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| Danish organisation | Nunca Mas |
| Title of the intervention | Empowerment of Survivors from the Gukurahundi Massacres in Matabeleland, Zimbabwe through Traditional Chiefs |
| Partner name(s) | Ukuthula Trust and Tree of Life |
| Amount applied for | 499.532 |
| Country(ies) | Zimbabwe |
| Period (# of months) | 7 months |

1. Objective and relevance (the world around us)

The purpose of the intervention is to empower citizenry that will contribute to the main Zimbabwe human rights question through demanding their human rights, transparency, accountability, influencing the political space and policy formulation. The targeted communities were victims of Gukurahundi[[1]](#footnote-1) massacres of the 1980s that saw more than 20,000 civilians dead, women raped, many tortured and assaulted and property destroyed. The project will deliberately target women, men, and youth because we are cognizant of the fact that these groups were sometimes affected differently. For example, women were raped, and they will need their space to decide how they should be rehabilitated.

The massacres left behind victims[[2]](#footnote-2) that have challenges not be ignored. These are as follows:

* Passive participation[[3]](#footnote-3) and apathy in development and other important political processes.
* Lack the voice to participate in demanding their rights, accountability, transparency, and policy formulation.
* Fear[[4]](#footnote-4).
* Poverty.
* People buried in shallow mass and single graves, ant bear holes, caves and mine shafts.
* People without birth certificate and identity cards as a direct result of the fact that survivors of many victims who were murdered could not be given death certificates.

The proposed project is building on a project ending 31st May 2021 where among the achieved results were:

* The victims got an opportunity to talk about their experiences at the hands of Gukurahundi.
* Structures to facilitate community healing were put in place
* Psychosocial support was provided to the victims of Gukurahundi

1.1 Context of intervention

The background information of the proposed project has not majorly shifted from what it was when the initial project was done. In the first years of independence in Zimbabwe, the western provinces in the nation, home to the minority Ndebele ethnic group, experienced massacres, rape, beatings, and property losses at the hands of a Zimbabwe national army unit, the 5th Brigade, also known as the ‘Gukurahundi’ Brigade. These soldiers wreaked havoc in rural villages, killing an estimated 20,000 civilians, beating, and raping indiscriminately. The western part of Zimbabwe consists of Midlands, Matabeleland South, Matabeleland North, and Bulawayo provinces. Each province consists of an average of 7 districts. Ukuthula Trust (UT) and Tree of Life (ToL) will operate in two of these provinces namely Bulawayo and Matabeleland North.

The official stance on ‘Gukurahundi’ since the massacres ended in 1987, has been to consider it a closed chapter, about which nobody can talk. While the motive was predominantly political, the silence has left Matabeleland with the impression that they were targeted during these massacres as the Ndebele ethnic minority by the Shona majority: almost every family was affected by beatings, detentions, property loss or rape.[[5]](#footnote-5) The directly affected generation continues to live with fear, as well as the legacies of body and heart aches, and the poverty caused by reduced mobility, apathy and depression. There have been complicated cultural impacts as a result of mass and single graves of people buried in ‘wrong’ places, without traditional rituals: the ‘angry dead’ are for many families an apparently inseparable problem.

As ZANU-PF has continued to rule Zimbabwe, there has been almost no official space to deal with the legacy of the atrocities to date. However, the passing of a new constitution in 2013 necessitated the setting up of the National Peace and Reconciliation Commission (NPRC), with a very broad mandate of dealing with *all violence, past, present and future*, in Zimbabwe. The NPRC since inception has not done much. It still wants to do outreach so that it operates from an informed point of view. The unfortunate thing is that the NPRC term of office effectively will end in 2023. In the previous project, NPRC had promised to roll out hearings to the communities to find out what happened to the victims and what should be done to correct the injustices. This never came to pass and the project was in a way affected because it was centred around these hearings. The project under proposal will therefore not be centred around NPRC activities because of the past experiences, but UT and Tol stand ready and willing to cooperate with NPRC should they come forward.

President Mnangagwa has announced that people should be free to talk about Gukurahundi. Since then civic society organisations have variously engaged communities to promote healing.

The president has also said that chiefs are stakeholders by virtue of being custodians of culture. This would appear as if the President would prefer the Gukurahundi massacres to be addressed culturally instead of legally. Suspicious as it appears, UT and ToL will work with the chiefs in the proposed project, because they have proved to be willing to cooperate in facilitating community healing. For a long time, UT has worked with one chief from Matabeleland South in exhumations. Presently, there are twelve chiefs from Matabeleland that have come forward to drive the healing processes coming from the areas hardest hit by Gukurahundi.

1.2 Intervention’s Intended Effect on Civil Society and Social Justice

The two organisations – UT and ToL have had a long relationship in working with victims of collective violence. The continued networking between the two organisations will promote the sharing of approaches, strategies, methodologies, staff and transport out to the field. Given the fact that we are working under a very volatile environment, we will need each other for moral support, supervision, and security.

As already articulated in this document, this intervention will empower communities that will include women and youth and men to demand accountability, transparency and rights and influence the political environment. Currently, the targeted communities are not in a position to demand all these, because they are still mourning their dead, the disappeared and other loses including property. It is hoped that should they be given the opportunity to reach catharsis, they will be able to be assertive and stand against injustices. They will also be able to vote for the political leaders of their choice as opposed to what is currently taking place where people vote out of fear for the politicians who have perpetuated collective violence for decades.

1.3 Climate and Environment

The targeted areas are usually characterised by erratic rainfall patterns and very hot weather conditions. There are times during the year where it becomes difficult to access communities because of wet weather. This is usually between the months of November and January. While some of the areas are completely inaccessible, there are alternative longer routes for some areas. This affects us in terms of time spent traveling and fuel needed. In recent years with climatic changes, the region has become more susceptible to droughts and famines that require humanitarian attention leading to further impoverishment of the population and migration to in particular South Africa.

Thus, for political, social, and environmental reasons the intervention takes place in a fragile situation. The partners have useful experience in adapting to adverse political environment in Zimbabwe.

2. The partnership

**Ukuthula Trust** (meaning ‘peace’ in IsiNdebele) is an NGO that has operated under various titles since 1998: as Amani Trust until 2002, and from 2003 - 2014 as Solidarity Peace Trust. Ukuthula Trust (UT) was registered in Zimbabwe in 2014. While the names have changed, the work has been continuous, with a largely stable staff, since 1998. Ukuthula has proven that it can work effectively even in extremely limited and dangerous political spaces, such as that which existed from 2003-2014. The space to operate in is currently more open. Ukuthula has recognition and support internationally, and communicates on a regular basis with EU ambassadors in Harare, as well as with UK, USA, Australian and Canadian ambassadors. UT receives funding from Swedish (SIDA and Church of Sweden) and German donors (Misereor and Heinrich Boll), as well as from the Open Society Foundation and Sigrid Rausing Foundation.

UT’s development objective is: to deepen democracy by empowering people to release their energy towards taking an active part in the *development and governance* of their communities, through *rehabilitation* of survivors of historical and current torture, and through *prevention* of conflict in Zimbabwe in the future by generating knowledge and promoting accountability.

UT has a website (see for instance more than 30 reports on www.solidaritypeacetrust.org) and an extensive network in the rural churches and among the chiefs of Matabeleland, who strongly support the work on the ground. UT also collaborates with elected councillors and Members of Parliament, and appointed District and Provincial Administrators.

**Tree of Life** (ToL) is an NGO that has worked nationally for more than a decade, dealing specifically with victims of collective violence. They have a specific approach based on a testimonial therapy adapted to incorporate cultural understandings of well-being. The approach, which has been externally verified for effectiveness by the Centre for Victims of Torture, Minnesota (USA), facilitates victims to work through trauma using a tree as a metaphor for human life. The roots are ancestral history, the trunk childhood and youth, where often the foundation of resilience to trauma (or lack of it) is laid. The branches are the support networks and strengths, and the fruits the future of a life with hope. The ToL approach helps participants integrate and strengthen all aspects to heal and move forward in a healthy way. Victims are brought together in small numbers and work through a structured process of sharing and witnessing testimony telling, identifying the parts of their whole – past, present and future – over two days. ToL has extensive experience working with narratives of Gukurahundi using this technique. ToL and UT have worked together as part of a loose NGO gathering, known as the ‘Trauma Healers’ Network’ in Zimbabwe, and have cooperated in the field and in previous trainings ToL would bring a unique experience to this project and has the capacity to both train civic partners and to accompany victims at hearings.

**Nunca Mas (NM),** a member-based organization from 2013, whose vision is a world free of collective violence providing a platform for psycho-social actors who - combining solidarity with professionalism - want to accompany partners in their struggle for human rights and a just society in violent-ridden resource poor settings in the global south. This is done by partnering with like-minded organisations, research, and advocacy efforts. Its core member base consists of professionals with considerable experience in psycho-social interventions and human rights. Nunca Mas will play a key role in connecting UT and ToL with other partners engaged in similar work. Nunca Mas will ensure exchange of ideas and training *in situ* for Ukuthula and partners, in approaches to testimony therapy. Nunca Mas can amplify the voices of victims, through publicizing Ukuthula UT on human rights abuses to ensure there is greater acknowledgement in the EU, including Denmark of this history of crime against humanity in post-independence Zimbabwe. UT’s collaboration with Nunca Mas means a stronger fight for justice for a hitherto ignored and neglected community. It places the human rights violations experienced in the Matabeleland region on the national/international map, thereby giving the victims a voice. More importantly it will bring about much needed closure and justice, and a chance to move forward in a constructive and productive way. While UT has good core funding from multiple sources as indicated, these partners do not offer human resource development or physical solidarity in the way that NM would. To ensure sustainable positive changes vis-à-vis social justice in Zimbabwe, international attention seems to be required. This is an uphill battle as Zimbabwe is receiving still less international attention. It is years since Zimbabwe was a target country for Danish development assistance and few social actors in the EU show a sincere interest in the development of Zimbabwe. To counter this NM has a) become a member of ZEN – Zimbabwe European Network, which consists of several European countries with activities in Zimbabwe, and b) taken the initiative to establish a Danish Zimbabwe network.

The relationship between UT and members of the NM project group goes back more than 20 years where a considerable level of trust between the organizations/persons has evolved over this time. Based on this relationship, UT and NM designed and successfully implemented the CISU-funded project “Empowerment of Survivors of 1980s Massacres, Zimbabwe, to take part in the proposed truth telling outreach through the National Peace and Reconciliation Commission together with ToL. Due to recent political events in Zimbabwe, the idea of relying on the NPRC is not anymore considered a viable route to achieve the objective of the co-operation. Instead, this project will focus on the chiefs who play a central role in particularly rural communities and who still have some independent political space to operate in.

**Chiefs:** In the previous project UT and Tol worked with the NPRC but the NPRC was not so effective as they failed to roll out hearings as promised. This resulted in UT and ToL deciding to work with the chiefs instead. UT and ToL will continue to liaise with the NPRC from time to time and should they start to function fully, they may be engaged for more collaborations. Presently the chiefs are a preferred structure because they are willing to resolve issues of collective violence which they too are victims of. The chiefs is a traditional structure inscribed in the constitution of Zimbabwe and governed by the Traditional Leaders Act of 2008. They are the custodians of culture. Twelve chiefs are already key partners with UT on exhumations. The President gave the chiefs in Zimbabwe a mandate to preside over the process of exhumations. Zimbabwe is not a monarchy, but supposedly a democracy. Be that as it may, the chiefs which are ordinarily supposed to function as a kind of monarch in Zimbabwe, were retained as custodians of culture and natural resources. They are expected to preside over disputes and promote co-existence in the communities. Chiefs are at the highest level of the traditional structure that starts from a line kraal head to village head, headman and chief. The chief’s jurisdiction varies from area to area, some are in charge of a ward, others two, others three, others again ten. A ward consists of at least five villages and a village has an average of 100 households. The chiefs are generally highly respected and are very influential at all levels. In the whole of Matabeleland region there are only two female chiefs out of about 30. To counter the potential gender bias that it constitutes, UT and ToL will not only continue targeting women, youth and men at project level, but give it even more emphasis to counter such a bias. The chiefs in question do pay attention to gender equality when implementing their programs.

2.1 The Roles and Responsibilities

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| **Ukuthula Trust** | **Tree of Life** | **Nunca Mas** | **Chiefs** |
| *Responsibility for overall programme on the ground in Zimbabwe, & account-ting for local expenditure* | *Report on their activities and account for their expenses to Ukuthula Trust* | *Responsibility for overall programme to CISU & overall reporting, accounting* | *Provide political space, for victims and NGOs* |
| *Identify suitable civic & pastoral leaders for train-ing, & oversee implement-tation of training in ethics and psychosocial support* | *Assist Ukuthula Trust in identification & training of civic & pastoral leaders* | *Arrange for partners in Zimbabwe to have infor-mation/training in testi-mony therapy as used by other partners* | *Recognise those train-ed by UT & ToL as part of victim support team*  |
| *Ensure a good standard of psychosocial support for victims who attend counselling services* | *Assist UT in maintaining good psychosocial sup-port to the victims of collective violence* | *Provide reflection on what is a good enough standard of care* | *Allow victim support team to work* |
| *Facilitate identification of victims & amplifying their needs, to ensure future inclusion in national policy making: make a record of the history* | *Assist UT in promoting the needs of collective violence victims at the local and national levels* | *Advocacy: use the infor-mation provided by UT & ToL to inform Denmark & the EU of the history and needs of Matabeleland* | *Remain accessible to victims, UT and ToL.* |
| *Report regularly to Nunca Mas informing them abo-ut major development in the project* |  |  |  |

2.2 The Intervention’s Contribution to the Development of the Partnership

UT and ToL will continue to benefit from each other through sharing of experiences and approaches. The fact that we core facilitate at workshops avails huge opportunities for hands on learning from each other. UT normally operates in different communities to ToL. This means that besides benefiting from each other, the mutual benefits will cascade directly to the communities. UT and ToL will offer one another moral and logistical support in a very difficult field and historical moment. It is emotionally tough to listen day after day to terrifying testimonies and the two organisations can work to debrief and support one another during feedback meetings and supervision.

The three organisations will learn from one another during the process of training and supervision of the rudimentary counsellors and networking with chiefs and other civics and use it for advocacy purposes following the principle of “doing no harm” and not putting people and staff at unnecessary risk.

The chiefs and other traditional leaders will learn from both UT and ToL on conflict management and transformation. On the other hand, UT and ToL will learn a lot from the chiefs and other traditional leaders on traditional and cultural ways of working with communities

3. Target groups, objectives, and expected results (our intervention)

Primarily, the project is targeting victims of collective violence in the two provinces of Matabeleland namely Matabeleland North and Bulawayo. In Matabeleland North, the project focus will be in Lupane and Tsholotsho districts. During the first project, two wards were covered in Lupane, namely ward 20 and 28. In ward 20 only one village was accessed and in ward 28 two villages were covered. In Tsholotsho two wards were covered namely one and seven. The areas that were covered during the first project will be part of the proposed one in terms of following up on the counsellors and support groups and refresher training on counselling. The new project will then extend to other wards within the same districts. In Lupane district, the project will extend to two more wards and cover 4 villages and in Tsholotsho, it will extend to two wards and cover 6 villages. In Bulawayo, it will extend by 10 more counsellors. Like in the first project 30 new rudimentary counsellors will be identified. Ten in Lupane, ten in Tsholotsho and ten in Bulawayo. The 30 counsellors will each identify six victims of collective violence that will altogether be 180 and cumulatively we will have 60 counsellors and 360 victims.

The target group will comprise of different people in the communities. Among these victims, **at least half will be women** affected by Gukurahundi, including those raped, those who gave birth to children of rape, and those who lost husbands, sons, or siblings during the massacres. The project will also target male victims of collective violence, and children of victims with support. The victims will not only be those who lived through this period who are affected. Children of victims are now at least in their thirties, and they have continued to experience the effects of what happened almost forty years ago. They have raised issues such as failure to get birth and death certificates and have complained of fabricated causes of death written in the death certificates, which the registry termed crossfire.

3.1 The Objectives of the project

The three main objectives are:

1. An enhanced sense of ownership and belonging within the victims, rudimentary counsellors, village heads and chiefs through effective mobilisation strategies
2. Rudimentary counsellors have capacity to provide psychosocial support and management to victims of collective violence in the two provinces of Matabeleland
3. The chiefs and other traditional leaders are empowered to take a leading role in community healing processes

The strategy will mainly be on capacity building and empowerment as follows:

1. UT and ToL will provide capacity building to the rudimentary counsellors on psychosocial support and management
2. The chiefs and other traditional leaders will be empowered to drive the processes of healing.
3. The victims of collective violence will be empowered to be in control and or in charge of how they go through healing processes.

The following table depicts a summary of objectives, indicators, activities and expected outputs:

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| **Development Objective** |
| Empowered survivors of the 1980s massacres in Matabeleland, Zimbabwe to take part in the healing processes and development |
| Immediate objectives | Indicators | Activities | Expected results |
| * 1. A sense of owner-ship & belonging en-hanced within vic-tims, counsellors, village heads & chi-efs through effecti-ve mobilisation stra-tegies
 | Twelve chiefs, 30 village heads & 30 counsellors partici-pate in the victim empowerment pro-cesses | **1.1. Mobilisation & Planning****1.1.1. Individual meetings:** To hold 45 individual meetings with chiefs & village heads to mobilise for group meetings & identification of rudimen-tary counsellors & to prepare for the baseline surveys in Lupane, Tsholot-sho and Bulawayo.* + 1. **Baseline survey:**

To carry out a baseline survey through 6 group meetings with victims, counsellors and local leadership. * + 1. **Planning meetings:**

To hold five group meetings with village heads and identified rudimentary counsellors to plan on healing processes | *Enhanced preparedness of chiefs, village heads and potential counsellors to take part in the healing processes in Lupane Tsholotsho and Bulawayo**Improved planning and sense of ownership of the healing processes**Enhanced project focus* *Improved plans that are core owned by by UT, ToL, Local leaders, counsellors and victims* |
| * 1. Rudimentary cou-nsellors with capa-city to provide psy -chosocial support & management to collective violence victims in two provinces of Matabeleland
 | Forty-five (45) com-munity leaders, chur-ch leaders & influen-tial leaders taking part in psychosocial support & manage-ment of victims of collective violence | * 1. **Training:**

 **1.2.1. Training workshops in Lupane & Tsholotsho:**To carry out four training workshops with rudiment-tary counsellors on coun-selling practices, theories & ethics in Lupane & Tsholotsho **1.2.2. Workshops in Bulawayo**To carry out two training workshops with rudiment-tary counsellors on coun-selling practices, theories and ethics in Bulawayo | *Increased knowledge on counselling practices, theories & ethics* |
| * 1. The chiefs & other traditional leaders empowered to take a leading role in the community healing processes
 | More than 200 victims of collective violence will utilise the psychosocial sup-port, & more than 12 chiefs & 50 village heads will support the psychosocial ser-vices & promote sus-tainability of healing processes | * 1. **Psychosocial support**

**1.3.1. Follow up visits**To make twelve follow up visits to project sites for the supervision, support of counsellors & assess effec-tiveness of support groups* + 1. **Group meetings with chiefs**

To hold three group meetings with chiefs from Matabeleland to discuss the healing program, assess the impact & map way forward.* + 1. **Counsellors’ feedback trips**

Counsellors to make 6 trips each to the ward centre to give updates on the coun-selling services to the chiefs, councillors & village heads | *Improved cohesion & support system for vic-tims of collective violence**Improved project imple-mentation & enhanced attainment of results**Enhanced project sustainability & improved sense of ownership* |

**3.2 Plans for Systematising Experience**

UT and ToL will develop the capacity of 30 facilitators in Tsholotsho and Lupane to offer basic counselling to Gukurahundi victims in a bid to empower them to claim their space in the community and be able to demand transparency and accountability and be responsible citizens. After the intervention, they should be able to influence policy formulation and policy change.

1. **Training local facilitators:**
* Equipping the rudimentary counsellors with basic counselling practices, theories and ethical and moral considerations so that they will in turn provide sound psychosocial management to the victims of Gukurahundi.

**Quantitative evaluation:**

* Questionnaires will be completed before and after each training session to assess the improvement in competence of trainees as a result of the training. The Self Reporting Questionnaire 20 (SRQ20) will also be used before, during and at the end of the project to assess any client improvements.
* Trained facilitators will catalogue their sessions with clients, including how many sessions they have with an individual and for how long, and share this information with UT and Tol field officers. The rudimentary counsellors will refer difficult cases to UT and ToL officers for further management as and when necessary.

**Qualitative evaluation:**

* Where possible and when permissions have been given, facilitators may make audio recordings of client sessions which will be transcribed, for qualitative supervision by UT and ToL.

UT and ToL field officers will hold debriefing and supervision meetings, in the field with rudimentary counsellors to support one another, measure progress, discuss challenges and possible ways forward.

1. **Involvement of Chiefs and Village Heads**
* The chiefs and Village Heads will provide much needed support, moral and physical presence primarily to the victims and secondarily to rudimentary counsellors and UT and ToL officers.
	+ The chiefs and traditional leaders will convene meetings periodically with counsellors and victims to plan and monitor progress of the activities.
	+ The chiefs and village heads will drive the empowerment processes and ensure that there will be no outside players that may cause more harm to the victims.
1. **Storage of the documentation of atrocities etc.**
* All interviews done with victims, will be translated and transcribed: forms completed with victim data and management plan as well as debrief meetings will be systematically archived in the Ukuthula Trust’s secure archival system.

**3.3 Risks and Mitigation**

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| Risk | Mitigation |
| Political space shrinks | We will continue capacitating victims, but in a more covert manner. |
| Security of victims compromised | Ukuthula Trust has security protocols that include evacuating the victims. The chiefs will also play a protective role to the victims. |
| Security of staff compromised | Staff to adhere to security protocols. Should need arise the affected staff will be evacuated out of the country until security threats vanish |
| COVID 19 rages on | Staff will follow laid down restriction measures and reach out to the victims at individual level to small groups of two to five people at house hold level. |

**3.4    Completion and Sustainability**

Sustainability is an important aspect of this project. There are three very important stakeholders that will be key in the self-sustainability of the project. These are the chiefs, the village heads and most importantly the rudimentary counsellors.

The chiefs, as mentioned somewhere in this document are custodians of culture. The government of Zimbabwe has officially given the chiefs the mandate to oversee peace building mainly exhumations. This mandate will continue way beyond the life of this project. This means that they will continue to rely of the rudimentary counsellors to provide psychosocial management to victims of collective violence.

The village heads are eyes and ears of chiefs at village level. They are based exactly where the rudimentary counsellors are. They have accepted and introduced counsellors as key stakeholders in the community. The village heads have also introduced our counsellors that were trained during the previous project to the general community. They have since co-opted the counsellors in the development structures.

The counsellors are already viewed as a resource in the community. They have since the beginning provided other counselling services besides psychosocial management of victims of collective violence such as domestic violence and infidelity cases. The counsellors trained during the previous project continue to work with victims of collective violence despite the fact that allowances they were getting stopped at the end of the project. Given this background the assumption is that the project will be sustainable beyond its cycle.

Despite these community stakeholders afore mentioned, UT and ToL will also be crucial factors in the sense that the counsellors will be used as key informants and will be used as counsellors through other programs of the two organisations.

4. Intervention-related information work in Denmark

The purpose of the information work is to keep the public and decision makers aware of the development in Zimbabwe and try to also reach youngsters making them interested in the global south in general and in Zimbabwe in particular.

Concretely, targets for the information are members of NM, followers on Facebook and those potentially interested in the political development in Zimbabwe and its implication on the civil society and rule of law in the country.

NM will provide relevant information on Zimbabwe and the project on the facebook, home page, and at minimum one public meeting in co-operation with other organizations working with the Zimbabwe, among these other CISU members. Learnings from the project in relation to shrinking space and advocacy will be presented together with experiences from other NM projects.

If the COVID-19 situation permits, a representative from Zimbabwe will be invited to a public event for in particular organisations and individuals having a stake in Zimbabwe. If appropriate and possible, she/he will also make a presentation at *Vestskoven* *Gymnasium* (previous *Albertslund*). Nunca Mas has an agreement with English/Spanish section there. Alternatively, the arrangement will take place via webinar using Zoom or the like.

1. Gukurahundi is a Shona word meaning “the first rain of summer that washes away the chaff from the last season: the Ndebele perceive themselves as the ‘rubbish’ that was swept away during the massacres. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. Victims and survivors will be used interchangeably in this document. While many of those affected may consider themselves ‘survivors’, their lack of participation in mainstream community development would suggest that they are still victims. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. Passive participation refers to the lack of the ability for the communities to say ‘NO’ to issues they do not need or want, but out of fear they would accept anything imposed upon them including political figures. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. The communities fear that the 1980s massacres will reoccur hence they vote for people, not of their choices. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)