% Coverage

*P: They wanted... because the war warriors were not foreigners ok. They were Sierra Leoneans. They wanted the TRC as a peace process and they allowed aggrieved people, why they took guns and those who were affected, everybody. They allowed us to testify, what we suffered, and so. And they asked the warring factions apologies for all the wrongs done. And when you apologize, you are taken to your community and reintegrated and the community to be willing to accept you again like the prodigal son. Something like that. That is how it was.*

Reference 5 - 0.48% Coverage

**I: Did you think the TRC adequately addressed your concerns?**

*P: not 100%*

Reference 6 - 2.23% Coverage

*P: For us, market women association. We have people that were killed. We have people that were not rebels and they were nothing but a fellow sierra Leoneans, ordinary sierra Leoneans that might have went out for survival but got killed either deliberately or from a stray bullet. All of these things. And a lot of destructions took place.*

#### Reference 7 - 2.86% Coverage

*P: yes. Like our tables were destroyed, businesses because the coup took place on Sunday and there was no way we could have gone out. All businesses that we had bought got destroyed. Because there was peace and reconciliation then, no one was asked for compensation for our businesses being destroyed. Ok. This was what happened. And again, I thought the issue of educating people; sensitization about accepting people was not detail.*

#### References 8-12 - 7.27% Coverage

*P: yes. Yes, it was it brief. I think it should have been more detail because it was the community the suffered most ok. That was thinking ok*

**I: And the next one is do you think the process was inclusive, everybody was involved and it was transparent to people?**

*P: yes. Everybody was involved because opportunity was given to the warring factions.*

**I: warring factions. What do you mean?**

*P: the Kamajor ,the SLA, the RUF all those who were having connection with the war.*

**I: that have connection to the war?**

*P: yes. That were connected to the war were allowed to testify. It was left open to all ok. Even us, the women were given preference to make sure that women are encouraged to testify what happened to them, those who were raped, ganged raped all of those things. It was very inclusive.*

**I: And during the process (hearings), were children allowed to see and hear also? Because I do remember that children were attending the hearings**

*P: Well those days, I don't know then since the hall was horrible. I think they try to avoid children from listening to some of the hearings being testified*

#### Reference 13 - 2.63% Coverage

*P: When they went for the peace agreement in Lome', they concluded that since they have got the leader Foday Sankoh (RUF) and the government, Inter-Religious Council, civil society to the table they all agreed to sign the agreement (Lome' Peace Accord. And there was a feeling that since both parties have signed the agreement, they will continue to respect the agreement. That was how it happened.*

#### Reference 14 - 0.76% Coverage

*p: I can say opportunities were given to women to testify but on the structure, there were women but there more men*

#### Reference 15 - 0.20% Coverage

*P: the strides to address anger*

Reference 16 - 0.13% Coverage

*P: people were angry*

Reference 17 - 1.41% Coverage

*P: yes. They will then start to console you, counsel you because of the level of atrocity that you gone through. So, they were with the feeling that by so doing it will restore peace of mind. That is how happened.*

Reference 18 - 1.60% Coverage

*P: that is where the problem is because when President...*

**I: Kabba**

*P: Yes. He wrote request to the International Community. He said in as much as the TRC will be established, there is also need to prosecute the RUF (Revolutionary United Front)*

Reference 19 - 2.70% Coverage

*P: no, no the RUF ok. But when the International Community wanted to do the trails, they replied him that they have accepted in embellishing the Special Court for Sierra Leone with regards to the war, but said that they will try all the three warring factions; not one faction alone committed the atrocities, all the three factions committed atrocities. So, if you want that to be this is how it will be done.*

Reference 20 - 1.78% Coverage

**I: Ok. Have you ever seen or read the TRC Report?**

*P: Yes. I have read it. It is a good book; it is a Bible. I look at its once a while.*

**I: what is your take about what you read from the report?**

*P: The report is very rich*

**I: rich in what sense?**

*P: it says everything*

Reference 21 - 0.50% Coverage

*P: It addressed social, economic, life, everything and made recommendations*

Reference 22 - 0.87% Coverage

*P: for them to implement those recommendations. They implemented few like reforms when they did this and that, law reform and so on...*



Reference 23 - 0.28% Coverage

*p: As per what were recommended by the TRC*

Reference 24 - 2.15% Coverage

*P: As I said we were not able to implement all the recommendations. You know it is a voluminous book. I think it is a process for which every government have to look at it because the recommendations in the TRC are very important ok. I was thinking that government should abide by it though they are doing it in a slow pace.*

Reference 25 - 2.05% Coverage

*P: we didn't have that patient to document those happenings because those children that were younger and those that were not born during the war to begin to read it so they will to know what have happened in the country. I think that is how it should be and the TRC should have been like a platform to do such.*

Reference 26 - 0.25% Coverage

*P: yes. Like I told you reforms is one*

Reference 27 - 1.68% Coverage

*P: As you know, we have five governments in five years and we came from a dictatorship government and entered into that mess up to the break out of the war and so on. So, they did things that will help us to deal with the trauma people were going through*

Reference 28 - 1.06% Coverage

*P: well. They did it across the country but I think it was not enough*

**I: not enough**

**I: because the period was short that why not all were implemented?**

*p: yes*

Reference 29 - 0.77% Coverage

**I: Do you think that the TRC fostered peace and national cohesion. National peace in the country?**

*P: Yes. some how*

Reference 30 - 2.08% Coverage

*P: because some have died or their families are young and so on. As they are growing older so it dies. That was why I said we should have done an archive so as to document all the happenings*

*in the county so that children yet unborn will know where we came from, the reason for our situation and where we are going.*

Reference 31 - 1.77% Coverage

**I: should have been broaden in scope?**

*P: yes, in the communities*

**I: meaning it should continue?**

*P: yes. It should continue*

**I: continue to present day?**

*P: continue to this present day*

**I: That means the scope should have been broaden?**

*P: exactly broaden its scope*

Reference 32 - 1.72% Coverage

*P: Yes. I think the International Community in as much as they have time bound, they should have made a strong recommendation for every government that took governance in this country should make sure that they stride to implement the recommendations of the TRC*

Reference 33 - 4.14% Coverage

*P: yes, because it difficult for some people to let go of things because it will take time. They have to look at many things before they can accept and move forward ok. I think that is our problem. And it wanted to bridge something like a division in the country. Had it been that we have inter marriages and strong, strong, strong inter religious tolerance otherwise it should have brought strong division in the country. And to date the elements are evidenced. If you look at the way people are voting in the country, it will clearly tell you that if we do not careful and stride to put ourselves together anything can happen.*

<Files\\Sierra Leone\\P RP 001 Interview Transcripts> - § 18 references coded [40.04% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 3.81% Coverage

*P: yes. I am aware about the Truths and Reconciliation Commission that was established immediately after the war, when the eleven years of civil war came to an end. And they established this Truths and Reconciliation Commission to call on people that participated in the war wrongfully, and those that were wronged the war for them to speak out what they have done and figure out ways of bringing peace between the perpetrators and those that were wronged*

Reference 2 - 0.85% Coverage

*P: Actually, since I was in the country during the war, I can say I was directly involved in the war.*

Reference 3 - 1.55% Coverage

*P: because, there were so many issues. I lost my family members during the war; and that was a very bad effect to my family and myself. I can say I was directly involved during the war.*

#### Reference 4 - 2.13% Coverage

*P: well the TRC was very good because at the end of the war, the TRC helped to foster peace and stability in Sierra Leone because they were able to reconcile with the people that caused the atrocities in the war and those that were affected in the war.*

#### Reference 5 - 3.73% Coverage

*P: yes, yes, yes because one of the main issues addressed that was very necessary was the calling of the perpetrators and the victims together, sit them down and talk with them to forgive themselves. As a result, I was expecting that they should call all the perpetrators and tell them how bad they have done to the nation and some people were able to realize their acts and as a result they were able to achieve very much as far as I am concerned.*

#### Reference 6 - 3.30% Coverage

*P: well actually, I understood that the TRC was established by the United Nations in partnership with Government of Sierra Leone; the United Nations funded the programme and Sierra Leone was part of the programme. The target was the ex-combatants and the victims of the war where they were called together. Aside ( if you do not want everything, you will then have to edit what you do not want)*

#### References 7-8 - 1.78% Coverage

*P: yes, my concerns were addressed because at the end we got a lasting peace in the country and issues that caused the war were able to be addressed. And after that, we got peace in Sierra Leone up to present day*

#### Reference 9 - 1.77% Coverage

*P: it was very inclusive because it was a national programme and it also catered for the perpetrators of the war and the victims of the war. And all the stakeholders were involved and that made it very inclusive*

#### Reference 10 - 2.10% Coverage

*P: when I talk about stakeholders, I mean those who tried to foster the peace like ECOWAS, and the Government of Sierra Leone, and other local civil societies in Sierra Leone. They all came together and they were the one that foster peace for the TRC.*

#### Reference 11 - 1.96% Coverage

*P: yes, men and women were involved because men were the major perpetrators while women were the major victims of the war. So, for them to be able to bridge a peace, obviously, they were able to join both men and women on the process*

#### References 12-13 - 3.66% Coverage

*P: Actually, the TRC started by researching the causes of the war and they found out that injustice socially, political greed, injustice in the court of law, inequality among citizens and these led to lots of grievances on citizens and also unemployment among youths. And they were able to discuss among the people that these were the causes of the war and let us see how best we can be able to solve these problems so it won't happen again*

#### Reference 14 - 1.00% Coverage

**I: so, do you want to tell me that they recorded history of violence that took place in the country?**

*P: obviously, yes.*

#### Reference 15 - 0.75% Coverage

**I: have you seen or read the TRC report?**

*P: obviously, I have seen it, and I have read it*

#### Reference 16 - 3.89% Coverage

*P: well, actually, the report was very good and was very aiming to solve the problem. The reason I said so is because I was a victim or witness of the war. I saw things that were very bad and the report was able to capture the problems and it was able to spell out the causes of the war and it was able to spell out how we should reconcile, and then they were able to give solutions that will avert these issues from happening again. So, it was a very good report*

#### Reference 17 - 3.17% Coverage

*P: well, it was very unfortunate that they made recommendations that up to now, most of the recommendations made by the TRC, the Government has not yet implement them and we are seeing lots of problems that caused the war surfacing again because the present government or the governments of Sierra Leone after the war does not able to attend to these suggestions made by them.*

#### Reference 18 - 4.60% Coverage

*P: for me personally, because I witnessed the war, I witnessed when someone was burnt alive, I saw when someone hand was cut off, I saw when they shot someone hand. I believe that the TRC would have recommended to conduct more judgements than the peace they worked hard to achieve. Because after the war, even though we are talking about peace but there are some people*

*that gone through the consequences of the war throughout their lives. So, instead of preaching more on peace, they should have done more judgements for the perpetrators of the war*

## Hearings

Discussions or references to TRC hearings.

<Files\\Sierra Leone\\Amputee War Wounded Association Interview Transcripts> - § 1 reference coded [1.77% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.77% Coverage

*P: obviously. Even on the launching of the TRC recommendations we were there. Women, children... like I said all the five categories were all included-the amputees, the war widows, sexually abused, the war wounded, the war orphans. All were included in the process*

<Files\\Sierra Leone\\Govt Official in Ataya Base Org> - § 1 reference coded [3.24% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 3.24% Coverage

**I: so on the TRC hearing, was it only held in Freetown?**

*P: no. The TRC was not only in Freetown. I believe it done across the country*

**I: across the country**

*P: But most especially in bigger towns, districts, chiefdoms. They reach as far as chiefdom level. Do you understand?*

**I: ok**

*P: it is only at village level I think they didn't reach but I am sure they must had had representatives there. But they reached as far as chiefdom levels*

## Inclusivity

Discussions or references to TRC inclusivity.

<Files\\Sierra Leone\\Amputee War Wounded Association Interview Transcripts> - § 5 references coded [8.72% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 3.52% Coverage

**I: so on the process, who were involved in establishing the TRC?**

*P: Firstly, the government was involved, mostly us the amputees*

**I: as civil society?**

*P: civil societies were involved and different other organizations were involved on the process. Human rights*

**P: human rights organizations?**

*P: yes, human rights organizations were involved on the process.*

**I: were there also other organizations from other countries?**

*P: yes. International organization. Even the inter-religious council were involved on the process*

Reference 2 - 0.60% Coverage

*P2: it was transparent to all but it was not implemented according to the recommendations*

Reference 3 - 2.74% Coverage

**I: Mr. Tarawallie do you want to add what Mr. Bah said?**

*P: Yes. Because I am looking at it as if the TRC was not transparent to us because when you say transparent it means whatever comes, what has been recommended and approved and implemented to us but as long as it is not implemented according to how it was spelled out, it is not transparent. So that is that.*

**I: but it was inclusive?**

*P: yes. sure*

Reference 4 - 0.46% Coverage

**I: were women and men equally involved on the process?**

*P: obviously*

Reference 5 - 1.39% Coverage

**I: so, what about the perpetrators that did the act were they also involved on the process?**

*P: yes. They too were involved. They tried to beg and asked for forgiveness from us for what had happened. So yes*

<Files\\Sierra Leone\\Fourah Bay College Students Interview Transcripts> - § 2 references coded [3.09% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.59% Coverage

*P1: yes, because the process was opened. Meaning it was not a secret and there was a called for anyone that think has something to say on the process. So, both men and women were involved. So, I believe it was an opened process where they were equally involved. They were not discriminated on the bases that women shouldn't talk. That was not the case. It was opened and it was not a secret*

Reference 2 - 1.50% Coverage

*P3: yes, for me, in that light, yes, the process, the platform was created for the different sex-women and men, but for me personally, I think women were not having proper representation because if we traced back the level of women status then when considering the fact that it is now we are seeing organizations, activists are fighting women to come out to speak.*

<Files\\Sierra Leone\\Govt Official in Ataya Base Org> - § 5 references coded [8.67% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.43% Coverage

*P: They did their best to be transparent. They did their level best on transparency because I don't know how you people will determine it, but they did their best to be transparent and inclusive*

Reference 2 - 1.09% Coverage

*P: Not all were involved, not all were able to witness because maybe some were not in the country; some were out of the country. Do you understand?*

Reference 3 - 3.01% Coverage

*P: some were even in the country that were involved but did not participated and so on. You know, there is this mentality about Sierra Leoneans, sometimes not only Sierra Leoneans alone. Human beings particularly would just look at something and decide not to participate. Hope you understand right? So, that is why I said they tried their level best to reach the necessary actors. They did their best on it.*

Reference 4 - 1.49% Coverage

**I: yes. Do you think men and women were equally involved on the process?**

*P: I cannot say they were equally involved because I was not knowledgeable on the composition of the Commission structure set up*

Reference 5 - 1.64% Coverage

*P: That is what I am saying. That I do not know. So I would not say because had I known the percentage of women that were part of the TRC and the percentage of men then I would have known. So on the equality, I don't know.*

<Files\\Sierra Leone\\P FR MWA 006 Interview Transcripts> - § 1 reference coded [6.33% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 6.33% Coverage

**I: And the next one is do you think the process was inclusive, everybody was involved and it was transparent to people?**

*P: yes. Everybody was involved because opportunity was given to the warring factions.*

**I: warring factions. What do you mean?**

*P: the Kamajor ,the SLA, the RUF all those who were having connection with the war.*

**I: that have connection to the war?**

*P: yes. That were connected to the war were allowed to testify. It was left open to all ok. Even us, the women were given preference to make sure that women are encouraged to tesify what happened to them, those who were raped, ganged raped all of those things. It was very inclusive.*

**I: And during the process (hearings), were children allowed to see and hear also? Because I do remember that children were attending the hearings**

*P: Well those days, I don't know then since the hall was horrible. I think they try to avoid children from listening to some of the hearings being testified*

### Issues Addressed

Discussions or references to issues addressed by the TRC.

<Files\\Sierra Leone\\Amputee War Wounded Association Interview Transcripts> - § 5  
references coded [13.68% Coverage]

#### Reference 1 - 1.33% Coverage

**I: so, what were the most important issues the TRC addressed?**

*P: the most important issues I know the TRC addressed is first they gave us*

*P2: welfare*

*P: courage that we should forgive and forget*

#### Reference 2 - 3.75% Coverage

*P: yes. The second one is promises; they gave promises. And these promises and up to date we are fighting for these promises. Because in Africa, when they want to persuade people, they will promise you of doing this and that for you so you believe but in along the time it become difficult to be implemented. The promises they gave us give us hopes that though we have got this problem we are ready to forgive and forget. But we appreciated what they promised to do for us like medical, education for our children and they promised us free transportation*

#### Reference 3 - 3.52% Coverage

*P: yes, to government vehicles. All of these were promised. And they even said that they will help some of our brothers that are in upcountry to support them with agriculture. Government will give support to them and support from international donor and even pension was promised to us the war victims that have suffered in this war. Really the pension came, we follow up and later we given six million Leones donors for life. We see that as disappointment. But we are still on the follow up gradually; we will not give up*

#### Reference 4 - 0.95% Coverage

*P2: The President has said the most vulnerable things we are suffering from presently*

**I: The promises?**

*P2: the promises without fulfilment*

#### Reference 5 - 4.13% Coverage

*P: I want to talk on the promises that I think the fulfilled. Firstly, the money I mentioned and the second on according to the TRC recommendations when I said they started it but it was not completed. To present, we have about Eight hundred and eight-eight houses done by the Norwegians friends of Sierra Leone and known that no NGO will come to Sierra Leone to*



*implement anything without the approval of the government. So, they did that though not everything was done. Many victims, over one and two thousand victims did not benefit from the reparations, shelters. But few of us benefited on the reparations*

<Files\\Sierra Leone\\Fourah Bay College Students Interview Transcripts> - § 5 references coded [14.23% Coverage]

#### Reference 1 - 3.37% Coverage

*P1: Well, one of the most important issues is about the judiciary which is talking about injustice that led to some of these issues. Because if listen to Foady Sankoh himself, if you listen to the testimonies of some of the key players in the war, it reveals to you that there were lot of injustice that led them to the bush, because there were not having justice. So, like the judiciary, it is one of the most important issues looked into specifically by the TRC. And the issues of corruption itself was opened which led some people aggrieved or whatsoever, but the injustice of sacking at work place, from cases at court where orders from the above could jeopardize the entire case or give orders to the judges and ended up making wrong decisions. I think the judiciary was one of the keys/most important issues discussed.*

#### Reference 2 - 7.23% Coverage

*P3: yes, for me, if I have to access, I don't know much, but the other area I read or knew was part of the TRC is the military coming into politics and we are witnessing it presently. Solider fights his colleague soldier because of his party or because of his surname, we are witnessing dismissals of certain officials because they carry certain surnames and he is from certain tribe of which some of those issues if we could trace back our war, some of those issues were captured. And even what the soldiers or the military should benefit, for instance their salaries, their welfare up to date have not been looked into. Some of those issues you might consider them as little ones, but those are the people that are training now to fight war and some of them know the uses of weapon, they know how to access those weapons. If some of those people up to date are being treated as if not important by our leaders or tend to use them for their selfish gain, I think that is one area we have to pay attention to. Because we have seen a soldier shoot his colleague soldier because of party A or party B and up to date we are yet to see...just like what my brother said injustice, to date we are yet to see report to the public stating that'' ok, .the soldier that shot his colleague did so because of this and that and this and that will be the punishment levied against him/her. We have seen a whole corporal that was beside the former president, former President Koroma that was in jail or whatsoever and then they passed a judgement they said he just disappear like that; we don't have any information about his whereabouts. I think, for me on the military issue though there are other major issue to look at, but they really need to pay key attention on the military issue*

#### Reference 3 - 1.38% Coverage

**I: so, you are saying that the TRC also looked at the issue of the military...**

*P3: yes, because military personnel according to the profession, you shouldn't be political. You shouldn't either side, you should be independent, serve the people, your nation, but to date we are witnessing the opposite and their welfare is not being addressed*

Reference 4 - 0.24% Coverage

*P2: yes, another issue discussed in the TRC was the economy*

Reference 5 - 2.01% Coverage

*P2: yes, it state of suffering in the country goes back to from the 1960s to 1970s, 1980s how the economy began to depreciate that led to the two main reasons for the war which is the livelihood of the people and the injustices when the people are not earning just as people are... it has been so for the past twenty years and so, the economy, sky rocket prices, there is no money for food to eat and people go to court they got injustices. So, these were the main reasons the TRC spoke about.*

<Files\\Sierra Leone\\Govt Official in Ataya Base Org> - § 7 references coded [13.65% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.13% Coverage

**I: Do you the concerns of the TRC were addressed?**

*P: I will not comment either. But I am quite sure that some were addressed and some were not addressed*

Reference 2 - 0.50% Coverage

*P: I think if I could recall, they discussed about youth empowerment*

Reference 3 - 2.96% Coverage

*P: During the former government, they discussed youths empowerment, since the governance of the Late President Tejah Kabba he discussed youths empowerment; he did what he was able to do, again former President Ernest Bai Koroma also discussed youths empowerment; he did his own part and now President Maada Bio has took up governance he is discussing youths empowerment; he too will play his own part*

Reference 4 - 0.37% Coverage

*p: and also, they established the youth commission*

Reference 5 - 0.61% Coverage

*p: and they also tried to discuss about the judiciary; they reformed the judiciary*

Reference 6 - 7.57% Coverage

**I: ok. What were the main important issued addressed by the TRC?**

*P: The most important issued addressed by the TRC is for us not to return again to war.*

**I: for us not to return again to war?**

*P: yes. Bad governance. We should not return to war again because that found out that it was bad governance that brought us to the war. For me, that is the reason.*

**I: ok. So that is the only issued you think is the most important issued addressed by the TRC**

*P: Yes. One of the most important issued addressed by the TRC.*

**I: Any other one again?**

*P: because I have used broad term. Bad governance could mean youths empowerment, education and so on, the judiciary, everything*

**I: what do you mean everything?**

*p: All are part of the issued addressed by TRC*

**i: Bad governance this includes the judiciary, the education sector, so they addressed all of those issued?**

*P: youths empowerment and so on*

**I: youths empowerment**

*P: and inequality*

**I: inequality**

*P: men and women to be involved*

**I: ok. gender balance**

*P: gender equity*

Reference 7 - 0.51% Coverage

*P: yes. Also contributed (to the war). Now the democracy has deepened*

<Files\\Sierra Leone\\P FR MWA 006 Interview Transcripts> - § 10 references coded [10.51% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.48% Coverage

**I: Did you think the TRC adequately addressed your concerns?**

*P: not 100%*

Reference 2 - 2.23% Coverage

*P: For us, market women association. We have people that were killed. We have people that were not rebels and they were nothing but a fellow sierra Leoneans, ordinary sierra Leoneans that might have went out for survival but got killed either deliberately or from a stray bullet. All of these things. And a lot of destructions took place.*

Reference 3 - 2.86% Coverage

*P: yes. Like our tables were destroyed, businesses because the coup took place on Sunday and there was no way we could have gone out. All businesses that we had bought got destroyed. Because there was peace and reconciliation then, no one was asked for compensation for our*

*businesses being destroyed. Ok. This was what happened. And again, I thought the issue of educating people; sensitization about accepting people was not detail.*

Reference 4 - 0.20% Coverage

*P: the strides to address anger*

Reference 5 - 0.13% Coverage

*P: people were angry*

Reference 6 - 1.41% Coverage

*P: yes. They will then start to console you, counsel you because of the level of atrocity that you gone through. So, they were with the feeling that by so doing it will restore peace of mind. That is how happened.*

Reference 7 - 0.50% Coverage

*P: It addressed social, economic, life, everything and made recommendations*

Reference 8 - 0.25% Coverage

*P: yes. Like I told you reforms is one*

Reference 9 - 1.68% Coverage

*P: As you know, we have five governments in five years and we came from a dictatorship government and entered into that mess up to the break out of the war and so on. So, they did things that will help us to deal with the trauma people were going through*

Reference 10 - 0.77% Coverage

**I: Do you think that the TRC fostered peace and national cohesion. National peace in the country?**

*P: Yes. some how*

<Files\\Sierra Leone\\P RP 001 Interview Transcripts> - § 4 references coded [10.17% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 3.73% Coverage

*P: yes, yes, yes because one of the main issues addressed that was very necessary was the calling of the perpetrators and the victims together, sit them down and talk with them to forgive themselves. As a result, I was expecting that they should call all the perpetrators and tell them how*

*bad they have done to the nation and some people were able to realize their acts and as a result they were able to achieve very much as far as I am concern.*

#### Reference 2 - 1.78% Coverage

*P: yes, my concerns were addressed because at the end we got a lasting peace in the country and issues that causes the war were able to be addressed. And after that, we got peace in Sierra Leone up to present day*

#### Reference 3 - 3.66% Coverage

*P: Actually, the TRC started by researching the causes of the war and they found out that injustice socially, political greed, injustice in the court of law, inequality among citizens and these led to lots of grievances on citizens and also unemployment among youths. And they were able to discuss among the people that these were the causes of the war and let us see how best we can able to solve these problems so it won't happen again*

#### Reference 4 - 1.00% Coverage

**I: so, do you want to tell me that they recorded history of violence that took place in the country?**

*P: obviously, yes.*

### Mandate

Discussions or references to TRC mandates.

<Files\\Sierra Leone\\Fourah Bay College Students Interview Transcripts> - § 3 references coded [4.83% Coverage]

#### Reference 1 - 0.59% Coverage

*P2: yes. I think... like what my brother has said, they wanted to know those who bear the greatest responsibility of the eleven years civil war.*

#### Reference 2 - 2.14% Coverage

*P3: well, for me, what I know about the TRC-Truth and Reconciliation Commission that was established after the war was for some of the grievances or to vent out the bitterness some people have. For example, some people know certain neighbors or friends that burnt down their houses, or killed their wives or child or did gross atrocity to him/her during the war of which they have the feeling that if Sierra Leoneans are still holding on to those issues, it would have the tendency of causing greater problem in the future.*

#### Reference 3 - 2.10% Coverage

*So, setting up of the TRC so that some of those issues would be brought forward; those that perpetrated the war from the national level and those that were directly involved into our war and some of the lower ranks or junior rank that burnt houses down, hands amputations and other gruesome atrocities for them to be identified that this is the one that burnt my house so that he/she would come forward and answer yes, I burnt it but I am sorry, and beg, and ask for acceptance to live peaceful in the country*

<Files\\Sierra Leone\\P RP 001 Interview Transcripts> - § 1 reference coded [0.54% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.54% Coverage

*P: Actually, the TRC started by researching the causes of the war*

### Opinion of

Discussions or references of the interviewee's opinion of the TRC.

<Files\\Sierra Leone\\Amputee War Wounded Association Interview Transcripts> - § 3 references coded [10.13% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 2.89% Coverage

*P2: The TRC did as much as they were able to bring the perpetrators to booking. But what the spelled out to the victims, they never implemented them ok. and the most vulnerable people in the country today are the war victims. Most of us today are dying from lack of medicines, hospitals, no proper medications ok. We are suffering a lot as we have experienced. Nobody has come to our aid up to this moment you are here with us.*

Reference 2 - 4.34% Coverage

*P: yes, sure. They started. That is the truth. But according to the what the TRC recommended they were not able to implement as how it was spelled out. They started the process up to date we have the document. According to the TRC, we have five categories of victims: the amputees, war wounded, sexually abused, war widows and war orphans. All those people are categorized as war victims. And on the TRC recommendations, the first recommendation to implement for the war victim in this country is for the war victims is to have free medical. This is the first one and I think we should have it. But what we see today is very difficult for us*

Reference 3 - 2.91% Coverage

**I: ok. Do you think the TRC fostered peace and national reconciliation?**

*P: yes.*

**I: By bring you together, brought peace and the nation reconciliation?**

*P: yes. We were the one that went throughout the country to preach peace to our colleagues on the happening to us to forgive and forget that this is our country. They took up that responsibility to courage us but what the promised to do, this government is yet to fulfill them*

<Files\\Sierra Leone\\Fourah Bay College Students Interview Transcripts> - § 12 references coded [30.18% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.35% Coverage

*P1: for me, the TRC, the setting up was good because when conflict occurred, the truth should come out of the it Your side, my side and the truth will prevail. For me it was good. My problem with this particular TRC is that with all the recommendations made by the TRC they have not even yet implement 10% of those recommendations.*

Reference 2 - 3.63% Coverage

*P3: Well, that has to do with the recommendations because if some of those recommendations that are in the TRC report been implemented or been acted upon I think even the coming of this Commission Of Inquiry those issues should have been addressed because it has look at corruption, because of the issues that led to our war has to do with corruption, tribalism, nepotism and even ( p1:injustice ) injustice. We are seen them going on and even our political heads are not working to address some of these issues that are going on and this putting the country at lost because setting up of another commissions or other institutions that would be looking into those issues involved money, you have to pay workers and you have to get an establishment which is a lost to the country. If only we implement some of those recommendations, we shouldn't have been were we are today as a country.*

Reference 3 - 1.37% Coverage

*P1: well, it is the implementation. Like I said, the key issues on the TRC is that the report is in the shelves gathering lot of dust. Nobody has time for it... look at the discussion about the Bintumani 3, there was no need for Bintumani 3. Let go back to the TRC; everything is in there. The implementation is my problem with the report*

Reference 4 - 1.53% Coverage

*P2: no I don't call it was a challenge. We had never tried to implement this peace and national cohesion as it was said by my brother. We are still witnessing tribalism which was spelled clearly on the TRC report. Women are still underrepresented, people are facing injustices, there is still economic hardship wherein people cannot create livelihoods for themselves and so...*

Reference 5 - 1.90% Coverage

*P1: well, I don't there would have been much to do; they did what they supposed to have done at that particular time and they tried to bring to booking those who committed the greatest atrocities to bear the greatest responsibility that was done by the TRC. They did a proper recommendation and I think they did a lot on that and I think not much should be added, it all about the implementation, but TRC did what they supposed to have done at that particular time*

Reference 6 - 1.41% Coverage

*P2: well, concerning the discussion, I don't think that the TRC mention all the individuals that were involved in the war. I don't think so. For me I think people were handpicked and those were some people whom the united nations and some others organizations think they should bear the greatest responsibility while other people were excluded.*

#### Reference 7 - 7.03% Coverage

*P3: well, so far, they did their best. I think it left with governments to endeavor to add to what the TRC has done. I am saying so because every now and then new issues are re-surfacing, things are showing up, new development and the more developments the more bad things keep showing up. So, I am just thinking that an institution, or committee, or whatsoever or commission should have those particular recommendations to be established that is charged to look into some of the issues that are showing up now that have the tendency that might not have been captured by the TRC to be added to in and work upon and not only to add them but to also to implement them and make sure it is worked upon because when we look at the welfare of teachers, looking at the welfare of medical people, looking at the welfare of different people; People are aggrieved, people are really disgruntle, we are seeing the misused of drugs, the used of pampers, tramadol and those things were not before and now with the profession am in, when talking to people normally, they will tell you that if then when those things were not, people got the spirit to look at individual and amputated their hands in broad day light, amputated foot, burnt people alive, spilt pregnant women pregnancies, what would happen if youth, young peoples of today that are taking some of those drugs and if God forbid it, anything shoot up, would be one of the worst issues and that is why our governments really need to look at them and not just to give a shallow look and continue begging to the international bodies, but to work on some of those issues so that we would have a change and that nothing like that should take people minds to those bad issues*

#### Reference 8 - 1.96% Coverage

*P1: yes, it changed my knowledge in a sense it gives a lesson learnt; a lesson learnt from the TRC educated me what were the causes of the war, because when the war was going on, at the end we found out that it was a senseless war. What led to the war? the TRC taught me them and it changed my perception. To this job I am doing now, with regards to what the TRC taught me, to what I am seeing now, it is only God that can save us and we too have to contribute to save ourselves.*

#### Reference 9 - 2.94% Coverage

*P3: yes, through the TRC, I got knowledge that not only players within Sierra Leone or within the country, but our war was having another external players outside of the country that were having hands in the war but they were pretending as if they were not...because Sierra Leone do not have even the factory to process matches sticks let alone Sierra Leone to produce gun, to produce weapons, it means we were having some other countries that were sponsoring people in the country to make sure such wicked practices were carried out in the country. And also having knowledge on the brutal happenings like the movie. For me, I am not able to watch it to end because it always reminds me that war is not good for anybody.*



Reference 10 - 3.13% Coverage

*P2: yes, but I think that one area I want to talk about from what I have read on the TRC report is not about the war, because the war is the aftermath of what happened since 1961 when we the black took power in Sierra Leone, what happened: tribalism, nepotism, economic hardship (p3: segregation), segregation, injustice resulted to all of those issues. So, if we don't want that to happen again, what we will do? we have to cut the bridge and return to the root cause of the war. Now we are talking about drugs in fact that should make us fear, people who have been killing people had not been taken these hard drugs and they were not like that. It was difficult for you to know people who take brown-brown, but now it is common; people just take tramadol, take kuss*

Reference 11 - 1.59% Coverage

*P3: now, the last one I want to say is that I never read the TRC to in detail so I don't know whether it is there or not. One thing I have gathered from elderly people and what I have seen is that the one that came to help fight the war, it appears that they entered into the system and they killed an amount that might have been close to that of the rebels or even more than the rebels.*

Reference 12 - 2.34% Coverage

*P2: that why I said earlier on that people were excluded because the Ecomog committed great atrocities that people are not talking about, innocent people (p3: they raped women), they raped, if they see little children they will identify them as rebels; they were killing people rapidly all over the place, but they were excluded because they were sent by the organizations that helped that gave help to the peace so they were never...so there were some people that were called that I agree that they bear the responsibility, but not everybody bear the greatest responsibility*

<Files\\Sierra Leone\\Govt Official in Ataya Base Org> - § 11 references coded [31.08% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 3.01% Coverage

*P: For me. I think it was good because at the end of their work made recommendations that to be followed because certain things were not addressed in term of bad governance and other issued that led to the war. So, they looked into all of those issues and concluded with recommendations that A, B and C, D were the causes of the war, and that they should settled it or make sure A, B,C did not happen again.*

Reference 2 - 1.30% Coverage

*p: and they also tried to discuss about the judiciary; they reformed the judiciary*

**i: they reformed the judiciary? Ok**

*p: They said that also contributed to the war break out*

Reference 3 - 1.33% Coverage

*p: by chance, DEFID come and sponsored and changed the narratives from what it was before and during the war to what it is now. I believed they played what suppose to be done then.*

**Reference 4 - 0.85% Coverage**

*p: and also the paramount chiefs, chieftom clerks were all trained because they also see it as contributors the war*

**Reference 5 - 0.55% Coverage**

*P: well, they should have... I think they should have been doing follow ups.*

**Reference 6 - 2.21% Coverage**

*P: yes. In other words, like after the conclusion on the report, they should have suggested that maybe after every three years or five years conduct surveys on the people perceptions about the TRC report. They should look at the impact the report has been doing. But I don't think that is happening.*

**Reference 7 - 3.10% Coverage**

**I: ok. Like you mentioned about follow ups, i spoked with the War Amputee Association and they mentioned what they had thought the TRC could have done. It is similar to this one. They had wanted the TRC to conduct follow ups. Because up to date... they have requested that they want the TRC to continue it work; an ongoing process to reconcile especially when they have accepted to forgive and forget.**

*P: exactly, exactly*

**Reference 8 - 7.03% Coverage**

**I: ok. The next question is do you think the TRC changed your knowledge on the country, peace, war...**

*P: yes. It impacted me.*

**I: how?**

*P: because, am seeing it... because, it unveiled issues to me that brought about the war that I didn't know before.*

**I: they unveiled issues?**

*P: yes.*

**I: to you?**

*p: That I didn't know were the causes of the war. Hope you understand right?*

*p: yes. And by so doing, it shaped me. Even on politics. if we are arguing, and someone is talking, I allow him/her to say his/her views. Hope you understand right?*

**I: yes**

*P: when he/she concludes I then make my contributions. If I sense he/she want to get annoy or other thing, I will try as best as possible to come up with funs and crake jokes and forget about it. But before this time, had it been so, maybe I should have reacted to the individual that he/she must*

*not say a word or I should have done something. So by so doing on political discussions, it contributed.*

Reference 9 - 0.19% Coverage

*P: yes. It added knowledge*

Reference 10 - 6.20% Coverage

**I: so erailer on you mentioned that it broaden your knowledge or changed your knowledge on the issues that had occurred in the country. So those issuses that had occurred, do you really think they are still evidenced around?**

*P: if visible?*

**I: yes**

*P: yes. It shows up sometimes, but it fades away again*

**I: ok**

*P: it comes and go, because I have been in two, three fora where people discuss and they even mentioned that this and these were the issues discussed by the TRC report that this and that were the causes of the war. Hope you understand? So that allows it to fade away. But really, there are still some evidences of it . Like political violence. Hope you understand?*

**I: yes**

*P: that brought about the war. It is evidence. Not only in present date but also since the past reigm to date, there are evidence of political violence*

Reference 11 - 5.32% Coverage

**I: Do you see any need for keeping the information alive about the TRC?**

*P: That is why initially I imentioned that the TRC did not conduct follow ups*

**I:ok**

*P: yes. There is need for keeping it alive. Although, maybe as a result of the TRC, it birth to other institutions like if my knowledge could serve me well, the NCD I think?*

**I: National Commision for Democracy**

*P: yes. I think comes with it and I am sure, believe that it is the NCD that should be responsible to start the sensitization. I am sure of it. That is my opition. Hope you understand. But they need step up again to educate people because they have the know-how*

**I: yes**

*P: should come and dessiminte more message, educate people and sensitized them.*

<Files\\Sierra Leone\\P FR MWA 006 Interview Transcripts> - § 7 references coded [13.48% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.56% Coverage

*P: After the war, there a stride for a solution that will bring a win, win situation.*

Reference 2 - 0.44% Coverage

*P: yes. Within the warring factions and the people of Sierra Leone.*

#### Reference 3 - 3.54% Coverage

*P: The wanted... because the war warriors were not foreigners ok. They were Sierra Leoneans. They wanted the TRC as a peace process and they allowed aggrieved people, why they took guns and those who were affected, everybody. They allowed us to testify, what we suffered, and so. And they asked the warring factions apologies for all the wrongs done. And when you apologize, you are taken to your community and reintegrated and the community to be willing to accept you again like the prodigal son. Something like that. That is how it was.*

#### Reference 4 - 0.94% Coverage

*P: yes. Yes, it was it brief. I think it should have been more detail because it was the community the suffered most ok. That was thinking ok*

#### Reference 5 - 2.08% Coverage

*P: because some have died or their families are young and so on. As they are growing older so it dies. That was why I said we should have done an archive so as to document all the happenings in the county so that children yet unborn will know where we came from, the reason for our situation and where we are going.*

#### Reference 6 - 1.77% Coverage

**I: should have been broaden in scope?**

*P: yes, in the communities*

**I: meaning it should continue?**

*P: yes. It should continue*

**I: continue to present day?**

*P: continue to this present day*

**I: That means the scope should have been broaden?**

*P: exactly broaden its scope*

#### Reference 7 - 4.14% Coverage

*P: yes, because it difficult for some people to let go of things because it will take time. They have to look at many things before they can accept and move forward ok. I think that is our problem. And it wanted to bridge something like a division in the country. Had it been that we have inter marriages and strong, strong, strong inter religious tolerance otherwise it should have brought strong division in the country. And to date the elements are evidenced. If you look at the way people are voting in the country, it will clearly tell you that if we do not careful and stride to put ourselves together anything can happen.*

<Files\\Sierra Leone\\P RP 001 Interview Transcripts> - § 4 references coded [12.38% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 2.13% Coverage

*P: well the TRC was very good because at the end of the war, the TRC helped to foster peace and stability in Sierra Leone because they were able to reconcile with the people that caused the atrocities in the war and those that were affected in the war.*

Reference 2 - 1.78% Coverage

*P: yes, my concerns were addressed because at the end we got a lasting peace in the country and issues that caused the war were able to be addressed. And after that, we got peace in Sierra Leone up to present day*

Reference 3 - 3.89% Coverage

*P: well, actually, the report was very good and was very aiming to solve the problem. The reason I said so is because I was a victim or witness of the war. I saw things that were very bad and the report was able to capture the problems and it was able to spell out the causes of the war and it was able to spell out how we should reconcile, and then they were able to give solutions that will avert these issues from happening again. So, it was a very good report*

Reference 4 - 4.60% Coverage

*P: for me personally, because I witnessed the war, I witnessed when someone was burnt alive, I saw when someone hand was cut off, I saw when they shot someone hand. I believe that the TRC would have recommended to conduct more judgements than the peace they worked hard to achieve. Because after the war, even though we are talking about peace but there are some people that gone through the consequences of the war throughout their lives. So, instead of preaching more on peace, they should have done more judgements for the perpetrators of the war*

## Origins

Discussion or references to the origin or creation of the TRC.

<Files\\Sierra Leone\\Fourah Bay College Students Interview Transcripts> - § 3 references coded [4.62% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.89% Coverage

*P1: yes. I know about the Truth and Reconciliation Commission that was established just after the war of which the Commission was set up by the SLPP Late President Tejan Kabba Government. They brought forward some documents, called witnesses and lot of people that participated in the war that gave their testimonies, explained the challenges they faced during the war, what led to the war and so many things done by the TRC. So, I know about its establishment.*

Reference 2 - 0.59% Coverage

*P2: yes. I think... like what my brother has said, they wanted to know those who bear the greatest responsibility of the eleven years civil war.*

Reference 3 - 2.14% Coverage

*P3: well, for me, what I know about the TRC-Truth and Reconciliation Commission that was established after the war was for some of the grievances or to vent out the bitterness some people have. For example, some people know certain neighbors or friends that burnt down their houses, or killed their wives or child or did gross atrocity to him/her during the war of which they have the feeling that if Sierra Leoneans are still holding on to those issues, it would have the tendency of causing greater problem in the future.*

<Files\\Sierra Leone\\Govt Official in Ataya Base Org> - § 3 references coded [9.38% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.05% Coverage

**I: whom do you think established the TRC? Who were involved in establishing the TRC?**

*P: The head of the TRC I think it wasn't Bishop Humper?*

Reference 2 - 6.23% Coverage

**I: Did the TRC came out from government, or civil society or wasn't from the International Community that requested for setting up the TRC?**

*P: After the war, the International Community saw that many things have happened in this country and for it not to be repeated again everybody should says his/her mind. That is why they produce a song title " say you mind" (singing continues). Something like that shown up. Hope you understand right?*

**I: yes**

*P: they saw that saying your mind ... hope you understand right? will help to solve problems and it would be looked into and figure out the reason for ones fighting or this was why he/she becomes aggrieve. Hope you understand right? So that they will able to address the problem*

**I: so, is like it was the International Community that made the recommendation for establishing the TRC?**

*P: Yes*

Reference 3 - 2.10% Coverage

**I: what about government and civil society? Were they not also involved?**

*P: They were because at the end government accepted and gave the open platform for it to be done and civil society popularized it*

**I: ok**

*P: so they too contributed including myself. I contributed as a citizen*

<Files\\Sierra Leone\\P FR MWA 006 Interview Transcripts> - § 1 reference coded [2.63% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 2.63% Coverage

*P: When they went for the peace agreement in Lome', they concluded that since they have got the leader Foday Sankoh (RUF) and the government, Inter-Religious Council, civil society to the table they all agreed to sign the agreement (Lome' Peace Accord. And there was a feeling that since both parties have signed the agreement, they will continue to respect the agreement. That was how it happened.*

<Files\\Sierra Leone\\P RP 001 Interview Transcripts> - § 2 references coded [7.11% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 3.81% Coverage

*P: yes. I am aware about the Truths and Reconciliation Commission that was established immediately after the war, when the eleven years of civil war came to an end. And they established this Truths and Reconciliation Commission to call on people that participated in the war wrongfully, and those that were wronged the war for them to speak out what they have done and figure out ways of bringing peace between the perpetrators and those that were wronged*

Reference 2 - 3.30% Coverage

*P: well actually, I understood that the TRC was established by the United Nations in partnership with Government of Sierra Leone; the United Nations funded the programme and Sierra Leone was part of the programme. The target was the ex-combatants and the victims of the war where they were called together. Aside ( if you do not want everything, you will then have to edit what you do not want)*

## Recommendations

Discussions or references to TRC recommendations.

<Files\\Sierra Leone\\Amputee War Wounded Association Interview Transcripts> - § 9 references coded [24.56% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 6.10% Coverage

*P: First of all, with regards to the TRC recommendations, according to my understanding on it utilization and how we were there, firstly I know for sure that the TRC recommendations came mainly according to what they implemented to us that we should forgive and forget and some of the things they stated on the TRC recommendations like for us the victims in this country when the war broke out in 1991, 23<sup>rd</sup> March, in Bomaru, by then I was physically fit up to 1999 the war entered in (Freetown). Unfortunately, the war affected me when the rebels arrested me and amputated my hand and many of us. More than nine of us though others have died. To start with the TRC recommendations came to console us for us to forgive and forget and to forget the*

*happenings to us. They stated things they promised to do for us from the government, international donors so that it will not reoccur again in the country*

Reference 2 - 1.72% Coverage

*And on the TRC recommendations, the first recommendation to implement for the war victim in this country is for the war victims is to have free medical. This is the first one and I think we should have it. But what we see today is very difficult for us*

Reference 3 - 2.90% Coverage

*P2: yes. The situation on the TRC we are talking about is that the TRC wrote the recommendations and hand it over to government and then involved all the civil societies in this country. They involved the chiefs; they involved the securities and the involved the perpetrators that did the act as some are in Rwanda ok. But after the TRC submitted the document to government, the government never implemented the TRC report to us.*

Reference 4 - 1.06% Coverage

**I: governments never implemented the TRC report?**

*P2: They started it and neve continued*

**I: They did not complete it you mean?**

*P2: they did not complete it*

Reference 5 - 1.92% Coverage

*P2: they started and it does not really appear as something that is recommended for a victim that will heal pains because they recommended that our children should have free education up to university level and to date, we have been fighting for that but no avail. That is the reality*

Reference 6 - 0.60% Coverage

*P2: it was transparent to all but it was not implemented according to the recommendations*

Reference 7 - 1.08% Coverage

*P2: I have seen the book, but it was never handed over to me for me to look at the recommendations in the book (report) and to present it is not in this office*

Reference 8 - 1.94% Coverage

**I: so, you want to allege that some of the recommendations were not done**

*P2: nothing*

**I: like the promises, pensions, free education, free medical**

*P2: They mentioned them on the recommendations that they will address them, but to present day, governments has not yet to make an attempt*



#### Reference 9 - 7.24% Coverage

*P: yes, because we even talk to our colleagues that it is God's destiny. Whatever Allah's has destined that what would be and it is our country, there is no need for revenge and cut off our perpetrators hands that will not bring peace and we want peace to reign in the country forever and ever. The only problem, we want is... because the reason why we are pressing for the education is for our children because if they did not receive better education, they are observing, they thinking so that they will create any problem in the future that will create problem and hampered the peace in the country. That is why we want these children to receive the benefits the TRC recommendations spelled out so that the government could implement them so that our children will go to college. Maybe we will manage to complete their primary and secondary schooling, but the college is the problem. And if your child did not reach college level, he will not acquire anything of benefit to him, he/she will work in office and it will be difficult for survival. So, this is our problem ok*

<Files\\Sierra Leone\\Fourah Bay College Students Interview Transcripts> - § 8 references coded [17.63% Coverage]

#### Reference 1 - 0.62% Coverage

*My problem with this particular TRC is that with all the recommendations made by the TRC they have not even yet implement 10% of those recommendations.*

#### Reference 2 - 3.63% Coverage

*P3: Well, that has to do with the recommendations because if some of those recommendations that are in the TRC report been implemented or been acted upon I think even the coming of this Commission Of Inquiry those issues should have been addressed because it has look at corruption, because of the issues that led to our war has to do with corruption, tribalism, nepotism and even ( p1:injustice ) injustice. We are seen them going on and even our political heads are not working to address some of these issues that are going on and this putting the country at lost because setting up of another commissions or other institutions that would be looking into those issues involved money, you have to pay workers and you have to get an establishment which is a lost to the country. If only we implement some of those recommendations, we shouldn't have been were we are today as a country.*

#### Reference 3 - 1.60% Coverage

*P2: yes. I think what has said by my sister and brother are very good point. My brother said 90% but I will say 99% of the TRC recommendations were never implemented because when you talk about the youths, you talk about the women and all of those (P3: employment), providing employment for youths. All these are not evidence and the issues that brought about the war are surfacing again now*

#### Reference 4 - 2.58% Coverage

*P3: well, for me, the report, I just glanced, I just took that kind of brief look at it, I have never read it in detail but I was cared about the recommendations like on the education, how we think we should give strength to the education because when someone is educated, you will be liberated from so many things, but if that individual is left behind, anything can carry him away*

*P2: yes, like what brother said, Bintumani 3 was needless if we had ever read the TRC report on the recommendation made by the TRC if it would have been implemented in the last eighteen years, I don't think we should have been in this present state*

#### Reference 5 - 0.23% Coverage

*P2: that off course you know. 99% is not been implemented*

#### Reference 6 - 5.09% Coverage

*P3: and for me, I will say even if they have been implemented it was just done shallow. They just did the surface to gain international face-look because at then, the setting up of TRC has to do with international bodies coming on board to work for us to have peace in the country that was done through the help of the then though late now, the then government of the Late President Kabba that was very instrumental individual that wanted peace and was able to achieved it. And think we are just deceiving ourselves or our leaders are just deceiving ourselves because not that they are not aware of some of those recommendations, they just want to give it a kind of look from international perspective wherein when you say injustice, they will establish such kind of sectors, because we are seeing the establishment of the court being extended, we are seeing recent specialized courts which is good, but even if you have the specialized courts, you have the specialized lawyers, how credible they are from politic, from religion or in everything you have to serve your country and possess that sense of loyalty point of view in term of handling issues. So, they are just doing it for international attention but not in the interest of the people*

#### Reference 7 - 2.22% Coverage

*So, I am just thinking that an institution, or committee, or whatsoever or commission should have those particular recommendations to be established that is charged to look into some of the issues that are showing up now that have the tendency that might not have been captured by the TRC to be added to in and work upon and not only to add them but to also to implement them and make sure it is worked upon because when we look at the welfare of teachers, looking at the welfare of medical people, looking at the welfare of different people;*

#### Reference 8 - 1.66% Coverage

*That is why for the younger ones, we want the proper implementations of the TRC. Not only outside implementations, but even to the schools because most of the youths that are of age 18 years, 20 years did not witness the war entirely. So, I think their perceptions need to be change and brought up in way that we could experience a real peace in the country. Implementation is the real problem on the TRC.*

<Files\\Sierra Leone\\Govt Official in Ataya Base Org> - § 1 reference coded [3.13% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 3.13% Coverage

**I: ok. Do you think the TRC recommendations have been implemented?**

*P: yes. They have been implemented*

**I: they have been implemented?**

*P: yes.*

**I: ok. Which ones were implemented?**

*P: just like I mentioned earlier, they tried to reform the judiciary*

**I: reforms. Good. yes**

*p: yes. And they tried to put structures in place like the Youth commission and education also*

**i: ok**

*p: they tried to look into all of those issues*

<Files\\Sierra Leone\\P FR MWA 006 Interview Transcripts> - § 4 references coded [5.02% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.87% Coverage

*P: for them to implement those recommendations. They implemented few like reforms when they did this and that, law reform and so on...*

Reference 2 - 0.28% Coverage

*p: As per what were recommended by the TRC*

Reference 3 - 2.15% Coverage

*P: As I said we were not able to implement all the recommendations. You known it is a voluminous book. I think it is a process for which every government have to look at it because the recommendations in the TRC are very important ok. I was thinking that government should abide by it though they are doing it in a slow pace.*

Reference 4 - 1.72% Coverage

*P: Yes. I think the International Community in as much as they have time bound, they should have made a strong recommendation for every government that took governance in this country should make sure that they stride to implement the recommendations of the TRC*

<Files\\Sierra Leone\\P RP 001 Interview Transcripts> - § 1 reference coded [3.17% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 3.17% Coverage

*P: well, it was very unfortunate that they made recommendations that up to now, most of the recommendations made by the TRC, the Government has not yet implement them and we are*

*seeing lots of problems that caused the war surfacing again because the present government or the governments of Sierra Leone after the war does not able to attend to these suggestions made by them.*

### Relationship to

Discussions or references of the interviewee's relationship to the TRC.

<Files\\Sierra Leone\\Amputee War Wounded Association Interview Transcripts> - § 2 references coded [2.23% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.80% Coverage

*P: yes. Sure. I did not only hear it; I was also among the team that implemented the TRC recommendations of the country*

Reference 2 - 1.42% Coverage

**I: so, were you directly or indirectly involved on the process?**

*P: for the TRC?*

**I: Yes**

*P: I was among the team*

**I: you were among team? That means you were directly involved on the TRC process**

*P: obviously*

<Files\\Sierra Leone\\Fourah Bay College Students Interview Transcripts> - § 2 references coded [1.17% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.76% Coverage

*P3: well, unfortunately, I was not involved because of my age then but I got little knowledge and I am able to recall some of the issues that took place, but directly I was not involved*

Reference 2 - 0.41% Coverage

**I: Ok, Sir you too were not involved right?**

*P2: yes*

**I: so, none of you were involved on the process**

<Files\\Sierra Leone\\Govt Official in Ataya Base Org> - § 5 references coded [5.09% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.21% Coverage

*P:I have heard about the TRC*

Reference 2 - 0.22% Coverage

*P: I was not directly involved*

Reference 3 - 1.66% Coverage

*P: because, maybe I don't understand what you mean. And if I could interpret what you are try to say in my understanding whether I was directly involved as war warrior or not. And if so, I did not fight nor I as a war warrior*

Reference 4 - 1.54% Coverage

**I: I mean whether you participated as government officials, or witnessed, or heard when TRC was on course, or someone told you or maybe you read it from newspaper**

*P: No. But I knew that the TRC was on course*

Reference 5 - 1.46% Coverage

**I: So in directly you were involved. Firstly, as a citizen of this nation and also you survived the war.**

*P: yes . I survived the war*

**I: so in directly you were involved because you heard it**

*P: ok*

<Files\\Sierra Leone\\P FR MWA 006 Interview Transcripts> - § 1 reference coded [2.15% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 2.15% Coverage

**I: ok. And were you directly or indirectly involved?**

*P: I was directly involved.*

**I: As what? What was your role?**

*P: I was the treasure for the Western Area;*

**I: Western Area**

*P: under the civil society*

*I: under the civil society?*

*I: what is the civil society?*

**P: working group**

**I: working group?**

*P: a TRC working group*

<Files\\Sierra Leone\\P RP 001 Interview Transcripts> - § 2 references coded [2.39% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.85% Coverage

*P: Actually, since I was in the country during the war, I can say I was directly involved in the war.*

Reference 2 - 1.55% Coverage

*P: because, there were so many issues. I lost my family members during the war; and that was a very bad effect to my family and myself. I can say I was directly involved during the war.*

## *Forget*

Discussions or references to forgetting.

<Files\\Sierra Leone\\Amputee War Wounded Association Interview Transcripts> - § 3  
references coded [8.58% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 6.10% Coverage

*P: First of all, with regards to the TRC recommendations, according to my understanding on it utilization and how we were there, firstly I know for sure that the TRC recommendations came mainly according to what they implemented to us that we should forgive and forget and some of the things they stated on the TRC recommendations like for us the victims in this country when the war broke out in 1991, 23<sup>rd</sup> March, in Bomaru, by then I was physically fit up to 1999 the war entered in (Freetown). Unfortunately, the war affected me when the rebels arrested me and amputated my hand and many of us. More than nine of us though others have died. To start with the TRC recommendations came to console us for us to forgive and forget and to forget the happenings to us. They stated things they promised to do for us from the government, international donors so that it will not reoccur again in the country*

Reference 2 - 2.20% Coverage

*P: but it was not transparent. We were there, we went across the country, up to upcountry to reach to our colleagues because we have membership across the entire districts. We reached them to give them courage for them to forgive and forget what had happened but it was not really transparent up to date it is not transparent*

Reference 3 - 0.28% Coverage

*So, I have to stop and forget about it.*

<Files\\Sierra Leone\\P FR MWA 006 Interview Transcripts> - § 1 reference coded [0.72% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.72% Coverage

**I: those that agreed to accept?**

*P: all that have is in the past and decided to forget and move on with life.*

## *Forgiveness*

Discussions or references to forgiveness.

<Files\\Sierra Leone\\Amputee War Wounded Association Interview Transcripts> - § 2 references coded [3.59% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 2.20% Coverage

*P: but it was not transparent. We were there, we went across the country, up to upcountry to reach to our colleagues because we have membership across the entire districts. We reached them to give them courage for them to forgive and forget what had happened but it was not really transparent up to date it is not transparent*

Reference 2 - 1.39% Coverage

**I: so, what about the perpetrators that did the act were they also involved on the process?**

*P: yes. They too were involved. They tried to beg and asked for forgiveness from us for what had happened. So yes*

<Files\\Sierra Leone\\Fourah Bay College Students Interview Transcripts> - § 1 reference coded [2.10% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 2.10% Coverage

*So, setting up of the TRC so that some of those issues would be brought forward; those that perpetrated the war from the national level and those that were directly involved into our war and some of the lower ranks or junior rank that burnt houses down, hands amputations and other gruesome atrocities for them to be identified that this is the one that burnt my house so that he/she would come forward and answer yes, I burnt it but I am sorry, and beg, and ask for acceptance to live peaceful in the country*

<Files\\Sierra Leone\\P FR MWA 006 Interview Transcripts> - § 3 references coded [5.99% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 2.49% Coverage

*P: yes. Whiles there are some that have deep wound and that they cannot able to forgive just like that so easily ok. This is the problem. That is why also the Special Court brought to try those who bore the greatest responsibility for people that were so aggrieved so that they will know that a justice was done. In as much as they did reconciliation because a blanket amnesty*

Reference 2 - 2.02% Coverage

*P: to all the factions. But again, when they brought the Special Court that helped to reduce the pressure on the most aggrieved people that up to date have the scares. Some are not able to*



*reconciles, some are not able to forgive. But when the justice system was brought in that help to address the issues.*

#### Reference 3 - 1.48% Coverage

*P: it challenged, it challenged us a greatly because there are some people that have vergency; when something happened, it is difficult to forgive and that is why I said the reconciliation aspect should have been in progress*

<Files\\Sierra Leone\\P RP 001 Interview Transcripts> - § 2 references coded [9.25% Coverage]

#### Reference 1 - 3.73% Coverage

*P: yes, yes, yes because one of the main issues addressed that was very necessary was the calling of the perpetrators and the victims together, sit them down and talk with them to forgive themselves. As a result, I was expecting that they should call all the perpetrators and tell them how bad they have done to the nation and some people were able to realize their acts and as a result they were able to achieve very much as far as I am concern.*

#### Reference 2 - 5.52% Coverage

*P: yes. Not everybody. Man, we need to know that justice cannot be given to everybody. So it is very cleared that not everybody in the world got justice of what they have done because I believe that some of the rebels that killed people, some of the rebels that amputated people and also some of the rebels that killed pregnant women, the TRC said that they should be forgiven. So, as a result of that, these set of people of people that did not faced the judgement because it was only the reign leaders that were punished. But the people that did the major part of the atrocity did not face any judgement but rather it was rehabilitations were given to them*

## History

Discussions or references to history.

<Files\\Sierra Leone\\Amputee War Wounded Association Interview Transcripts> - § 2 references coded [11.48% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.97% Coverage

**I: The last one is this. Do you think the TRC brought or add knowledge to you about the country's war and the country as a whole?**

*P: yes. sure*

Reference 2 - 10.51% Coverage

*P2: I think the chairman has said little bit about the reality because seeing us accommodating those people that amputated us and up to present day, we are working side by side, we have accepted peace really. So, we are peaceful citizens, but government need to do more. Do you understand? Giving excuses does not matter in implementing justices. That is what will help people on the reality but without that you will still leave pains in the minds of the victims. When you at the launching of the...museum*

*P: Peace Museum*

*P2: Peace Museum, you look at all that is done in there and look at the perpetrators that did this to us, most of the then elders were there. But we kept quiet, we sat with them together, discussed together. Even myself and Collins who ordered for our amputations and killed some other people Collins stood in front of me. We discussed and asked questions. Then I said Collins because he directed me to look at what was done by RPG (machine gun). So, I reminded him. I asked him if he could remember those days, on this and that dates? He bowed his head. And I said you did the act at Bailing Street and Black Hall Road junction. I told him that you reach my house before your uncle's house. Do you remember your act and what you and Akin did? He bowed his face ok. So, I have to stop and forget about it. But if you have come as a student and you are working to acquire knowledge advice the government. We need the TRC recommendation report here. We need the book itself. So, if you help us with it, we will appreciate very much*

<Files\\Sierra Leone\\P FR MWA 006 Interview Transcripts> - § 2 references coded [4.80% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.00% Coverage

**I: And Marie this is the last question. Do you think the TRC brought additional knowledge to you about the history of the country and the war?**

*P: yes.*

Reference 2 - 3.80% Coverage

*P: during the break out of the war, I was in Freetown. I did not know what happened in Bo, Kailahun ok. But with the coming of the TRC, people come from far and wide voluntarily. Some*

*people volunteered to testify what had happened to them and we were getting the hearings so I was able to have knowledge about the mass graves, amputations, genocide, rape cases ok. We did not evidence them but when people were testifying that they were raped, these and those men raped me that gives you knowledge and imagination that such things had happened in the country but it happened*

<Files\\Sierra Leone\\P RP 001 Interview Transcripts> - § 1 reference coded [4.53% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 4.53% Coverage

**I: ok, so do you think that the TRC has changed your knowledge of history of conflict in the country?**

*P: oh yes, I believe that it changed my knowledge and not my knowledge alone, Sierra Leone as a whole and anybody that has got the opportunity to read the documents, the recommendations and the report of TRC, I believe that the TRC changed his/her knowledge a lots and I am always since I read this report, I came to understand the importance of peace and tried to know what it mean for everybody to live in harmony and ones in the nation*

## *Human Rights Violations*

Discussions or references to human rights violations.

<Files\\Sierra Leone\\P RP 001 Interview Transcripts> - § 2 references coded [9.76% Coverage]

### Reference 1 - 5.78% Coverage

*P: well, we are not able to see... we have the result of the TRC because we having a peace that we are enjoying to date, yet there are other suggestions that are really challenges to Sierra Leone. Firstly, we still have injustice in the court of law, secondly, we still have high amount of unemployment rate among the youths. It is estimated that Sierra Leone has over 80% of it youthful population still unemployed. And we still have corruption which was another suggestion, that political leader should be less corrupt, but we still have... we are one of the highest corrupts nation. So, you will see that these things also create centre that will instigate problem in future in Sierra Leone.*

### Reference 2 - 3.99% Coverage

*P: well, actually, it did not bring a total justice. But if we are talking precisely to human rights, I believe that it brought a justice because I understand that it gave some of the people the wiliness to come out and asked for forgive from the nation and its also educated other people to forgive. And now, one good thing about the TRC Sierra Leone learned how to respect human rights of the nation. So, I will say it gave a justice if we talk only on human rights concerns*

## Justice

Discussions or references of justice.

<Files\\Sierra Leone\\Amputee War Wounded Association Interview Transcripts> - § 1 reference coded [5.63% Coverage]

### Reference 1 - 5.63% Coverage

*P: firstly, when you look in term of justice, it is questionable because we are seeing the perpetrators working on their normal life. Some are drivers, some are Okade riders (Bike), some are carpenters, some are engaged on different trades. But we that are suffering now do not have the benefits the TRC recommendations spelled out for us. We have seen this as injustice because we are seeing these people, we live in the same communities, same areas, same districts, same organizations. We are seeing them and they too are seeing us and they are living their normal life whiles we are not able to do nothing. And the promises TRC mentioned are not done and if you promise someone that you have forgiven and forget, that you will do this and that and you did not hold on to that, it is injustices really. We don't see justices in it*

<Files\\Sierra Leone\\Fourah Bay College Students Interview Transcripts> - § 3 references coded [8.46% Coverage]

### Reference 1 - 1.67% Coverage

*P3: Well, that has to do with the recommendations because if some of those recommendations that are in the TRC report been implemented or been acted upon I think even the coming of this Commission Of Inquiry those issues should have been addressed because it has look at corruption, because of the issues that led to our war has to do with corruption, tribalism, nepotism and even ( p1:injustice ) injustice.*

### Reference 2 - 1.48% Coverage

*P1: Well, one of the most important issues is about the judiciary which is talking about injustice that led to some of these issues. Because if listen to Foady Sankoh himself, if you listen to the testimonies of some of the key players in the war, it reveals to you that there were lot of injustice that led them to the bush, because there were not having justice*

### Reference 3 - 5.31% Coverage

*P1: well, yes. It is a step on justice because when we talk about peace and conflict; where this a peace there must have been a conflict and where there is a conflict there must be a peace. When you offended some and you genuinely face him/her and accept that yes, I wronged you and apologize, I think some amount of justice has been done to address it. So, I believe justice was done, but when you look in term of the implementations, things people should benefits from the TRC, like the RUF, Revolutionary United Front that has formed political party there are certain things in the recommendations of the TRC that they should be benefiting, not only them but all other political parties whether an opposition or being the least political parties should be*

*benefiting from the recommendations. So, I think the justice in sense, is when people came out and tell the truth and confessed things up to the provincial areas. You that have burnt down your neighbors houses and when your neighbor tell you about that you should able to accept it and we also saw how Foday Sankoh and others were charged and the likes of Isaa and other that are still in Rwanda serving their prison sentences, the likes of Charles Taylor that is still serving his prison sentences. So, some there some amount of justice.*

<Files\\Sierra Leone\\P FR MWA 006 Interview Transcripts> - § 4 references coded [6.18% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.00% Coverage

*Because there was peace and reconciliation then, no one was asked for compensation for our businesses being destroyed. Ok. This was what happened. And*

Reference 2 - 0.67% Coverage

**I: Do you think the TRC brought justice to the victims of the war?**

*P: for those who agreed to accept*

Reference 3 - 2.49% Coverage

*P: yes. Whiles there are some that have deep wound and that they cannot able to forgive just like that so easily ok. This is the problem. That is why also the Special Court brought to try those who bore the greatest responsibility for people that were so aggrieved so that they will know that a justice was done. In as much as they did reconciliation because a blanket amnesty*

Reference 4 - 2.02% Coverage

*P: to all the factions. But again, when they brought the Special Court that helped to reduce the pressure on the most aggrieved people that up to date have the scares. Some are not able to reconciles, some are not able to forgive. But when the justice system was brought in that help to address the issues.*

<Files\\Sierra Leone\\P RP 001 Interview Transcripts> - § 3 references coded [14.10% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 3.99% Coverage

*P: well, actually, it did not bring a total justice. But if we are talking precisely to human rights, I believe that it brought a justice because I understand that it gave some of the people the wiliness to come out and asked for forgive from the nation and its also educated other people to forgive. And now, one good thing about the TRC Sierra Leone learned how to respect human rights of the nation. So, I will say it gave a justice if we talk only on human rights concerns*

Reference 2 - 4.60% Coverage

*P: for me personally, because I witnessed the war, I witnessed when someone was burnt alive, I saw when someone hand was cut off, I saw when they shot someone hand. I believe that the TRC would have recommended to conduct more judgements than the peace they worked hard to achieve. Because after the war, even though we are talking about peace but there are some people that gone through the consequences of the war throughout their lives. So, instead of preaching more on peace, they should have done more judgements for the perpetrators of the war*

#### **Reference 3 - 5.52% Coverage**

*P: yes. Not everybody. Man, we need to know that justice cannot be given to everybody. So it is very cleared that not everybody in the world got justice of what they have done because I believe that some of the rebels that killed people, some of the rebels that amputated people and also some of the rebels that killed pregnant women, the TRC said that they should be forgiven. So, as a result of that, these set of people of people that did not faced the judgement because it was only the reign leaders that were punished. But the people that did the major part of the atrocity did not face any judgement but rather it was rehabilitations were given to them*

## Reconciliation

Discussions or references to reconciliation.

<Files\\Sierra Leone\\Amputee War Wounded Association Interview Transcripts> - § 2 references coded [5.59% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 2.91% Coverage

**I: ok. Do you think the TRC fostered peace and national reconciliation?**

*P: yes.*

**I: By bring you together, brought peace and the nation reconciliation?**

*P: yes. We were the one that went throughout the country to preach peace to our colleagues on the happening to us to forgive and forget that this is our country. They took up that responsibility to courage us but what the promised to do, this government is yet to fulfill them*

Reference 2 - 2.69% Coverage

*P: because when you look at other countries like Congo, they too had war but because I think the TRC recommendations did not reach and encourage the victims, give them peace and that is why the war is still there. But on our side, when the TRC came, they met with us, brought us peace, encouraged us and they healed our angers at the time when we were in pains. It helped us. It helped us really.*

<Files\\Sierra Leone\\Fourah Bay College Students Interview Transcripts> - § 3 references coded [3.35% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.28% Coverage

*P1: that was peace and national reconciliation, but after they failed to implement the recommendations of the TRC that why are not seeing national cohesion because when you observe how the 2018 elections concluded to us and up to date there is still tribal line division, regional line division and political line.*

Reference 2 - 0.58% Coverage

*P2: yes, yes, I think the report itself has this peace and reconciliation recommendation, but since it hasn't been implemented, it is not real*

Reference 3 - 1.48% Coverage

*P3: it brought peace, because if it hadn't brought peace, we wouldn't have been talking about it now. The only thing that allow us discuss about it as you have come to us is because there was peace from that process, hadn't been peace, I don't even think we would have been able to conduct over two elections or more presently. But its peaceful came from the TRC.*

<Files\\Sierra Leone\\Govt Official in Ataya Base Org> - § 1 reference coded [6.76% Coverage]



Reference 1 - 6.76% Coverage

**i: The next is this. Do you think that the TRC fostered peace and reconciliation in the country?**

*P: yes*

**I: how?**

*P: why I said so is because after the report was done, wherever they want to do is referenced to the TRC report. They will caution not to do this and that as they were the causes of the war as spelled out by the TRC. So that cautioned to the politicians. Hope you understand right?*

*I: ok*

*P: and that alone is a very good document that stands as a reference not only for Sierra Leone but I do know that other countries come here to study how the TRC was done. Hope you understand I:ok.*

*P: so that fostered and reminds us of the past. It reminds us of what we should not do not to bring war. So that alone, that remembrance keep us together that indeed if we engage in this we will return to war and if we do not engage in this, we will have peace. That is why we are seeing democracy at work. That*

<Files\\Sierra Leone\\P FR MWA 006 Interview Transcripts> - § 8 references coded [11.33% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.00% Coverage

*Because there was peace and reconciliation then, no one was asked for compensation for our businesses being destroyed. Ok. This was what happened. And*

Reference 2 - 1.26% Coverage

*P: yes reintegration, reconciliation all of those. They were done in a traditional way, some in formal and some informal. But I think something is wrong somewhere that we have not yet reached*

Reference 3 - 2.02% Coverage

*P: to all the factions. But again, when they brought the Special Court that helped to reduce the pressure on the most aggrieved people that up to date have the scares. Some are not able to reconcile, some are not able to forgive. But when the justice system was brought in that help to address the issues.*

Reference 4 - 2.73% Coverage

*P: some how it fostered peace because there were some communities that were able to accept perpetrators around them that were responsible for their suffering. That is reconciliation and reintegration but at the same time, some people because not everybody was called upon;*

*sometime the traditional people or the authorities and so on. Sometimes those that really suffered from the war were not part of the process*

Reference 5 - 0.88% Coverage

*P: I think because the TRC cannot prosecute and try anybody just to do reconciliation. I was thinking that the reconciliation aspect*

Reference 6 - 0.24% Coverage

*P: should have been broaden in scope.*

Reference 7 - 0.36% Coverage

**I: so, the reconciliation is broadened**

*P: yes, broaden*

Reference 8 - 2.84% Coverage

*p: yes, and if every government accept it as war; not one side alone suffered, not even political parties alone; everybody suffered. So when government comes, they should do a project that will continue to do reconciliation and at the same time stride to engage the younger ones to let them know that these were the happenings in the country and these were the things that led to them, Please don't go that way and let move ahead.*

<Files\\Sierra Leone\\P RP 001 Interview Transcripts> - § 3 references coded [12.31% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 3.01% Coverage

*P: Well, actually, by then I was child; so, I was not having much to do. I did not participate directly during the war, but rather, the war be a consequence to me and I can say I am a witness because I saw some of the happenings. I saw some of the reconciliations that took place, I saw payment made for some of the ex-combatants. So, I am witness to the war.*

Reference 2 - 4.78% Coverage

*P: off course, yes. It fostered peace because it brought a bridge wherein the perpetrators of the war and the victims of the war were able to meet and dialogue and got a national healing and forgiveness, and then people forgot. The got a programme where they educate people how to forget and how to forgive ourselves. A lot of our money was spent on that process, and then engaged people in messages, radio programmes, dramatizations that people should forgive themselves and forget about themselves. And I believe that it brought reconciliation to the nation as a whole*

Reference 3 - 4.52% Coverage

*P: well, actually, we went through the eleven years of war and me being a witness in the war, I came to the understanding that structures government have spent thousands of millions of Leones were all destroyed during the eleven years of war. But if we have a peace in a nation, you will realize that a nation will develop. So, one importance of a peace is that peace ensures that a nation be on the part of a development rather a war destroyed all that was built by peace. So, peace is important because its foster development in a nation*

## *Truth*

Discussions or references to truth.

<Files\\Sierra Leone\\Fourah Bay College Students Interview Transcripts> - § 1 reference coded  
[0.65% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.65% Coverage

*P1: for me, the TRC, the setting up was good because when conflict occurred, the truth should come out of the it Your side, my side and the truth will prevail.*

## Victims

Discussions or references to victims.

<Files\\Sierra Leone\\Amputee War Wounded Association Interview Transcripts> - § 4  
references coded [12.82% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 6.10% Coverage

*P: First of all, with regards to the TRC recommendations, according to my understanding on it utilization and how we were there, firstly I know for sure that the TRC recommendations came mainly according to what they implemented to us that we should forgive and forget and some of the things they stated on the TRC recommendations like for us the victims in this country when the war broke out in 1991, 23<sup>rd</sup> March, in Bomaru, by then I was physically fit up to 1999 the war entered in (Freetown). Unfortunately, the war affected me when the rebels arrested me and amputated my hand and many of us. More than nine of us though others have died. To start with the TRC recommendations came to console us for us to forgive and forget and to forget the happenings to us. They stated things they promised to do for us from the government, international donors so that it will not reoccur again in the country*

Reference 2 - 2.89% Coverage

*P2: The TRC did as much as they were able to bring the perpetrators to booking. But what the spelled out to the victims, they never implemented them ok. and the most vulnerable people in the country today are the war victims. Most of us today are dying from lack of medicines, hospitals, no proper medications ok. We are suffering a lot as we have experienced. Nobody has come to our aid up to this moment you are here with us.*

Reference 3 - 1.63% Coverage

*out. They started the process up to date we have the document. According to the TRC, we have five categories of victims: the amputees, war wounded, sexually abused, war widows and war orphans. All those people are categorized as war victims.*

Reference 4 - 2.20% Coverage

*P: but it was not transparent. We were there, we went across the country, up to upcountry to reach to our colleagues because we have membership across the entire districts. We reached them to give them courage for them to forgive and forget what had happened but it was not really transparent up to date it is not transparent*

<Files\\Sierra Leone\\Fourah Bay College Students Interview Transcripts> - § 1 reference coded  
[4.58% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 4.58% Coverage

*P3: now, the last one I want to say is that I never read the TRC to in detail so I don't know whether it is there or not. One thing I have gathered from elderly people and what I have seen is that the one that came to help fight the war, it appears that they entered into the system and they killed an amount that might have been close to that of the rebels or even more than the rebels. For example, the Ogas that were in town. We have been seeing them killing Sierra Leoneans just like that and I don't know whether it is in the TRC for some of those people to be accountable for those innocent souls. Because they to the country to help with the peace, but they too have added. We didn't see anything... maybe it created change, but the effect of what they did is dangerous as compare to what they wanted to settle. I think some of these issues need to be recorded because some people mothers were not killed by rebels, some people fathers were not killed by rebels, but were killed by Oga men and some of the other bodies that came to the country in the name of settling or bringing peace or fight against the rebels.*

<Files\\Sierra Leone\\P FR MWA 006 Interview Transcripts> - § 1 reference coded [2.84% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 2.84% Coverage

*p: yes, and if every government accept it as war; not one side alone suffered, not even political parties alone; everybody suffered. So when government comes, they should do a project that will continue to do reconciliation and at the same time stride to engage the younger ones to let them know that these were the happenings in the country and these were the things that led to them, Please don't go that way and let move ahead.*

<Files\\Sierra Leone\\P RP 001 Interview Transcripts> - § 4 references coded [15.96% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.96% Coverage

*P: yes, men and women were involved because men were the major perpetrators whiles women were the major victims of the war. So,for them to be able to bridge a peace, obviously, they were able to join both men and women on the process*

Reference 2 - 3.89% Coverage

*P: well, actually, the report was very good and was very aiming to solve the problem. The reason I said so is because I was a victim or witness of the war. I saw things that were very bad and the report was able to capture the problems and it was able to spell out the causes of the war and it was able to spell out how we should reconcile, and then they were able to give solutions that will advert these issues from happening again. So, it was a very good report*

Reference 3 - 4.60% Coverage

*P: for me personally, because I witnessed the war, I witnessed when someone was burnt alive, I saw when someone hand was cut off, I saw when they shot someone hand. I believe that the TRC would have recommended to conduct more judgements than the peace they worked hard to*

*achieve. Because after the war, even though we are talking about peace but there are some people that gone through the consequences of the war throughout their lives. So, instead of preaching more on peace, they should have done more judgements for the perpetrators of the war*

#### Reference 4 - 5.52% Coverage

*P: yes. Not everybody. Man, we need to know that justice cannot be given to everybody. So it is very cleared that not everybody in the world got justice of what they have done because I believe that some of the rebels that killed people, some of the rebels that amputated people and also some of the rebels that killed pregnant women, the TRC said that they should be forgiven. So, as a result of that, these set of people of people that did not faced the judgement because it was only the reign leaders that were punished. But the people that did the major part of the atrocity did not face any judgement but rather it was rehabilitations were given to them*

## Violence

Discussions or references to violence.

<Files\\Sierra Leone\\Amputee War Wounded Association Interview Transcripts> - § 2  
references coded [8.44% Coverage]

### Reference 1 - 6.10% Coverage

*P: First of all, with regards to the TRC recommendations, according to my understanding on it utilization and how we were there, firstly I know for sure that the TRC recommendations came mainly according to what they implemented to us that we should forgive and forget and some of the things they stated on the TRC recommendations like for us the victims in this country when the war broke out in 1991, 23<sup>rd</sup> March, in Bomaru, by then I was physically fit up to 1999 the war entered in (Freetown). Unfortunately, the war affected me when the rebels arrested me and amputated my hand and many of us. More than nine of us though others have died. To start with the TRC recommendations came to console us for us to forgive and forget and to forget the happenings to us. They stated things they promised to do for us from the government, international donors so that it will not reoccur again in the country*

### Reference 2 - 2.34% Coverage

*Even myself and Collins who ordered for our amputations and killed some other people Collins stood in front of me. We discussed and asked questions. Then I said Collins because he directed me to look at what was done by RPG (machine gun). So, I reminded him. I asked him if he could remember those days, on this and that dates? He bowed his head.*

<Files\\Sierra Leone\\Fourah Bay College Students Interview Transcripts> - § 5 references coded  
[17.06% Coverage]

### Reference 1 - 3.45% Coverage

*For example, some people know certain neighbors or friends that burnt down their houses, or killed their wives or child or did gross atrocity to him/her during the war of which they have the feeling that if Sierra Leoneans are still holding on to those issues, it would have the tendency of causing greater problem in the future. So, setting up of the TRC so that some of those issues would be brought forward; those that perpetrated the war from the national level and those that were directly involved into our war and some of the lower ranks or junior rank that burnt houses down, hands amputations and other gruesome atrocities for them to be identified that this is the one that burnt my house so that he/she would come forward and answer yes, I burnt it but I am sorry, and beg, and ask for acceptance to live peaceful in the country*

### Reference 2 - 3.60% Coverage

*Because, like what my sister said, those people amputated people hands, amputated people foot then were injected with cocaine, brown-brown, but now those youths are not cocaine, not brown-brown but have the spirit to slaughter you with cutlass. They have cutlasses, you understand, so*



*that lesson that I have learnt, I think most of the youths that are using cutlass, indulge into tramadol, kuss or whatsoever they are taking. I am imaging if these drugs were having been then, it would have been worse than that. Because then, cocaine was difficult to come by except for some the big boys, criminals, tycoons that were able to smuggle it in exchange for diamonds with the rebels or whatever, but now everything is available and it is open. During football match, you see some youths the mind to carry cutlasses placed them on their sides to butcher people, can you imagine that?*

#### Reference 3 - 1.91% Coverage

*Some people appearances were not good and some were happened to be rebels, but some happened not to be rebels. They killed innocent people, children, pregnant women, so some of those issues resurfacing, to me I just think as a citizen to do what it takes to do even if I have young people and got the opportunity to talk to them that want to live contrary or want to take certain decision, I will advise them that such is not good base from the perception I have got.*

#### Reference 4 - 1.18% Coverage

*. Now we are talking about drugs in fact that should make us fear, people who have been killing people had not been taken these hard drugs and they were not like that. It was difficult for you to know people who take brown-brown, but now it is common; people just take tramadol, take kuss*

#### Reference 5 - 6.92% Coverage

*P3: now, the last one I want to say is that I never read the TRC to in detail so I don't know whether it is there or not. One thing I have gathered from elderly people and what I have seen is that the one that came to help fight the war, it appears that they entered into the system and they killed an amount that might have been close to that of the rebels or even more than the rebels. For example, the Ogas that were in town. We have been seeing them killing Sierra Leoneans just like that and I don't know whether it is in the TRC for some of those people to be accountable for those innocent souls. Because they to the country to help with the peace, but they too have added. We didn't see anything... maybe it created change, but the effect of what they did is dangerous as compare to what they wanted to settle. I think some of these issues need to be recorded because some people mothers were not killed by rebels, some people fathers were not killed by rebels, but were killed by Oga men and some of the other bodies that came to the country in the name of settling or bringing peace or fight against the rebels.*

*P2: that why I said earlier on that people were excluded because the Ecomog committed great atrocities that people are not talking about, innocent people (p3: they raped women), they raped, if they see little children they will identify them as rebels; they were killing people rapidly all over the place, but they were excluded because they were sent by the organizations that helped that gave help to the peace so they were never...so there were some people that were called that I agree that they bear the responsibility, but not everybody bear the greatest responsibility*

<Files\\Sierra Leone\\P FR MWA 006 Interview Transcripts> - § 2 references coded [3.49% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 2.23% Coverage

*P: For us, market women association. We have people that were killed. We have people that were not rebels and they were nothing but a fellow sierra Leoneans, ordinary sierra Leoneans that might have went out for survival but got killed either deliberately or from a stray bullet. All of these things. And a lot of destructions took place.*

Reference 2 - 1.26% Coverage

*Even us, the women were given preference to make sure that women are encouraged to testify what happened to them, those who were raped, gang raped all of those things. It was very inclusive.*

<Files\\Sierra Leone\\P RP 001 Interview Transcripts> - § 3 references coded [14.08% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 3.97% Coverage

*P: well not only from people that fought the war, the violence was nationwide then. The entire nation was getting a lot of problems from these social issues to wherein if you go to the court of law there was injustice there, you graduate from college as a young man; we have high number of unemployed people. You see, there was section of tribalism in certain spat of the nation. So, it was a national problem that they were able to address and it was all over the country*

Reference 2 - 4.60% Coverage

*P: for me personally, because I witnessed the war, I witnessed when someone was burnt alive, I saw when someone hand was cut off, I saw when they shot someone hand. I believe that the TRC would have recommended to conduct more judgements than the peace they worked hard to achieve. Because after the war, even though we are talking about peace but there are some people that gone through the consequences of the war throughout their lives. So, instead of preaching more on peace, they should have done more judgements for the perpetrators of the war*

Reference 3 - 5.52% Coverage

*P: yes. Not everybody. Man, we need to know that justice cannot be given to everybody. So it is very cleared that not everybody in the world got justice of what they have done because I believe that some of the rebels that killed people, some of the rebels that amputated people and also some of the rebels that killed pregnant women, the TRC said that they should be forgiven. So, as a result of that, these set of people of people that did not faced the judgement because it was only the reign leaders that were punished. But the people that did the major part of the atrocity did not face any judgement but rather it was rehabilitations were given to them*

## Women

Discussions or references to women

<Files\\Sierra Leone\\Amputee War Wounded Association Interview Transcripts> - § 2 references coded [2.23% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.46% Coverage

**I: were women and men equally involved on the process?**

*P: obviously*

Reference 2 - 1.77% Coverage

*P: obviously. Even on the launching of the TRC recommendations we were there. Women, children... like I said all the five categories were all included-the amputees, the war widows, sexually abused, the war wounded, the war orphans. All were included in the process*

<Files\\Sierra Leone\\Fourah Bay College Students Interview Transcripts> - § 3 references coded [8.92% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.59% Coverage

*P1: yes, because the process was opened. Meaning it was not a secret and there was a called for anyone that think has something to say on the process. So, both men and women were involved. So, I believe it was an opened process where they were equally involved. They were not discriminated on the bases that women shouldn't talk. That was not the case. It was opened and it was not a secret*

Reference 2 - 6.67% Coverage

*P3: yes, for me, in that light, yes, the process, the platform was created for the different sex-women and men, but for me personally, I think women were not having proper representation because if we traced back the level of women status then when considering the fact that it is now we are seeing organizations, activists are fighting women to come out to speak. For example, even as you are doing your research now, and you visit a place not all women will spirit to speak. So, women have that kind of fear, I don't want to stand there so not to annoy my husband, not to annoy my uncle, not o annoy my father or where my Immam is talking, where my pastor is talking, I don't have the right to talk there. It is now some of those issues are changing for us especially us the young ones that coming up now wherein I have the spirit to talk now. But If my mother had had got this same opportunity, she wouldn't have talk. So, even in my working experience, I have found out that most time when you create a platform for women and men, women mostly tend not to speak up. So, with this, I am referring to the TRC that women were not having proper representations. Because even at now, we have burning issues wherein had women got enough representations or had women got representations and those representations were taken into account of importance women would have moved away from the level women are occupying presently. Politically, we do*

*not have women that will go in for such position, just because of these set back issues. So, within the general acceptance of women, I think women were not having the proper representations.*

Reference 3 - 0.65% Coverage

*Women are still underrepresented, people are facing injustices, there is still economic hardship wherein people cannot create livelihoods for themselves and so...*

<Files\\Sierra Leone\\P FR MWA 006 Interview Transcripts> - § 2 references coded [2.02% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.26% Coverage

*Even us, the women were given preference to make sure that women are encouraged to testify what happened to them, those who were raped, ganged raped all of those things. It was very inclusive.*

Reference 2 - 0.76% Coverage

*p: I can say opportunities were given to women to testify but on the structure, there were women but there more men*

<Files\\Sierra Leone\\P RP 001 Interview Transcripts> - § 1 reference coded [1.96% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.96% Coverage

*P: yes, men and women were involved because men were the major perpetrators whiles women were the major victims of the war. So, for them to be able to bridge a peace, obviously, they were able to join both men and women on the process*

## Youth

Discussions or references to youth.

<Files\\Sierra Leone\\Amputee War Wounded Association Interview Transcripts> - § 1 reference coded [1.77% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.77% Coverage

*P: obviously. Even on the launching of the TRC recommendations we were there. Women, children... like I said all the five categories were all included-the amputees, the war widows, sexually abused, the war wounded, the war orphans. All were included in the process*

<Files\\Sierra Leone\\P FR MWA 006 Interview Transcripts> - § 1 reference coded [1.03% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.03% Coverage

*P: Well those days, I don't know then since the hall was horrible. I think they try to avoid children from listening to some of the hearings being testified*

<Files\\Sierra Leone\\P RP 001 Interview Transcripts> - § 1 reference coded [3.01% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 3.01% Coverage

*P: Well, actually, by then I was child; so, I was not having much to do. I did not participate directly during the war, but rather, the war be a consequence to me and I can say I am a witness because I saw some of the happenings. I saw some of the reconciliations that took place, I saw payment made for some of the ex-combatants. So, I am witness to the war.*