Descriptive Statistics from Statements to the Liberian Truth and Reconciliation Commission

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Contents

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1 Introduction

The Liberian Truth and Reconciliation Commission's mandate explicitly requires that the TRC provide the opportunity for victims and perpetrators of human rights violations during the mandate period (January 1979 – October 2003) to have their voices heard and to present testimony to the commission.[1] The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) collected narrative statements from as many individual statement-givers as possible about the violence they experienced or witnessed during the conflict. Each statement offers detailed insight into the nature of violations and experience of particular statement-givers. A quantitative analysis, as presented here, can identify patterns and trends of violations experienced or perpetrated by the statement-givers collectively. Together, the aggregate group of statements can magnify the voices of victims and provide a body of empirical data that can help in processes of acknowledgement, accountability, understanding and closure.

The analyses presented here review the broad dimensions of data extracted from TRC statements and available from the TRC's database. We begin by presenting basic information about the statement-givers and statements given to the TRC. In subsequent sections, we analyze the recorded acts of violence in-depth – over time, by county, by victim characteristics, perpetrating groups and violation types. In Section 8, we present analysis of statement-giver responses to supplemental questions, for the country overall, as well as broken down by counties. Statistical results from analysis of diaspora statements follow in Section 9. We conclude by discussing implications of these findings, including suggested further analysis for future scholars and analysts to consider. Finally, in Appendix A, we outline the process and methods underlying this report in detail.

It is important to remember that the data in this report only represent the data given to the TRC by individual statement-givers who elected to give a statement. These data do not necessarily represent the patterns of violence in Liberia as a whole. Reporting to the TRC (or to any organization collecting information about acts of violence) is incomplete. Some victims of violence may feel ill, fearful or intimidated, they may be in areas too remote to have been contacted, or they simply may not have come in contact with a statement-taker. For these reasons and others, we emphasize that the statistics in this report only represent statements to the TRC — not all violence that occurred in Liberia during the TRC's mandate. However, the TRC documented many tens of thousands of violations, indeed, the TRC documented more violations than any previous truth commission. These violations represent the experiences of approximately twenty thousand Liberians, and as such, are of great interest in their own right.

2 Basic Descriptive Statistics

The analysis presented here reflects 17,160 out of 17,416 statements entered into the TRC's database.[2] The analysis excludes 256 statements because these statement-givers reported no violations within the TRC's mandate period, January 1979 – October 2003, or because the county or country where the statement was taken was not recorded. The 17,160 statements included in this analysis contain information about 86,647 victims and 163,615 total violations. Total violations here includes 124,225 violations suffered by individual victims, 39,376 suffered by groups, and 14 by institutions. Groups were coded when one or more victims suffered the same violation but could not be individually identified from the information provided in the

[1] Act to Establish the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) of Liberia, Article IV, Section 4. Available at https://www.trcofliberia.org/about/trc-mandate/. Please note that because data on violation month is often missing, we are generally unable to distinguish between violations that occurred between January and October 2003, during the TRC mandate, and those that occurred between October and December 2003, outside the TRC mandate.

[2] The TRC collected an additional 315 statements that are not included in the analysis due to administrative errors. The TRC Coding and Database Section also coded and entered 1,165 statements collected in the USA, Europe, Ghana, and Nigeria through The TRC Liberian Diaspora Project in collaboration with Minnesota-based Advocates for Human Rights. The underlying characteristics of statement-givers in the diaspora compared to statement-givers in Liberia are sufficiently different that we do not combine information from statements collected from members of the diaspora with statements collected in Liberia. Instead, we present analysis of the diaspora statements in Section 9 and offer comparisons between the patterns of victims and violations reported in diaspora statements with statements collected in Liberia.

statement.[3] Information that could be used to identify an individual victim includes first or last name, sex, age or date of birth, tribe, or relationship to the statement-giver. The number of victims in groups could be based on a specific number provided by the statement-giver (such as "four of my neighbors"), an estimate given by the statement-giver (such as "about fifty persons"), or could be unknown (such as "people on the road with me"). The number in groups is often based on subjective estimates and varies widely from one victim in certain instances up to hundreds in others. Therefore, to be as conservative as possible, we count one victim per group in this analysis.

Table 1 gives the number of statements collected by the TRC by the county in which the statement was taken and the sex of the statement-giver. This table includes all statements collected in Liberia, including those which were found to be outside the mandate period or missing information about where the statement was taken. The TRC collected and processed more than 17,000 statements. This figure is significant for two reasons. First, given the relative size of Liberia, particularly in comparison to truth commissions in other countries, 17,000 statements is a sizable number for the TRC staff to collect. For example, the TRC in South Africa collected approximately 21,000 statements in a country nearly fourteen times the size of Liberia. Second, despite the large number of statements, nearly all of the statements collected in Liberia were analyzed for inclusion in the TRC's analysis of reported human rights violations presented here.

Table 1: Number of Statements by County

County	Male	Female	Unknown Sex	Statements	Percent
Montserrado	1894	1985	27	3906	22.4
Bong	835	756	6	1597	9.2
Nimba	819	774	4	1597	9.2
Bomi	531	672	8	1211	7
Gbarpolu	659	543	3	1205	6.9
Lofa	563	491	4	1058	6.1
Grand Bassa	489	429	4	922	5.3
Maryland	475	434	5	914	5.2
Grand Cape Mount	432	442	3	877	5
Grand Gedeh	479	384	5	868	5
Grand Kru	630	189	3	822	4.7
River Gee	416	303	2	721	4.1
Sinoe	364	264	5	633	3.6
Margibi	254	365	1	620	3.6
Rivercess	274	187	4	465	2.7
Total	9114	8218	84	17416	100

We observe in Table 1 that the TRC collected a significant number of statements from female statement-givers. Truth commissions in other countries have often failed to include the participation of women in equal proportion to men in statement-taking. In Liberia, however, nearly fifty percent of statements have been received from female statement-givers, which helps the TRC reflect the experiences of women as well as men during the Liberian conflict. This is a distinguishing point of the TRC process in Liberia.

[3] *Coding* is the process by which the "countable units" — violations, victims and perpetrators — are identified in statements and transcribed onto coding forms. Please see Appendix A.2 for more information.

Table 2: Number of Victims and Violations by County. Note that victims may be counted in more than one county if they suffered violations in more than one county.

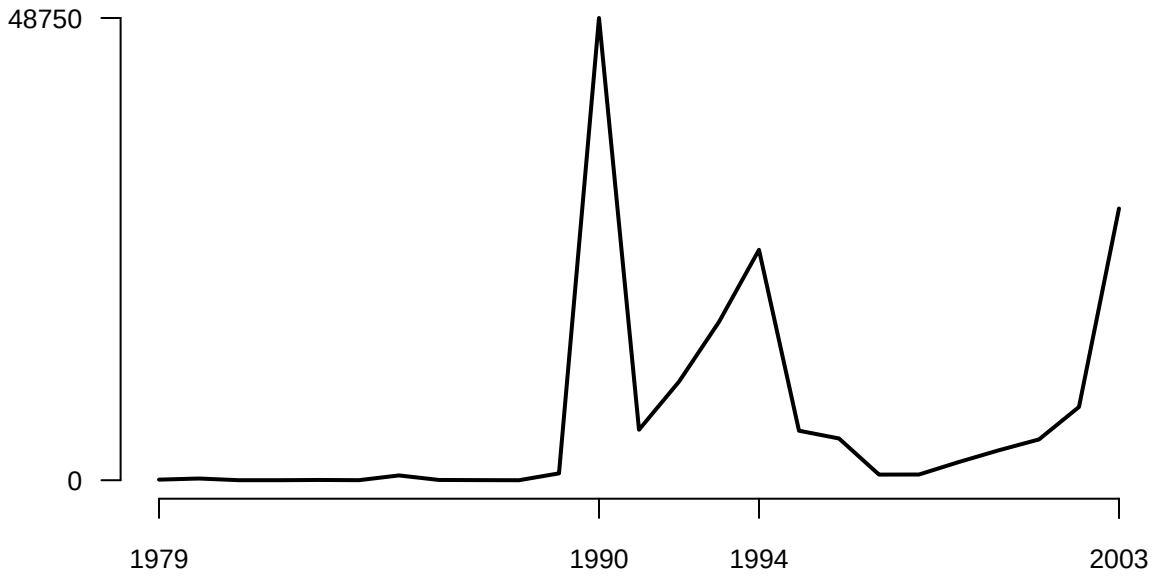
County	Victims	Violations
Montserrado	14980	22094
Bong	12546	22175
Lofa	11296	18863
Nimba	7784	12794
Bomi	5970	9840
Gbarpolu	7285	13574
Grand Bassa	6227	10739
Grand Cape Mount	5768	9354
Margibi	3394	5154
Sinoe	5706	9266
Maryland	3934	6162
Grand Kru	3296	5568
Grand Gedeh	4010	6569
River Gee	4030	6839
Rivercess	2315	3566
Unknown	781	1058
Total		163615

Table 2 shows the number and geographic distribution of the violations alleged in statements to the TRC. This table includes all statements, excluding those which were found to be outside the mandate period, collected from Liberians outside of Liberia or missing information about where the statement was taken. The victims are counted once in each of the counties in which they suffered a violation. Therefore, victims with several reported violations in more than one county could be counted more than once.

3 By Year

As shown below in Figure 1, across Liberia, violations reported to the TRC spiked in 1990 with a total of 48,750 violations. The second most violations (28,657 violations) were reported in 2003, and the third most in 1994 (24,299 violations).

Figure 1: All Reported Violations, by Year



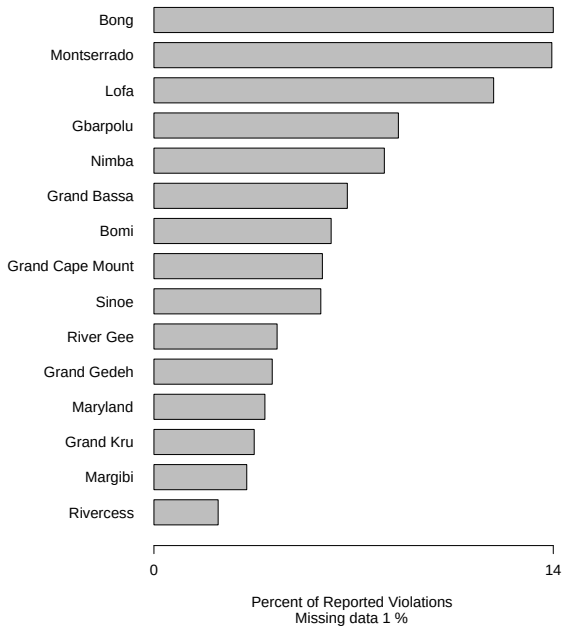
4 By County

Every county reported large numbers of violations, from a maximum of 22,175 reported violations in Bong County to a minimum of 3,566 violations in Rivercess County. Percent by county are shown in Figure 2 below. However, it is important to note that results by county may not reflect true patterns: It could be an artifact of how the TRC deployed statement-takers across counties. TRC statement-takers were deployed relatively evenly across counties, except for Montserrado County, the capital seat where nearly a quarter of the statement-takers were assigned. But an even deployment, or assigning a relatively even number of statement-takers, across counties with differing levels of violence could create "artificial" evenness in the measured data because statement-takers collect statements at approximately the same rate. Statement-givers can report varying numbers of violations in their statements but collecting roughly the same number of statements could mask true differences. We therefore caution that differences among counties may be greater than is shown in this analysis.

However, the high levels of violations shown in Figure 2 for Bong and Lofa are interesting to note given the significantly higher proportion of statements collected in Montserrado County compared to these counties.

As indicated in Table 1, the TRC collected over 20% of all statements in Montserrado County, which is over twice the amount collected in the next highest county, Bong at 9%. 6% of statements were collected in Lofa. The high number of statements collected in Montserrado and yet relatively even number of reported violations compared to other counties suggests that statement-givers in Montserrado frequently reported violations that took place in other counties such as Bong, Lofa and others. This is perhaps unsurprising given high levels of forced displacement suffered in Liberia, as we will discuss below, and that many people, when forced to leave their homes, ended up fleeing to or later migrating to the capital, Monrovia, located in Montserrado County.

Figure 2: Percent of Reported Violations by County



We observe similar patterns, with noticeable regional variation, in Liberia's fifteen counties across time. In this analysis, we present these results in regional groupings in order to emphasize similarities between counties in the same regions of the country. In Figure 3 the amount of violence can be traced for the various counties over time. Please note that in the subsequent time plots the scales of the y-axes differ across counties. Clearly, 1990 is a noticeable spike in every country. 1994 is less clear, as it shows a spike only in some counties, namely in Grand Bassa, Rivercess, Lofa, Bong, Maryland and Sinoe. During the third period of the conflict, a few counties experience considerable violence in comparison to earlier years, including Gbarpolu in 2002, and Nimba, River Gee, Maryland and Grand Kru in 2003.

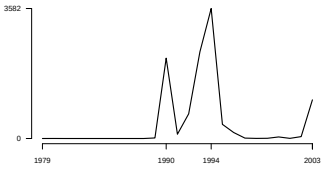
Figure 3: Reported Violations by County, 1979-2003

(a) Montserrado

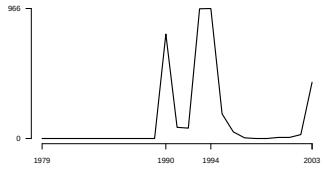
(b) Margibi

(c) Grand Cape Mount

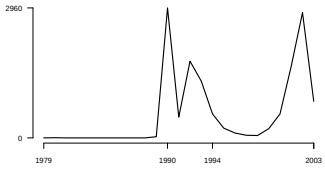
(d) Bomi



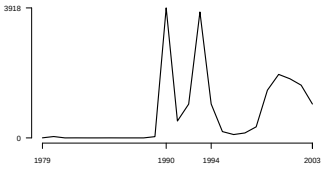
(e) Grand Bassa



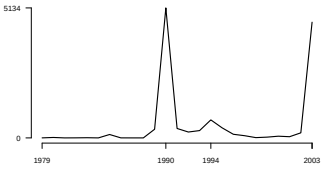
(f) Rivercess



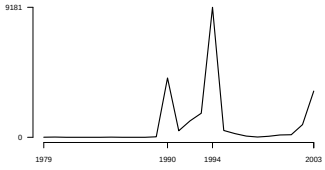
(g) Gbarpolu



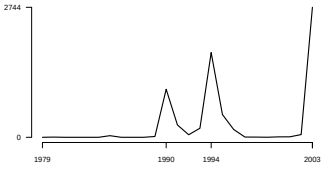
(h) Lofa



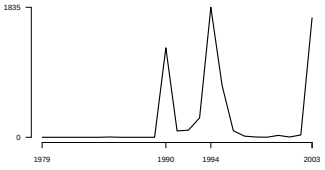
(i) Nimba



(j) Bong

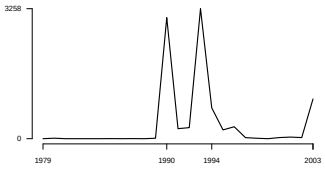


(k) River Gee



(l) Maryland

(m) Grand Kru



(n) Sinoe

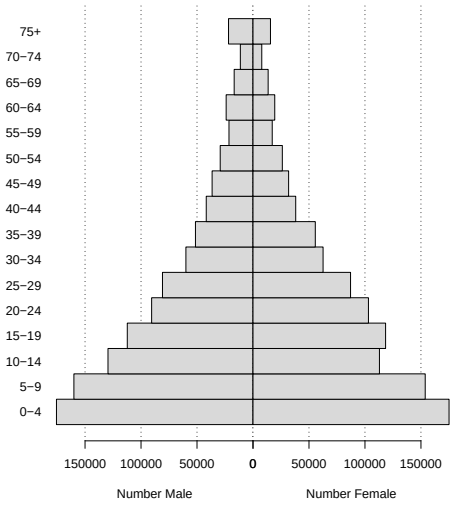
(o) Grand Gedeh

5 Victim Characteristics

In this section we present statistics on victim characteristics. Recall that the unit of analysis is the act of violence (one killing, one rape, one episode of forced displacement, and so on). Consequently, when we present results about victim characteristics, they should be interpreted as "for x % of violations reported to the TRC, victims were of type A (e.g., a particular age, tribe or sex)," rather than as "x % of victims are of type A." This interpretive difference is important, because many victims appear in the data more than once because they suffered more than one violation. Please note that we do not include group victims in the analysis in this section. This is because group data does not include information about individual victim characteristics such as age, sex or tribe.

Before turning to the analysis of violence by age and sex, we recall the structure of Liberia's population in Figure 4. More than half of Liberia's population is 19 years old or younger. If victims for each crime were picked at random from the population, the distribution of victims' ages would be approximately the same as the overall population. That is, we should expect that more than half of the victims of each violation are younger than twenty years old; 1 in 6 of all victims should be four or younger years old. It turns out that victims with reported ages are considerably older than the average Liberian; this will be discussed at greater length below.

Figure 4: Distribution of Liberia's population, by Age and Sex



5.1 By Age

Victim's date of birth is recorded for only 29% of violations. Moreover, the distribution of reported violations with known victim age is different from the distribution of reported violations with unknown victim age, particularly in the case of killings. Killings represent about one fifth of the total violations reported to the TRC, but only about one twentieth of violations with known victim age. Consequently, we can say little about the distribution of ages of victims. However, for the subset of violations with known victim age, the distribution of ages is shown below.

Unfortunately, the data include very few reports of rapes for which the victim's age is known. Still, it is interesting to note that the majority of reported rapes for which the victim's age is known were committed against adolescent women, rather than against socially taboo categories such as older women or very young children, as shown below in Figure 7(d).

5.2 By Sex

As is shown in the following table, for violations with known victim sex, the majority have male victims.

Table 3: Reported Violations by Victim Sex, All Violations

Victim Sex	Violations	Percent of Violations
Female	46188	37.2
Male	76905	61.9
Unknown	1132	0.9
Total	124225	100

If we focus on rapes reported to the TRC, however, the vast majority of violations with known victim sex had female victims. However, rape is not a crime that happens only to women. As shown below in Table 4, a few rapes involving male victims have been reported.

Table 4: Reported Violations by Victim Sex, Rapes

Victim Sex	Violations	Percent of Violations
Female	1438	90.8
Male	137	8.6
Unknown	9	0.6
Total	1584	100

5.3 By Age and Sex

The distribution of all violations by age is roughly similar for males and females, as shown below. However, we caution again that age information is known for only a minority of violations.

In this section, we also offer an assessment of individuals' relative risk, by age-sex category (e.g., "males aged 15-19"), of becoming victims of various types of violence. Each age-sex analysis has the format shown in Figure 5. For each violation type, we produce two graphs: the left-hand graph compares the *number* of violations with victims in each age-sex category, with males to the left and females to the right. The graph to the right shows the *relative risk* (RR) for each age-sex category.

RR is a ratio that compares A, the proportion of violations whose victims were in a particular age-sex category, to B, the proportion of the population in a particular age-sex category. RR is expressed as a proportion; that is, RR=A/B. For example, consider the case in which 10% (0.10) of all reported cases of violation X had victims who were male and aged 15-19 (A=0.10), but only 5% (0.05) of the population is male, aged 15-19 (B=0.05). Then RR=0.10/0.05=2. We can interpret this relative risk statistic to mean that, relative to other age-sex categories, men aged 15-19 faced twice the risk of violation X.

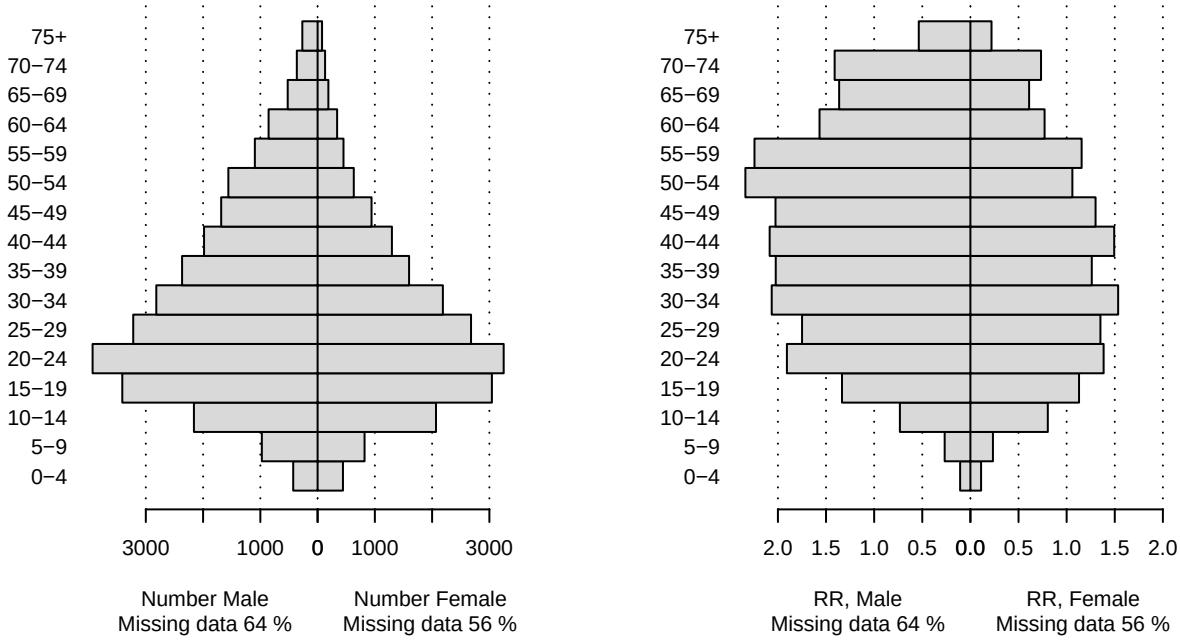
Relative risk analysis helps to identify whether particular groups (such as age-sex groups) are targeted for violence. In this context, "targeted" means "selected as victims in a greater proportion than their proportion in the population." The "null hypothesis" that violence was committed at random, with no targeting by age or sex, would be represented by a rectangular RR graph, with RR==1 for all age-sex categories. When the distribution of relative risk diverges from this "random" pattern, the evidence is consistent with targeting. In general, if the RR is below 1, then the data indicate that that age-sex category was underrepresented (faced relatively lower risk), and if the RR is above 1, then the data indicate that that age*sex category was overrepresented (faced relatively higher risk).

More generally, we might examine the overall shape of a RR graph. For example, to investigate targeting by age, we ask whether the RR graphs diverge upward in a $\bigvee$ shape or downward in a $\bigwedge$. If the shape of the graph were a $\bigvee$, this would indicate that the data are consistent with a hypothesis that older people were

victimized proportionally more frequently than younger people. Conversely, if the bars diverged downward in a $\bigwedge$, the data would be consistent with the idea that younger people were targeted more frequently.

The RR graph for killings, shown in Figure 6(d), displays a $\bigvee$ shape, implying that older people are at a greater relative risk of being victims of reported killings than younger people. However, most of the relative risk graphs do not display a clear $\bigvee$ or $\bigwedge$ pattern. Some graphs suggest the two parallel lines, $\sqcup\!\sqcup$. This shape tends to confirm the "null hypothesis" described above: for violations reported to the TRC with complete age and sex information, all ages were equally at risk.

Figure 5: Distribution of Reported Violations, by Age and Sex

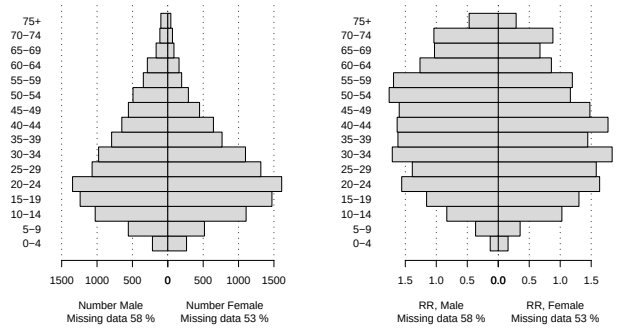


However, it is important to notice that RR is only a rough comparison. For example, in the case of "violation X", as used above, 0.10 is a proportion of *violations*, and 0.05 is a proportion of *persons*. For some violations, the same person may have suffered more than one violation, so "the proportion of X violation with male victims aged 15-19" is not necessarily the same as "the proportion of victims of X violation who are males aged 15-19." Moreover, because TRC data represent only reported violations, we cannot be sure that the risk of violation by age-sex category (quantity A) represents the risk of violation for the population as a whole.

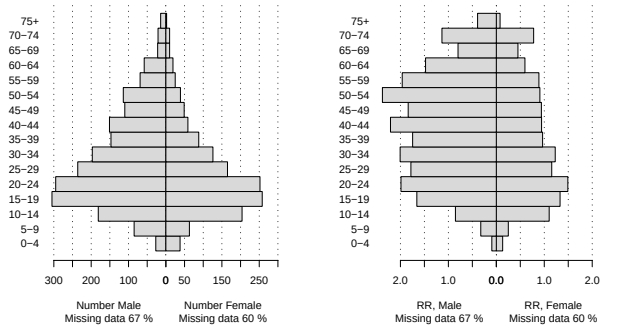
In the graphs in Figure 6, the shape of the graph for forced displacement suggests that men and women were targeted at approximately the same rate for forced displacement relative to their representation in the population.

We see that men in general, and men in a number of age categories, are overrepresented for killing, assault, torture, forced labor and forced recruitment violations. Women, by contrast, are underrepresented except in the age category of 70-74 for killing.

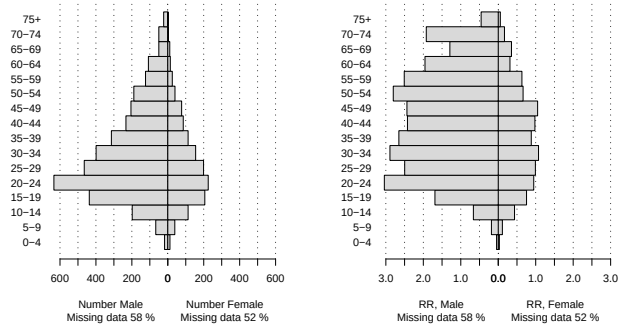
Figure 6: Distribution of Violations and Relative Risk of Violation by Victim Age and Sex.



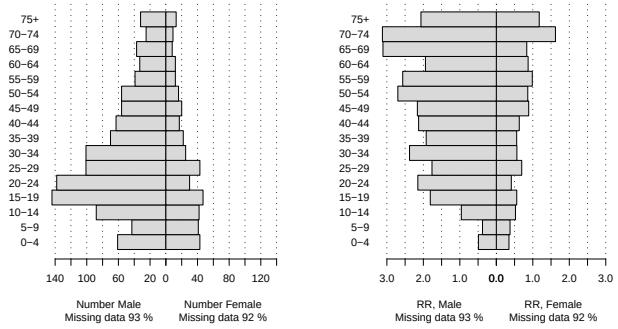
(a) Forced Displacement



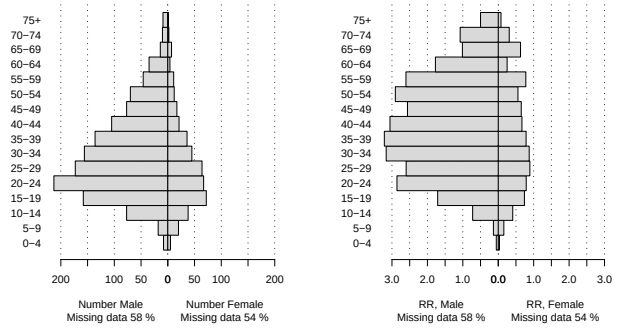
(b) Abduction



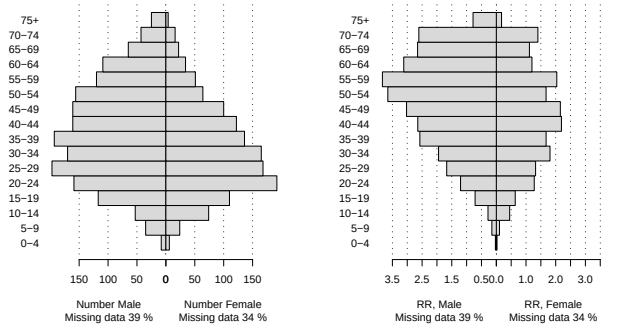
(c) Assault



(d) Killing

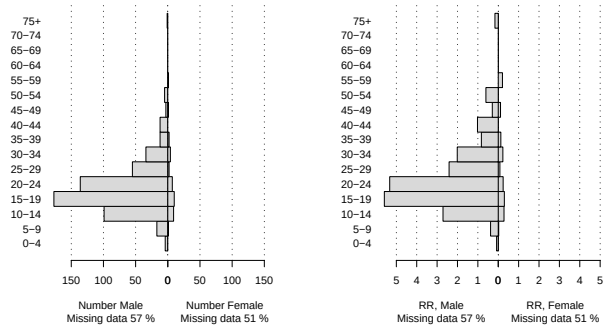


(e) Torture

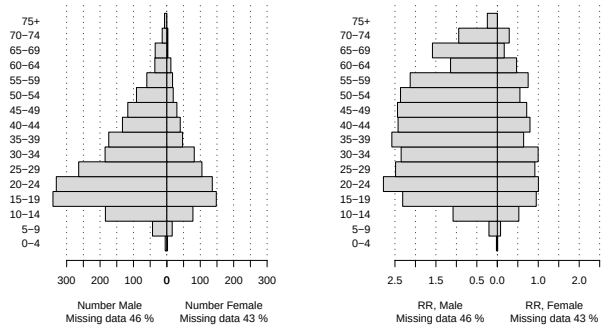


(f) Looting

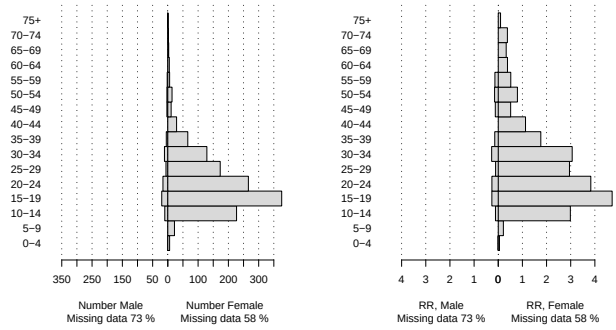
Figure 7: Distribution of Violations and Relative Risk of Violation by Victim Age and Sex.



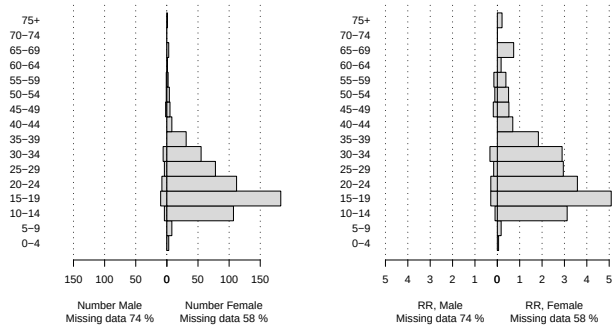
(a) Forced Recruitment



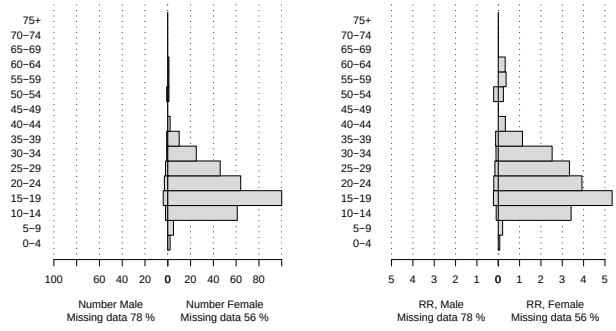
(b) Forced Labor



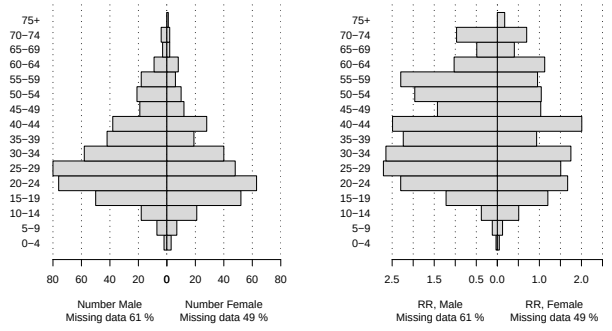
(c) Sexual Violence



(d) Rape



(e) Sexual Slavery



(f) Sexual Abuse

In contrast, we see that women are significantly overrepresented among rape victims and victims of sexual slavery and sexual violence,[4] as might be expected. In particular, the proportion of rapes with female victims aged 15-19 represents more than five times the proportion of women aged 15-19 in the general population. However, we see relatively more male than female victims for sexual abuse. The definition of sexual abuse included stripping the victim naked and was employed by many perpetrator groups as a means of humiliating the victim.

The age-targeting suggested by these graphs is that men of an increasingly older age were at greater risk for killing and looting violations than younger men. This is indicated by the relatively larger bars at the top compared to the bars on the bottom of the graphs for killing and looting. In contrast, the larger bars on the bottom of the graph for forced recruitment suggest that young men, between the ages of 15-19 in particular, were at greater risk for this violation. A possible interpretation of the killing and forced recruitment graphs is that perpetrators avoided young people for killing, targeting them instead for forced recruitment. As mentioned above, graphs for rape, sexual slavery and sexual violence suggest that young women were at significantly greater risk of suffering these violations.

It is important to note that, because of serious problems with missing data, particularly data on age, we place little statistical confidence in these estimates of relative risk. We cannot be certain that these patterns represent the true patterns in the statements given to the TRC, due to poor age information, nor that they represent the patterns of all violations. Further, this analysis shows only the direct effects of violence, ignoring the increased mortality of the very young and very old that often accompanies forced migration.

5.4 By Tribe

The level of information about victim tribe is relatively poor. In Table 5, we present the number and percentage of reported violations by victim's imputed tribe. This table, Figure 8 and Figure 9, each includes both records for which the tribe of the victim was reported to the TRC, and those records for which the tribes were imputed statistically. Imputation is a process by which records for which the tribe was known were matched to records for which the tribe of the victim was unknown. From all the records that matched – having the same year and county of violation – a tribe was selected at random from the known tribes for each record with unknown tribe. A small number of violations remain with unknown tribe because they occurred in counties and years in which there were too few violations to impute the missing value.

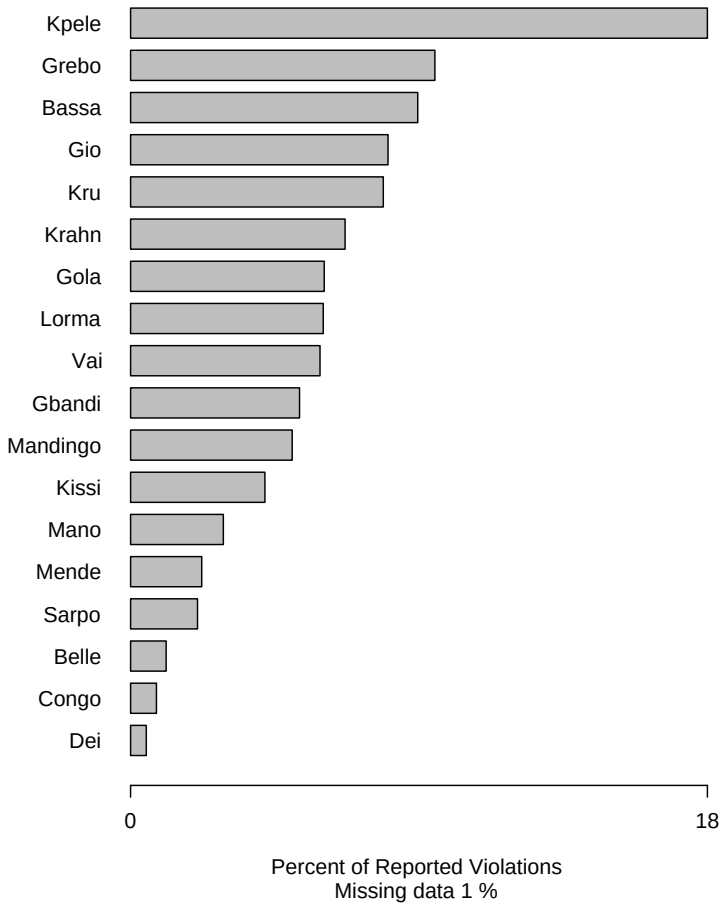
Imputation is a standard statistical procedure. By using this method of imputation, we are assuming that the distribution of tribes that are unknown is approximately the same as those that are known, given each year and county of violation.

[4]Sexual violence in Figure, 8(c) includes the following violation types: rape, multiple rape, gang rape and sexual slavery.

Table 5: Number of Violations, by Reported and Imputed Victim Tribes and County

Tribe	Tribe.Count	Imputed.Tribe.Count	Imputed.Pct
Kpele	18979	21863	17.6
Grebo	8707	11534	9.3
Bassa	7929	10884	8.8
Gio	7016	9758	7.9
Kru	6814	9579	7.7
Krahn	5451	8130	6.5
Gola	5116	7339	5.9
Lorma	4594	7303	5.9
Vai	4931	7180	5.8
Gbandi	2721	6404	5.2
Mandingo	3374	6126	4.9
Kissi	2713	5092	4.1
Mano	1787	3516	2.8
Mende	903	2697	2.2
Sarpo	1313	2537	2
Unknown	41424	1358	1.1
Belle	242	1348	1.1
Congo	179	981	0.8
Dei	32	596	0.5
Total	124225	124225	100.1

Figure 8: Violations by Reported plus Imputed Victim Tribe



We see in Figure 9 that all tribes suffered violence during the main peak of reported abuses in 1990. We notice that the Gio, Mandingo, Sarpo, Krahn and Belle have similar patterns of reported violations over time. In particular, for each of these tribes, we see a peak of reported abuses in 1990, a small peak during the middle years of the conflict and a final rise in 2003. The Gbandi and Mende demonstrate similar patterns with a peak in 1990, followed by a sharp decline, a moderate peak between approximately 1992 and 1994. Violence declines for the Gbandi and Mende after 1994 but then slowly increases again through 2003. The Lorma and Kru also exhibit a similar pattern to the Gbandi and Mende but with a higher relative amount of reported abuses during 1992 and 1994.

Some tribes such as the Grebo, Lorma, Kpele and Kru suffered more violence during the middle years of the conflict relative to other tribes. However, levels of reported abuses during the middle years for these tribes is still less than the amount reported in 1990. The exception are the Kpele, for whom the peak in the middle years is slightly higher than that in 1990.

Figure 9: Reported Violations by Tribes (including imputed values)

(a) Kpele

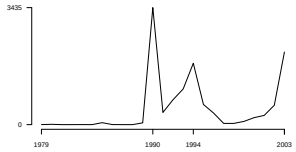
(b) Grebo

(c) Gio

(d) Bassa

(e) Kru

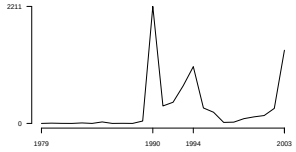
(f) Krahn



(g) Gola

(h) Vai

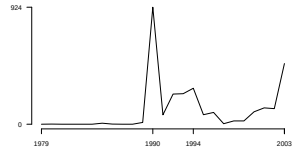
(i) Lorma



(j) Mandingo

(k) Kissi

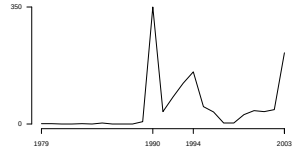
(l) Mano



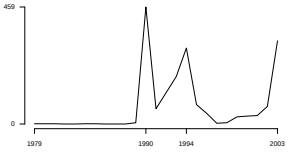
(m) Sarpo

(n) Gbandi

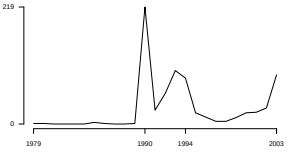
(o) Mende



(p) Congo



(q) Belle



(r) Dei

6 Perpetrating Groups

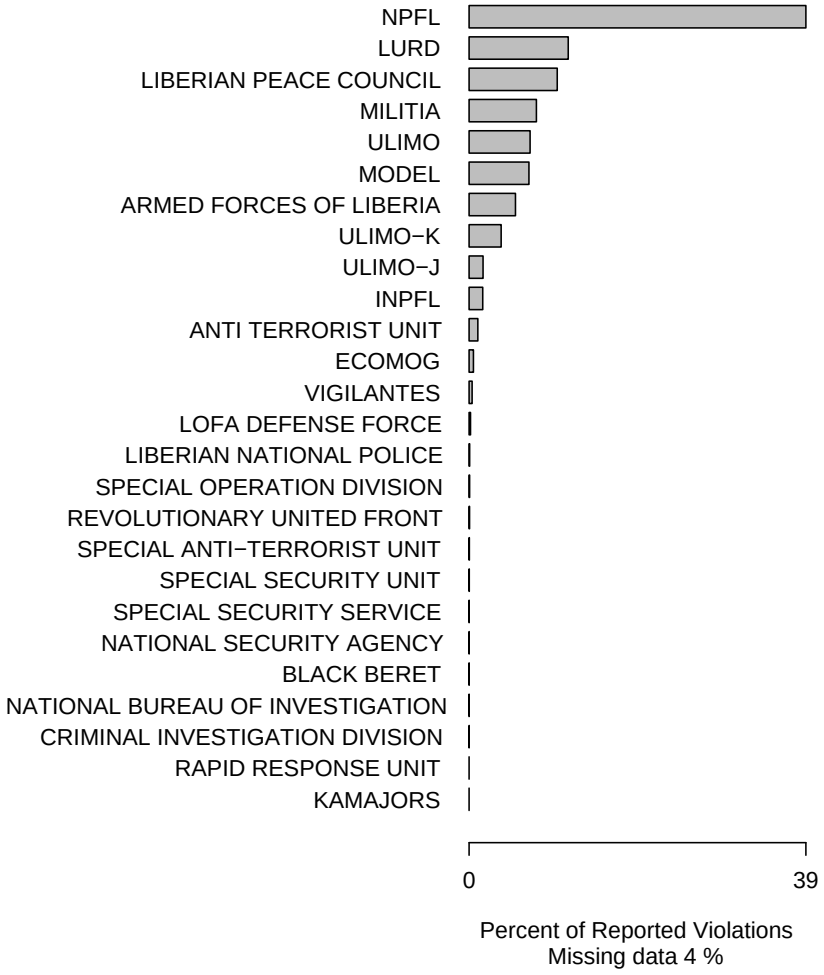
6.1 By Group

In this section, we present information about violations attributed to perpetrating group. Table 6 gives the total number of violations attributed to each perpetrating group and the percent of total violations reported to the TRC for each group. The percents of violations are then provided in a bar graph in Figure 10. It is interesting to note that the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) launched by rebel leader Charles Taylor in 1989, is responsible for more than three times the number of reported violations as the next closest perpetrator group, the Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD). The LURD besieged the city of Monrovia in 2003 in an attempt to dislodge then-president Taylor who later resigned. Note that many violations have no identified perpetrator, and other violations may have had several participating perpetrators. Therefore this table cannot be used to calculate proportions directly. The reported percents should be interpreted as "the NPFL was identified as the perpetrator of approximately 40% of the violations reported to the TRC."

Table 6: Reported Violations by Perpetrator, All Violations

Perpetrator	Violations	Percent of Violations
NPFL	63843	39
LURD	18797	12
Liberian Peace Council	16708	10
Militia	12762	8
ULIMO	11564	7
MODEL	11349	7
Armed Forces of Liberia	8794	5
unknown	7263	4
ULIMO-K	6079	4
ULIMO-J	2646	2
INPFL	2588	2
ANTI Terrorist Unit	1661	1
ECOMOG	823	0
Vigilantes	574	0
Lofa Defense Force	271	0
Liberian National Police	106	0
Special Operation Division	100	0
Revolutionary United Front	86	0
Special Anti-Terrorist Unit	53	0
Special Security Unit	36	0
Special Security Service	17	0
Black Beret	12	0
National Security Agency	12	0
National Bureau of Investigation	3	0
Criminal Investigation Division	2	0
Rapid Response Unit	1	0
Kamajors	0	0

Figure 10: Reported Violations, by Perpetrating Group

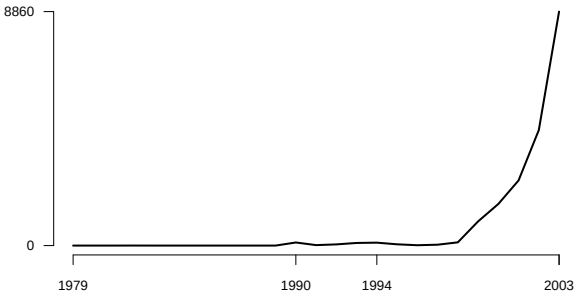


6.2 By Group and Year

In Figure 11, we present reported violations over time for each perpetrator group. We can see that NPFL and AFL drove the sharp peak in violence in 1990. Whereas LPC, ULIMO, ULIMO-K, ULIMO-J were largely responsible for reported violence in 1994 and LURD, militia forces and MODEL in 2003.

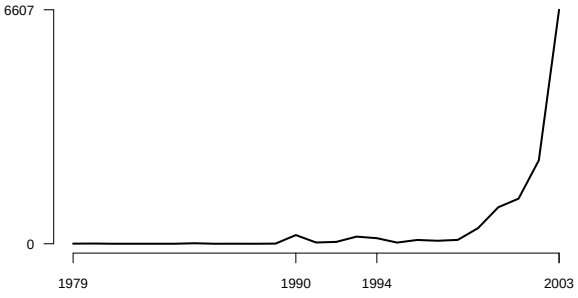
Figure 11: Reported Violations by Perpetrator, 1979-2003

(a) NPFL

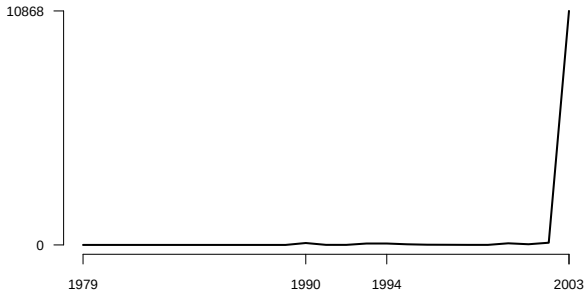


(b) LURD

(c) Liberian Peace Council



(d) Militia



(e) MODEL

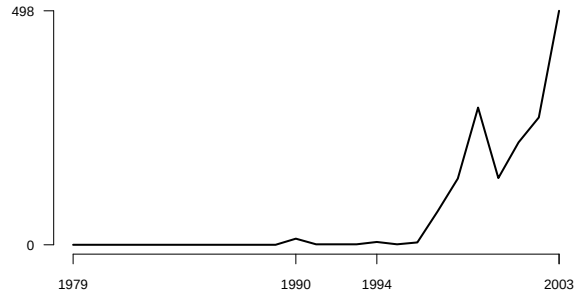
(f) ULIMO

Figure 12: Reported Violations by Perpetrator, 1979-2003

(a) Armed Forces of Liberia

(b) ULIMO-K

(c) ULIMO-J



(d) Anti Terrorist Unit

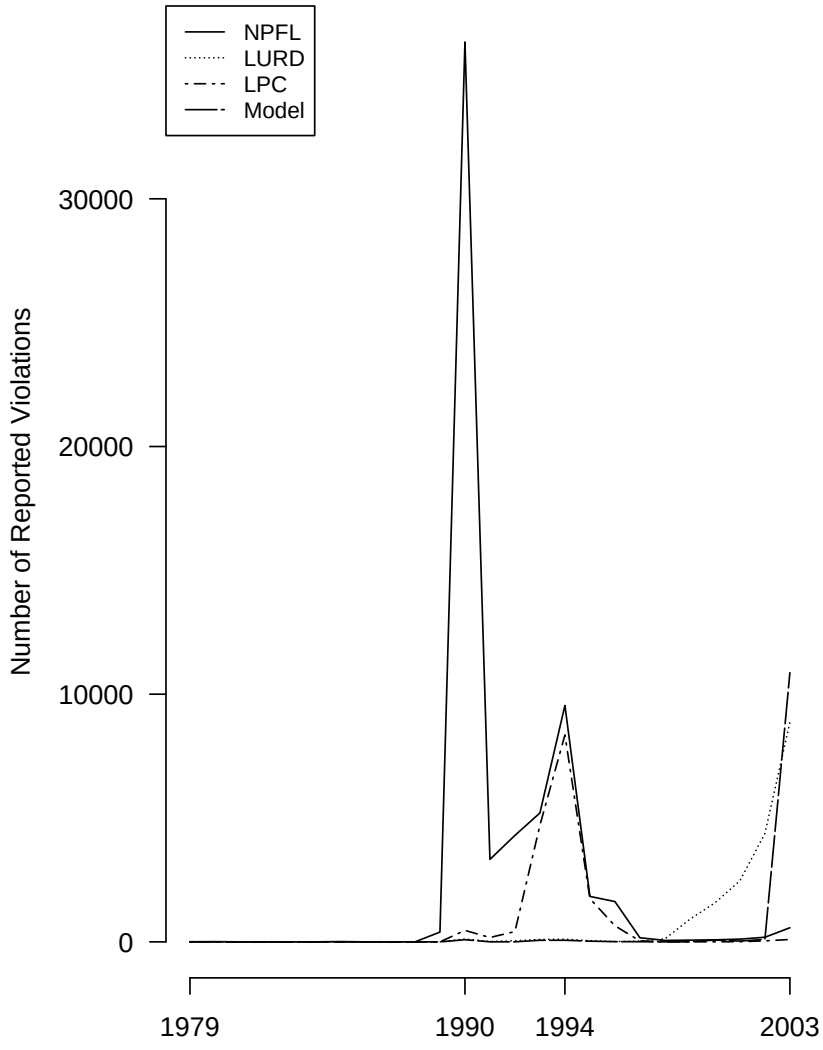
(e) ECOMOG

(f) Vigilantes

In Figure 13, we plot reported violations for four perpetrating groups over time. NPFL, LURD and the Liberian Peace Council make up the top three perpetrators for reported violations during the TRC's mandate period. MODEL is the sixth most commonly attributed perpetrator. We include MODEL in this graph instead of Militia and ULIMO, the top forth and fifth attributed perpetrators respectively, for comparative purposes.

NPFL stands out clearly as the top attributed perpetrator. This group is especially active in the early 1990s. However, Liberian Peace Council joins the NPFL in attributed violations in 1994. LPC and NPFL are replaced by LURD and the Militia, which demonstrate highly similar patterns of reported violations rising in the late 1990s up through dramatic peaks in 2003 (see Figure 12(b) and Figure 12(d)). MODEL becomes the main violent perpetrator in 2003, as indicated by the sharp rise and concentration of reported violations for this group in 2003.

Figure 13: Timeline for Four Perpetrating Groups



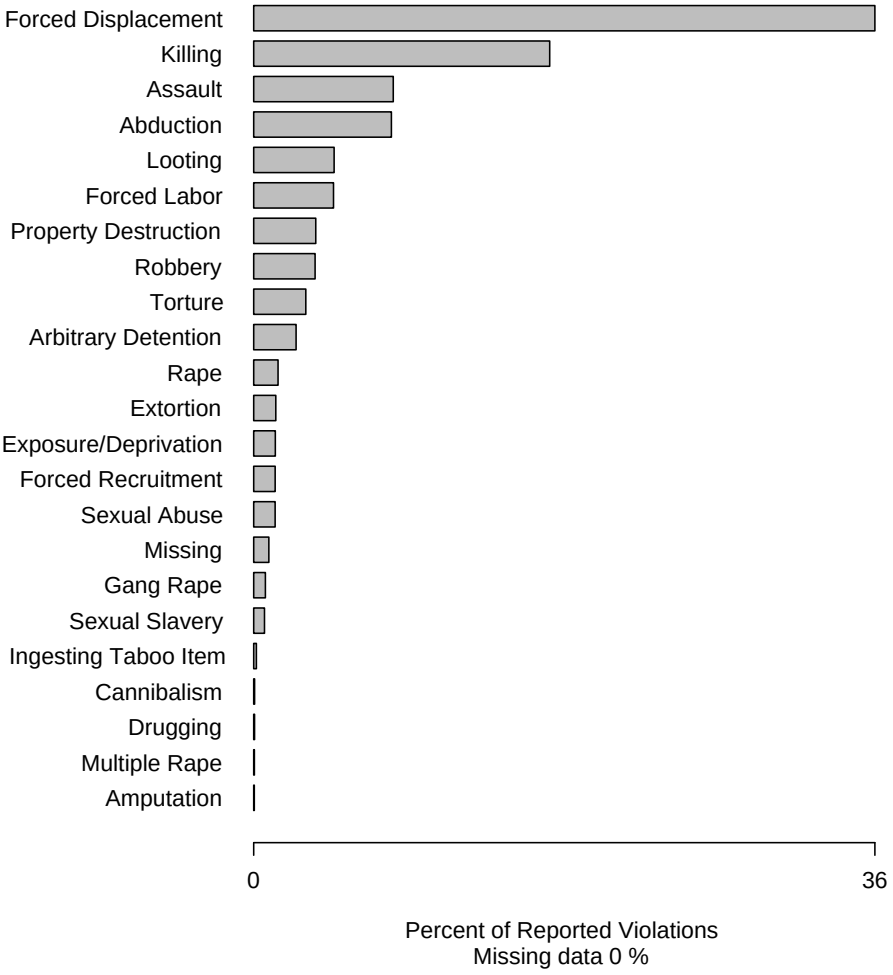
7 Violation Types

The TRC defined twenty-three violation types based on the nature of the violence in Liberia and the TRC's analytical objectives. The TRC developed a "controlled vocabulary," or set of definitions, based on the types of violations that are relevant to Liberia and the TRC's analytical objectives. The TRC's controlled vocabulary included the twenty-three violation types presented in Table 7. Table 7 provides the total number of reported violations for each type and the percent of all reported violations for each type. Forced displacement stands out, in particular, comprising approximately one-third of all reported violations. The TRC also documented over twenty eight thousand killing violations, the second most commonly reported violation after forced displacement.

Table 7: Reported Violations by Violation Type, All Violations

Violation Type	Violations	Percent of Violations
Forced Displacement	58849	36
Killing	28042	17.1
Assault	13222	8.1
Abduction	13045	8
Looting	7619	4.7
Forced Labor	7560	4.6
Property Destruction	5881	3.6
Robbery	5817	3.6
Torture	4937	3
Arbitrary Detention	4017	2.5
Rape	2308	1.4
Extortion	2095	1.3
Exposure/Deprivation	2048	1.3
Forced Recruitment	2033	1.2
Sexual Abuse	2031	1.2
Missing	1436	0.9
Gang Rape	1107	0.7
Sexual Slavery	1023	0.6
Ingesting Taboo Item	255	0.2
Cannibalism	86	0.1
Drugging	81	0
Multiple Rape	65	0
Amputation	58	0
Total	163615	100.1

Figure 14: Reported Violations, by Violation Type



7.1 Reported Violations by Perpetrator Group and Type

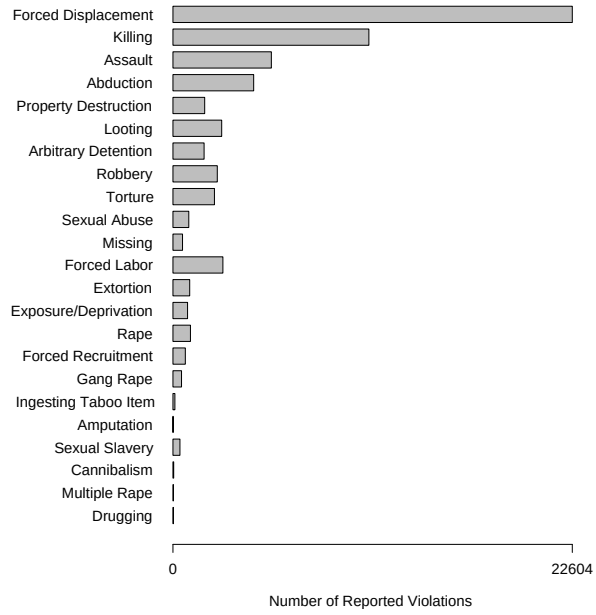
In this section, we examine reported violations by perpetrator group and violation type. Figure 15 to Figure 17 present reported violations by type for different perpetrator groups. We see that the top reported perpetrator groups shown in Figure 15 to Figure 16 follow a similar pattern in the relative proportion of reported violations by type. For example, forced displacement forms the highest proportion of reported violations carried out by these perpetrators followed next by killing. However, killing violations form a higher proportion of overall violations for particular groups including NPFL, LPC, Militia, AFL and ULIMO-K. We also see a similar and notable relative amount of forced labor violations for the factions in Figure 15 to Figure 17, with the exception of AFL. We see a greater number of looting violations in proportion to other violation types attributed to Model.

By comparison, in Figure 17 we see different patterns. For example, killing violations comprise a higher proportion of reported violations for the INP and the Anti Terrorist Unit. We also see a greater distribution of reported violation types for the Anti Terrorist Unit with proportionally higher numbers of reported assault, abduction, arbitrary detention, robbery, torture, sexual abuse, forced labor and forced recruitment violations.

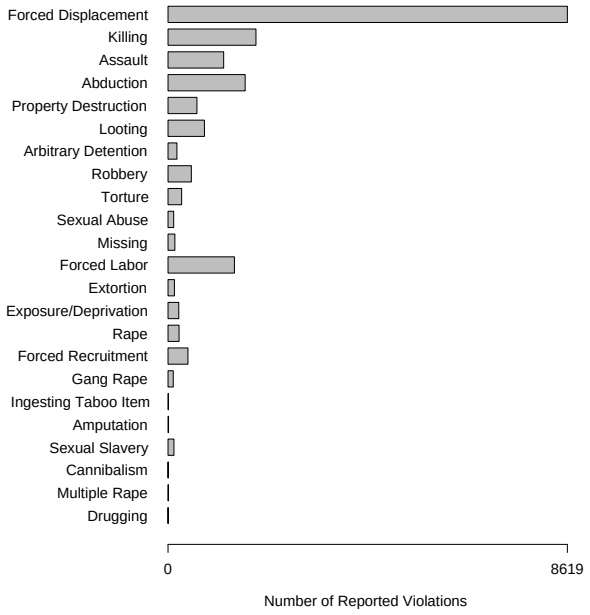
7.2 Reported Violations by Type and Year

Figures 18 to 19 present reported violations by select type over time. The peaks we see in Figures 19(c) and 19(d) for forced displacement and killing respectively in 1990, illustrate how violations in these two categories drove the significant peak in overall reported violence in 1990. Whereas in Figures 19(a), 19(b) and 19(f), we see nearly even levels of violations reported for abduction, assault and torture in 1990 and in the other peak years for violence, 1994 and 2003. Figure 20, which plots forced displacement, killing, abduction and assault helps to demonstrate this comparison. We also note in Figure 20, that the pattern of reported killings closely follows that of forced displacement until the late 1990s when we see relatively lower numbers of reported killing compared to forced displacement. The level of reported killing rises again in proportion to forced displacement in 2003. We also observe in Figure 20 the similar pattern and magnitude of reported assault and abduction violations throughout the conflict.

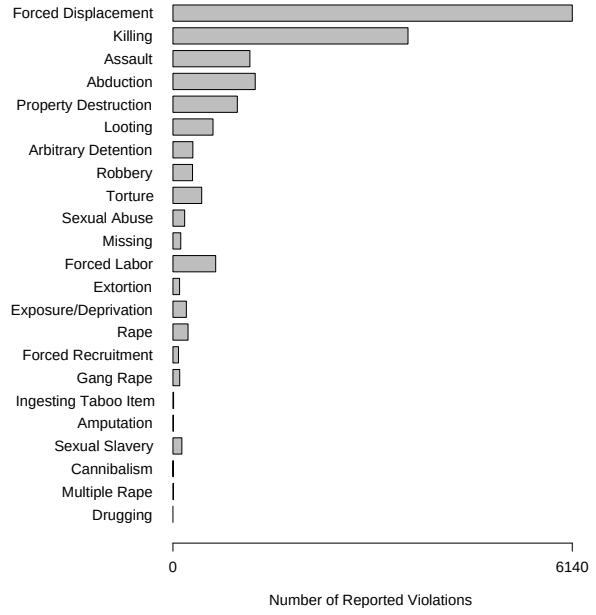
Figure 15: Reported Violations by Perpetrator and Type, 1979-2003



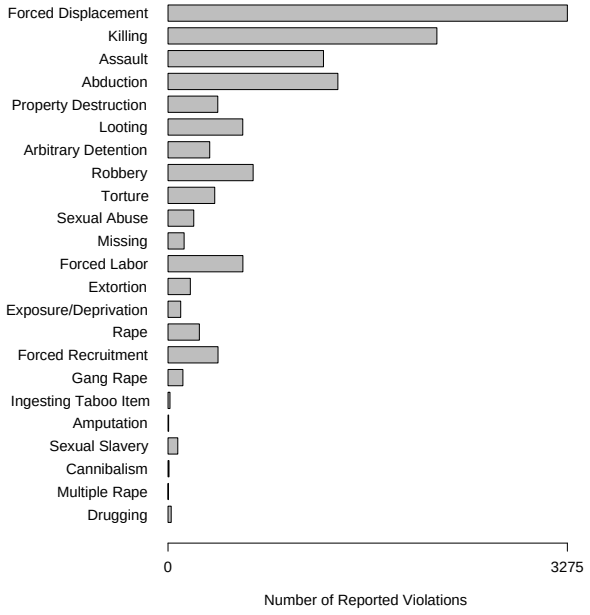
(a) NPFL



(b) LURD

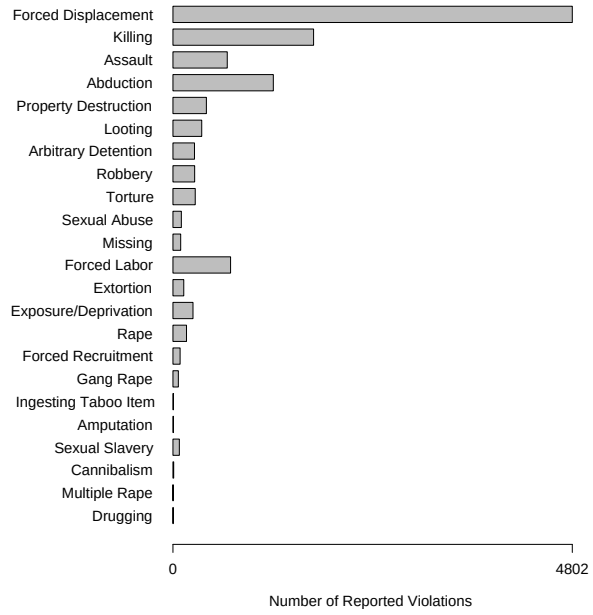


(c) Liberian Peace Council

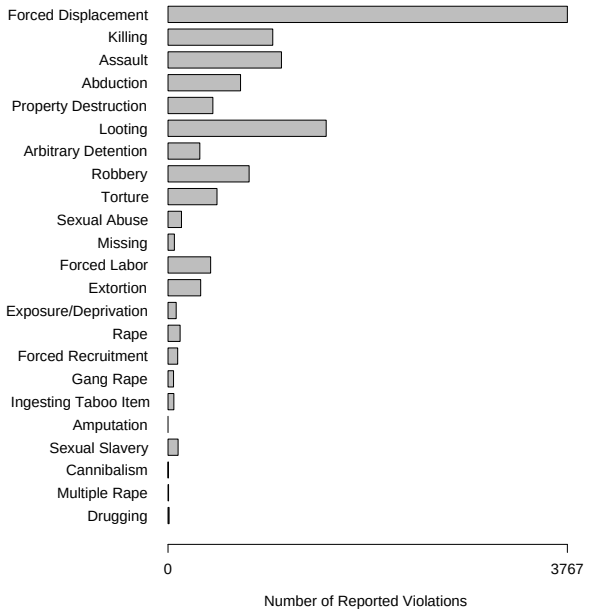


(d) Militia

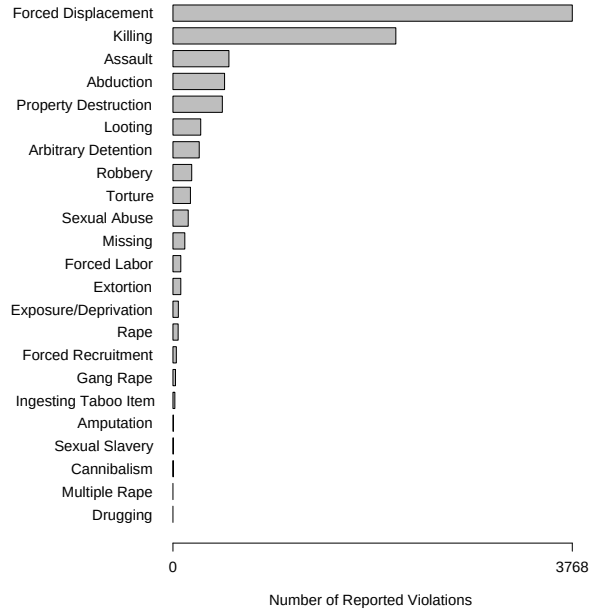
Figure 16: Reported Violations by Perpetrator and Type, 1979-2003



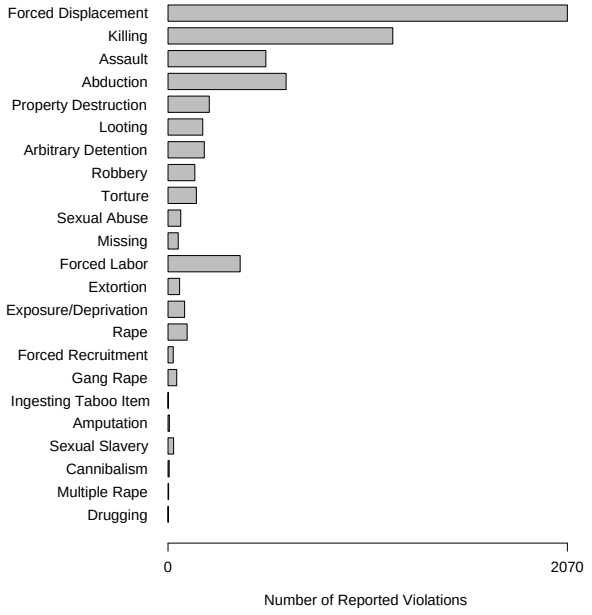
(a) Ulimo



(b) Model

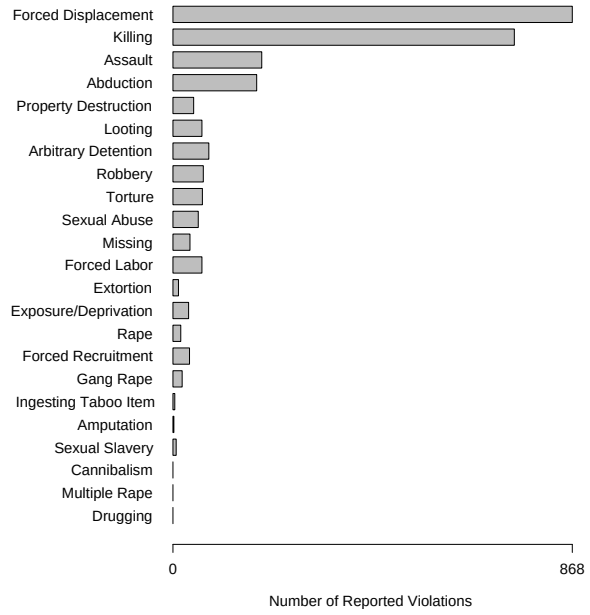


(c) Armed Forces of Liberia

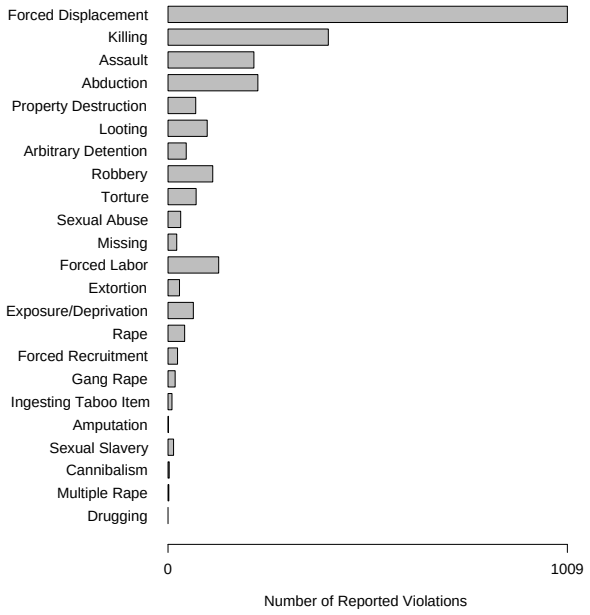


(d) Ulimo-K

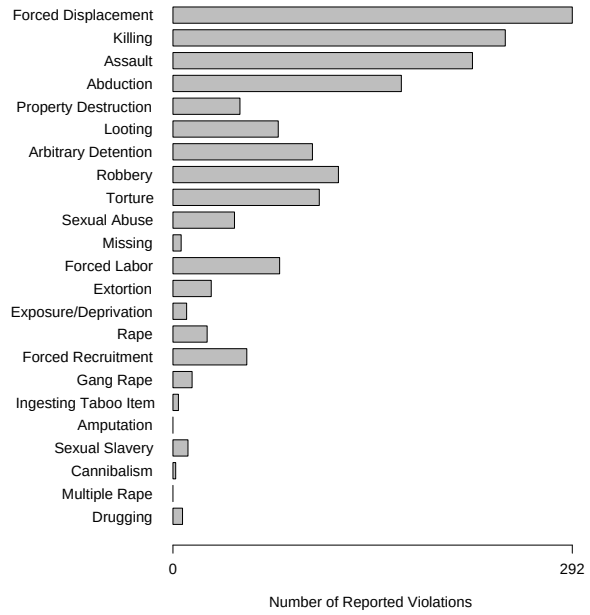
Figure 17: Reported Violations by Perpetrator and Type, 1979-2003



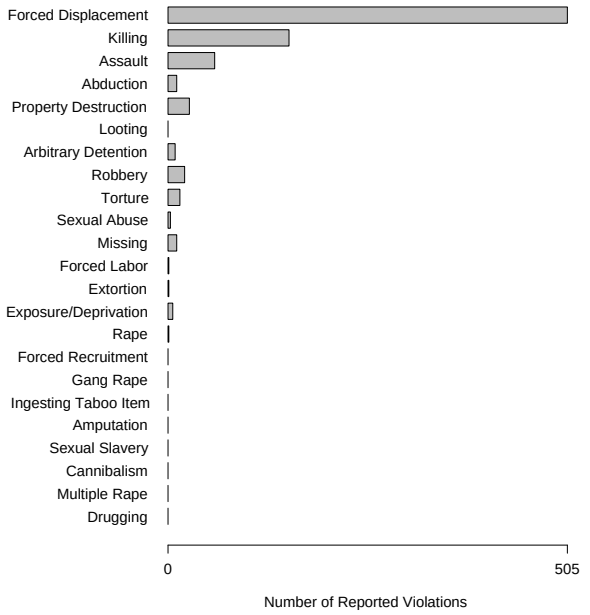
(a) INP



(b) Ulimo-J



(c) Anti Terrorist Unit



(d) ECOMOG

Figure 18: Violation Type by Year

(a) Abduction

(b) Assault

(c) Forced Displacement

(d) Killing

(e) Looting

(f) Torture

Figure 19: Violation Type by Year

(a) Forced Recruitment

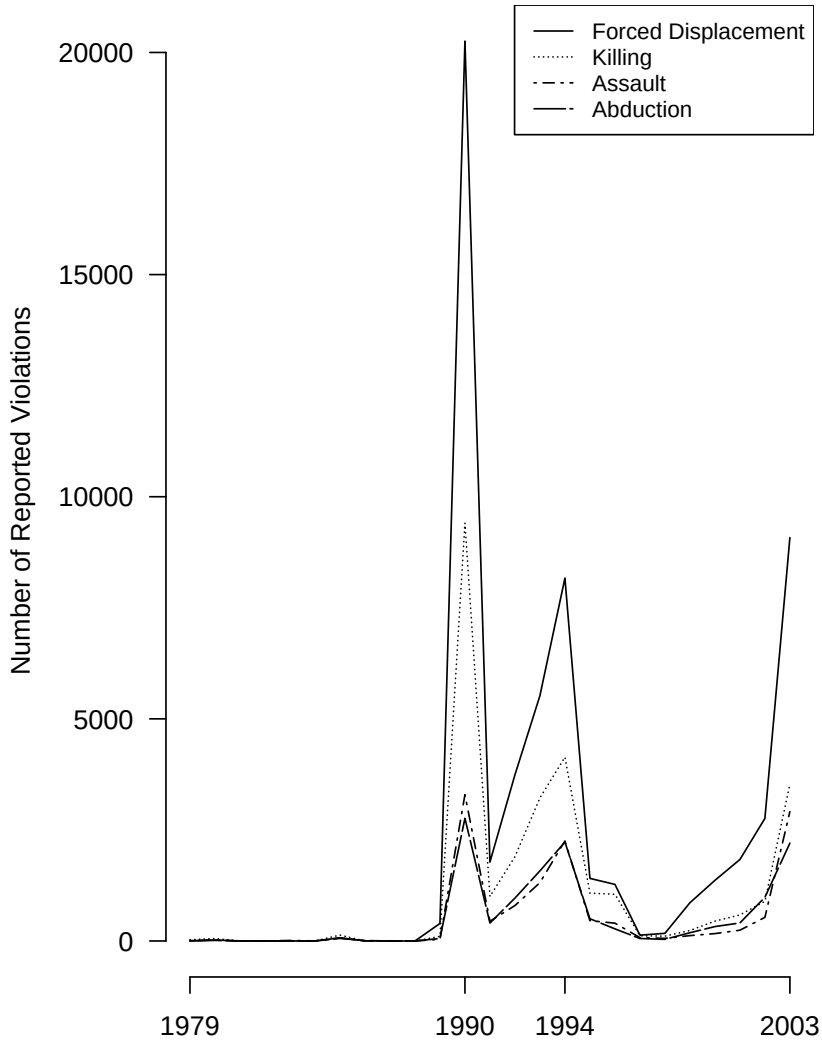
(b) Forced Labor

(c) Sexual Violence

(d) Rape

(e) Sexual Slavery

Figure 20: Timeline for Four Main Violation Types



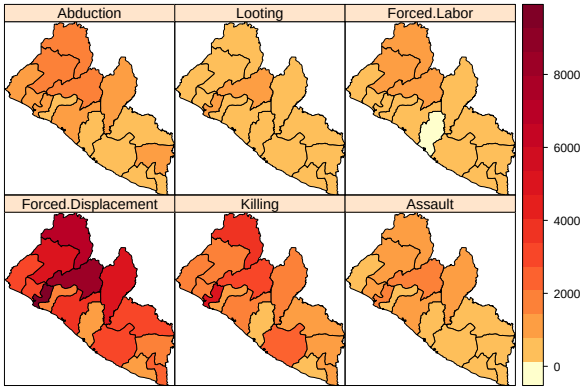
7.3 Reported Violations by County and Type

Figures 22(a) to 22(d) offer a map-based representation of reported violations by the top six violation types for each period in the different counties. Note that the top six for 1990 are abduction, looting, forced labor, forced displacement, killing, and assault. However, in 1994, looting is replaced by property destruction among the top six violations; looting returns to the top six in 2003. The number of reported forced displacements is particularly high in the north west of the country, and reported killings in Montserrado County and Lofa County. As could be seen in Figure 14 above, forced displacement is many times more frequently reported than any other violation type.

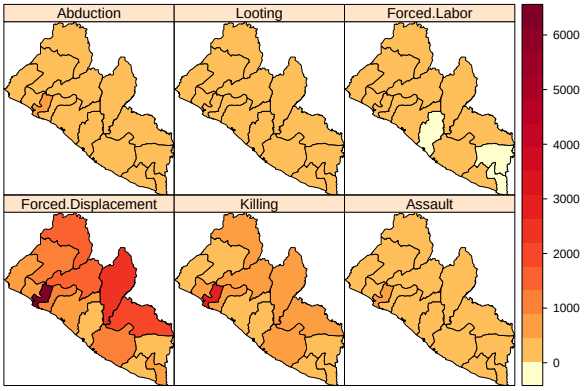
7.4 Reported Violations by Perpetrator and County

Figures 22 and 23 provide a map-based representation of reported violations by county and violation type for the top seven perpetrator groups. The maps in this figure show the geographical range of activity as well as the concentration of six select violation types by county for the selected perpetrator groups. For example, we see in Figure 23(a) that reported NPFL violations are relatively evenly distributed across all counties in Liberia, with a high number of forced displacement violations, particularly concentrated in Montserrado and Bong counties. By contrast, we see that reported violations attributed to LURD and ULIMO are largely concentrated in the north east of the country, in Lofa, Gbarpolu and Bong counties in particular. Reported violations attributed to LPC and Model concentrate in the central and south of the country.

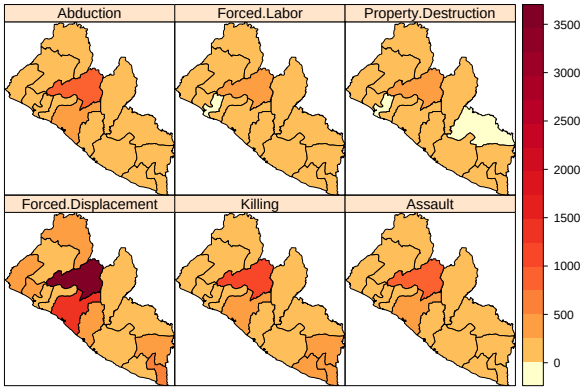
Figure 21: Violations by County for all Years and Peak Years



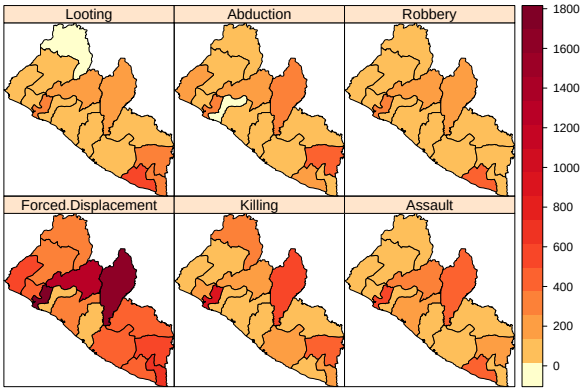
(a) All years



(b) 1990

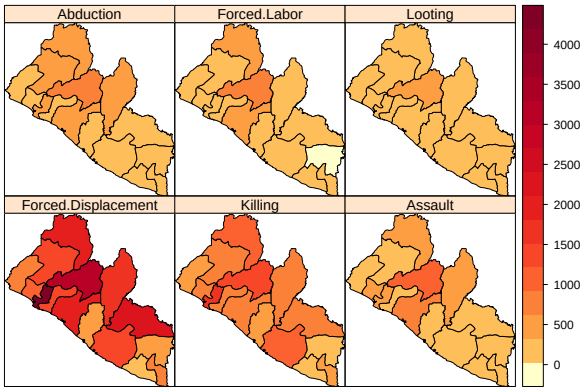


(c) 1994

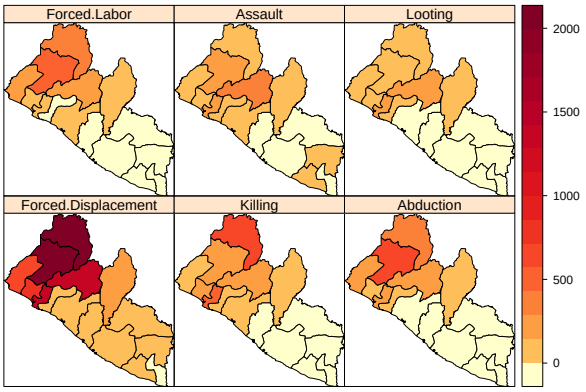


(d) 2003

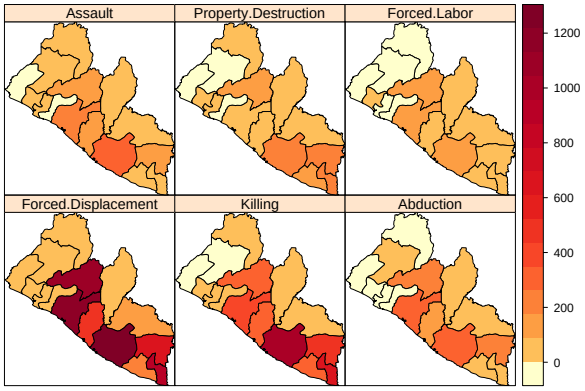
Figure 22: Violations by Perpetrator, County, and Type



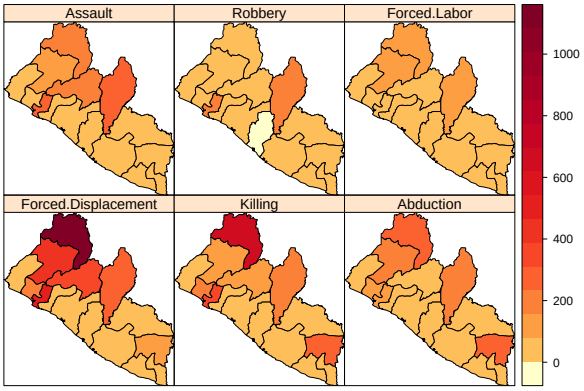
(a) Violations Attributed to the NPFL, by County and Type



(b) Violations Attributed to the LURD, by County and Type

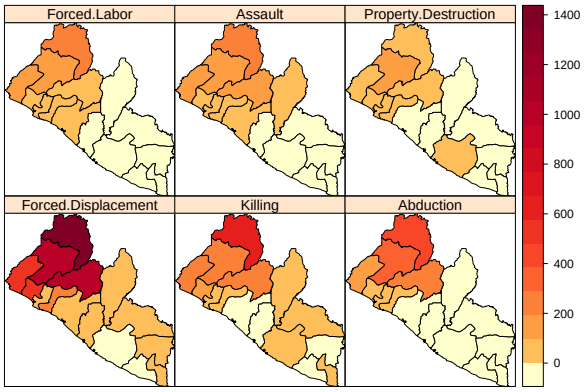


(c) Violations Attributed to the Liberian Peace Council, by County and Type

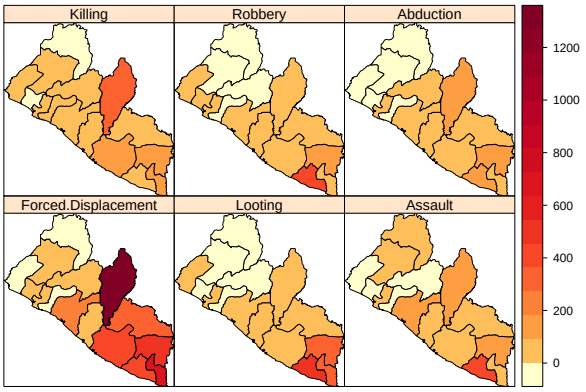


(d) Violations Attributed to the Militia, by County and Type

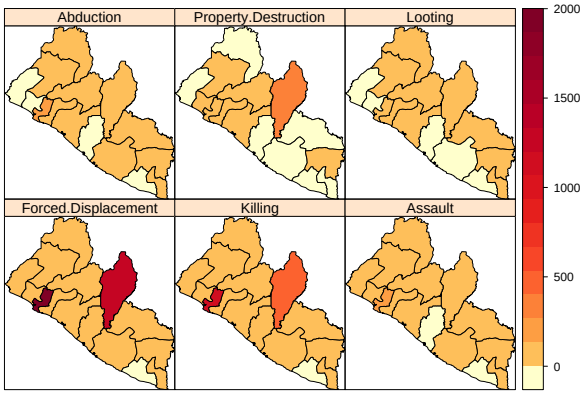
Figure 23: Violations by Perpetrator, County, and Type



(a) Violations Attributed to the ULIMO, by County and Type



(b) Violations Attributed to Model, by County and Type



(c) Violations Attributed to the Armed Forces of Liberia, by County and Type

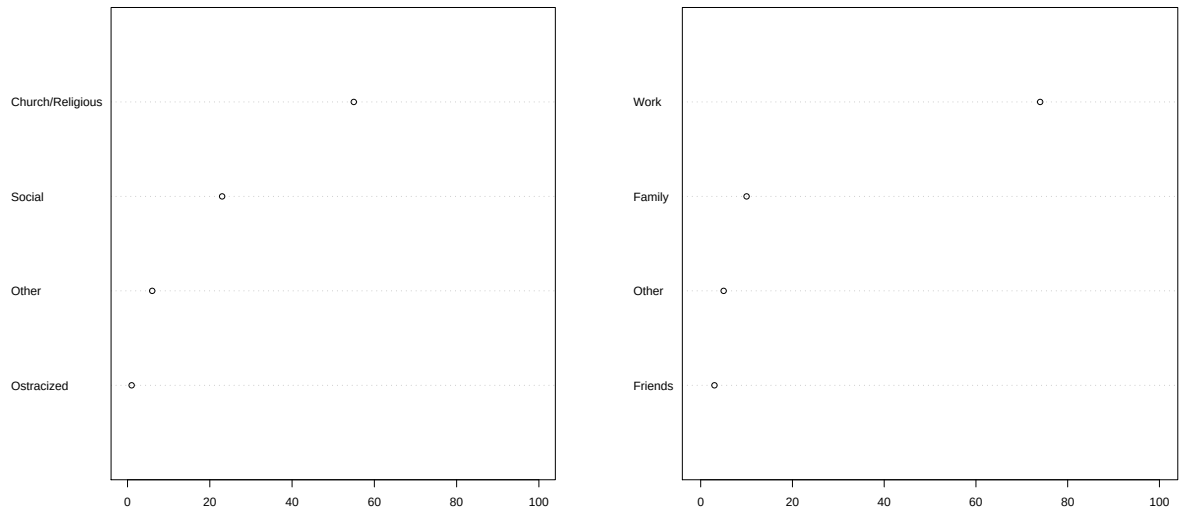
8 Supplemental Questions to the Statement-Givers

Apart from narratives about violations, the TRC asked statement-givers a series of questions about the impact of the conflict on the statement-giver and his or her views on what is needed in Liberia to move on from the conflict. Questions revolved around the social and economic status of the statement-giver, his or her personal stance regarding the process of reconciliation in Liberia,[5] as well as his or her recommendations to the TRC and to the government of Liberia.[6]

8.1 Statement-Giver Responses to Supplemental Questions

We present statement-giver responses to supplemental questions in Figures 24 to 26 for all statement-givers, as well as in Tables 8 to 15 for statement-givers broken down by county (see the following Section 8.2). TRC statement-takers recorded responses to these questions in narrative form, which were then classified in the categories below by the coders. Please note that for each question, statement-givers could provide multiple responses, as well as state additional responses or ideas that were classified as 'Other.' The category 'Other' here indicates the percentage of statement-givers who provided responses outside those classified by the coders.

Figure 24: Statement-Giver Reflections, 1



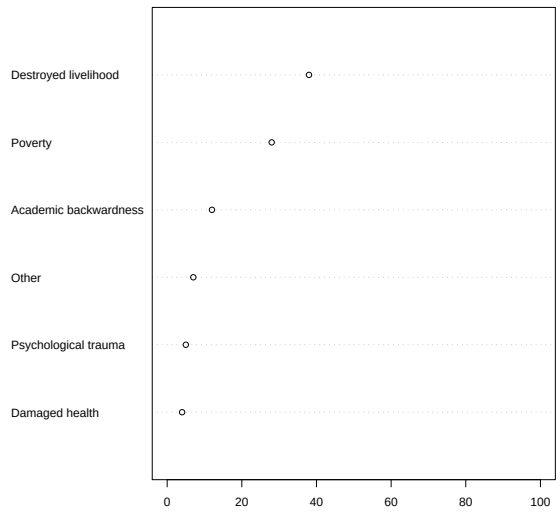
(a) Please state your community affiliations.

(b) Please state your sources of livelihood

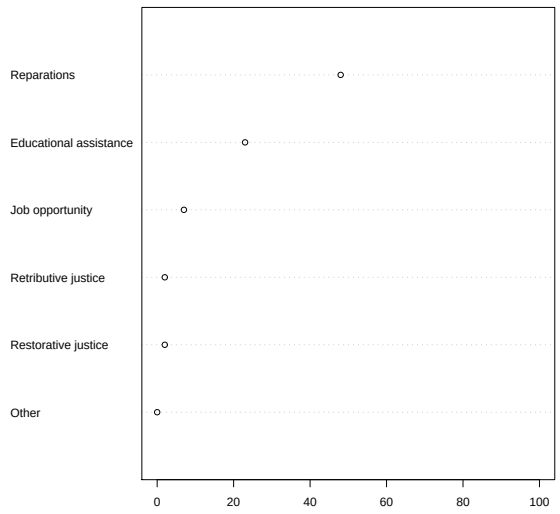
[5]With regard to the reconciliation process, the questions asked were in particular: 1) Have you taken part in any traditional healing or reconciliation rituals? 2) Do you know the perpetrator of the violations you suffered personally? 3) Are you willing to meet with the perpetrator who committed the violations?

[6]Please note that for a total of 357 statements, statement givers gave no answers to any of the questions posed. However, these statements remain in the analysis as part of the denominator for the percentages calculated in the respective tables and figures.

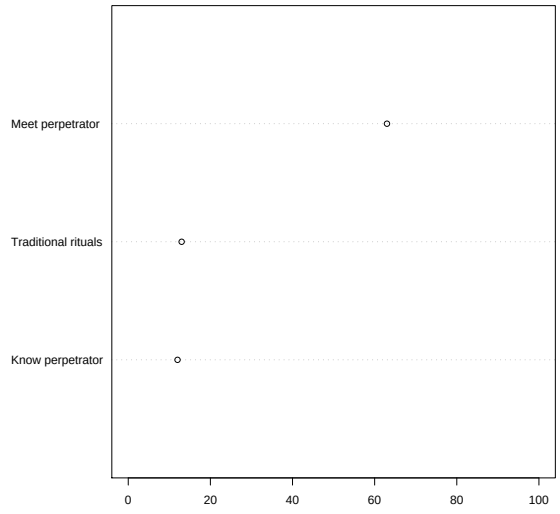
Figure 25: Statement-Giver Reflections, 2



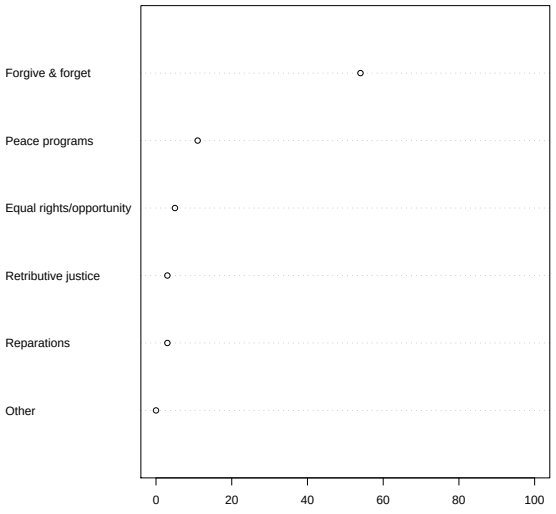
(a) What was the economic impact of the conflict on you personally?



(b) What is needed to restore you to full social and economic life?

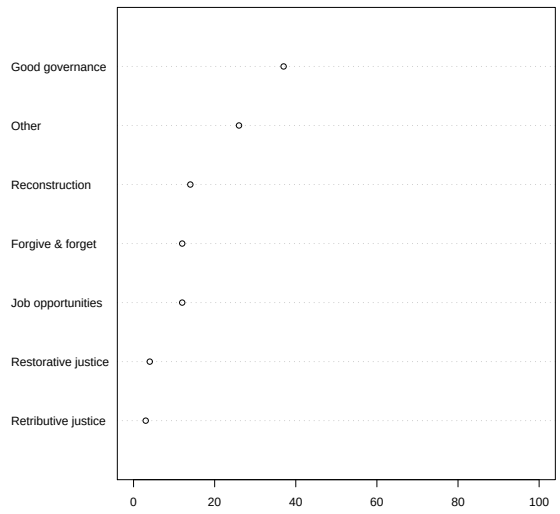


(c) Percentage of statement-givers who answered 'yes' to the following questions.

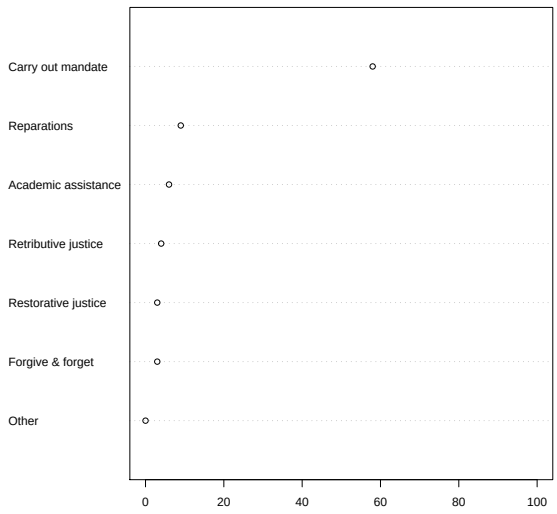


(d) How can reconciliation be achieved in Liberia?

Figure 26: Statement-Giver Reflections, 3



(a) Recommendations to the government of Liberia



(b) Recommendations to the TRC

8.2 Statement-Giver Responses to Supplemental Questions, By County

We see in Table 8, that for most counties, statement-givers state that their community affiliations are mainly religious. Only in a few counties (Gbarpolu and Grand Cape Mount) are affiliations with other social organizations more prominent than with a certain church. Across call counties, the majority of statement-givers mentions 'Work' as their main source of income (Table 9).

Interestingly, we can infer from Table 10 that statement-givers name 'Poverty' and 'Destroyed source of livelihood' as the main economic impacts of the conflict. This outcome might well be understood in the context that forced displacement comprises by far the main type of violation during the conflict in Liberia (see Figure 14). Respondents name 'Academic backwardness' as the third most important economic impact of the conflict on them personally in the majority of counties; with the exception of Rivercess where statement-givers state 'Damaged health' as the third most important personal consequence of the conflict.

Table 11 offers statement-giver perspectives on what they need to be restored to a full social and economic life. It is perhaps unsurprising that statement-givers name 'Reparations' as the greatest need, given the number of responses in Table 10 that suffered 'Poverty' and 'Destroyed livelihood' as a result of the conflict. Similarly, statement-givers mention 'Academic backwardness' next after 'Poverty' and 'Destroyed livelihood' as a result of the conflict. This corresponds with the need for 'Educational assistance', mentioned second after the need for 'Reparations' in Table 11.

Tables 12 and 13 summarize answers to questions on reconciliation. Across all counties, between 50-70% of the statement-givers are willing to meet with the perpetrator who caused their suffering. This broad openness to reconciliatory measures suggests success for possible future reconciliation initiatives. Furthermore, it is striking that less than 20% of all victims know the perpetrator who committed the violation against them personally. So far, less than a quarter of the statement-givers in each county had taken part in any traditional healing or reconciliation rituals at the time of the interview. As regards the process of reconciliation in Liberia, statement-givers across all counties unanimously agree and recommend that a practice of 'Forgive and Forget' will foster the process of reconciliation in the country, followed by 'Peace programs'.

Finally, statement-givers were asked to give personal recommendations to the Government of Liberia and to the TRC, respectively. The results across counties are presented in Tables 14 and 15. The main expectation towards the Liberian government is 'Good Governance' in all counties, followed by 'Reconstruction', 'Job opportunities', and 'Forgive and forget' in varying priority order across counties. Also, approximately a quarter of statement-givers in each county named additional 'Other' recommendations to the Liberian government. For recommendations to the TRC, a broad majority of statement-givers agrees across counties that the TRC should 'Carry out its mandate'; with the exception of Rivercess where only 27% of respondents offered this recommendation. In almost all counties, 'Reparations' range second highest priority among statement-givers, while Margibi and Sinoe are the only counties in which 'Academic assistance' is named slightly before 'Reparations'.

Table 8: Percentage of Statement-Givers' Stated Community Affiliations, by County

County	Church/Religious	Social	Ostracized	Other	Total/Statements
Bomi	77.8	5.3	0.7	3.2	1211
Bong	58.4	19.8	0.3	6.4	1597
Gbarpolu	21.1	42.9	1.5	9.9	1205
Grand Bassa	75.9	11.9	0.3	2.9	922
Grand Cape Mount	35.5	47.9	0.9	4.7	877
Grand Gedeh	55.4	33.3	0.3	4.6	868
Grand Kru	65.8	24.0	0.5	2.4	822
Lofa	70.7	18.7	0.7	2.6	1058
Margibi	64.0	12.6	1.0	3.7	620
Maryland	62.9	12.4	0.7	7.8	914
Montserrado	51.3	17.9	0.8	8.9	3906
Nimba	52.8	33.2	0.3	4.7	1597
River Gee	37.3	32.7	1.4	9.2	721
Rivercess	67.5	15.3	0.6	6.2	465
Sinoe	39.5	24.0	0.5	9.5	633

Table 9: Percentage of Statement-Givers' Stated Dependency on Sources of Livelihood, by County

County	Work	Family	Friends	Other	Total/Statements
Bomi	68.9	14.3	3.2	4.8	1211
Bong	80.8	6.1	1.5	4.3	1597
Gbarpolu	83.7	5.4	1.7	4.0	1205
Grand Bassa	74.7	8.1	3.0	4.4	922
Grand Cape Mount	73.4	14.3	3.5	3.8	877
Grand Gedeh	80.3	6.5	1.5	5.1	868
Grand Kru	91.1	2.1	0.2	2.1	822
Lofa	78.3	11.0	2.3	2.8	1058
Margibi	64.7	14.8	2.4	6.8	620
Maryland	68.2	7.9	1.9	10.2	914
Montserrado	61.5	15.8	4.7	7.0	3906
Nimba	83.7	5.9	1.1	3.8	1597
River Gee	76.0	7.1	0.6	5.7	721
Rivercess	85.8	1.9	1.1	4.3	465
Sinoe	61.0	8.2	4.1	10.0	633

Table 10: Percentage Saying 'yes' to Potential Economic Impacts of the Conflict, by County

County	Poverty	Destroyed livelihood	Academic backwardness	Damaged health	Psychological trauma	Other	Total/Statements
Bomi	27.1	37.8	9.5	5.1	5.7	5.7	1211
Bong	32.4	33.5	10.1	5.4	4.4	8.4	1597
Gbarpolu	26.1	44.0	10.9	4.1	3.9	5.7	1205
Grand Bassa	27.5	34.3	19.2	7.0	5.4	5.7	922
Grand Cape Mount	27.3	41.3	7.6	5.0	5.7	4.7	877
Grand Gedeh	29.4	42.9	12.3	2.9	5.1	5.3	868
Grand Kru	41.7	30.7	6.9	5.5	6.0	5.7	822
Lofa	27.8	46.8	10.6	4.3	6.0	4.4	1058
Margibi	23.4	42.1	10.0	2.7	5.2	9.5	620
Maryland	48.2	24.8	8.6	4.5	5.5	8.0	914
Montserrado	21.5	35.5	16.7	3.8	6.8	7.1	3906
Nimba	24.4	44.0	8.5	4.4	4.5	6.7	1597
River Gee	26.6	39.8	8.9	3.7	2.1	8.2	721
Rivercess	21.3	26.2	5.8	6.5	5.4	13.8	465
Sinoe	32.1	36.5	9.5	2.1	1.7	7.4	633

Table 11: Percentage Saying 'yes' to Potential Needs to Restore them to a Full Social and Economic Life, by County

County	Reparations	Educational assistance	Job opportunity	Restorative justice	Retributive justice	Other	Total/Statements
Bomi	51.5	20.6	7.3	1.5	1.5	0.0	1211
Bong	48.7	22.9	4.4	1.1	1.1	0.0	1597
Gbarpolu	64.4	17.3	3.2	0.7	0.7	0.0	1205
Grand Bassa	42.2	23.9	14.1	1.1	1.1	0.0	922
Grand Cape Mount	64.0	23.4	3.4	0.7	0.7	0.0	877
Grand Gedeh	52.4	23.6	9.9	2.1	2.1	0.0	868
Grand Kru	51.2	14.1	7.7	2.6	2.6	0.0	822
Lofa	51.4	26.2	5.6	1.3	1.3	0.0	1058
Margibi	32.4	23.7	8.4	0.8	0.8	0.0	620
Maryland	49.1	11.7	4.2	2.0	2.0	0.0	914
Montserrado	40.4	28.8	8.2	1.9	1.9	0.1	3906
Nimba	51.8	25.7	4.8	2.3	2.3	0.0	1597
River Gee	39.0	16.5	8.7	2.4	2.4	0.0	721
Rivercess	40.4	10.5	5.8	1.1	1.1	0.0	465
Sinoe	32.9	18.5	15.0	2.1	2.1	0.0	633

Table 12: Percentage Saying 'yes' to Questions on Reconciliation, by County

County	Traditional rituals	Knows perpetrator	Meet perpetrator	Total/Statements
Bomi	9.3	9.4	68.4	1211
Bong	18.0	8.2	68.6	1597
Gbarpolu	14.9	12.4	67.5	1205
Grand Bassa	5.0	11.9	63.0	922
Grand Cape Mount	17.7	13.5	62.9	877
Grand Gedeh	15.1	12.3	61.2	868
Grand Kru	14.7	17.0	61.1	822
Lofa	22.0	14.7	53.2	1058
Margibi	23.5	12.7	50.6	620
Maryland	12.6	10.8	61.2	914
Montserrado	9.7	10.7	62.9	3906
Nimba	9.0	10.0	72.6	1597
River Gee	7.1	16.8	63.7	721
Rivercess	8.8	6.9	57.0	465
Sinoe	18.6	17.9	51.5	633

Table 13: Percentage of Statement-Givers' Recommendations about Reconciliation in Liberia, by County

County	Forgive and forget	Reparations	Equal rights/opportunity	Retributive justice	Peace programs	Other	Total/Statements
Bomi	58.5	2.1	3.0	1.8	8.1	0.0	1211
Bong	53.8	2.8	5.3	2.1	13.3	0.0	1597
Gbarpolu	58.3	2.3	3.6	1.0	9.0	0.0	1205
Grand Bassa	61.9	1.1	3.4	2.0	10.6	0.0	922
Grand Cape Mount	35.1	5.6	8.3	3.6	10.5	0.0	877
Grand Gedeh	44.4	2.9	5.8	3.0	12.9	0.0	868
Grand Kru	55.1	3.2	8.2	2.9	16.4	0.0	822
Lofa	53.0	3.3	8.4	3.2	10.2	0.0	1058
Margibi	52.1	1.3	3.2	1.8	11.3	0.0	620
Maryland	59.6	3.4	7.9	2.0	10.7	0.0	914
Montserrado	60.5	1.5	3.5	2.7	9.3	0.0	3906
Nimba	47.4	3.3	3.9	3.4	11.5	0.0	1597
River Gee	46.3	3.1	6.0	5.5	9.4	0.0	721
Rivercess	40.0	4.3	5.8	1.3	8.6	0.0	465
Sinoe	59.4	3.9	3.8	1.9	8.1	0.0	633

Table 14: Percentage of Statement-Giver Recommendations to the Government of Liberia, by County

County	Reconstruction	Job opportunities	Retributive justice	Good governance	Restorative justice	Forgive and forget	Other	Total/Statements
Bomi	6.6	13.6	2.7	38.5	2.4	10.5	29.1	1211
Bong	17.4	9.2	2.7	37.3	2.3	9.5	31.1	1597
Gbarpolu	43.8	4.8	1.2	31.6	1.6	9.0	24.7	1205
Grand Bassa	8.0	20.9	3.0	37.0	4.2	11.1	21.3	922
Grand Cape Mount	11.4	12.5	2.6	40.5	3.8	8.9	29.2	877
Grand Gedeh	15.8	9.3	3.3	36.9	6.5	11.4	29.4	868
Grand Kru	13.7	6.1	3.2	37.6	5.5	22.4	21.2	822
Lofa	21.2	8.6	4.0	36.3	2.6	12.0	30.1	1058
Margibi	7.3	12.4	2.4	40.6	5.2	13.5	24.8	620
Maryland	17.1	19.0	3.2	28.3	4.7	26.5	18.3	914
Montserrado	5.5	14.4	3.3	37.9	3.7	11.9	26.2	3906
Nimba	17.5	6.4	2.2	42.8	4.0	8.2	26.6	1597
River Gee	14.3	16.9	9.3	30.1	3.7	11.4	18.4	721
Rivercess	8.6	6.5	2.8	24.3	4.7	8.0	31.6	465
Sinoe	13.7	16.3	0.9	37.3	1.9	15.6	22.9	633

Table 15: Percentage of Statement-Giver Recommendations to the TRC, by County

County	Carry out mandate	Reparations	Retributive justice	Forgive and forget	Restorative justice	Academic assistance	Other	Total/Statements
Bomi	61.5	10.4	2.8	2.2	1.6	5.3	0.0	1211
Bong	59.4	12.8	2.1	2.4	2.1	7.6	0.0	1597
Gbarpolu	52.4	10.0	1.9	2.2	1.7	5.5	0.0	1205
Grand Bassa	62.9	5.9	3.6	3.9	3.5	4.2	0.0	922
Grand Cape Mount	60.1	10.9	3.2	2.7	1.7	6.8	0.0	877
Grand Gedeh	58.8	12.4	6.7	4.4	5.5	5.9	0.0	868
Grand Kru	55.7	12.5	3.3	7.3	3.4	7.8	0.0	822
Lofa	57.6	6.9	4.6	5.7	2.4	6.1	0.0	1058
Margibi	53.5	5.8	1.9	4.4	5.3	6.0	0.0	620
Maryland	58.3	8.0	5.9	7.2	2.5	3.8	0.0	914
Montserrado	57.9	8.2	4.5	2.8	2.4	5.4	0.0	3906
Nimba	61.5	10.5	4.9	1.9	4.0	6.9	0.0	1597
River Gee	56.6	5.8	9.4	2.4	2.2	4.3	0.0	721
Rivercess	26.9	9.2	3.7	1.9	2.6	4.9	0.0	465
Sinoe	62.2	7.4	1.4	4.6	3.0	9.5	0.0	633

9 Diaspora Statements

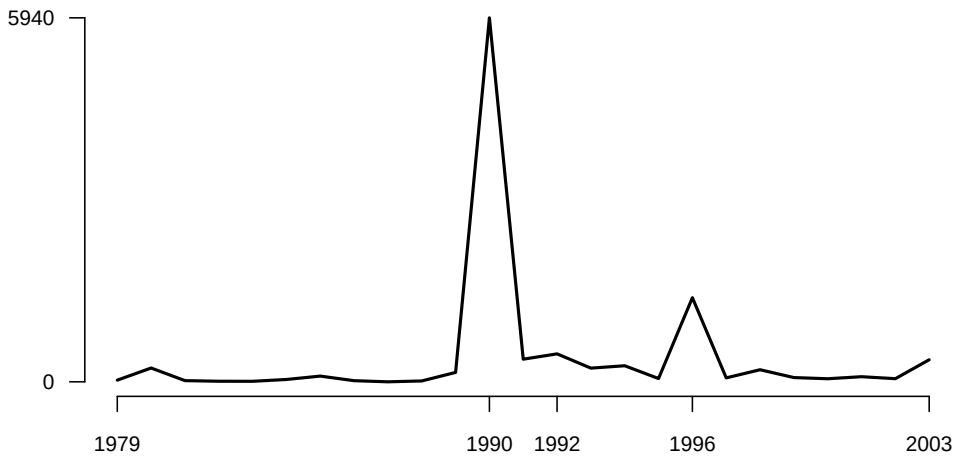
In this section, we present analysis of statements collected from diaspora Liberians who gave statements in the United States, Europe, Ghana and Nigeria. The 1,165 statements processed by the TRC Coding and Database Unit contain information about 6,398 victims and 10,154 violations. The TRC Coding and Database Unit processed as many diaspora statements as possible given available time and resources. The TRC Diaspora Project collected an additional 480 statements in Ghana and 112 in the United States/Europe that were not processed and are therefore not included in this analysis.[7]

Table 16 gives the number the 1,165 statements collected from diaspora Liberians by location where the statement was taken and the sex of the statement-giver. Similar to statements collected in Liberia, the TRC collected a significant number of statements from female statement-givers in the diaspora. We also observe that the majority of statements collected from diaspora Liberians were taken from statement-givers in Ghana. Please see section of the TRC's final report for more information about how statements were collected from diaspora Liberians.

Table 16: Number of Diaspora Statements by Country/Region

Country	Male	Female	Unknown Sex	Statements	Percent
Ghana	417	480	2	899	77.2
USA	132	95	0	227	19.5
Nigeria	17	14	0	31	2.7
Europe	3	5	0	8	0.7
Total	569	594	2	1165	100.1

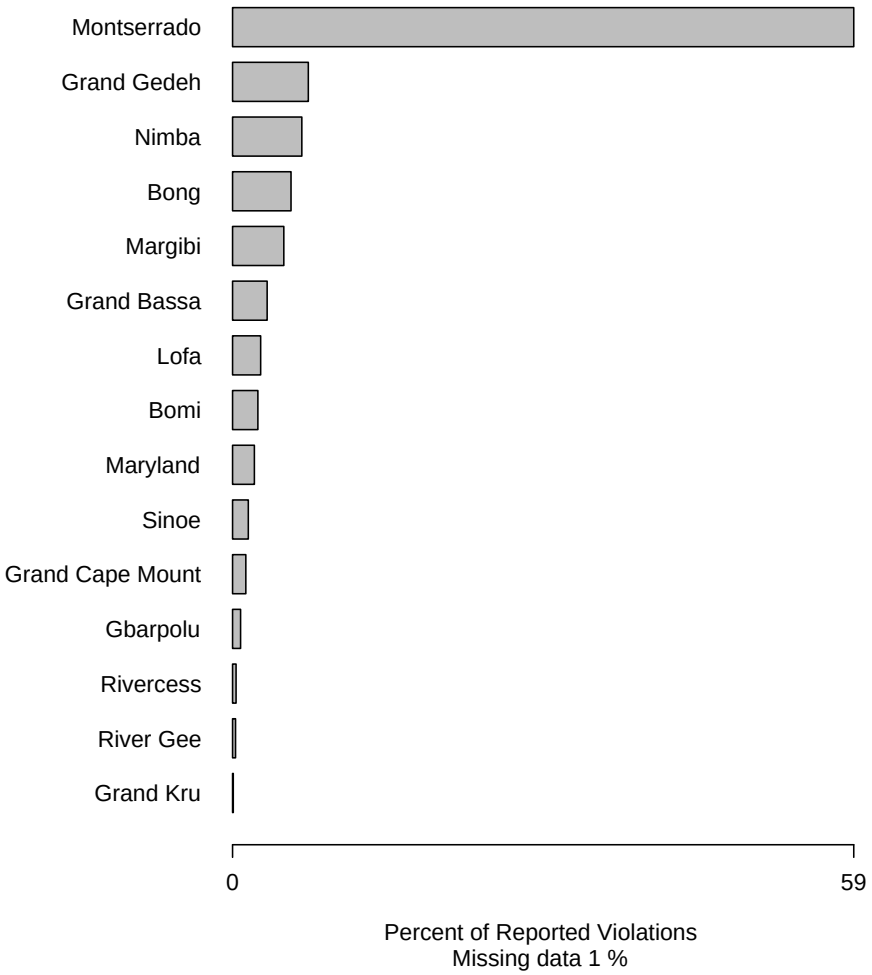
Figure 27: All Reported Violations from Diaspora Statements, by Year



[7]Please see Appendix H: Descriptive Statistics for Statement Givers in the Diaspora in *A House with Two Rooms: Final Report of the TRC Liberian Diaspora Project*, presented as an Annex to the TRC's Final Report.

Figure 27 shows reported violations in diaspora statements by year. Similar to the pattern of violations reported in statements collected in Liberia, we observe that reported violations in diaspora statements spiked in 1990 with a total of 5,940. We see an additional yet much smaller rise in 1996 for 1,373 violations reported in diaspora statements. Whereas in Liberia statements, the second most violations were reported in 1994 and the third most in 2003. The diaspora reported violations in 1996 took place overwhelmingly in Montserrado County. We observe that victims of violations reported in 1996 are predominantly Krahn, which is consistent with the pattern of reported victim tribe in diaspora statements for all years as presented below. However, we do see a slightly higher proportion of Bassa and Kpele victims in 1996 than for all years.

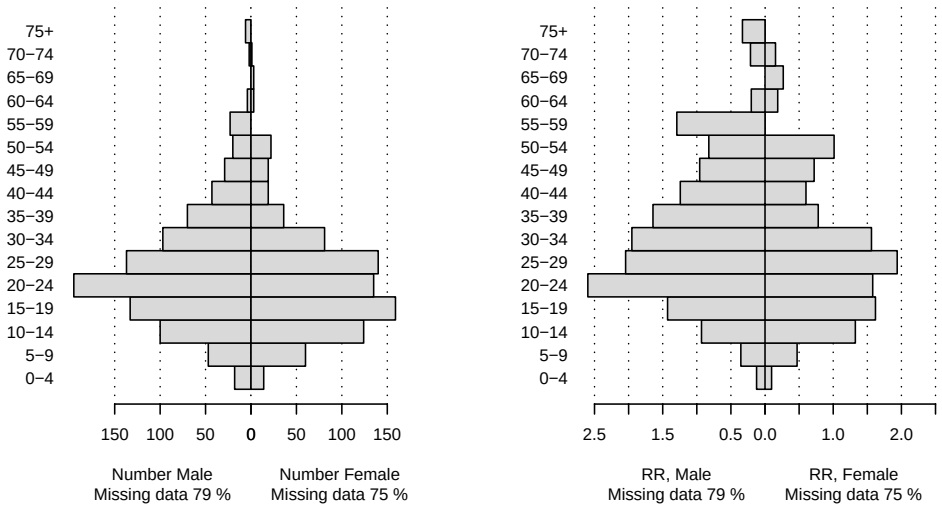
Figure 28: Percent of Reported Violations by County



In Figure 28, we see that violations reported in diaspora statements overall took place overwhelmingly in Montserrado County. This is in striking contrast to violations reported in Liberia statements, given in Figure 2, which are more evenly distributed among Liberia's counties. The preponderance of abuses reported in Montserrado County, the seat of Liberia's capital Monrovia, in diaspora statements suggests that diaspora

Liberians may have spent more time in the capital and may have had more access to the means and contacts needed to flee the country than rural Liberians.

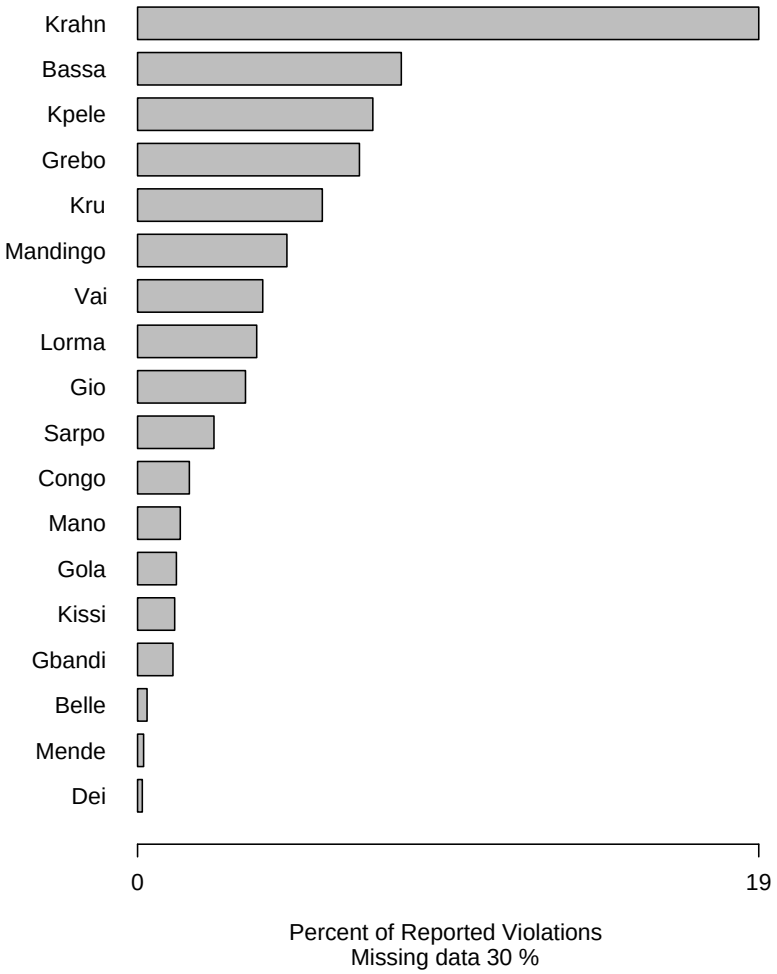
Figure 29: Distribution of All Reported Violations, by Age and Sex



The graph on the left of Figure 29, gives all reported violations in diaspora statements by victim age and sex. The graph on the right of Figure 29 shows the relative risk for each age-sex category. Relative risk analysis helps to identify whether particular groups (such as age/sex groups) are targeted for violence. Please see Section 5.3 for a detailed discussion of relative risk.

Because victim age is seldom reported – victim age is recorded for approximately 25% of violations in diaspora statements – we caution against drawing substantial conclusions about victim age and sex from the diaspora statements. However, overall, we see that victim sex is more evenly distributed between male and female victims, when reported, in diaspora statements than in Liberia statements. Males between the ages of 15 and 44 had a relatively higher risk of suffering a violation given the size of these age/sex categories in the population. Whereas females aged 10 to 34 were more likely to be targeted. We also see a rise relative risk for males aged 55-59 and for females aged 50-54. However, elders aged 60 and over for both sexes faced relatively lower risk of suffering violations than their counterparts reported in Liberia statements.

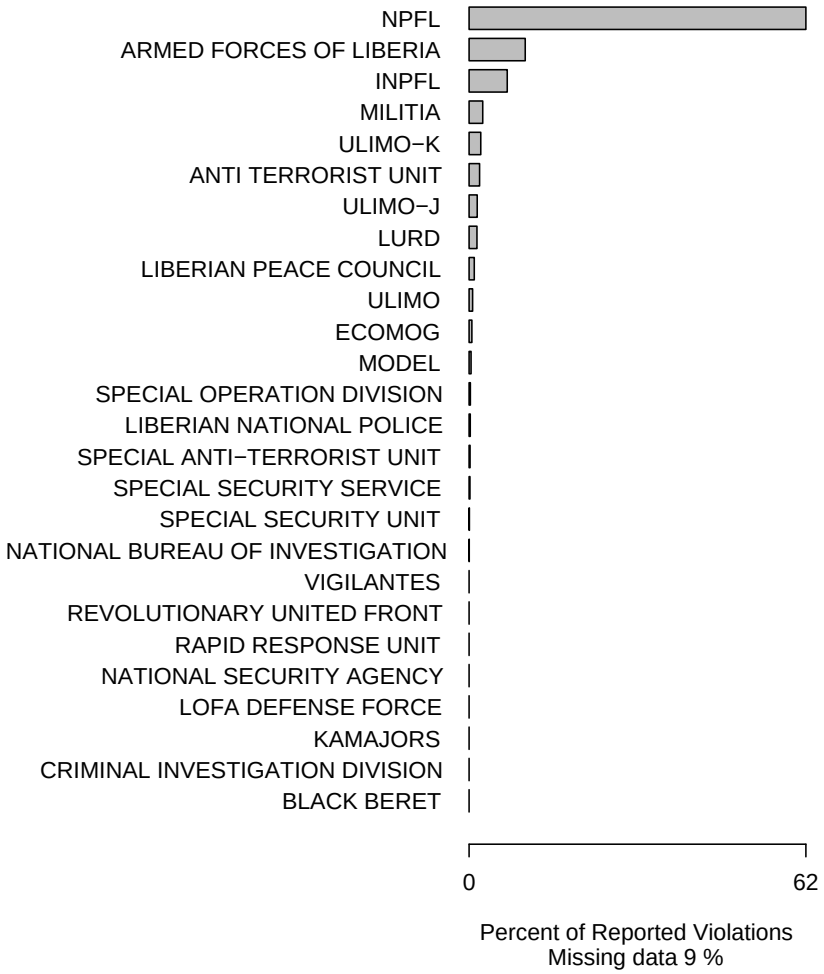
Figure 30: Percent of Reported Violations by Tribe



As shown in Figure 30, we see a substantially different pattern for victim tribe reported in diaspora statements than that observed in TRC statements collected in Liberia. Please note that we did not impute tribe values for records for which the tribe of the victim was unknown in diaspora statements as we did for Liberia statements. This is because victim tribe is reported at a marginally better rate in diaspora statements than in Liberia statements. Also, a distinct pattern of victim tribe from that observed in Liberia statements emerges with the reported level of tribe information in diaspora statements.

When reported, victim tribe in diaspora statements was predominantly Krahn. Diaspora statement-givers reported Krahn for victim tribe more than twice as often as the next most commonly reported victim tribe, Bassa. Kpele and Grebo closely follow Bassa. In contrast, statement-givers in Liberia predominantly reported Kpele for victim tribe. Grebo, closely followed by Bassa, is the next most commonly reported victim tribe in Liberia statements, reported just over half as often as Kpele.

Figure 31: Percent of Reported Violations, by Perpetrating Group

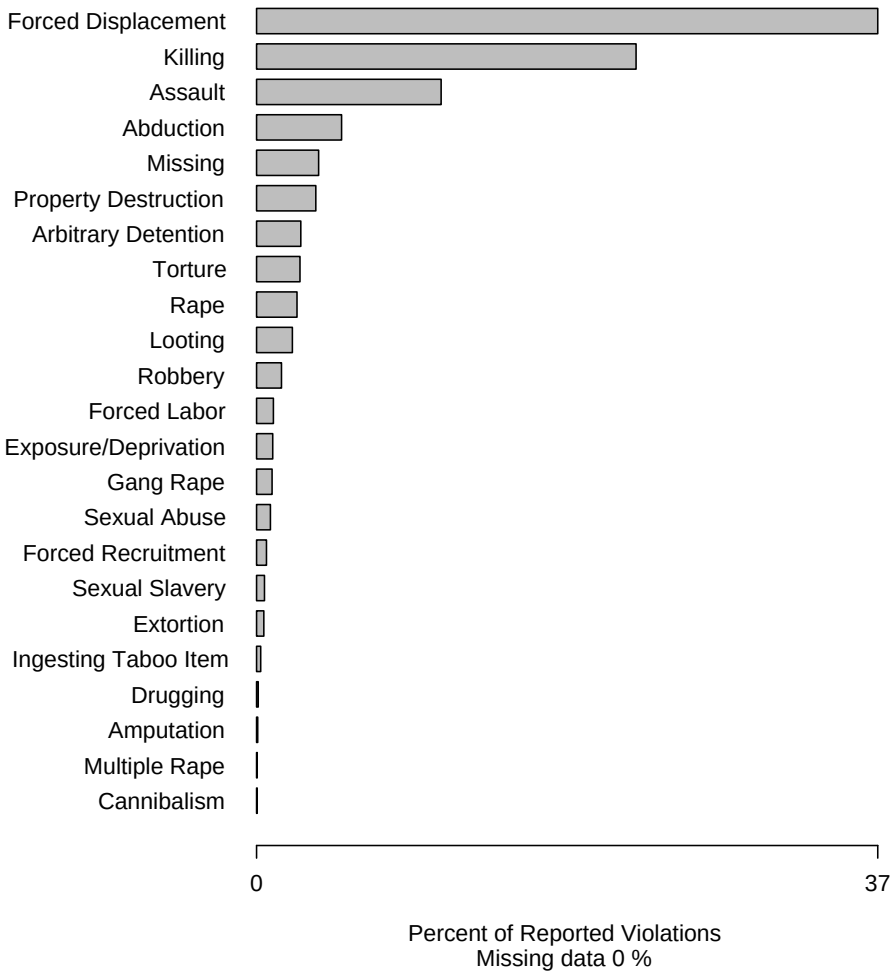


In Figure 31, we see that diaspora statement-givers overwhelmingly attribute reported violations to the NPFL, at over 60% of reported violations. It is interesting to note that NPFL is responsible for more than six times the number of reported violations in diaspora statements as the next closest perpetrator group, AFL. Diaspora statement-givers attribute responsibility to the NPFL at a much higher rate than statement-givers in Liberia, where NPFL is the attributed perpetrator for approximately 40% of reported violations as given in Table 6. The high number of abuses attributed to NPFL in diaspora statements is perhaps unsurprising when we consider that the vast majority of violations reported in diaspora statements took place in 1990; the year during which Liberia statement-givers also assign overwhelming responsibility for violence to the NPFL as shown in Figure 13.

Figure 32 shows violations reported in diaspora statements by violation type. Overall, the pattern of reported violations by type in diaspora statements strongly resembles that of violations reported in Liberia statements. Forced displacement is the top reported violation type comprising over 30% of all reported violations for both diaspora and Liberia statements, given in Figure 14. Killing, abduction and assault comprise the top second, third and fourth most reported violation types respectively in both datasets.

However, violations in the killing and assault categories make up a higher proportion of overall reported violations in diaspora statements than in Liberia statements. In contrast, we observe a higher proportion of missing violations and proportionally fewer looting and forced labor violations in diaspora statements than in Liberia statements.

Figure 32: Percent of Reported Violations by Violation Type



10 Conclusion

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Liberia collected over seventeen thousand statements from Liberians in Liberia about their experiences during the mandate period of the TRC. The purpose of this chapter has been to outline and interpret the nature and extent of the violations, behavior of perpetrators and characteristics of the victims reported to the TRC in statements. While valuable in its own right, the resulting analysis is even more meaningful combined with the contextual information compiled by the TRC researchers, investigators and commissioners. Analytical results presented here are therefore incorporated and interpreted in greater detail in other chapters of the TRC's Final Report.

An anonymized version of the TRC's data from statements collected in Liberia and among diaspora Liberians will be published on the TRC's as well as Benetech's website. We encourage scholars and analysts to extend the analysis offered here. We suggest future efforts to compare statistical results from other sources of data, as we did here with the information reported by statement-givers in Liberia and in the diaspora.

Appendices

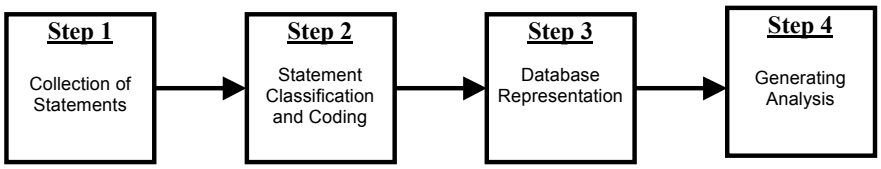
A Methodology

The TRC partnered with the Human Rights Data Analysis Group (HRDAG) at Benetech for assistance in developing a data collection and analysis process to address key questions about human rights violations and the nature of the conflict in Liberia.[8] For over fifteen years, members of the HRDAG have worked with eight other truth commissions to incorporate information technology and scientific methods to support their truth-seeking mandates. Specifically, Benetechs assistance has involved establishing analytical objectives, collecting data, designing and implementing an information management system, conducting statistical analysis, integrating quantitative findings and follow-up support.[9]

Benetech advised the TRC on methods for large-scale data collection and quantitative analysis of statements and other data about human rights violations. Benetech provided training and support to help the TRC develop the capacity to undertake the necessary steps to accurately and defensibly quantify information about human rights violations.

Benetech worked with the TRC to implement a complex human rights information management system comprising the following steps:

Figure 33: The Information Management Process



Step 1: Collection of Statements TRC statement-takers collect statements from each of the fifteen counties of Liberia.

Step 2: Classification and Coding The statements are analyzed by TRC Data Coders to identify the victims, perpetrators and violations within each. Please see below for more detail on the TRCs coding process. This information is transcribed onto paper coding forms for each statement.

Step 3: Database Representation TRC Data Entry Clerks enter the set of coding forms for each statement into the database. The quality of data entry is checked for typographical and transcribing errors.

Step 4: Analysis Generation The information is extracted from the database in a form that can be used by a statistician. Graphs and statistics are used to answer research questions. These results are used to produce a statistical report and will be reflected in other chapters of the Commissions Final Report.

We provide additional information about each of these steps below.

[8]The HRDAG is part of The Benetech Initiative in Palo Alto, California, USA. Benetech is a non-profit organization dedicated to creating innovative technology solutions for unmet social needs. Please see www.benetech.org for more information.

[9]Benetech's HRDAG has provided assistance to the following commissions: the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) of South Africa, the Commission of Historical Clarification (CEH) of Guatemala, the Haitian National Commission for Truth and Justice (CNVJ), the Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación (CVR) (Truth and Reconciliation Commission) of Perú, the National Reconciliation Commission (NRC) of Ghana, the TRC of Sierra Leone, and the Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation in Timor-Leste (CAVR by its Portuguese acronym.) Our work with the TRC of South Africa, CEH, and CNVJ was conducted under the auspices of the American Association for the Advancement of Science's (AAAS) Science and Human Rights Program. Please see www.hrdag.org/projects for more details on our partnerships with each commission.

A.1 Collection of Statements

The TRC collected statements in several waves based on the availability of funding. TRC statement-takers were carefully selected and trained on how to take down a narrative statement using the TRC's open-ended statement form. Each of the fifteen counties in Liberia received a team of statement-takers - slightly larger teams were assigned to more populated counties such as Nimba, Bong, and Lofa with the largest number of statement-takers assigned to Liberia's densely populated capital county, Montserrado. Please see Volume II, section 8 of the TRC's Final Report for more information about the statement-taking process.

A.2 Coding: Consistency in Meaning and Counting

As mentioned above, coding is the process by which the "countable units" — violations, victims and perpetrators — are identified in statements and transcribed onto coding forms. This process enables us to count violations by county, by year, etc., to analyze the nature and patterns of human rights violations reported to the TRC.

For example, what distinguishes "rape" from "sexual abuse"? The two categories must be defined so clearly that the people doing the coding apply the definitions in a standard way. That is, the definition must be so clear that if the same narrative statement is assigned to all of the coding staff, they would classify it in precisely the same way. We refer to these definitions as the "*controlled vocabulary*".

The TRC developed a controlled vocabulary based on the types of abuses specific to the Liberian conflict and the TRC's analytical objectives. Benetech and other advisors to the TRC provided input and feedback on working drafts. The TRCs controlled vocabulary includes the following twenty-three violation types: forced displacement, killing, assault, abduction, looting, forced labor, property destruction, robbery, torture, arbitrary detention, rape, exposure/deprivation, sexual abuse, extortion, forced recruitment, missing, gang rape, sexual slavery, ingesting taboo item, cannibalism, drugging, multiple rape, and amputation. The TRC's controlled vocabulary is provided in Table 17 below. As shown in this table, the controlled vocabulary consists of the following components:

Code: The 3-letter code is used to represent the narrative description of the identified violation in the statement in the database allowing the quantification and statistical study of the data.

Definition: The definition provides a clear and precise description to help coders identify each type of violation.

Boundary condition: The boundary condition helps the coders determine when to apply certain definitions in different situations and to distinguish a violation from similar or related violation categories. For example, the boundary condition for exposure/deprivation "excludes death caused by direct violence, poverty-related hunger or deprivation". The boundary condition thereby excludes deaths due to direct violence, which would be classified as killing.

Counting rule: Counting rules provide a systematic counting methodology to identify the number of violations, victims and perpetrators involved in a particular act. The counting rule is important because with the exception of killing, a victim can suffer a violation more than once. Therefore a counting rule is required to ensure that the coders will count violation repetitions consistently. For example, consider a situation in which a victim is being beaten by one perpetrator with a stick. A second perpetrator then joins in, kicking the victim. This could be interpreted as either one assault with two perpetrators or two assaults with the beating with a stick followed by the kicking. With the counting rule below for assault, that specifies that one continuous assault equals one violation, this example would count as one violation.

Example: The examples demonstrate how to apply the definition in specific situations.

Table 17: TRC Violations Controlled Vocabulary.

Code	Violation	Definition	Boundary Condition	Counting Rule	Example
ABD	Abduction	Forced/ unwilling removal from current location, in the control of person/s on the list of perpetrators. Committed by persons on the list of perpetrators. Status of the victim after abduction can be known or unknown. If the victim is never seen again, a 'Missing' violation should also be coded.	Excludes subsequent detention, which is covered by other violations.	1 Abduction = 1 Violation.	1) When the ULIMO came to our village, they captured 5 young men who we did not see again for two years. 2) I was captured in the bush and held in a house in Swen village.
ADE	Arbitrary Detention	Detention in a single location such as a prison, guardroom, or civilian building adapted to use as a detention place. Alternatively the victim is obliged to accompany the perpetrators across numerous locations.	Victim is kept against their will by force or is detained in a secure place by force.	1 Period of detention across potentially many locations = 1 Violation. Count duration of violation.	I was captured by the AFL who accused me of being a NPFL fighter. They kept me at the police station for three days and then transferred me to Monrovia, where they kept me for another two days before they released me.
AMP	Amputation	Removal of one or more hands, feet, arms or legs. Committed by a person on the list of perpetrators. If the amputee subsequently dies from their injuries a 'Killing' violation should also be coded.	Excludes amputation as part of a proper medical procedure. Excludes loss of limbs due to an explosion. Victim is alive after the amputation is completed.	Amputation of 1 hand, foot, arm or leg = 1 Violation.	I cut this man's hand off and told him to go get it back from Lofa.

Continued on next page...

... Table 17 continued.

Code	Violation	Definition	Boundary Condition	Counting Rule	Example
ASL	Assault	Any act committed by a person on the list of perpetrators that causes serious bodily injury to another purposely, knowingly, or recklessly; or purposely or knowingly causes bodily injury to another. If the victim subsequently dies from their injuries a Killing violation should also be coded.	Assault is reckoned sufficient to cause bruising, bleeding, internal injury or severe pain. Also includes dropping a child or pushing or shoving resulting in injury. Excludes incidental injuries such as those caused by a stray bullet unless it can be determined that the perpetrator committed the act knowing that it could put civilians in harms way such as shelling a building that is knowingly occupied.	1 Continuous Assault = 1 Violation.	1) My father was beaten for an hour with a machine gun. 2) They kicked me several times on my legs and womb, because I refused to give them my money.
CAN	Cannibalism	Forcing a person to ingest human flesh, body parts, or blood by threat, intimidation, force or violence. Committed by persons on the list of perpetrators.	Perpetrators who eat the flesh or drink the blood of their victims for pleasure/sustenance are not counted as victims.	1 Meal involving cannibalism = 1 Violation.	The dead body of our chief's wife was cut into pieces, cooked with cassava leaves and the whole village was forced to eat it.
DOP	Destruction of Property	Consists of destruction/ damage to private/ public property through burning, mining, bombing, shelling, and arson or by other means. Property meaning a home or other building. Committed by persons on the list of perpetrators.	Victims are the owner of property and other resident relatives / persons. for rented properties the landlord is a victim. Victim may or may not be present when violation occurs. Damage is reckoned to make property uninhabitable.	1 Home, or commercial property destroyed = 1 Violation.	1) ECOMOG came to my house searching for NPFL members. They did not find any, but burned down the house. 2) When my parents went back to Nimba, they found that the church had been destroyed by the rebels.

Continued on next page...

... Table 17 continued.

Code	Violation	Definition	Boundary Condition	Counting Rule	Example
DRU	Drugging	Victim takes a substance which alters, temporarily, or permanently, their mental state. Taking of the substance may be forced or achieved by devious means. Drug may result in permanent physical and/or mental injury. Committed by persons on the list of perpetrators.	Victim is alive when the immediate effects of the drug wear off.	1 Period under the influence of the drug = 1 Violation.	They cut my forehead and inserted the brown brown in the wound.
ETO	Extortion	Perpetrators use intimidation and/or threats to attempt to compel the victim to surrender goods, cash or services, including sexual services. Alternatively the victim is offered some benefit, service or protection by the perpetrators. The act must be committed by persons on the list of perpetrators.	Excludes extorted services that are covered by the 'Forced Labour and 'Sexual Slavery' violation. Victims are owners of the property / goods / cash. The arrangement is not one that the victim would enter into voluntarily.	1 Attempted transaction, financial or otherwise = 1 Violation.	1) The Blamo family sold all their possessions and gave the money to soldiers who said, otherwise, their imprisoned father would be killed. 2) They told Massa she would be beaten unless she showed them where the rice was hidden.
EXP	Exposure/ Deprivation	Victim did not have adequate access to food, medical care or shelter and due to such conditions caused by the conflict subsequently died. The conditions must be created by persons identified on the list of perpetrators.	Excludes death caused by direct violence, poverty-related hunger or deprivation.	1 Person dead due to Exposure/ Deprivation = 1 Violation.	While displaced in the bush, my father went without food for ten days and subsequently died.
FDI	Forced Displacement	Forced/unwilling departure or movement from one's property/home by threat, intimidation, force, violence, fear, suspicion or due to conflict. Move may be due to perception of danger, rather than actual abuse.	Victims are not under the control of the perpetrators. Subsequent migrations to new locations without the forced aspect do not count as further violations.	1 Departure to another location = 1 Violation. Each person displaced = 1 Victim.	We heard that the LURD fighters were coming to our village. We decided, my wife and I, to run to the bush were we had to hide for 2 months.

Continued on next page...

... Table 17 continued.

Code	Violation	Definition	Boundary Condition	Counting Rule	Example
FLA	Forced Labour	Forced/ unwilling labour by a victim that occurs whilst they are detained. Excludes the labour implied by being the victim of a 'Forced Recruitment' or 'Sexual Slavery' violation. Captors are persons on the list of perpetrators.	Violation occurs while a person is suffering 'Arbitrary Detention'. Excludes labour as a part of an official prison program and that was carried out as part of a 'Sexual Slavery' violation.	1 Period of labour across potentially many locations = 1 Violation. Count duration of violation.	1) Blamo was abducted and forced to work in the mines for many months. 2) They abducted my husband and made him carry loads from Nimba to Lofa. 3) The soldier made me fetch a bucket of water.
FRC	Forced Recruitment	Forced/ unwilling recruitment of any individual to an armed group/organization by threat, intimidation, threat to family members and/or violence by a person/s on the list of perpetrators.	Recruit has a combat role, use as a human shield is not sufficient. Victim may be either trained as a combatant or trained and active as a combatant. Abduction is coded in addition to the violation.	1 Period as a combatant for one organization = 1 Violation. Count duration of violation.	They told me that they would kill my parents if I did not fight for them. They gave me training and a gun and I fought with them for 2 years.
GRE	Gang Rape	Non-consensual penetration of the mouth by a penis. Or non-consensual penetration of the vagina/anus by penis or an implement. Occurs regardless of gender, with victim under intimidation, threat, force, intoxication or violence. Must be committed by more than one person on the list of perpetrators.	Must be explicitly stated that victim was raped by more than one person.	1 Continuous act of gang rape = 1 Violation.	My sister Alice was pregnant when the NPFL entered our village. Four men came to our house in the middle of the night and had sexual intercourse with her for three hours. She lost her baby.

Continued on next page...

... Table 17 continued.

Code	Violation	Definition	Boundary Condition	Counting Rule	Example
KIL	Extra-judicial Killing	Killings by persons identified in the list of perpetrators. Death might not be instantaneous, being the later result of an Assault, Torture or Amputation violation.	Excludes common acts of murder such as crimes of passion. Excludes killing of combatants during combat.	1 Killing = 1 Violation.	1) Blamo was my neighbor. I saw an LURD fighter cut his right hand. Allie never recovered and died 3 days later. 2) My father got caught by the MODEL. They accused him of being an ATU member and shot him.
LOG	Looting of Goods	Consists of theft of personal or commercial goods with the victim absent, or present under threat, intimidation, force or violence. Committed by persons on the list of perpetrators.	Victim is owner of the goods. Victim may or may not be present when violation occurs. Excludes acts in which the victim is directly involved in handing over their property to a perpetrator under threat or coercion, as defined under "Extortion". Goods are removed from a property. Excludes other acts of theft such as street robbery.	1 Continuous period of looting = 1 Violation.	The LURD came into our village. They stole all of the dry goods we had in our house while we were hiding in the bush.
MIS	Missing	A Victim is forcibly and illegally taken away and is never seen again.	It does not include cases where someone goes into exile and never returns. It must be done by force.	1 Missing = 1 Violation.	When the LURD came to our village, they captured 10 people. We never heard of them again even though we have tried to locate them.

Continued on next page...

... Table 17 continued.

Code	Violation	Definition	Boundary Condition	Counting Rule	Example
MRE	Multiple Rape	Non-consensual penetration of the mouth by a penis. Or non-consensual penetration of the vagina/anus by penis or an implement. Occurs regardless of gender, with victim under intimidation, threat, force, intoxication or violence. Must be committed by a person on the list of perpetrators in several occasions.	Must be committed by a person on the list of perpetrators in several occasions.	1 Continuous act of multiple rape = 1 Violation.	My sister Alice was pregnant when the NPFL entered our village. A man came to our house in the middle of the night and had sexual intercourse with her on several occasions throughout the month.
ROB	Robbery	The theft through violence or the threat of violence of a person's property, with or without the use of a weapon.	Victim is owner of the goods. Victim may or may not be present when violation occurs. Excludes acts in which the victim is directly involved in handing over their property to a perpetrator under threat or coercion, as defined under Extortion. Excludes other acts of theft such as street robbery committed by a person not included on the list of perpetrators.	1 Continuous act of theft = 1 Violation.	1) At the checkpoint, the NPFL soldiers stopped our car and demanded that everyone in the car hand over their money and valuables. 2) While we were hiding in the bush, the NPFL soldiers took my car that I had parked outside my house.
RPE	Rape	Non-consensual penetration of the mouth by a penis. Or non-consensual penetration of the vagina/anus by penis or an implement. Occurs regardless of gender, with victim under intimidation, threat, force, intoxication or violence. Must be committed by a person on the list of perpetrators.	Must be explicitly stated that victim is raped.	1 Continuous act of rape = 1 Violation.	My sister Alice was pregnant when the NPFL entered our village. A man came to our house in the middle of the night and had sexual intercourse with her for three hours. She lost her baby.

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... Table 17 continued.

Code	Violation	Definition	Boundary Condition	Counting Rule	Example
SXA	Sexual Abuse	Abuse of a definite sexual and/or humiliating nature, committed by person/s on the list of perpetrators. Namely, a victim is stripped naked or suffers genital touching not sufficient to be considered as rape.	Excludes acts covered by the "Rape" violation.	1 Continuous act of sexual abuse = 1 Violation.	1) My mother was told to get undressed and dance for the soldiers. 2) They made me take off my clothes and tampered with me.
SXS	Sexual Slavery	Non-consensual keeping of a woman as a sexual slave and/or domestic servant. The victim, often known as a 'Bush Wife' is held by one person on the list of perpetrators.	The victim is held for more than one day. Victim may later adopt a combat role, it is not necessary to code an additional 'Forced Recruitment' violation. Abduction is coded in addition to the violation.	1 Continuous period of sexual slavery across potentially many locations = 1 Violation. Count duration of violation.	I spent 3 years with my INPFL husband. I had two children from him. After the war, I escaped and went back to my family with my children.
TAB	Ingesting of Taboo Items	Forcing a person to ingest a taboo substance such as urine, motor oil, dirt or any other substance by threat, intimidation, force or violence. Committed by persons on the list of perpetrators.	Excludes forcing a person to ingest human flesh, body parts or blood.	1 Meal involving a taboo substance = 1 Violation.	They put a gun to my head and told me that they would shoot me unless I ate a handful of dirt.

Continued on next page...

... Table 17 continued.

Code	Violation	Definition	Boundary Condition	Counting Rule	Example
TOR	Torture	Any act by which severe pain or suffering, whether physical or mental, is intentionally inflicted on a person for such purposes as obtaining from him or a third person information or a confession, punishing him for an act he or a third person has committed or is suspected of having committed, or intimidating or coercing him or a third person, or for any reason based on discrimination of any kind, when such pain or suffering is inflicted by or at the instigation of or with the consent or acquiescence of any person identified on the list of perpetrators. The method of torture may be unspecified. Includes mutilations such as cutting off of ears or breasts. Can also include prolonged sleep or food deprivation, being held in an uncomfortably hot cell or position for a prolonged period of time, being told that one's family is dead, or feigning execution. If the victim subsequently dies from their injuries a Killing violation should also be coded.	Excludes acts covered by the Assault, Amputation, Rape, Drugging and Sexual Abuse violations. Excludes incidental injuries such as being hit by a stray bullet. Excludes pain or suffering arising only from, inherent in or incidental to lawful sanctions.	1 Continuous period of torture = 1 Violation.	1) They made me take off my shirt and started cutting my chest with a knife. They said that they would continue until I confess that I am a government supporter. 2) I saw them cut this woman's womb. They wanted to remove her baby (she was pregnant). They left her half dead.

The TRC hired a Coding Supervisor and three Data Coders in January 2007, an additional eight in October 2007 and five more in March 2008. At its peak, the Coding team consisted of three staff Data Coders, a Coding Supervisor and thirteen contractors.

It was also necessary to develop classification lists for other types of information about the locations, individuals, and groups given in statements. For example, the TRC adapted a list of counties, districts and towns and villages in Liberia from the National Election Commission. Three letter codes were then assigned to each county and district for ease and speed of data entry. For example Klay District, Bomi County would be entered as BOM/KLA. The coding team also developed a list of the warring factions that operating during the TRCs mandate period to which violations could be attributed by statement-givers.

When more than one person is working on coding, it is important to monitor inter-rater reliability (IRR). IRR measures whether different coders, given the same source material, produce the same quantitative output (e.g. the same number of victims and the same number and type of violations). High levels of IRR, or agreement between the coders, ensure that the information entered into the database is more than the individual interpretations of each of the coders and is crucial to the quality of any future analysis of the data. In September 2007, the coding team expanded from three coders to eleven, and then in May 2008 to sixteen. The coding team has achieved an overall average of 89% agreement on coding exercises throughout their work on TRC statements.

A.3 Database: Representing the Complexity of Human Rights Violations

There is a considerable amount of complexity that must be managed when counting human rights victims and violations:

- Victims can suffer many violations;
- The violations can happen at many different times and places;
- Each violation may be committed by one or many perpetrators;
- Each perpetrator may commit one or many violations.

Benetech has developed the *Who Did What to Whom?*[10] data model to capture and maintain the complex relationships between the different elements and roles and events (a person can be a witness, victim and/or perpetrator within a sequence of events) to be able to accurately reconstruct which victims suffered which violations committed by which perpetrators – simplifying these points leads to distorted statistical results. The most effective way of managing the relationships between different interdependent pieces of information is with a relational database. Benetech developed Analyzer, a database tool based on the Who Did What to Whom? model specifically designed to organize human rights data for statistical purposes. Analyzer facilitates managing the challenges involved in structuring and quantifying human rights data. Different projects need to analyze different variables according to the specific human rights context in which they work. Benetech worked closely with the TRC to identify and add custom data fields needed for the TRCs work. The TRC hired a Database Manager and an initial team of three Data Entry Clerks when the customized Analyzer database was installed in October 2007. Two additional Data Entry Clerks were hired in December 2007 and six in March 2008 in order to increase the speed of data entry.

The database server and computers were set up on a network separate from that connecting other workstations at the TRC and were not connected to the Internet. Maintaining the database network independently of the rest of the TRCs network and off the Internet increased its security and prevented infection from viruses. TRC Database Manager conducted backups of the database to ensure that the database could be recovered in case of theft or failure of the TRCs database server. Copies of the database backups were stored on-site as well as encrypted and sent securely via the Internet for remote storage.

Benetech helped the TRC Database Manager monitor the progress and quality of the data entry clerks by providing data validation scripts, or set of checks run on the database. The checks are used to systematically

[10] Available at http://shr.aaas.org/Ball/cover.htm

spot errors and inconsistencies across all of the statements. Errors identified include typos in the folder reference ID, statement-givers who suffered a fatal violation (impossible since they were alive to give the statement), victims who died more than once and statement-givers with unfeasible dates of birth (making them babies at the time the statements were given) and others. The scripts produced reports that reference the potentially problematic statements so that they can be investigated and corrected if necessary.

A.4 Analysis: Patterns of Reported Victims and Violations

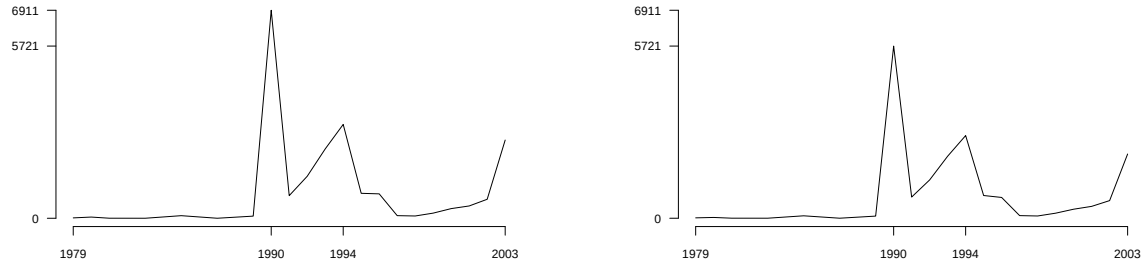
The data from coded statements captured in Analyzer was securely backed up and transmitted to Benetech for final processing and analysis. Final processing included corrections that could be automated and systematically fixed such typos in which the number "0" was entered in place of the letter "O" or obvious errors in dates that could be corrected without referring back to the original statement.

It is important to note that the analysis presented here reflects the information as presented by statement-givers. When documenting human rights situations, different statements may describe the same event. That is, for example, the same killing may have been reported by multiple statement-givers. Therefore, an unknown amount of duplication of reported violations exists in the database. Duplicates were not identified or systematically removed from the TRC's data. However, we ran an approximate matching exercise in order to assess the effect of duplication on the patterns of reported killing violations.

To begin the matching process, we considered all pairs of killing violations reported to have occurred within 2 years of each other with the same reported sex and county. We calculated a matching score for each pair of killings based on the similarity of victim first, middle and last names, victim tribe and the date, location and attributed perpetrator of the violation. We then specified a threshold score such that pairs of killings that scored higher were considered duplicated and pairs that scored lower were not. We chose a threshold conservatively to include all apparent duplicates as well as pairs with missing names that could potentially be duplicates. All pairs of killing violations in the same county without a name occurring in the same county were considered duplicate reports of the same single killing. This assumption reflected a highly conservative estimation of duplication in the TRC's reported killing data. The true amount of duplication is unknown but probably far less.

We then re-ran our analysis of the patterns in killing violations while leaving out all the conservatively identified duplicate reports. We considered three patterns: killings over time, killings by victim age and sex, and killings by reported perpetrator. We observed that the mean difference between any two strata made by removing duplicates was 7.51% for all reported killings over time, 10.72% by the age and sex of the victim, and 9.55% by perpetrator. As shown in Figure 34, 35, and 36, the total number of killings drops as we remove these duplicates, however the overall patterns do not change. The relative size of the peaks in Figure 34 are the same with and without duplicates. Similarly, Figure 35 shows the same distribution of killing violations across age and sex, and Figure 36 shows the same relative number of reported violations attributed to each perpetrator whether duplicates were included or not. We conclude that the duplication present in the TRC statements does not alter our qualitative conclusions about the patterns of killings across time, age, sex, or perpetrator.

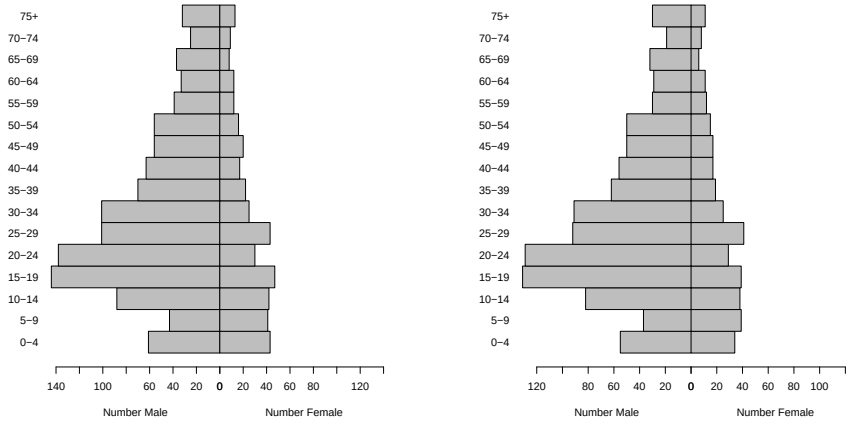
Figure 34: All Reported Killings, by Year



(a) Before removal of duplicates.

(b) After removal of duplicates.

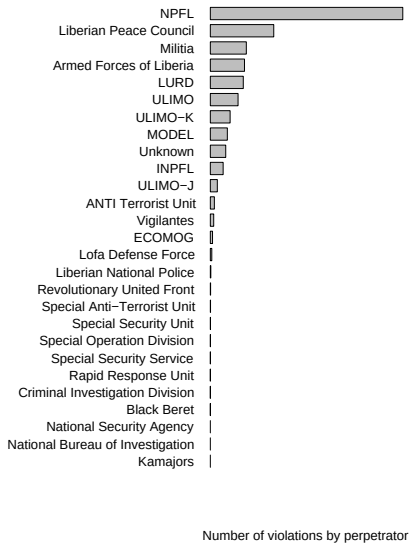
Figure 35: Distribution of Killings, by Victim Age and Sex



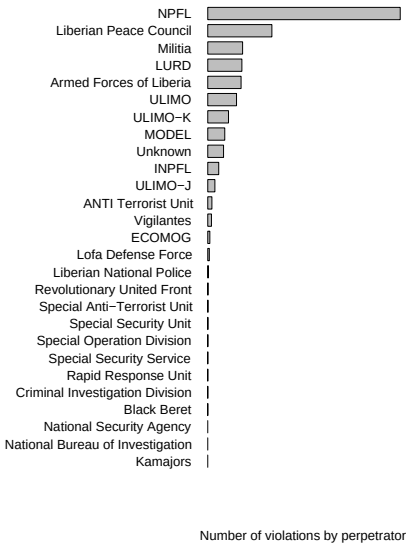
(a) Before removal of duplicates.

(b) After removal of duplicates.

Figure 36: Reported Killings, by Perpetrating Group



(a) Before removal of duplicates.



(b) After removal of duplicates.

The data extracted from the database was reformatted to be read into R, a statistical tool used to generate the analysis, graphs and tables presented in this report. At Benetech, we use R in conjunction with LaTeX, SWeave (LaTeXplus R), Make, and Subversion (version control software) in an infrastructure we have developed based on the HRDAGs data processing principles of transparency, auditability, replicability and scalability. Transparency means that other HRDAG team members or reviewers from outside of Benetech could follow each step of our work. Auditability means that it is possible to track each step of the analytic process and its subsequent output, facilitating testing. Replicability means that the analysis can be re-run by another HRDAG-team member, reviewer or independent third-party, at any time. Scalability means that, because of the above transparency of the project structure and analytic process, the HRDAG can bring other team members into the project with minimum overhead and maximum efficiency at any time, as well as accommodate growing amounts of data. The principles that underlie our analytic process enabled us to rapidly reproduce our analysis in response to feedback and requests from the TRC and the addition of more statements to the database. They also ensure that our results are transparent for review by TRC colleagues and peer reviewers and can withstand close scrutiny by commentators once the final report has been released.

B About the Authors

Kristen Cibelli

Kristen Cibelli, is Program Manager at the Benetech Human Rights Program, which includes the Human Rights Data Analysis Group (www.hrdag.org) and Martus (www.martus.org). She manages projects advising NGOs and a variety of other partners on human rights data collection, management and analysis techniques. She coordinates outreach and training on Benetech's Analyzer and Martus software applications and helps define new software features and their scope based on project partner timing, needs and requests. Through her work at Benetech, she has assisted many partners including truth commissions, human rights commissions, the United Nations and numerous NGOs in countries including Liberia, Nigeria, Thailand (with groups in exile from Burma), Sierra Leone, Uganda, Ivory Coast, and Chad. She co-authored the Statistical Appendix for the report of the Sierra Leone Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

Prior to her work with Benetech, Ms. Cibelli worked with Ms. Tamy Guberek and Dr. Ball to conduct scientifically rigorous research investigating local perceptions of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia in Bosnia and Herzegovina from the perspective of local NGOs working on post-conflict reconstruction and reintegration. This research resulted in the report "Justice Unknown, Justice Unsatisfied?: Bosnians Speak Out about the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia," co-authored with Ms. Guberek. She received her B.A. in International Relations with a certificate in Peace and Justice Studies from *Tufts University*.

Amelia Hoover

Amelia Hoover, M.Phil., is a Consultant to Benetech's HRDAG, a Ph.D. candidate in Political Science at *Yale University*, and a 2008-2009 Peace Scholar Dissertation Fellow at the *United States Institute of Peace*. Ms. Hoover began work for Benetech in January 2007 and continued as the 2007-2008 Research Fellow. Her Benetech work includes data analysis and writing on Kosovo, Colombia and Liberia, among other projects. In addition, Ms. Hoover has been closely involved with Benetech projects to bridge the academy/advocacy divide.

Ms. Hoover's dissertation project, using Benetech data, is among the first social science projects to use multiple systems estimation to describe patterns of civil war violence. The dissertation explores the effects of armed group institutions for ideological indoctrination, discipline and socialization on patterns of violence against noncombatants. She earned her B.A., with High Honors in Political Science and Mathematical Statistics, from *Swarthmore College* in 2003.

Jule Krüger

Jule Krüger, is a Fellow with Benetech as part of a fellowship with *Humanity in Action*, a transatlantic educational program in human rights and minority issues. She helps with data analysis and investigation of human rights violations during the armed conflicts in Liberia and other locations.

Prior to her fellowship with Benetech, Ms. Krüger obtained a master's degree in Political Sciences, Public Law and Contemporary History from *University of Konstanz*, Germany. Ms. Krüger formerly worked as a student assistant to Prof. Dr. Gerald Schneider, Chair of International Politics at *University of Konstanz*, providing statistical analysis.

C Acknowledgements

Kristen Cibelli led Benetech's project with the TRC in Liberia, making numerous visits since the TRC's inauguration and spending six months based at the TRC in 2008. She advised the TRC on data collection, the design of coding forms and process to prepare collected statements for analysis, coordinated inputs from the HRDAG team and guided the development of the analysis presented in this report. Amelia Hoover developed the software to generate the statistical analysis. Jule Krüger extended Ms. Hoover's work and contributed to the text.

Many other members of the HRDAG team contributed to this project. Director Dr. Patrick Ball guided the development of Benetech's project with the TRC, developed the data analysis infrastructure, and edited the report. Daniel Guzmán reviewed and contributed to the analysis. Ken Ward installed the Analyzer database at the TRC, trained TRC Database Manager on database administration, and trained data entry clerks to navigate within the Analyzer user-interface and enter statements. Mike Welsh customized the Analyzer database for the TRC's data, provided ongoing technical support, and generated scripts to monitor data quality and to extract and format data from Analyzer for statistical analysis. Jeff Klingner designed and implemented the approximate deduplication exercise; Mr. Klingner and Dr. Scott Weikart developed additional analysis for the commissioners; it is not included in this report. Anna Berns managed Analyzer technical development and provided other project support. Vijaya Tripathi assisted with Analyzer documentation, and along with Rahwa Tareke, helped with research and other project support.

Benetech is grateful to the Chairman and Commissioners at the TRC for the long and fruitful collaboration and for their sustained commitment to rigorously processing statements for defensible quantitative analysis. The HRDAG team would like to thank the Executive Secretary and Director of Programs for their help keeping the work going in the Coding and Database Unit. Lastly, we thank the TRC Coding Supervisor and Database Manager and all of the staff in the Coding and Database Unit for their hard work and determination, without which the analysis presented in this report would not have been possible. Please see the Administration Section of the TRC's Final Report for a full listing of staff members in the Coding and Database Unit.