

HUMANITARIAN AID RELIEF TRUST VISIT

NIGERIA

30th August – 5th SEPTEMBER 2013



Destruction of Children's Meeting Hall, ECWA Church, Wasasa, Kaduna State.

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Acknowledgements

We are deeply grateful for the warmth and generosity of all who provided hospitality in Bari, Kano, Bauchi and Jos; for all who gave logistical support, including valiant drivers over long distances often on challenging roads!

All those whom we met also continue to be an inspiration to us through their courage, determination and perseverance, reaching out to those in need often in difficult and dangerous situations.

We also wish to record our deep appreciation to all who graciously gave their time to meet us to discuss the current situation and related issues and for the invaluable information they shared, including:

His Grace the Primate of the Anglican Church in Nigeria, the Most Reverend Nicholas Okoh. The High Commissioner, Andrew Pocock and staff at the High Commission in Abuja.

The Most. Revd. Anglican Archbishop Benjamin Kwashi.

The Anglican Bishop of Kano Diocese, Rt. Revd. Zakka Nyam;

The Anglican Bishop of Bari, Rt. Revd. Idris Zubairu, Diocese of Bari, Kano State

The Anglican Bishop of Bauchi, Rt. Revd. Musa Tula

Deaconess Susan Essam, Dean of the Christian Institute, Jos.

Local community and religious leaders, many who need to remain anonymous for security reasons.

<u>1.2 Itinerary</u>: Arrive Abuja; travel to Bari in Kano State to visit the School and Clinic supported by HART in partnership with Bishop Idris; stay in Kano to discuss the situation with local leaders, hosted by the Rt. Revd. Bishop Zak; visit 3 churches for Sunday morning worship; travel to Jos, Plateau State to visit the Christian Institute supported by HART and to obtain information on the current situation in Plateau State; return to Abuja for meetings with the Primate of the Anglican Church in Nigeria and the High Commissioner, Andrew Pocock.

<u>1.3. Quotations</u> – Where appropriate, quotations have been placed in *italics*.

2. OBJECTIVES

2.1 To visit our partners in Plateau, Kano, Bari and Bauchi and review ongoing projects supported by HART.

2.2 To obtain up-to-date information and evidence regarding the situation in Nigeria, especially in the northern areas where our partners work, including first-hand evidence of recent and current problems, with especial reference to intercommunal conflicts, human rights violations and systematic discrimination. On previous visits, we have been able to make it a priority to meet leaders of both Christian and Muslim communities. Time constraints prevented us from meeting representatives of the Muslim communities on this visit, but we did meet representatives of groups active in the promotion of various interfaith initiatives.

2.3 To meet representatives of Government and Non-Governmental Organisations in order to strengthen existing and potential networks of support for HART partners.

2.4 To develop HART's strategy for work in Nigeria.

3. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

• Violence continues, including terrorist activities by militant groups, particularly the selfavowed Islamist Boko Haram.

• This violence includes sporadic large-scale incidents and an increasing number of small-scale incidents of killings of 2 or 3 people per week in urban and rural areas, creating a climate of terror which renders normal life, including the cultivation of crops, impossible.

• Evidence points to multifactorial motives for the violence: religious, economic, political and ethnic.

• Several witnesses highlighted wider and international agendas behind the violence: financial, political and/or religious.

• Boko Haran is increasing in scale, efficiency and military capacity, including highly sophisticated training and weaponry.

• It is widely believed that the impunity with which Boko Haran operates enables the expansion of their terrorist campaigns and is encouraging other lawless groups to emerge.

• Many believe that this impunity, is, at least in part, on a network of support reaching far into official and political circles.

• There is disturbing evidence of international support for Boko Haram, with finance and training, with evidence that Boko Haram militants have received training in countries such as Afghanistan, Egypt and Mauritania.

• It is suggested that the violence of Boko Haran is encouraging some Muslims to reconsider their attitudes and to repudiate the use of violence. However, they are themselves threatened by Boko Haran and therefore find it difficult to oppose them.

• There is deep concern that there have been virtually no arrests of militants and that, when such arrests have occurred, the suspects have been released without charge.

• This has resulted in an ethos of belief that violence is effective in achieving concessions and impunity from the law.

• Consequently, previously more peaceable communities believe that they must prepare to defend themselves, especially in anticipation of potentially more violence associated with forthcoming elections.

• Some Christian communities, and especially Christian youths, are now buying weapons.

• In the case of violence involving Fulani and Indigenes there are questions of the role of wealthy cattle-owners behind the Fulani, the reported growing scale of grazing by the Fulani and associated increased disturbance to landowners with sedentary agriculture.

• Local community leaders emphasise that the Fulani were not generally so violent nor heavily armed until the early 2000s. The questions local people are now asking include: who is arming the Fulani? And for what purpose?

• Religious leaders from both the Christian and Muslim communities are taking many measures to promote intercommunal trust and reconciliation. However there are concerns regarding their efficacy for various reasons:

- a) those leading the violence and who could effectively restrain it are noticeably absent from the talks;
- b) whether those involved in such dialogues are always speaking the same language and seeking the same objectives.
- c) militants will kill 'moderates': for example, the Shehu of Borno State was attacked in the mosque and the Deputy Governor of the State because they don't support the militants.

• There are serious difficulties in northern States which have adopted Sharia Law, when this is seen as having precedence over Federal Law, particularly with regard to issues concerning family law, crime and punishment; and discriminatory practices towards non-Muslims who are subjected to 'dhimmi' status.

• Discrimination against Christians in the northern Sharia States persists, especially with regard to employment; provision of and access to education and health services; refusal to grant permission to purchase land for building places of worship or to repair churches destroyed or damaged in terrorist attacks.

4. VISITS AND MEETINGS

Kaduna and Kano States.

Kano State has been subject to repeated episodes of violence for many years, predominantly targeting the Christian communities, with many people killed and injured and many churches destroyed or damaged.

Over the past two years, violence has escalated with the growth of the self-avowed Islamist organisation, Boko Haram, which has declared its intention to drive all Christians out of northern Nigeria. Terrorist attacks have increased, often targeting security forces and secular state organisations as well as Christian communities and, more recently, Muslims who do support the terrorists.

Previous HART reports have documented the destruction of churches and casualties. On this occasion, we visited Wasasa in Kaduna State where an ECWA (Evangelical Church of West Africa) was attacked on June 17th 2012. The suicide bomber drove his car into the gateway; as he could go no

further, he detonated his car bomb there, within a few yards of a hall where 300 children were having Sunday school. The blast was so strong that it damaged the church and shattered the glass in other nearby buildings. The suicide bomber's severed head was catapulted into the field of a farm some distance from the church. The fatalities were remarkably few: a Sunday School teacher and a baby girl, although many people sustained injuries.

The most recent large-scale attack was perpetrated in Kano on July 29th, 2013 in which four bombs exploded, hitting two churches in Kano city, with 45 people reported killed, and many others injured. The four devices were planted near 3 churches, blasting two of them and damaging nearby Christian businesses. The attack took place in the Sabon Gari area of Kano between 9pm and 9.30pm. One explosion, apparently targeting Peniel Baptist Church, did not affect the structure.

There are also many attacks on civilians in remote and rural areas, which do not hit the headlines but create a state of constant fear for local communities.

Terrorist attacks bring many collateral problems, in addition to the direct trauma of death, injury and the implications for families. The security risks, not only of violence, but also of kidnappings and hostage-taking, have resulted in an exodus of non-indigenes and ex-patriate personnel associated with business, professions and NGOs. This withdrawal has serious repercussions for the economy as well as many health, welfare, educational and other social institutions, to the detriment of Kano's economic prosperity, political stability and the welfare of citizens.

For the non-Muslim communities, there are additional problems associated with Kano State's acceptance of Sharia law. Previous reports have highlighted the associated systematic discrimination against the Christian religious minorities in Kano.

For example, it is very difficult for Christians to buy into business; there is severe discrimination in access to higher education, employment and official positions in every level of government. Christians are not allowed to buy land to build a church or to restore churches which have been damaged.

One of the church leaders described how he was unable to obtain education for his children because they are Christian, adding 'if we ask why, the authorities just laugh – because we should know the reason. They also say that, if we are not happy in Kano State, we can just leave.' However, this is not so easy for the non-indigenous people.

As a result of all the accumulated problems and challenges faced by the Christian communities, there has been a massive exodus of non-indigenes. The Bishop of Kano has summarised the situation:

'The indigenes have nowhere to flee. But Boko Haram is succeeding in its objective of driving all other Christians out of northern Nigeria.'

Bauchi State.

In the last year, there have been several attacks on churches and Christian communities.

In September 2012, in Zongo, in Bauchi State capital, gunmen attacked a group of Christians gathered for social events, playing draughts in street. 9 people were killed and the situation was described by local people as 'terrible'. No arrests have been made.

On September 23rd, St John's Catholic Cathedral was attacked, with 4 people killed: 2 women and 2 children.

Threats have continued.

On December 2nd, in Azare, a rural area three hours drive from Bauchi, another attack took place in which several local people were killed and wounded. Gunmen went in one by one to kill individual Christians. In 2012, between June and December, 12 local Christians were killed at work in shops or fields.

Many Christians have fled, because of threats to their lives and properties. There are many areas where it is now too dangerous to visit, dressed as a Christian.

Now, the killing is random, including Muslims who do not support Boko Haram, as well as those whom they suspect are leaking information, and those who refuse financial support.

In 2013, attacks have continued, as recently as last Sunday (September 1st, 2013), with 3 people killed: a policeman, a village head and director of a hospital. All were Muslims.

In Tefa Balewa, attacks have continued from last year to today, every week, because Tefa Balewa and nearby Bogoro are 95% Christian communities. They are attacked at night, at any time, often during the peak of a rainstorm with open fire. People are dying, houses and properties are being destroyed on a weekly basis.

People have nowhere to go, as they are indigenes, and they cannot farm because if they go to farm, they may not come back alive.

In addition to these problems, Bauchi State Government has decided to move local government representatives to Bununu.

According to the Anglican Bishop of Bauchi Diocese:

'Christians in Bauchi State are now moving out, because they cannot survive, so it is hard for the church to survive: persecution is a serious concern as we have no money and our children cannot go to school. Therefore, we appeal for prayers and encouragement because it is not easy to face what we endure. We have no rights because we are under a sharia state.

In States operating sharia, Christians have no rights - including admission to higher education, seats in local or state government, permission to buy land to build a church or restore destroyed churches. If we need land to build a place of worship, we need an individual to do so - not as a church.

We are denied our rights because we are Christians.

Persecution is practical and real in Bauchi.

Following attacks, the militias are not arrested, or, if arrested, they are quickly released, because they are well connected with security services, and there is a welfare committee looking after those arrested which works for their release.

So we appeal to other Christian bodies and NGOs to assist us because we cannot pay our clergy or NGOs. Last year for 3 months, and also this year, I couldn't pay salaries. Also it is difficult to get children into schools. It is very difficult to run the diocese.

We call on the entire Christian body all over the world to support the Christians in Bauchi because the persecution is horrible and without help, our future is at stake. The gravity of persecution is growing daily. We are tired of burial and everyone's patience is running out and we do not want to retaliate as that will not help.

Persecution has existed since 1950s, but now on a daily basis and no Christian is safe in the whole of Bauchi.

The population of Christians is reducing. Many are fleeing. Only those with courage will stay. Indigenes who have nowhere to go, may compromise and some are turning to Islam. As a church, we must keep here with the Gospel, because without the Church there will be no opportunity to turn to Christianity. As Bishop, I must stay, even if I pay with my life. I cannot leave. I cannot now visit Tefa Balewa, although I want to do so, because there may be an ambush. They now have 24 hours watch. Even in the rain, they must watch, because the militants are always there. The local indigenes watch so they can give alarm. They do not have guns -where would they obtain guns? The security are there, but they also are not safe and they may be killed.

Militants may come with military armed vehicles, uniform, etc.

Maiduguri, Borno are horrible places, mostly captured now by Boko Haram, with daily operations; arms stores, rocket arsenals, ant-aircraft weapons are kept there.

Every day, lives and communities are being attacked. Government personnel are not there now. The Islamic flag flies. If people do not support Boko Haram, they are targets. Most of the churches are now gone and Christians have largely fled.

Please keep praying for Christians as we need prayers for the church just to survive and for Christians to be able to return and for churches to be rebuilt.

Political groups in government are painting a picture of harmony and, when attacks occur, they highlight interfaith dialogue. This gives a false picture.

Some Muslims are not happy with the situation but they are forced to bear it. I spend so much time in interfaith dialogue. But I know that the Muslims and Christians who do participate in interfaith dialogue are not representative of the true situation.

There are many discussions, but despite what they say around the table or on TV, they act differently. They present a face, giving the impression that they do not support Boko Haram, but their actions are different.

The true picture which is buried under the carpet is that many Muslim governors, politicians, Emirs, chiefs in the army and security who are Muslim are behind Boko Haram. Also, many Muslim business leaders support Boko Haram, so it is hard to destroy Boko Haram, as there is so much support from the elites in Nigeria.

It is part of the global Islamic agenda to capture Christian areas, and promote the policy of making Nigeria an Islamic country. Even if they wish to do so, it is hard for Muslims in Bauchi to support Christians because, as a Muslim, everything must be done to support Islam. Mosques are disseminating inciting messages constantly promoting violence, but the security forces do not respond. There are also some very inciting videos, commanding the youth to attack Christian families, schools, churches; some were sold openly and with impunity.

A document written by the OIC (Organisation of the Islamic Conference) which was written when Nigeria was admitted to OIC, describes Nigeria as two countries in one: the Federal Sultanate of Sokoto and the Republic of Nigeria. They want supremacy of the Sultanate, with its own flag. Meetings discuss attacks; security forces ignore them, until they happen.

Those who genuinely want interfaith harmony may not be able to sustain the persecution. As Bishop, I am staying here, or the Gospel will not be proclaimed. Persecution is the fertiliser of faith: it strengthens and purifies faith. If the Bishop leaves there will be panic. If the Bishop stays, this encourages the church. We have to remain where we are and trust in our Lord, the author and finisher of our faith. Your visit is a great encouragement to us. We know people do not forget us and we thank you for your visit'.

Plateau State.

The last 18 months have been relatively quiet, although there have been some serious incidents: the violence which erupted in February 2013, when villages between Batchit and Kurafalls were attacked; more violence which erupted in Gunawuri in March 2013; and attacks on 3 villages in Zadiyen [check name], South Jos in July 2013 in which 28 people were killed.

There is also a disturbing number of small-scale incidents in which two or three people are killed, which are not publicised. It is estimated that these may number 3-4 deaths a week, but sometimes, the toll may be as high as 30-40 per month.

There is widespread concern over the failure of the authorities to arrest those guilty of violence – or, if arrests do take place, those arrested are generally released. Thus there seems to be a culture of impunity for perpetrators of violence which engenders more fear in local communities.

The militants are now armed with much more sophisticated weapons than those traditionally used by the Fulani in previous years. It is reported that there is evidence that weapons are being brought in from other countries such as Chad and Niger. The militants are now manifestly much better trained militarily: the attacks are carried out with strategic expertise and killings are perpetrated with clinical precision.

These sobering developments indicate a wider international involvement reflecting a much larger agenda underpinning the increasing violence compared with the traditional tensions and conflicts associated with disputes between indigenes and nomadic Fulani over issues such as land rights and cattle grazing grounds.

The combination of perceived impunity for perpetrators of violence and the escalation of violence in terms of sophistication and international involvement is resulting in Christian communities, especially the youth, now feeling the necessity to arm themselves. Weapons are very easy to purchase. Therefore, although Christian leaders have been relatively very successful until now in preventing retaliation – an achievement which has been widely recognised – it may become increasingly difficult to contain conflict in the future.

Despite these disturbing developments, some religious leaders are deeply committed to promoting harmonious relations between Muslim and Christian communities, through interfaith dialogue and intercommunal initiatives. For example, in Jos, the Anglican Archbishop Benjamin Kwashi has developed excellent relations with some of the senior Muslim clerics and secular community leaders and one of his staff, Canon Hassan John is undertaking highly appreciated initiatives with Muslim women and youth, providing training in skills such as tailoring and computing to empower them personally and economically.

Such initiatives are very significant, as they are designed to enable disempowered Muslim women and young people to obtain employment, self-respect, helping to address problems of alienation, poverty, marginalisation and hostility to Christians which is often inculcated by radical preachers.

But, however significant and welcome these initiative are, they cannot address the wider problem of the growth of an internationally supported Islamist agenda using terror as a means of achieving control. Violent depopulation of previously Christian villages and urban areas and repopulation by Muslims not only brings them material benefits but also changes political constituencies and political power.

There is also a current political issue on the Federal State agenda which may have far-reaching implications: consideration of allocation of grazing reserves to Fulani in 3 states (Plateau, Benue and Taraba) to enable them to change from their nomadic lifestyle to a more settled way of life. This could bring some clear benefits, such as reduction of their intrusion into other people's lands; opportunity for children to go to school and families to access health care. However, there are also serious concerns over the political electoral repercussions of allocating so much land in 3 States to Muslim communities.

Eye witness account of an incident by Revd. Joseph Amesa, from Zadiyen near Jos.

'On April 14th 2013 we heard gunshot at 3am; later in the morning we asked what it was; people told us that a boy had seen Fulani shoot a man who had gone to his truck; he did not die so they pursued him and killed him with knives, hiding his body in a cave.

Because he was married, his wife was worried about her husband who had not returned, so the community went to investigate. They saw the signs of blood. The Fulani who killed the man wanted to leave, but the local people asked them where they were going; the Fulani told them to let them pass; the local people refused. The Fulani then shot one person and the people decided to allow them to go, because they did not want the violence to escalate.

After one or two hours, people from the original village called to ask them to stop the Fulani, but they had already gone. The people whose man had been killed came from their homes, angrily, and started reacting against local Fulani's homes. The Fulani returned and attacked another village, Uchan, burning houses, killing men, women and children. Approximately 100 people were killed and 100 houses were burnt. Some people were shot; most were killed with machetes.

Yesterday (September 2nd), a similar attack occurred in the night in Fada Atakar, near the other village. I was there yesterday until 4pm. Only 2 churches are still standing as about 7 churches have been burnt. It was mostly Anglican churches which were attacked. 8 people have been reported killed.

I narrowly escaped death, because when the Fulani came into the village, I was in church, praying. I came out from the church, not knowing that the Fulani were close by. I went to see where they were. They saw me, but I was running and they were pursuing me. I ran into the bush and I was afraid someone else from the village would shoot me, so I had to call my name. I was recognised by a villager who told me where to go to safety.

I returned around 7pm and I had to find a way to bring my family to Jos. MY wife is pregnant and I have a little girl about 3 years old.

When I went back, our houses and the clinic were burnt and I saw many bodies; we took some injured to hospital before the soldiers came – long after the event.

We have to hide to bury the dead as the Fulani will attack any gathering'.

5. HART PROJECTS

5:1 Bari Diocese

When HART first visited Bari, there was neither a school nor any provision of health care for the local Christian community. The systematic discrimination characteristic of a Sharia State meant that it was virtually impossible for local people to obtain work and severe poverty was the norm to such an extent that families could not afford any education and, if a family member was taken ill, it was necessary to sell something - perhaps the last goat belonging to the family – to pay for medical treatment at a nearby clinic.

HART began to support the new and highly entrepreneurial Bishop of Bari, the Rt. Revd. Idris ...who established a brick-making enterprise in the heart of the community. He was able to construct buildings to house a School and a Primary Health Care Clinic. HART, with support from Trusthouse Charitable Foundation, was able to pay salaries for teachers and clinical staff, enabling the school and the clinic to become operational.

We continue to work with the Bishop of Bari in his development of the clinic and a primary and secondary school which serve an isolated rural area. The secondary school has established its first year of schooling and the second year will be established this September. In total, including the primary school, there are over 250 pupils and 13 teachers who cater for themselves. In addition to normal running costs the next priorities are to complete construction of the upper floor of the new block for expansion of the secondary school, including residential accommodation, to build a kitchen, and finally to build and equip a library and laboratory.

The compounds are now fenced but there is still a need for a gate for security – which is a requirement for private schools.

As there are now so many students and high parental demand, allowing an intake of 50-100 new students.

Roofing for the first block has been accomplished. The roofing for the second block is another priority, which will cost 8 million Naira (N).

It can be hard to retain teaching staff as the Government minimum wage is 18,000N per month -



more than the community can afford. Therefore, some teachers and clinical staff have left, in order to obtain more pay.

Bishop Idris with his brick-making equipment and the school in Bari, Kano State.

The Clinic.

598 patients have now received treatment. 90 per cent of the patients are Muslims, who pay some fees, but not enough to cover all the costs.

The number of staff has therefore had to be reduced from 5-3: a new nurse, Zak, who is very good; one health care assistant and a cleaner. It has not been possible to retain the services of the pharmacist or laboratory technician.

Therefore, the health worker has been trained to undertake laboratory and pharmacy responsibilities.

The salary for the pharmacist was £500 per year; for the laboratory technician £750 per year. It is intended that the clinic will become self-sustaining.

JOS: Christian Institute

In previous years, HART has also been able to provide some funding for the Christian Institute which has expanded to cater for 80 full-time students expected in September for courses in theology and health studies.

There are also 26 part-time students studying for post-graduate degrees and for Bachelor of Theology.

6. CONCLUSION

The situation in the northern and central belt regions of Nigeria is clearly cause for great concern. The traditional tensions associated with the existence of two incompatible legal and political systems (Federal secular law and Sharia law) in the northern States or the problems associated with conflicts over grazing rights and land use which have featured in many areas, including Plateau State, have been exploited and exacerbated by the growth of Islamist movements, especially Boko Haram. The escalation in scale, intensity and number of attacks on communities is creating an atmosphere of fear resulting in the reluctant exodus of many non-indigenes from these areas.

Apart from the human suffering of afflicted families and communities, there are wider economic and political implications – such as the loss of business and economic expertise from many northern areas and the political implications of changing religious electoral constituencies.

A major factor contributing to local fear and disaffection is the perceived impunity with which militants are allowed to 'get away with' their brutal attacks with impunity. This is leading to the belief that more communities will need to buy weapons to arm themselves to provide protection in the absence of adequate protection from official security, army and police forces. Consequently, the potential for very disturbing escalation of violence is growing rapidly.

Several initiatives designed to promote good interfaith relationships and reconciliation in troubled areas have been established. These are clearly immensely important, especially for the youth who will be the future for Nigeria, and they deserve full financial and political support.

However, there is widespread fear that those who engage in these important initiatives are not associated with those who are involved with the terrorising activities which threaten to destabilise these parts of Nigeria. The victims of the terrorist attacks have been predominantly Christian communities, reflecting the Islamist agenda, proclaimed by Boko Haram, to drive all Christians out of northern Nigeria, but there is now a growing trend of attacks on Muslim victims who do not support the militant Islamists. It is therefore essential for any consideration of responses to this dangerous situation, which has already caused too much suffering for far too long for far too many people, to accept a realistic and comprehensive analysis and to take appropriately comprehensive measures to address the threats to Nigerian citizens in these parts of Nigeria – and the risk of far-reaching implications for the Nigerian nation.

Caroline (Baroness) Cox, HART CEO and the Reverend David Thomas, Projects Coordinator of HART.

September 6th 2013

APPENDIX

INTRODUCTION TO HART

HART operates on the basis of 4 interrelated principles:

Aid Advocacy Authenticity Accountability.

Aid: assessing and providing the most appropriate type of support. HART seeks to focus primarily on people in need who are not receiving adequate assistance from major organizations – often for security and/or political reasons. Large organizations are often constrained by the need to consider safety of expatriate personnel working on location. HART, being a small organization, committed to working with local partners, keeps no expatriate staff 'on the ground'; rather establishing, supporting and evaluating projects on the basis of regular visits, involving a different assessment of risk for its personnel.

This policy enables HART to provide humanitarian aid in areas when and where many major aid organizations are not operating – thus making a difference, even with relatively small budgets. HART is non-denominational and will offer aid and advocacy to all in need, unconditionally.

(ii) **Advocacy:** making known the needs and concerns of those who are suffering. As many of our partners live in conditions of oppression and persecution, at the hands of their own governments, HART visits them in order to obtain evidence of their situation and to represent their concerns, as appropriate, to national and international communities.

(iii) **Authenticity:** gathering first hand evidence of oppression, persecution and humanitarian needs. HART personnel regularly visit people on location in order to seek <u>their</u> advice on <u>their</u> priorities for aid and advocacy, to support and to evaluate the development of programmes and to be able to speak as advocates on the basis of first-hand experience.

(iv) **Accountability:** HART is committed to accountability - to those for whom HART speaks: ensuring our advocacy is accurate and sensitive to their situation; and accountability to those who support our work, informing them of what we have done with what they made possible.