



GIJTR

Global Initiative for Justice
Truth & Reconciliation

VICTIM-CENTERED APPROACH TO TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE

COUNTRY: The Gambia

INTRODUCTION

The Gambia went through more than 22 years of dictatorship under former president Yahya Jammeh, from July 1994 to January 2017. Under a new president, Adama Barrow, the Gambia set its Truth, Reconciliation and Reparations Commission (TRRC) by an act of parliament to establish an impartial historical record of human rights violations and abuses committed under Jammeh's presidency and to promote healing and reconciliation and grant reparations to qualified victims.¹ The commission was also mandated to prevent the recurrence of past violations and abuses through recommendations to the government and citizens. To achieve this, the TRRC provided victims an opportunity to narrate accounts of their stories, facilitate community and national reconciliation, and recommend institutional and legal reforms, among other tasks.

However, although the commission did its best to ensure victim participation fully, gaps existed in the process. Issues affecting women, children, and other marginalized youths were not fully incorporated into the process. Many women's lives were affected because of violations that they or their loved ones encountered. During the dictatorship regime, women became both direct and indirect victims who were also mostly left with the responsibility of taking care of the children regardless of their mental ability to provide support. With dictator

Jammeh's persecution mostly targeting male heads of households, many women became sole providers for their children and other dependents. However, they themselves faced severe mental health challenges that were mainly due to their husbands being arrested, detained, or killed. Furthermore, women were also directly oppressed and suffered numerous acts of sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) by people in positions of power, with limited resources or mechanisms available to file complaints. Whenever women were arrested, sexual torture, including rape, was a likely outcome. In a country where women talking about sex is a taboo, the preservation of virginity is celebrated, and sex outside marriage (regardless of how it happened) is considered scandalous, women are expected to stay chaste, not expose negative aspects of their lives, and preserve their family's honor.

Children are also taught these values and get punished for saying too much or talking openly about violations they or their families experienced. Therefore, they are usually unwilling to open up because of fear of exposing their family's secrets. In addition, even children are known to have suffered numerous violations during the dictatorship, including sexual assaults, maltreatment, and sacrifice. Children also suffered greatly because of the unjust system, experiencing and witnessing some of the inhumane and degrading treatments their parents encountered. Some parents were arrested and humiliated in their children's presence, and the children could do nothing.

BACKGROUND

In July 1994, five soldiers led by Jammeh overthrew the government of Gambia's first president, Sir Dawda Jawara, in a coup d'état and called themselves the Armed Forces Provisional Ruling Council (AFPRC).² Shortly after, Jammeh and his team started publicly arresting and incarcerating people perceived as a threat to him. Arrested persons were beaten, tortured, or killed. Like many soldiers who overthrow legitimate governments, these soldiers completely disregarded democracy and the human rights of the citizens. When the AFPRC took over the government, they promised to not rule the country for long. Initially, they promised to rule only for months under the pretense that they were "soldiers with a difference" but soon reneged on that promise to contest for elections.³ After winning elections in 2016, they changed the 1970 constitution of the Gambia, which they had previously suspended after coming to power. The new constitution they introduced included decrees made without consultation. Over the years, this constitution has changed more than 50 times to suit Jammeh's wishes.

THE GLOBAL INITIATIVE FOR JUSTICE, TRUTH, AND RECONCILIATION

In 2014, the International Coalition of Sites of Conscience (ICSC) launched the Global Initiative for Justice, Truth & Reconciliation (GIJTR), a consortium of nine international organizations focused on offering holistic, integrative, and multidisciplinary approaches to issues of truth, justice, and reconciliation. GIJTR works primarily with local populations, civil society organizations, survivors, and governments to develop transitional justice approaches that are victim-centered and collaborative and support dignity, respect, inclusion, and transparency in societies emerging from conflict or periods of authoritarian rule. Since its founding, GIJTR has engaged with people from 72 countries, worked with 681 civil society organizations, conducted 323 community-driven projects, and documented more than 5,040 human rights violations.

For more information, please visit gijtr.org.



GIJTR

Global Initiative for Justice
Truth & Reconciliation

From the start, Jammeh's authoritarian rule started with the AFPRC beating innocent people and shooting drivers who accidentally got on the road while they passed. They also began secretly assassinating civilians and extrajudicially killing soldiers as well. The TRRC found that journalists, political opponents, soldiers who organized coups against Jammeh, and student protesters were all part of groups whom Jammeh and his aides killed. Women were also subjected to sexual violence both directly by Jammeh and other state officials; some were raped after the arrest of their husbands or close family members because of their vulnerable situations. Jammeh and some of his top officials used women as sex objects whose purpose was simply to satisfy their sexual desires. All these tactics created fear and silenced other people. Jammeh also targeted influential leaders, including religious leaders, ministers, community leaders, household heads, and senior members of institutions to perpetuate this fear. Jammeh did not spare anyone, not even his family members.

Gambians lived in fear of one person, Jammeh. There was no rule of law as things began to happen only when Jammeh wanted them. He sent any opponents to what he openly described as his "five-star hotel" – the Mile 2 prisons where prisoners, especially political ones, experienced degrading and inhumane treatments including electrocution of genitals, waterboarding, beating, fake executions, and denial of access to medical treatments.⁴ There were hardly any reporting mechanisms in the country because victims were put through further punishments for defying Jammeh. Basically every sector worked for and pleased Jammeh. The fear also resulted in lack of trust among the citizens. A next-door neighbor could have been a snitch who would report someone to the National Intelligence Agency (NIA), a state agency notorious for arrests, torture, the detention of people, and getting false statements from detainees to use against them in court. People in the Gambia feared even talking about Jammeh over the phone, believing that their phones had been hacked and informers of the NIA were listening.⁵

Many Gambians could not resist the pressure and fear of living under Jammeh's rule. Many Gambians went into exile and sought asylum in different parts of the world. Many were forced to separate from their families for years, and some only reunited with family members after the regime change in 2016. While Gambians abroad spoke against Jammeh's government, their families back home, in Gambia, faced the consequences. Family members were sometimes arrested, tortured, and treated inhumanely simply because their loved ones had spoken against the Jammeh government. Sometimes they were also forced to disown those family members abroad.

After 22 years, Gambians were tired of either living in fear, exile, and silence or suffering the brutalities of the Jammeh regime. Unlike previous elections where parties contested Jammeh individually, in 2016, parties put aside their differences and formed a coalition to remove Jammeh. With support from Gambians abroad, the coalition led by Adama Barrow won the 2016 elections.⁶ Shortly after a tense period when Jammeh refused to accept the election results, he was forced to go into exile. He went to Equatorial Guinea with some of his close associates.

TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE CONTEXT

The TRRC's two-year mandate included articulating recommendations to address the needs of affected victims, families, and communities. After the TRRC concluded its work and made recommendations to the government, the government

adopted a white paper in which it agreed to implement almost all the recommendations.⁷ This included institutional and security sector reforms, the promotion of healing for victims through the expansion of psychosocial support networks, and reparations for qualified victims.

There have been successes after the regime change. Currently, the security sector reforms that Fantanka is aware of include the review of the laws and policies of the immigration and police. People can now talk more about issues that affect them, which they were unable to do during the Jammeh regime. Police officers are able to deal with violations more independently. Similarly, the courts are seemingly operating independently without interferences from government officials. Recently, the trial surrounding Solo Sandeng, an activist killed in 2016 for demanding electoral reforms, concluded. The perpetrators were given sentences, including many long-term prison sentences and death sentences. Yankuba Touray, a key member of the AFPRC and local government minister, was also found guilty of the murder of a former finance minister, Ousman Koro Ceesay, in 1995.⁸ The TRRC found that Ceesay was beaten and hit with a pestle multiple times in Yankuba Touray's residence, leading to his death; his body was then burned to conceal the crime. The courts made this decision even after Touray claimed to have "constitutional immunity." The Gambia's 1997 constitution, which the Jammeh regime amended to guard itself, protects members of the AFPRC and their ministers from criminal liability before the court, under the constitution or any other law, for anything they did or failed to do in the performance of their official duties.

However, even with the change of regime, there are still significant gaps in addressing the needs of victims. One of the entitlements of reparations for victims included that they could submit statements to the TRRC. Some victims have missed out on these because of a limited understanding of how the commission worked and how to access it for statement taking. Victims purportedly confused the TRRC with the Centre for Victims of Human Rights Violations in the Gambia (known as the Victims Centre, an organization set up around the time the TRRC was established to support victims' needs) and other civil society organizations (CSOs), so they submitted their statements to only the Victims Centre. Furthermore, the TRRC's investigation did not include children as victims in their own rights; their experiences were only narrated by their parents or other family members. This case is similar to that of many other marginalized groups, such as sex workers, beach boys, and people living with disabilities, whose experiences were not included in the TRRC process. Therefore, they were not included as recipients of reparations in their rights. Even with approval from the government to pay reparations to entitled victims, victims have been dissatisfied with payments of financial reparations.

The TRRC provided interim reparations for victims, which included providing them with medical, housing, educational, and other socioeconomic resources. Some victims were opportune to undergo treatment within or outside the country for injuries they suffered from their violations. They benefited from treatments such as dental care, physical therapy, laboratory and diagnostic care, and gynecological care. However, some victims could not receive laboratory and diagnostic results before the commission concluded its work. The process was that victims, after initial test results, had to go through different departments of the ministry of health and other institutions before they got to the TRRC, which reviewed the results and in some cases informed the victims of the results of the medical assessments and way forward. This was a problem because it meant the victims received their results months

after their initial contact with practitioners. Some victims were lucky to have a conclusive diagnosis and eventually treatment. For those not as lucky, their files remain somewhere between departments, and victims do not know how to access their results or where to continue their treatment. The TRRC ended without giving victims enough notice to collect important information from the commission or follow up on their queries. Again, CSOs were left with the job of dealing with victims' queries and supporting victims in finding essential information after the TRRC.

The case was similar for those whose interim reparations included housing costs. Some housing costs were paid from the interim reparations but only for a short period. After the TRRC process, these victims, primarily women, had to go back to the conditions they were in when they lost their husbands, reliving the trauma they went through previously. With nowhere to turn, some of them had to return to relying on their extended families and others. Most female victims were identified as secondary victims dependent on their husbands or children who were killed.

Victims also found out that the interim reparations would be deducted from the final financial reparations they were entitled to. This was a surprise, especially for many who expressed that they had been paid too little. Financial payment for reparations depended on the type of violations that victims experienced. Hardly anyone got full pay, with many victims' entitlements being close to the minimum. Victims have also questioned how the TRRC determined the severity of their violations, including how the psychological impacts of their violations were measured, since that was not assessed during the process.

A significant problem that victims have continuously complained about is the lack of an apology from the government even after the TRRC. Victims have called on the government to acknowledge the wrongdoings of the previous government.

The TRRC also found that people were killed and buried secretly. Some secret burial grounds were found, and some of the bodies were exhumed. Understandably, the forensic process to identify the victims' remains can be expensive. However, when the commission started the exhumation process, they did not manage the victim's expectations well enough, so victims did not know the process would be lengthy and not straightforward and would include costs that the government may not have been able to afford. Families still question when the remains of their loved ones will be handed to them and what transitional justice mechanisms will continue the process. It is important that they have decent burial services and closure. The exhumed bodies are still unidentified in the mortuary. Victims of enforced disappearance are also in a similar dilemma. With nowhere to go, their families are unsure whether their loved ones are among those exhumed and whether they should continue the search.

When the victims have had queries, they have struggled to have their complaints addressed. While the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) has been set up as a successor body of the TRRC, its mandate begins with human rights violations that occurred only after 2016. Regarding the TRRC process, the NHRC can only monitor the implementation of the commission's recommendations. Victims, therefore, are unable to fully direct their complaints to the NHRC. Some families complained that financial reparations paid to them were insignificant because they expected that justice also meant the restoration of socioeconomic and educational rights. However, those dissatisfied with the decision made by the TRRC or the government have little avenue to seek further justice because of the limited formal and available transitional justice mechanisms. The government has not yet identified a formal mechanism to address the needs of the victims. While the government is more focused on

drafting policies and bills post TRRC, CSOs deal with victims' disappointments by encouraging and supporting them to engage in income-generating activities and providing mental health and psychosocial support (MHPSS) to deal with disappointment. Along with the numerous other disappointments, such as gaps in medical attention, housing and educational needs, and other socioeconomic challenges, victims still struggle to find the help and support they need.

As mentioned, CSOs do most of the transitional justice work, in partnership with international organizations, which includes activities related to reparations for women, children, and other marginalized groups. The provision of MHPSS is also done mainly by CSOs. Fantanka is one of the CSOs working with victims to help them champion their causes. This is also done by extending the provision of MHPSS to the local community by training lay counselors. Through this, Fantanka is promoting sustainability so communities will eventually be able to support each other where necessary. Together with Fantanka, organizations such as Women in Liberations and Leadership and the Women's Association for Victims' Empowerment, helps include more women in the transitional justice process through support groups, safe spaces, and community outreach activities.

The African Network Against Extrajudicial Killings and Enforced Disappearances has taken the lead on memorialization. Their memory house, one of its kind in the Gambia, has been a home for people to learn about the violations through exhibitions and written narration. Through the memory house, people in the Gambia will have the opportunity to learn about past violations for years to come. It is also a place where victims can build connections and bond with each other.

Recently Fantanka also included victims' experiences of forced migration as a transitional justice issue. While many people went into exile or were forced to leave the country because of socioeconomic challenges, including fear of arrest due to wrong accusations or for political reasons, forced migration is hardly examined during the transitional justice process. The transitional justice process also did not consider how the socioeconomic challenges of young people led them to make perilous journeys to improve their well-being and that of their families. Fantanka is aware that the people who took risky journeys comprise children of victims who said that they were tired of seeing how their parents, most often mothers, suffered in a system that "cared less about their plight."⁹ For them, leaving the Gambia and giving up on all their social connections was their only hope for a safe future for themselves and their family members.

THE POSITION OF VULNERABLE GROUPS IN THE CONTEXT OF TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE IN THE GAMBIA

Women and children have experienced severe human rights violations that they have been unable to discuss for a long time. Even when some have been able to narrate their experience at the TRRC, many stories have remained hidden. Even when the TRRC tried to include as many stories as possible, its focus on a victim-centered approach was challenging because the commission was working in a limited time frame. Mental health and psychosocial support, which helps to ensure that victims narrate their stories effectively and with minimal retraumatization, were an afterthought during the TRRC process.

Fantanka provides mental health and psychosocial support to victims of the former regime. Through interaction with the victims, numerous undocumented violations were discovered. While it is common knowledge that women have to take up responsibilities and continue with their lives, some hardly publicly talked about issues they revealed to Fantanka. These included having babies out of rape, having babies stolen and possibly killed, and having to secretly have sex with others to make a living for their children.

Children of victims narrated that some of the terrible experiences they encountered included suicidal ideations. They did not feel loved and had felt that their fathers abandoned them until the TRRC revealed that most of their fathers were killed or disappeared. Their mothers or family members hid the truth from them so they would not feel hurt and to protect them. Nevertheless, children eventually heard about their parents' (primarily fathers') fates on television during the TRRC process. This further hurt their feelings and raised many questions about why their mothers had kept some of this important information from them. Fantanka, through GIJTR projects, provides MHPSS for these victims to support them in dealing with their past experiences and to reduce retraumatization.

Some children were also forced to take up adult responsibilities. With the absence of breadwinners in their families, children had to step up and be supportive. Because of the gender expectations that male family members have to grow to become breadwinners, boys have dropped out of school to look for work. At the same time, girls have been given away for marriages to reduce the family's burdens. Women worked long hours and begged just to feed their families and ensure a decent living. Some lost their dignity and found it difficult to live normal lives, especially in neighborhoods that looked down on them because their husbands had been accused of wrongdoing and publicly humiliated.

It is, therefore, important to engage women, children, and other marginalized groups in transitional justice processes.

ADDRESSING THE PROBLEMS FACED BY VICTIMS

A large number of the gaps identified in the work of the TRRC were addressed by CSOs. With support from funders like GIJTR, CSOs have done significant work in the scope of the transitional justice process. They included the stories of people whose experiences of victimhood were missed during the broader transitional justice process, which meant that those groups would miss opportunities for reparations. Different CSOs supported victims to be more confident and live more comfortable lives. Through Fantanka's MHPSS services, victims were supported in dealing with the trauma from the violations they suffered; they worked on self-blame, isolation, loss of hope, anxiety, and anger issues, among other mental health challenges. Victims have reported being able to live normal lives and feeling a sense of belonging after our interventions.

Victims have continuously complained about the presence of perpetrators as state employees in the current government. They complained that it feels like an insult that some of those who bear the greatest responsibility for crimes committed during the Jammeh era either are still working for the present government or have close dealings with senior members.

For example, Saul Badjie, an aide to former president Jammeh who was adversely mentioned during the TRRC process, has not been held accountable for his actions since his return from exile. He was detained for only a short period and then released.¹⁰ After he was named responsible for the arrest, detention, torture, and killings of so many, victims have been disappointed that he was not held accountable. This caused victims to lose hope in the system that was supposed to protect them.

Victims expect a solid stance from the government to ensure that the rape culture, among other gender-based violations, is seriously addressed and that the “never again” mantra can be sustained. They ask for safety for themselves, their children, and other potential victims; they ask for life without fear of the recurrence of similar violations. However, there have been challenges and a lack of government willpower to address this issue. Although there have been numerous awareness-raising campaigns by CSOs about sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV), which have had positive impacts, without severe perpetrator sanctions and implementations of the laws that will deter perpetrators, more time will be needed for the CSOs to effectively achieve their intended goal.

Additionally, the children of victims, “forgotten youths” (young people who are considered “useless” and not generally included in formal processes or national affairs) and sex workers have all been included in Fantanka’s programs, and they have shown appreciation for being engaged in the transitional justice process. The sex workers, for example, have also expressed feelings of belonging after they were included in the transitional justice discussions. Fantanka tried to address some issues that affected sex workers, including being raped by security officers. When arrested, sex workers very often experience rape by security officers. Sex work is illegal, and sex workers are generally unable to report cases. Fantanka has had dialogues with police officers about the issue. Although there does not seem to be much change, Fantanka will continue to address their concerns.

POST-TRUTH, RECONCILIATION, AND REPARATIONS COMMISSION

The TRRC had a two-year mandate to ensure that its work was completed. Although COVID-19 played a part in hindering the progress of the process, political will affected its progress. The government’s initial political will to support the commission fluctuated based on its political expediency. Many believed that the Barrow government’s coziness with Jammeh’s loyalists and the TRRC’s interest in contesting the 2021 elections were contributing factors to why the TRRC continued to drag and did not conclude effectively. There were suggestions that if the TRRC completed its work before the elections, the Barrow government would be forced to decide whether to implement the commission’s

recommendations. This meant hurting either the Jammeh supporters who were likely to vote for him because of closer relationships or the victims who may not vote for him if he did not implement the recommendations. Another reason was that Barrow did not want to give Essa Faal, TRRC's lead counsel, an opportunity to contest elections. Many believed that these reasons contributed to why the TRRC dragged. It has been four years since the process, and the Gambia is currently in its post-TRRC phase.

According to the constitution of the Gambia, a two-thirds majority of parliament should vote in favor of a decision to prosecute a former president.¹¹ The fear is that the key people, such as the speaker and deputy speaker of the parliament, are former loyalists to Jammeh and have openly opposed the TRRC. They can use their influence to ensure that the majority of votes go against prosecuting Jammeh. In addition, there are no laws against torture or inhumane and degrading treatment, which could make prosecuting these crimes harder. The immunity for members of the former AFPRC could be a possible hindrance; however, the hope is that since the murder case of Yankuba Touray has ruled against the immunity, it may not hinder prosecutions.

Some norms could hinder efforts to respond to the needs of the victims. They can include beliefs in communities, and among people of the Gambia, that trauma is not something they feel or experience. There are beliefs that people who show signs of mental health disorders are only pretending and that nothing is wrong with them, which can affect how victims support each other and what support they can get from communities. Thus, the mental health concerns of victims of SGBV are generally not taken seriously. Even when victims of SGBV struggle to fit into communities because of the normalization of the act, victim blaming, and revictimization, community members may not believe the victims and be reluctant to support them. According to the Gambian norms, good people should forgive. Victims who do not forgive their perpetrators, regardless of their mental health outcomes, are "terrible people who do not have a heart." For many, people who forgive are the better people to live with. As a result, some victims quickly declare that they have forgiven their perpetrators and endure the consequences of their declarations, to conform to societal expectations. At the same time, they suffer negative mental health outcomes.

MISUNDERSTANDING OF SEXUAL AND GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

One of the shortcomings of the TRRC is that it failed to broaden the mandate so that it covers SGBV as a violation that has different aspects and one that can be directed at anybody regardless of gender or sex. In its effort to include women in the process, the commission's SGBV theme focused only on women, making it seem like it is a problem unique to women. The TRRC's approach came from SGBV victims being predominantly women, although many men also experienced SGBV. Although the final TRRC report was well written, during the hearings, it seemed as if SGBV

were interchangeable with sexual violence, as most women who testified during the SGBV theme were either raped or coerced into unwanted sexual activities. Although subjects such as the limited representation of women in decision-making positions, laws that promote gender inequality, and the construction of hegemonic masculinity as a tool for oppression were somewhat addressed during the TRRC process, they were not emphasized for society to see them as SGBV. Thus, the TRRC narrowed the meaning of SGBV to rape and made it seem as if only women were affected. This has also resulted in SGBV being perceived in society as sexual violence.

Even though the transitional justice process struggles to be holistic, positive outcomes have emerged. Clearly women have struggled, encountered sexual violations, and were treated insignificantly because of their subjugated positions in the country. For example, they were mostly not included in the decision-making process because the men's voices carried more weight. Silencing women has also resulted in more women's socioeconomic dependency on their spouses; hence, they have struggled for survival and basic needs. With the unveiling of cases of SGBV, particularly sexual violence during the TRRC process, more activists joined the fight against SGBV directed against women and children. Although more work is needed, there is an increase in women and children being aware of their rights and their ability to identify signs of violence. Better reporting mechanisms are in place to report cases of violence. There are also more voices standing against oppression and fighting for inclusion in decision-making positions. Women and children are encouraged to be less dependent on others and secure jobs to avoid being in positions where they would have to compromise their principles.

SEQUENCING OF THE TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE MECHANISM

Sequencing the different transitional justice mechanisms could have been a better approach to the whole process. The TRRC revealed significantly terrible laws that contributed to enabling the inhumane and degrading treatments perpetrated against innocent people in the country. Better sequencing allows for the TRRC to unveil more of the bad laws that promoted dictatorship and facilitated human rights violations before the Constitutional Review Commission (CRC) commenced. The CRC was established to draft and guide the promulgation of a new constitution.¹² It was responsible for drafting a new constitution and preparing a subsequent report. The CRC's recommendations of a new constitution would have better grounds for the argument if the commission had been set up after the TRRC's recommendation. It seems now that the TRRC's recommendations are more likely to be acts of parliament rather than stipulated in a constitution, where they would have stronger grounds.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The TRRC has done exceptionally well in revealing the terrible violations during the Jammeh regime. Through the process, many victims have gained a better understanding of what happened to their loved ones and sometimes attain closure. However, there were significant gaps during the process:

- The TRRC had only two years to finish the process. During that time, the commission embarked on investigations and hearings simultaneously. This may have affected the effectiveness of investigations because significant information may have been missed in the effort and rushed for public hearings. Therefore, it would have been wiser to do investigations prior to commencing the hearing process.
- As important as it is, including children and young people has been a missing part of the transitional justice process. Children and young people have silently been at the receiving end of violations. Through the dictatorship era, their future stalled when they relied on the state to pay for and support their livelihood and a brighter future. Survival, school fees, and emotional attachment, among other socioeconomic needs, have lacked in the lives of many children, who now face the bitter consequences. These include limited life opportunities such as employment opportunities and life skills for self-dependency, as well as unintended rivalries between children of victims and those of perpetrators and risks of substance abuse as coping mechanisms. Transitional justice mechanisms should always include children by ensuring the availability of child-friendly spaces and the provision of MHPSS for children to tell their stories without being retraumatized. Otherwise, stories of children and other young people will continue to be missing from the wider transitional justice narrations. They may also continue to be affected by intergenerational trauma – transmission of traumatic effects of a historical event.

ENDNOTES

- 1 *The Truth, Reconciliation and Reparations Commission Act 2017*, Law Hub Gambia, read more: <https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5a7c2ca18a02c7a46149331c/t/5a8451b4e4966bfad91329e9/1518621128178/truth%2C+reconciliation+and+reparations+commission+act%2C+2017.pdf>, (last accessed: April 12th, 2023).
- 2 Wiseman, J. *Military rule in The Gambia: an interim assessment*, *Third World Quarterly*, Vol 17, No 5, pp. 917-940, 1996, read more: <https://library.fes.de/libalt/journals/swetsfulltext/11220651.pdf>, (last accessed: April 12th, 2023).
- 3 Independence Electoral Commission, *Presidential Elections 26th September 1996, Statement of results*, read more: <https://iec.gm/downloads/PRESIDENTIAL%20ELECTIONS%2026th%20SEPTEMBER%201996.pdf> (last accessed: April 12th, 2023).
- 4 *The Truth Behind the Walls of MILE 2 Prison, Jammeh's "Five-Star Hotel"*, *justiceinfo.net*, June 22nd, 2020, read more: <https://www.justiceinfo.net/en/44653-the-truth-behind-the-walls-of-mile-2-prison-jammeh-s-five-star-hotel.html>, (last accessed: March 12th, 2023).
- 5 *The TRRC Final Report, Volume 15: Institutional Hearings*, read more: <https://www.moj.gm/downloads>, (last accessed: April 12th, 2023).
- 6 *Gambia's Jammeh loses to Adama Barrow in shock election result*, BBC, December 2nd, 2016, read more: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-38183906>, (last accessed: April 12th, 2023).
- 7 *Government White paper of the Truth Reconciliation and Reparations Commission*, May 25th, 2022, read more: <https://www.moj.gm/downloads>, (last accessed: March 12th, 2023).
- 8 *Gambia: Court Sentences Yankuba Touray to Death By Hanging*, AllAfrica, July 14th, 2021, read more: <https://allafrica.com/stories/202107150194.html>, (last accessed: March 12th, 2023).
- 9 Victims that Fantanka provides psychosocial support for.
- 10 *Lt. Gen. Saul Badjie, 2 others released*, *The Point*, February 8th, 2022, read more: <https://thepoint.gm/africa/gambia/headlines/lt-gen-saul-badjie-2-others-released>, (last accessed: March 12th, 2023).
- 11 Section 69, *Constitution of the Gambia* 1997.
- 12 *Constitutional Review Commission (CRC)*, Law Hub Gambia, read more: <https://www.lawhubgambia.com/constitutional-review-commission#:~:text=The%20CRC%20is%20established%20for,and%20prepare%20a%20subsequent%20report>, (last accessed: April 12, 2023).



GIJTR

Global Initiative for Justice
Truth & Reconciliation