ResearchGate

See discussions, stats, and author profiles for this publication at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/276180636

Collective Memory and Human Rights Violations in the Western Sahara: Impact, Coping, and Demands for Reparation

Article *in* Peace and Conflict Journal of Peace Psychology · November 2014

DOI: 10.1037/pac0000061

CITATION
1

READS
267

3 authors:

Maitane Arnoso
Universidad del País Vasco / Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea
53 PUBLICATIONS 290 CITATIONS

SEE PROFILE

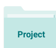
Carlos Martín Beristain
University of Deusto
50 PUBLICATIONS 482 CITATIONS

SEE PROFILE

Eloísa González Hidalgo
13 PUBLICATIONS 21 CITATIONS

SEE PROFILE

Some of the authors of this publication are also working on these related projects:


Truth comission evaluation and social representations of past in Brazil View project

Catastrophes, collective behavior and coping View project

All content following this page was uploaded by Maitane Arnoso on 12 May 2015.

The user has requested enhancement of the downloaded file.

Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology
2014, Vol. 20, No. 4, 552–573

© 2014 American Psychological Association
1078-1919/14/$12.00 http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/pac0000061

Collective Memory and Human Rights Violations in the Western Sahara: Impact, Coping, and Demands for Reparation

Maitane Arnoso-Martínez, Carlos M. Beristain, and Eloisa González-Hidalgo
Basque Country University

Despite the 1991 Ceasefire Agreement, the Kingdom of Morocco has been hampering compliance with United Nations resolutions relating to the fulfillment of the right of self-determination of the Sahrawi people. The whole process has become an endless series of negotiations in a context of constant human rights violations. By means of semistructured interviews ($N = 261$), this study explores the human rights violations to which the population has been subjected; their impact at the personal, family and community levels; as well as the coping strategies and the need for reparation as expressed by the population. People still living in the Western Sahara were included in this study, as well as others that are in refugee camps. The conclusion is the existence of considerable physical, psychological, and social effects that differ depending on the level of exposure to violence, sex of the respondent, and the place where the victims were, but there is also an important organizational and community resistance in the pursuit of compliance with international law and the population's right to decide on their own future.

Keywords: Western Sahara, human rights, refugees, psychosocial impact, reparation

The conflict in the Western Sahara has been raging for 38 years now. Since the departure of Spain and the military occupation of the territory by Morocco and Mauritania in 1975, the POLISARIO Front, acting as the Sahrawi national liberation movement, has used violence

This article was published Online First October 13, 2014.

Maitane Arnoso-Martínez is a political scientist and a doctor in political science at the University of the Basque Country. She is a researcher at the Department of Social Psychology and Methodology of Behavioural Sciences in the psychology faculty (Donostia- San Sebastián, University of the Basque Country). She is a specialist in psychosocial actions, disasters and political violence at the Complutense University of Madrid and at the Community Action Group (CAG). Her areas of research interest are psychosocial impact of collective violence, post-conflict processes of reparation and community reconstruction, human rights and migration.

Carlos M. Beristain is a doctor in social psychology at the University of the Basque Country. He is a researcher in HEGOA (Bilbao, University of the Basque Country). He is a professor of psycho-social health in the European Masters Program in International Humanitarian Aid, Universidad de Deusto, Spain. During the 1990s, he was coordinator of the Recovery of Historical Memory Report (REMHI), one of Guatemala's truth commissions investigating crimes committed during the civil war. He also served as adviser to truth commissions in Peru, Paraguay and Ecuador, and he has worked extensively with human rights organizations and victims' movements in El Salvador, Colombia and Mexico, as well as Western Sahara and Algeria. He is also a psychosocial expert consultant to the Inter-American Human Rights Commission and the International Criminal Court.

Eloisa González-Hidalgo is a doctor from the University Carlos III of Madrid. She is a professor of international law and of human rights (Community Action Group [CAG]-Complutense University of Madrid). She is a researcher at HEGOA (Bilbao, University of the Basque Country). She worked in some non-governmental organizations in Algeria, Colombia, and Mexico with indigenous peoples, refugees and displaced persons.

The design and field work for this study were conducted with funding from the *HEGOA* Institute of the University of the Basque Country, *Euskal Fondoa*, and the Basque Government Institute of Cooperation. Statistical analysis was carried out with the support of the MICIN PSI2011-26315 project awarded by the Ministry of Science and Innovation of Spain to the Culture, Cognition and Emotion Consolidated Group of the Department of Social Psychology in the University of the Basque Country. We also wish to acknowledge the funding received from the Department of Education, Universities and Research of the Basque Government through a DKR grant to Dr. Arnoso for his collaboration in this study. Finally, many thanks to Andres Krakenberger for translating this article into English.

Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Maitane Arnoso-Martínez, Department of Social Psychology and Methodology of Behaviour Sciences, Psychology Faculty, University of the Basque Country, Avenida Tolosa 70, 20018 San Sebastián. E-mail: maitane_arnoso@yahoo.es

This document is copyrighted by the American Psychological Association or one of its allied publishers.
This article is intended solely for the personal use of the individual user and is not to be disseminated broadly.

as a part of a repertoire of collective action.[1] The military and political dimensions of the conflict have been analyzed in other studies (Badía, Fernández, & Carranza, 1999; Ferrer Lloret, 2001; Mariño Menéndez, 2003; Ruiz, 2003; Soroeta Liceras, 2001). This research focuses on human rights violations committed by the Kingdom of Morocco on the Sahrawi civilians who directly suffered the consequences of violence. This research also provides information on the largest number of casualties, displaced people, victims of torture, and the disappeared (Amnesty International, 1996, 2010; Human Rights Watch, 2008, 2009).

Human rights violations such as those that took place in the Western Sahara in recent decades have enormous individual, family, and collective consequences, especially when the frequency and the systematic nature of the violations, or their extension to other groups within the same society, become a permanent threat and danger of violation of the right to life. These consequences have been widely studied by social psychologists who have peace-related concerns, and who have realized how political violence causes emotional harm to people as well as their life projects, as well as severe psychological problems in extreme cases, both on an individual and a collective basis (Becker & Lira, 1989; Moghaddam & Marsella, 2004; North & Pfefferbaum, 2002; Pyszczynski, Solomon, & Greenberg, 2003; Silver, Holman, McIntosh, Poulin, & Gil-Rivas, 2002; among others).

In addition, research studies have been carried out on the health of refugees, finding that trauma exposure is the most important predictor of mental health status in refugee populations (Marshall, Schell, Elliott, Berthold, & Chun, 2005; Steel, Silove, Phan, & Bauman, 2002). In Western countries, studies have reported that refugees are about 10 times more likely to have posttraumatic stress disorder than the general populations of the host countries (Fazel, Wheeler, & Danesh, 2005; Vojvoda, Weine, McGlashan, Becker, & Southwick, 2008). These studies also documented the fact that women constituted one of the groups that is most vulnerable to such traumatization. Furthermore, unlike survivors of many other traumas, refugees also must deal with other stressors—including exile, resettlement, and acculturation—that greatly affect their long-term adjustment and quality of life (Bello, 2004; Boehnlein et al., 2004).

Similarly, various pieces of research have studied the consequences of torture on mental health. Such consequences include reactions of panic and fear of death, sadness, shame, feelings of humiliation, helplessness and unpredictability of the world, among others. At the clinical level, victims of psychological torture can have symptoms of anxiety disorders, depression, or posttraumatic stress disorder (Başoğlu, 1992; Başoğlu et al., 1997; Bojholm et al., 1992; Reis et al., 2004; Vesti, Somnier, & Kastrup, 1992; Viñar, 2005; among others). For the families of torture victims, the consequences are also extremely painful and enduring: Having witnessed the arrest, the incommunicado detention in which the relative is held, and being bullied and harassed because of having a family link with the victim that the authorities wish to punish can increase levels of stress, fear, concern, and feelings of being threatened, as well as a loss of the feeling of safety, security, and social support, which affects both the family system and other family members (Kira, 2002; Silove, Steel, McGorry, Miles, & Drobny, 2002). Generally, women have to cope with the impact of violence on their lives as well as that committed on their families and communities (Lunde & Ortmann, 1990).

Moreover, impacts produced by political violence are supplemented by those which generate impunity or lack of acknowledgment of the harm suffered, which does not allow for a full recovery of people who have been victims, nor does it afford the necessary conditions for social reconstruction processes (Kordon, Edelman, Lagos, & Kersner, 1995). The impacts have a psychosocial character because they are politi-

[1] Resolution 2105 (XX) recognized the legitimate defense of colonial peoples in favor of their independence. The same has been included in U.N. General Assembly resolutions 2107 (XX), 2189 (XXI), or 2326 (XXII). In resolution 35/19, dated November 11, 1980, the General Assembly recognized the POLISARIO Front as the sole and legitimate representative of the Sahrawi people. However, the POLISARIO Front has been accused of human rights violations by POLISARIO defectors, who have left the refugee camps and have pointed out that dissent is repressed and freedom of movement is restricted, but such complaints have not been properly documented by human rights organizations. There are currently no Moroccan prisoners of war held in the refugee camps.

This document is copyrighted by the American Psychological Association or one of its allied publishers.
This article is intended solely for the personal use of the individual user and is not to be disseminated broadly.

This document is copyrighted by the American Psychological Association or one of its allied publishers.
This article is intended solely for the personal use of the individual user and is not to be disseminated broadly.

cally motivated and take place in the context of power dynamics and relations (Baró, 1990). This psychosocial dimension also affects the way in which victims face such violations, and they affect the social representations they have on human rights and on the conflicting groups (Doise, Spini, & Clèmence, 1998), as well as on the demands for reparation required in peace-culture-building processes (Beristain, 2005; De Greiff, 2006; Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, 2002; United Nations General Assembly Resolution 60/147, December 2005).

Indeed, despite the cruelty of war and the perverse character of the strategies used to subdue the population, people have not become resigned to being passive subjects of barbarity, and their grief can gain significance in the way they live. Beliefs in the form of a strong allegiance to religion have acted as a primary source of resourcefulness in different regions of Africa (Halcón et al., 2004; Khawaja, White, Schweitzer, & Greenslade, 2008). People also use social support, and collective and communal self, as a protective factor against the impact of violence and persecution (Goodman, 2004; McMichael & Manderson, 2004). Moreover, cognitive processes, in the form of interpretations and perceptions of oneself and the situation, have enabled individuals to cope with traumatic events (Brune et al., 2002; Gorman, Brough, & Ramirez, 2003; Vázquez, Cervellón, Pérez-Sales, Vidales, & Gaborit, 2005). Cognitive processing is indicated by being prepared for the difficulties, talking about trauma, or giving it new meaning (Başoğlu et al., 1997; Goodman, 2004). According to Punamaki-Gitai (1990), refugees exposed to extreme violence and conflict adopt more active and purposive coping strategies, such as being involved in political activities or confronting the opposite forces. The fight against oblivion and testimonial commemoration, together with social organization and political demands, are mechanisms that allow them to provide a social significance to intrusive individual memories of collectively traumatic events (Becker & Lira, 1989).

In recent years, there has been a growing interest in psychology-for-peace-related circles on reconciliation after violent conflict or prolonged periods of political repression in different parts of the world. In most cases, the content of this concept has to do with rescuing coexistence between opposing groups, rebuilding trust and the social and organizational fabric fractured by violence, and the establishment of a new social consensus and new attitudes of coexistence with others, or even the creation of new spaces for meeting people who have other convictions (Bar-Tal & Bennink, 2004; Chirot & Seligman, 2001; Gibson, 2004; Kelman, 2005, 2008, Malley-Morrison, Mercurio, & Twose, 2013; Shnabel & Nadler, 2008). This means assuming that the knowledge of the truth, the application of justice, demanding apologies, and suing for damages would all allow for reconciliation (Gibson, 2004). However, when those in government do not fulfil their citizens' needs, and such citizens are kept in conditions of poverty, insecurity, and violation of human rights, and so forth without transforming these sources of violence, there will always be a substrate that hinders an effective implementation of constructive social relationships. From a position that takes into account the literature on collective mobilization, it is necessary to consider that the perception of unmet basic needs and perceived injustice intensifies antagonism, frustration, and fear, which, in turn, can lead to extreme behaviors (Finkel & Moghaddam, 2005; Staub & Bar-Tal, 2003; Staub, Pearlman, Gubin, & Hagengimana, 2005; Taylor & Moghaddam, 1994) that hinder peace processes. These processes become even more complicated in societies that are fractured into social or ethnic groups that have clashed violently, or when it is necessary to overcome historical divisions in the community, expanded as a result of militarization (Beristain, 2009).

In the Sahrawi case, there is a lack of systematic studies to assess the impact of violence on the population located in the refugee camps and that resisting in the Western Sahara itself, as well as on the needs for reparation of the population, beyond the political and territorial claims issued by group platforms. Neither are there any systematic human rights violations narratives of the victims to contribute to the construction of a collective memory. We hope that the results of this study are a contribution in that direction.

This article is an exploratory and descriptive study that attempts to make headway on these issues. In particular, it aims to (a) increase knowledge on the human rights violations suffered by the Sahrawi population; (b) identify the consequences and the emotional impact thereof,

both past and present, and their relationship with the various types of violence suffered; (c) get to know the way in which the population has been able to go through such human rights violations and the strategies they have used for this purpose; and, finally, (d) document the most-valued forms of reparation for the victims for the damages caused by the conflict and human rights violations they have experienced. These issues are studied taking into account gender, the level of exposure to violence (whether they are victims or direct relatives of victims) and location (refugee camps vs. the Western Sahara).

Historical Background

The conflict in the Western Sahara is still a pending matter for the international community with regard to the fulfillment of the right of self-determination of a people in the process of decolonization.[2] In October 1975, Morocco invaded the Western Sahara in two ways: (a) the Green March, displacing thousands of Moroccans[3]; and (b) by means of its armed forces, which occupied the northwestern part of the territory. In November 1975, Hassan II's regime organized the Green March, during which thousands of Moroccan citizens occupied part of the territory. During this stage, the modus operandi followed by the State of Morocco against the civilian refugees in the desert, or those simply suspected of supporting the POLISARIO, was the bombing of civilians, painstakingly sifting through and plundering the desert region, and carrying out enforced disappearances and extrajudicial executions. A large part of the Sahrawi population had to flee to the border with Algeria after the bombings. There they established refugee camps administered by institutions of the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic, self-proclaimed by the POLISARIO Front in February 1976 and recognized by many countries, including the Organisation of African Unity (Omar, Murphy, El Jalil, & Hamoudi, 2008).

Forced disappearances and arbitrary detentions were, since then, characteristics of everyday life that continued through the early 1990s. Many people were arrested under the accusation of having participated in proindependence activities, or having supported or having family ties to the POLISARIO Front. Others were arrested while attempting to flee from the Western Sahara to the refugee camps in Tindouf (Algeria). Those arrested were taken to clandestine detention centers located in Morocco itself or in the Western Sahara, where torture and abuse were quite common during interrogation and throughout the period of detention (Amnesty International, 1996). At least 800 people were made to disappear. Of these, 120 were released within a few months or in the early years, and about 300 were released in 1991 after 15 years of illegal detention. About another 350 people are still unaccounted for. In December 2010, the Advisory Council on Human Rights of Morocco published a list of 207 names of people arrested who were declared dead, even though they offered no information about the circumstances of the deaths or of their fate (Beristain & González Hidalgo, 2012).

On April 29, 1991, Morocco and the POLISARIO Front signed the settlement plan sponsored by the United Nations and subsequently established the United Nations Mission for the Referendum in the Western Sahara (MINURSO),[4] with the objective of maintaining the ceasefire and holding a referendum on self-determination for the Sahrawi people, who would be able to choose between independence or integration into, or association with, the State of Morocco.[5] Over the years, the MINURSO mandate has proved insufficient to respond to the current political situation, as human rights violations have become one of the obstacles to seeking a political solution to the conflict.

---

[2] See http://iajuws.org/resoluciones.php

[3] The displacement of the Moroccan population during the Green March was significant; about 350,000 Moroccans occupied abandoned buildings in Sahrawi territory. Others arrived later on in exchange for tax compensation and other stimuli (Segura, 2001). At present, it is estimated that the population amounts to approximately 400,000, of which 250,000 to 300,000 are Moroccans; 100,000 to 150,000 are Sahrawis; and another 160,000 are Moroccan soldiers and military personnel (Skretteberg, 2008).

[4] For further information on: http://www.minurso.unlb.org/

[5] See Resolution 1541 (XV), *Principles which should guide Member States to determine whether there is an obligation to transmit the information called for under Article 73 e of Charter* 1960, United Nations General Assembly. The resolution states that the right to self-determination can lead to independence, free association, or integration with another State, depending on which is the will of the people.

This document is copyrighted by the American Psychological Association or one of its allied publishers.
This article is intended solely for the personal use of the individual user and is not to be disseminated broadly.

This document is copyrighted by the American Psychological Association or one of its allied publishers.
This article is intended solely for the personal use of the individual user and is not to be disseminated broadly.

On April 7, 1999, the State of Morocco created the Independent Arbitration Committee, which is responsible for granting financial compensation for material and moral damages suffered by the victims of enforced disappearances and arbitrary detentions. Later, in 2004,[6] the Equity and Reconciliation Commission (*Instance Equité et Réconciliation*) was set up as an independent national commission, with the purpose of establishing truth, equity, and reconciliation. But this did not meet international standards of research: It simply provided compensation to those victims that presented their cases, excluding victims in the refugee camps and setting aside the demands for truth and justice or moral reparation for the Sahara. While the commission worked, there was widespread arbitrary detention, torture, and processes with long sentences for claiming for the right of self-determination, or simply for denying the official state-sponsored version of the conflict. These human rights violations were even perpetrated against human rights associations that were then banned, and against independent Moroccan journalists.

Currently, the Sahrawi population is divided between the areas occupied by Morocco, the area behind the wall built by Morocco[7] that is occupied by the POLISARIO, and the refugee camps in Tindouf. The Sahara controlled by Morocco is inhabited by approximately 400,000 people who are, for the most part, not natives of the territory, and of which less than 150,000 are Sahrawis. Meanwhile, the refugee population is divided into five camps that concentrate around 150,000 inhabitants: Smara, Laayoune, 27th February, Auserd, and Dakhla.

During the early years in Tindouf, Sahrawi women had to confront the harsh conditions of the Hamada desert, with a complete lack of resources for a minimum subsistence, the absence of men who were in the battlefield, and the need to create conditions of safety and stability for the displaced, among other problems.[8] Moreover, many Sahrawi women have been subjected to serious human rights violations. Whereas in the case of Chile, the women detained during the dictatorship were 12.6% of all political prisoners, in the case of the Western Sahara, the proportion of detained and disappeared Sahrawi women is twice that number (25%). Moreover, most of the detained and disappeared Sahrawi women lacked any kind of political activism, although a minority of them had indeed participated in several public demonstrations (Beristain & González Hidalgo, 2012, p. 86).

Until late 2010, the Moroccan authorities did not recognize enforced disappearances and the death of 207 people arrested in various clandestine centers between 1976 and 1993. At present, no members of the security forces have been investigated or condemned for torturing detainees, despite hundreds of reports in recent years. During the last decade, the Sahrawi population has brought reports to various entities such as the prosecutor or the courts in the towns of Laayoune and Smara. Such reports included arbitrary detention and torture, but in general, the allegations, although accepted, have not been followed up on by the authorities. Two factors are common to all these human rights violations: (a) that they take place in the context of claiming the right to self-determination, and (b) the impunity with which they occur (Alonso, 2001). In none of the Sahrawi cases was complete and reliable information provided by the Moroccan authorities on the fate of the disappeared, nor have any remains been returned to their relatives.

Method

Sample

Interviews were carried out with 261 people who were victims of human rights violations perpetrated by the Moroccan security forces in different historical periods. Of these, 50.6% ($n = 132$) were male and 49.4% ($n = 129$) were female, with an average age of 51.4 years, the youngest being 19 and the oldest being 91.

[6] Royal Dahir (decree) No. 01.04.42 approved the statutes of the Instance of Equity and Reconciliation, which was enacted on April 20, 2004, and published in the Official Gazette No. 5203 dated April 12, 2004. The Equity and Reconciliation Instance was officially instituted by King Mohammed VI on January 7, 2004.

[7] This is a set of eight defensive walls of over 2,720 km in length, built by Morocco in the Western Sahara from 1980. It is a military zone with bunkers, fences and minefields, built to protect the territory occupied by Morocco from POLISARIO Front raids and to prevent the return of Sahrawi refugees to the territory.

[8] National Union of Sahrawi Women, http://www.arso.org/UNMS-1.htm

Regarding the level of exposure to violence, 19.5% (n = 50) were indirect victims (relatives of disappeared persons), and 79.5% (n = 211) were direct victims, that is, people who were directly attacked, either in bombings or demonstrations, or who were temporarily detained or made to disappear. It is necessary to bear in mind that 23.3% of the direct victims said they also had relatives who were victims of violence. That is, almost one in four direct victims said they also had relatives affected by human rights violations, especially enforced disappearances. The number of relatives affected by human rights violations varies in each case between 1 and 11 people.

Although most of the indirect victims or relatives now live in the refugee camps (64%), and are mostly women (60% vs. 40% of men who said they were relatives), 36% of the people who were both relatives and respondents lived inside the Western Sahara itself. That is, many relatives of respondents who, at some stage, had been made to disappear were in the refugee camps. These data are important because the victims who are in the camps have had no acknowledgment of the human rights violations suffered, or even access to information or to the formalities through which to search for their missing relatives. It is also necessary to take into account that many victims who were interviewed as direct victims of the Um Dreiga, Guelta, or Tifariti bombings also had relatives who had been made to disappear, especially during the exodus.

On the other hand, the proportion of direct victims residing in the Western Sahara (57.3%) is higher than those in the camps (42.7%), and there is a higher proportion of men (53.1%) than women (46.7%) among this type of victim. These differences are also relative to the fact that most direct victims became victims in the last few decades in the Western Sahara.

Most respondents refer to violations that took place between 1975 and 1979 (60.9%), whereas 11.1% refer to the 1980s, 4% refer to the period between 1990 and 1999, and 24.1% refer to the period after 2000. It is necessary to bear in mind that in 1991, most of the disappeared that remained in secret detention centers since the 1970s were released, and that in the following 2 years, a considerable amount of cases of disappeared still took place through 1993. In 1996, a group of Sahrawi prisoners of war who were still in detention were released, and from that period to the present, there have been widespread cases of arbitrary detention, especially during periods of Sahrawi demonstrations such as those in 2005 and 2010.

Instrument and Variables

Semistructured in-depth interviews were carried out. In order to systematize and quantify the information gathered by means of such interviews, a fixed questionnaire was designed. Its construction was based on (a) the review of the literature on human rights research and on psychosocial impact in such studies, especially in terms of Truth Commissions methodology (Hayner, 2002; Human Rights Office of the Archbishop of Guatemala, 1996); (b) the team's experience in other contexts about the impact of violence and its reparation; and (c) the content analysis of the first 30 in-depth interviews, with the agreement of three blind experts that allowed us to evaluate the forms of violence, consequences, coping strategies and reparation needs adapted to the context in order to validate the questionnaire. The ad hoc questionnaire was used by the interviewers to conduct the interviews and then to encode spontaneous narratives of the population according to categories that had previously been established by the team.

In relation to the types of human rights violations suffered, the questionnaire allowed for the following registers: extrajudicial executions (individual and collective), forced displacement, forced disappearance (temporary disappearance and later release, or absolute disappearance), threats, torture (physical, psychological, and sexual), shadowing and surveillance, bombing, destruction of property, violations of the right to life, physical abuse, requisition, and raids. All of these were listed with a dichotomous response format (yes/no).

Regarding the consequences of the facts, the questionnaire included the following consequences: eating or sleeping disorders, injuries, hospitalizations, stigmatization, physical or sensory disability, fractures, impact on vital projects, worsening living conditions, chronic pain, separation or abandonment, and impact on sexuality or impact on gender identity. All of these

This document is copyrighted by the American Psychological Association or one of its allied publishers.
This article is intended solely for the personal use of the individual user and is not to be disseminated broadly.

were also listed with a dichotomous response format (yes/no).

Emotional impact was measured by two items that delved on the perceived impact of what had happened and the persistence of an emotional impact in the present, in both cases with impact ranking and a dichotomous response format (yes/no).

Coping strategies listed in the questionnaire were the redefinition and provision of significance to the experience, the emotional and economic support of the family, religious coping, focusing on the family, not speaking socially or socially inhibiting the facts of violence, transforming the role played in the family, and getting organized to defend one's rights and/or reporting the human rights violation to the responsible authorities or to the justice administration. All of these had a dichotomous response format (yes/no).

In order to explore the needs of reparation, the following were included: investigating the whereabouts or fate of the victims, truth about what happened, prosecuting those responsible, compensation for victims and their families, victim protection, employment support, the returning of properties, health care, legal rehabilitation measures, educational measures for women or children, return of land, and the right to self-determination. All of these were listed with a dichotomous response format (yes/no).

In addition, the questionnaire included items aimed at collecting certain social and demographic characteristics of the respondents, namely (a) sex of the respondent, (b) place of residence (the Western Sahara vs. refugee camps), (c) level of exposure to violence (direct or indirect victim), (d) age, (e) dates of the events, (f) educational level, (g) occupation, and (h) profession. In this work, the data on the first three variables, that is, sex, place of residence, and level of exposure to violence, are included as independent variables for statistical analyses. Any differences would be referred to with a significance level of <0.05.

Procedure

Human rights research in the case of the Western Sahara faces considerable difficulties among a people divided into two geographical areas, and with very distinct social, political, and security characteristics. On the one hand, there is a context of fragmentation in the Tindouf refugee camps; on the other hand, there is a context of control and militarization within the Western Sahara itself. The search for evidence was focused on trying to have a minimum sample of testimonies relating to different periods or forms of violence. These periods were initially set up by looking up previous research and identifying key witnesses in order to better define the scope and possibilities for this research.

Before conducting the interviews, contact was established with local organizations—such as the Association for the Families of Sahrawi Prisoners and the Disappeared, the Sahrawi Association of Victims of Grave Human Rights Violations, and the *Collectif des Défenseurs Sahraouis, des Droits de l'Homme*—to assess the feasibility of such work and facilitate contacts to accede to them, build trust, and overcome the frustration and practical difficulties of such access (including the Hassenia[9] language; two zones with difficult access; and strong political or military control, especially in the Western Sahara). An initial objective of 200 testimonies was set, which was exceeded, and it was also decided that there should be a sufficiently representative presence of women in the sample,[10] so as to visualize the human rights violations suffered by them. Later, visits to the two zones were planned. Although the research itself was conducted by an independent team, it was necessary to establish relationships of trust and coordination with Sahrawi organizations in order to be able to carry out the task in both a professional and reliable manner. Furthermore, this process was aimed at supporting local capacity to improve, as far as possible, the documentation of cases and the relationship with the victims.

We used contacts that some victims had with others, and contacts with support organizations (snowball technique). The victims were contacted and consulted through Sahrawi human rights organizations and through certain contacts that the Hegoa Institute of the University

[9] Eight percent of the testimonies were taken in Hassenia, a dialect of Arabic, with the assistance of interpreters, and interviews were translated and transcribed into Castilian for later content analysis.

[10] Twenty-five percent of victims of enforced disappearance who were released in 1991 were women, which shows the enormous impact of human rights violations against women. However, most victims of the bombings, which have never been investigated, were women (Beristain & González Hidalgo, 2012, p. 86).

This document is copyrighted by the American Psychological Association or one of its allied publishers.
This article is intended solely for the personal use of the individual user and is not to be disseminated broadly.

of the Basque Country had. The interviews lasted between 1 and 4 hr, and were made as close to the place of residence of the victims as possible, as part of the research process, in order to understand the context in which they live and the human rights violations they had gone through. People were interviewed on a voluntary basis, after explaining the significance of the project. Because of fear, a few people testified under the condition that their names would be withheld.

Prior to the development of the interviews, training was conducted for the working team in terms of case documentation, including practice sessions for taking testimonies and initial supervision. All materials that had been developed for this purpose were translated into Arabic to serve as a support in the interview process and as material for human rights work.

Results

Cases of Violence

Human rights violations referred to in the study. Each person referred to between one and 11 types of human rights violations suffered, with an average of 4.6 violations per person. Of the entire sample ($N = 261$), we observed that 93.1% ($n = 244$) reported having suffered violations of the right to life. A total of 59.5% ($n = 156$) said they had been victims of arbitrary detention and enforced disappearances. Of these, 70% ($n = 112$) were direct victims who had suffered arbitrary detention or temporary disappearance and were subsequently released, and 30% ($n = 44$) were indirect victims or relatives of those missing to this day.

In addition, 54.2% ($n = 141$) of all respondents reported physical torture, 47.3% ($n = 124$) reported forced displacement, and 45.8% ($n = 120$) reported psychological torture. A third of those respondents ($n = 88$; 33.6%) reported destruction of property; 28.6% ($n = 75$) said they had been monitored and placed under personal surveillance; and 24.8% ($n = 65$) of the sample, that is, one in four respondents, were victims of the bombings. Meanwhile, 22.9% ($n = 60$) reported sexual practices in the context of arbitrary arrests and temporary disappearances in secret detention centers; one in five, or 21.4% ($n = 56$), received threats; and a similar proportion, 19.5% ($n = 51$), suffered physical abuse and endured beatings, especially when demonstrations were held or in flight. These data indicate the seriousness of human rights violations against the civilian population and the existence of several violations in each of the cases of the victims interviewed.

The incidence was lower in relation to allegations of house raids ($n = 19$; 7.3%), extrajudicial executions ($n = 10$; 3.8%), requisitions ($n = 10$; 3.8%), and extrajudicial executions in groups ($n = 1$; 0.4%).

The various forms of human rights violations recorded were subjected to a factor analysis with varimax rotation, which yielded five distinct factors accounting for 64.96% of the variance (see Table 1). This analysis was used to group the different responses, in this case, on the type of violations suffered, and to see how they relate to each other.

The first factor gathered such human rights violations as bombings, destruction, and forced displacement (27.54% explained variance [e.v.]), suffered by 56.3% of the sample ($n = 147$). The second factor integrated human rights violations characterized by torture and threats (13.19% v.e.), which were cited by 59% of respondents ($n = 154$). The third put together forced disappearance (temporary or total) and violations of the right to life (9.37% v.e.), reported by 94.3% ($n = 246$) of participants in the study. A fourth factor was defined as searches and requisitions (7.87% v.e.), and was reported by 10% of the sample ($n = 26$). Finally, the fifth factor referred to extrajudicial executions, both individual and collective (see 6.98%), reported by 3.8% of respondents ($n = 10$).

Correlation analyses were performed gathering different forms of violence in accordance with the factorial groups. To this end, the sample was dichotomized depending on whether it was about the Western Sahara (2) or the refugee camps (1), if the victim was a woman (2) or a man (1), or if they were direct victims (2) or relatives of victims (1). A positive correlation indicates that this characteristic is more present in the Western Sahara group, more present in women, or more present in the direct victims, as appropriate, and a negative correlation indicates the opposite. The results (see Table 2) show that

- the bombings, destruction of property, and forced displacement (Factor 1) comprise a type of human rights violation reported by significantly more people living in the camps ($r =$

This document is copyrighted by the American Psychological Association or one of its allied publishers.
This article is intended solely for the personal use of the individual user and is not to be disseminated broadly.

Table 1
Human Rights Violations: Factor Structure

	F1	F2	F3	F4	F5
F1. Bombings					
Bombing	0.832	−147		−143	−114
Destruction of property	0.772			0.236	−111
Forced displacement	0.716	−314		−115	0.122
F2. Torture, Surveillance, and Threats					
Monitoring and surveillance		0.809			
Threats		0.721	−311	0.184	
Physical torture	−546	0.647		0.192	
Psychological torture	−560	0.625		0.141	
Sexual violence	−331	0.584			
F3. Disappearance and Attacks Against the Right To Life					
Violation of the right to life	0.218		0.812	0.179	
Forced disappearance	−283		0.632	−213	0.187
Physical abuse		0.415	−598	0.406	
F4. Requisitions and Seizures					
Requisitions			0.117	0.744	
Raids			−244	0.698	
F5. Executions					
Extrajudicial executions					0.791
Collective extrajudicial executions (slaughters)					0.788

−.65) and by significantly more women (r = .14);

- torture, threats, and surveillance (Factor 2) comprise a repressive typology more characteristic of men (r = −.28), of the population residing in the Western Sahara (r = .61), and of those who suffered direct violence (r = .33) compared with the indirect victims or relatives; and
- raids and requisitions (Factor 4) are more frequent in the Sahrawi population (r = .13), compared with those living in camps, as they correspond to human rights violations that are more prevalent today.

Enforced disappearances and violations of the right to life (Factor 3) did not reveal differences in the level of exposure to violence, probably because in the forced disappearance category, both the temporarily missing and the permanently disappeared are integrated. There were also no differences in terms of individual or collective executions (Factor 5).

Torture in direct victims. An in-depth analysis of the forms of torture described by direct victims revealed that

1. With reference to physical torture, most of the methods used (or at least those reported by the victims) were (a) blows without the use of instruments (n = 115; 54.5%), (b) blindfolding and use of hoods (n = 96; 45.5%), (c) hanging and extreme positions (n = 91; 43.13%), and (d) blows with instruments (n = 81; 38.39%). To a lesser extent, methods including the following were used: (a) asphyxia (n = 38; 18.01%), (b) electricity on the body (n = 36; 17.06%), (c) extreme temperatures (n = 33; 15.64%), (d) burns or cuts (n = 15; 7.11%), and (e) the use of animals (n = 8; 3.8%). In general, physical torture was higher among the population living in the Western Sahara itself (83.3% vs. 16.7% of the population in the refugee camps; r = .68), among men (63.6% vs. 36.4%; r = −.27), and among those who had been victims of arbitrary detention or temporary disappearance (60.6% vs. 39.4%; r = .19).
2. With respect to torture of a psychological nature, the most frequent forms reported by direct victims were (a) insults (n = 80; 37.91%), (b) unhealthy conditions and/or deprivation of hygiene (n = 73; 34.6%), (c) insufficient food or food deprivation (n = 72; 34.12%), (d) lack of medical care (n = 69; 32.7%), and

This document is copyrighted by the American Psychological Association or one of its allied publishers.
This article is intended solely for the personal use of the individual user and is not to be disseminated broadly.

(e) overcrowding (n = 54; 25.5%). This type of psychophysical torture is linked to the conditions of detention and inhuman or degrading treatment, and took place especially in the clandestine detention centers; together with all of these forms of torture, there were also (a) threats (n = 48; 22.75%), (b) extreme individual isolation (n = 25; 11.85%), (c) being forced to see other people being tortured (n = 23; 10.9%), (d) sleep deprivation (n = 22; 10.43%), and, in a minority of cases, (e) the threat of killing relatives (n = 3; 1.42%) and (f) surveillance (n = 16; 7.58%), which was reported by some victims as part of the psychological pressure. In general, psychological torture had a higher incidence among the population residing in the Western Sahara (84.7% vs. 15.3% of the population of the refugee camps; r = .62), mainly among men (62.7% vs. 37.3%; r = −.21) and among those who were victims of arbitrary detention or temporary disappearance (61.9% vs. 38.1%; r = .19).

3. Finally, in terms of sexual torture, the most reported forms of such were (a) forced nudity (n = 42; 19.91%), (b) threats of rape or sexual violence (n = 12; 5.69%), (c) rape (n = 8; 3.79%), (d) electric shocks on breasts and/or genitals (n = 7; 3.32%), (e) torture during pregnancy (n = 5; 2.37%), (f) blows on the breasts and/or genitals (n = 3; 1.42%), (g) marks on the body (n = 2; 0.95%), (h) groping the body (n = 1; 0.47%), (i) forced abortion (n = 1; 0.47%), and (j) assault and/or oral mockery with sexual content (n = 1; 0.47%). Also reported were other forms of sexual torture such as being required to kiss the perpetrators, photographing people naked, and piercing the penis with hot needles. In general, sexual torture was higher among the population residing in the Western Sahara (90% vs. 10% of the refugee camp population; r = .41), and among those who were victims of arbitrary detention or temporary enforced disappearance (68.3% vs. 31.7%; r = .19). There were no significant differences between men and

Table 2
Type of Human Rights Violations Reported by the Population: Frequencies and Percentages

	Refugee camps		W. Sahara		Man		Woman		Family		Direct victim		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
F1. Bombings	111	90.98	36	25.90	65	49.24	82	63.57	32	64.00	115	54.50	147	56.32
F2. Torture, Surveillance, and Threats	33	27.05	121	87.05	96	72.73	58	44.96	13	26.00	141	66.82	154	59.00
F3. Disappearance	7	5.74	19	13.67	16	12.12	10	7.75	2	4.00	24	11.37	246	94.25
F4. Searches and Inspections	118	96.72	128	92.09	124	93.94	122	94.57	46	92.00	200	94.79	26	9.96
F5. Executions	3	2.46	7	5.04	4	3.03	6	4.65	3	6.00	7	3.32	10	3.83

This document is copyrighted by the American Psychological Association or one of its allied publishers.
This article is intended solely for the personal use of the individual user and is not to be disseminated broadly.

women in sexual torture violation reports.

It is necessary to bear in mind that there are numerous cases of bombing or looting among direct victims, and therefore the frequency of torture is even greater if one considers only the interviews of people who suffered arbitrary arrests and disappearances, which are the cases in which such tortures took place.

What Is To Happen After the Violence?

Psychosocial consequences of violence. In order to know the consequences that such human rights violations have had on the lives of people, various coded categories were identified according to the freely expressed account of victims on the aspects that had affected them. The interviews revealed that most of the victims experienced a worsening of their living conditions (n = 249; 95.4%) and felt that their life projects had been truncated (n = 234; 89.66%).

Over one quarter of the respondents reported consequences in terms of separation and abandonment (n = 71; 27.2%). One fifth of them reported chronic pain (n = 51; 19.54%) and hospitalization as a result of the human rights violations suffered (n = 51; 19.54%), especially as a result of torture. Furthermore, one in 10 (9.96%; n = 26) reported having had alterations in nourishment or sleep habits, and 8.81% (n = 23) reported fractures and physical or sensory disability as a result of the violence. To a lesser extent, 20 people (7.66%) reported effects on sexuality and 18 (6.90%) reported an impact on their gender identity. Finally, a minority (n = 12; 4.60%) said they had to endure social stigmatization as a result of violence. It is necessary to take into account that the frequencies of the consequences were established in accordance with the spontaneous testimonies of victims, and therefore they show the most salient or relevant consequences for the victims, all of which is possible to collect by means of semi-structured interviews.

In order to more adequately assess how to group the different consequences identified, a factor analysis was carried out. This analysis yielded four distinct factors that accounted for 60.08% of the variance. The first, the psychophysical consequences on health (justified by 19.67% v.e.), gathered consequences of physical or emotional trauma, fractures, chronic pain, hospitalization, physical or sensory disabilities; and/or eating or sleeping disorders. These consequences were reported by 45.8% of respondents. The second (18.17% v.e.) referred to those items that assessed vital impact and a worsening of living conditions, reported by 95.8% of the sample. The third factor (11.14% v.e.) put together items aimed at explaining social isolation, in terms of abandonment or social stigmatization, reported by 30.7% of the interviewees. The fourth factor (11.08% v.e.) collected those items that measured the impact on sexuality and gender identities, mentioned by 10.34% of participants in the study (see Table 3).

Analyzing the differences in terms of sociodemographic characteristics of the population surveyed, we found that

- The population in the Western Sahara made more reference to consequences of a psychophysical character (Factor 1; r = .19) and impact on sexuality and gender identity (Factor 4; r = .14), since direct repression, especially that as a result of torture, affected them the most, whereas the population in the refugee camps referred more to consequences of social isolation, abandonment, and stigmatization (Factor 3; r = −.26; see Table 4).
- Also, women (r = .24) and indirect victims (r = −.35), most vulnerable population in refugee camps, made more reference to social isolation (Factor 3; see Table 4).

Emotional impact at the time and now. As for emotional impact, 92.72% of the population reported having suffered a very strong impact when the human rights violations took place, and significantly so among the direct victims (n = 201; 95.95%) compared with relatives (n = 41; 82%; r = .20). Sex of the participants and place of residence factors showed no significant differences.

The affected participants were also asked whether they continued to suffer an emotional impact even today. The data show that 78.16% (n = 204) of the sample was still affected by those human rights violations, more significantly so among the population living in the refugee camps (n = 102; 83.61%) compared with the proportion of the population in the Western Sahara (n = 102; 73.38%; r = −.12), which is somewhat smaller. These differences in the high level of concern showed by all the victims is striking in that, in the refugee camps, the time elapsed since such serious human rights violations took place is many years,

This document is copyrighted by the American Psychological Association or one of its allied publishers.
This article is intended solely for the personal use of the individual user and is not to be disseminated broadly.

Table 3
Psychosocial Consequences: Factor Structure

	F1	F2	F3	F4
F1. Psychophysical Consequences				
Wounds	0.685	−114	0.103	0.094
Chronic pain	0.649	−122	0.133	0.250
Hospitalizations	0.552	0.280	−448	0.094
Physical or sensory disability	0.527	0.162	−208	0.157
Eating or sleeping disorders	0.517	−395	0.482	−121
Fractures	0.462	−085	−407	0.316
F2. Vital Impact				
Life projects truncated	−025	0.759	0.217	0.384
Worsening living conditions	0.028	0.673	0.388	0.421
F3. Social Isolation				
Separation, abandonment	−152	0.146	0.551	−.050
Social stigma	0.324	−438	0.507	0.188
F4. Sexuality and Gender Identity				
Gender identity	0.348	0.407	0.126	−659
Sexuality	0.459	0.399	0.020	−623

whereas in the Western Sahara, human rights violations continue today, and the level of anxiety is somewhat higher in the refugee camps. This is likely because of the impact of the forced disappearances and bombings that have not had any kind of recognition, and the conditions of further neglect and lack of organization of the victims in the refugee camps compared with that of those in the Western Sahara, where they still have to face conditions of violence. However, they also have a higher degree of organization and a sense of resistance that is probably more diluted in the victims that are in the camps. It also shows the importance of psychosocial care programs in the two cases, and the need for assistance of victims on both sides. Sex and the level of exposure to violence factors showed no significant differences.

Finally, in relation to the perception of a community impact, 77.4% (n = 202) of the respondents reported that human rights violations had had a major community impact, significantly so for people in the refugee camps (n = 109; 89.3%) compared with the population in the Western Sahara itself (n = 93; 66.9%; r = −.27). Sex and the level of exposure to violence factors yielded no significant differences.

Consequences, emotional impact, and types of violence: Correlation between variables. Finally, we wanted to know the relationship between the consequences of violence, its emotional impact (past and present), and the type of human rights violations suffered. For this purpose, a correlation analysis was performed, which showed that people who had been tortured experienced a greater emotional impact at the time of the events (r = .21), whereas being severely affected even today was related to being a victim of bombings and the forced displacement linked to the bombings (r = .15). In addition, a greater emotional impact at the time of the incident was positively related to the fact of having suffered psychological and physical consequences (Factor 1; r = .229) and vital impact (Factor 2; r = .45). Finally, the fact of being hard hit even today was related to the fact of having had more consequences of a psychophysical (Factor 1; r = .19) or vital impact type (Factor 2; r = .25), or related to isolation or lack of social support (Factor 3; r = .17), and a bigger impact on sexuality and gender identity (Factor 4; r = .14), as well as a greater emotional impact at the time when the human rights violations took place (r = .45).

Facing Violence and Its Consequences

The ways of coping, that is, what the victims have had to do in order to confront the human rights violations or the consequences thereof, show the importance that different aspects or strategies have had for Sahrawi victims.

The most frequent coping strategy reported by Sahrawi victims was the attribution of significance to what had happened. Among those

This document is copyrighted by the American Psychological Association or one of its allied publishers.
This article is intended solely for the personal use of the individual user and is not to be disseminated broadly.

This document is copyrighted by the American Psychological Association or one of its allied publishers.
This article is intended solely for the personal use of the individual user and is not to be disseminated broadly.

Table 4
Psychosocial Consequences (Frequencies and Percentages): Social Anchors

	Refugee camps		W. Sahara		Men		Women		Relatives		Direct victims		Total	
	n	%	*n*	%	*n*	%	*n*	%	*n*	%	*n*	%	*n*	%
F1. Psychophysical Consequences	44	36.10	76	54.70	62	47.00	58	45.00	18	36.00	102	48.30	120	45.98
F2. Vital Impact	118	96.70	132	95.00	128	97.00	122	94.60	48	96.00	202	95.70	250	95.79
F3. Social Isolation	53	43.40	27	19.40	26	19.70	54	41.90	32	64.00	48	22.70	80	30.65
F4. Sexuality and Gender	7	5.70	20	14.40	11	8.30	16	12.40	5	10.00	22	10.40	27	10.34

who made mention of the ways they had to confront human rights violations and their consequences, 36.02% ($n = 94$) mentioned efforts to provide a political meaning to the experience. One quarter of respondents ($n = 66$; 25.29%) reported what had happened, with this being especially true among victims of events that took place in more recent years, whereas 18. 01% ($n = 47$) indicated that they focused on their families as a way of coping with the situation. Meanwhile, 13.41% ($n = 35$) of the respondents reported having confronted the situation by resorting to religion, 11.9% took charge of the emotional and economic support of the family ($n = 31$), and 4.21% ($n = 11$) reported having transformed their roles within the families. Only nine people (3.45%) reported having chosen not to talk about what happened as a kind of adaptive avoidance for coping with a hostile environment. Nobody was able to obtain psychosocial support as a form of confronting the consequences of the human rights violations suffered. The latter is significant because it shows how, in general, Sahrawi victims have had to face the consequences of human rights violations in solitude and have not had opportunities to obtain specific psychosocial support.

All of the coping strategies were subjected to a factor analysis that yielded three factors accounting for 53.89% of the variance. The first (24.36% v.e.) refers to a type of family-focused coping (together with its emotional and economic support), religion, and the search for a significance for what had happened. The second (15.14% v.e.) puts together social distribution or sharing with the social reorganization of family roles. Finally, the third factor (14.38% v.e.) groups the items related to reporting the human rights violations and the organization of the defense of such rights (see Table 5).

Analyzing the differences in terms of the respondents sociodemographic characteristics, there is a type of coping characterized by the organization and conducting of human rights violation reporting (Factor 3), which occurs significantly among the victims in the Western Sahara itself ($r =. 39$) compared with those living in the refugee camps. In addition, a family-type coping of a religious character (Factor 1) is more frequent among women in comparison with men ($r = .13$). The other factors did not show significant differences (see Table 6).

Table 5
Coping Strategies: Factor Structure

	F1	F2	F3
F1. Family and Religion			
Economic affective and family support	0.701	0.415	
Focusing on the family	0.622	0.487	
Religious coping	0.642	−179	
Providing a significance to the HR violations	0.680		0.176
F2. Social Sharing and Family Role Transformation			
Not speaking about the HR violations		−252	
Transformation of the role the victim has in the family	−136	0.806	0.173
F3. Reporting and Advocacy			
Getting organized to defend their rights	0.240	−262	0.745
Victims reporting HR violations	−150	0.197	0.748

Needs and Demands for Reparations

There was also a question asked at the end of the interviews about what measures would be appropriate to repair the damage. Although human rights violations, torture, bombings, and forced disappearances imply irreparable realities, the right to reparation for victims is something that should be considered as an obligation of the State (De Greiff, 2006; Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, 2002; United Nations General Assembly, 2005). For this purpose, it is essential to take into account the perceptions, needs, and participation of victims.

The following frequencies refer to the respondents' spontaneous narration, as they were not specifically asked about the importance of the various possible measures. That is, their replies show the most relevant aspects in the victims' spontaneous explanations. The results show that for almost half of those interviewed (n = 125; 47.89%), reparation is part of a more general demand for the right to self-determination of the Sahrawi people and the possibility that those responsible for human rights violations are brought to justice (n = 97; 37.16%). One third of the victims interviewed (n = 82; 31.42%) referred to measures directed toward getting to know the truth, whereas 16.48% (n = 43) considered that reparation meant having the land and territory returned to the population. For 12.26% (n = 32), reparation was linked to the investigation of the whereabouts or fate of victims, which is the main demand of the relatives of the disappeared, whereas 10.34% (n = 27) referred to economic measures such as compensation payments. To a lesser extent, other spontaneously cited measures were health care (n = 18; 6.9%), the protection of victims (n = 14; 5.36%), the return of property (n = 12; 4.6%), psychosocial care (n = 11; 4.21%), legal changes (n = 10; 3.83%), employment support (n = 8; 3.07%), forms of remembrance for victims (n = 8; 3.07%), legal rehabilitation measures (n = 5; 1.9%), and educational measures for the victims or their sons and/or daughters (n = 3; 1.15%).

The corresponding factor analysis of these responses grouped five factors that accounted for 61.15% of the variance (see Table 7). The first (24.54% v.e.) focused on health measures, protection, and memory for victims, reported by 11.1% of respondents. The second (10.12% v.e.) focused on social and educational rehabilitation and integration measures, mentioned by 4.6% of people. The third (9.61% v.e.) included measures linked to the return of the land and the demand for self-determination of the Sahrawi people, reported by 48.9% of the sample. A fourth factor (8.88% v.e.) placed together truth and justice-related matters, which were claimed by 51.1% of participants in the study. Finally, the last factor (7.97% v.e.) collected demands for material reparation, such as compensations or restitution of seized property, which were demanded by 13.7% of respondents.

Analyzing the differences in terms of the population's social anchors, once the items had been grouped according to the factor solution, one can see that (see Table 8)

• reparation measures focusing on victims (Factor 1; r = .18) and those of an economic

This document is copyrighted by the American Psychological Association or one of its allied publishers.
This article is intended solely for the personal use of the individual user and is not to be disseminated broadly.

This document is copyrighted by the American Psychological Association or one of its allied publishers.
This article is intended solely for the personal use of the individual user and is not to be disseminated broadly.

Table 6
Coping Strategies (Frequencies and Percentages): Social Anchors

	Refugee camps		W. Sahara		Men		Women		Relatives		Direct victim		Total	
	n	%	*n*	%	*n*	%	*n*	%	*n*	%	*n*	%	*n*	%
F1. Family and Religion	63	51.64	59	42.45	53	40.15	69	53.49	25	50.00	97	45.97	122	46.7
F2. Reporting and Defense – Human Rights	19	15.57	75	53.96	54	40.91	40	31.01	19	38.00	75	35.55	94	36.02
F3 Social Distribution and Family Role Transformation	120	98.36	132	94.96	127	96.21	125	96.90	50	100.00	202	95.73	252	96.55

nature (Factor 5; $r = .15$) are mentioned more by the population living in the Western Sahara itself, whereas those residing in the refugee camps make significantly more reference to measures of self-determination and returning the land (Factor 3; $r = -.17$);

• woman, compared with men, are those who place the most importance on measures consisting of self-determination and returning the land (Factor 3; $r = .16$); and

• direct victims make more reference to victim-centered measures (Factor 1; $r = .14$), whereas relatives, especially in the case of the disappeared, make more reference to reparation measures focusing on truth and justice (Factor 4; $r = -.26$).

Discussion

As is clear from the results of this study, most of the affected population suffered violations of the right to life. Among them, forced disappearance, forced displacement and exile, as well as physical and psychological torture are all modalities of human rights violations that have been commonplace among the Sahrawis victimized by Moroccan forces in the Western Sahara conflict. The human rights violations analyzed in this work were carried out by perpetrators that are, or have been, members of the military and security forces of the State of Morocco; the vast majority of such crimes were committed against the civilian population and they have come in cycles of violence, with a collective dimension affecting many people and families who became victims. In most cases, those human rights violations were committed following a planned modus operandi with the coordinated intervention of different security forces. For example, most of the temporary disappearances in clandestine centers were carried out by the army and the gendarmerie. Such centers were guarded by rapid intervention police forces and the so-called auxiliary forces (Beristain & González Hidalgo, 2012).

These crimes have not taken place in an isolated manner, but by analyzing this assortment of human rights violations, we can see that there is a relationship between them. It is also possible to see that the different types of human rights violations arising from the factor analyses differ depending on their population-related social and demographic profiles. Whereas the

Table 7
Reparation Needs: Factor Structure

	F1	F2	F3	F4	F5
F1. Victim Services					
Psychosocial care	0.814	0.336	0.141	0.096	0.057
Forms of memory of victims	0.729	−044	0.111	0.129	−020
Protection of victims	0.682	0.233	0.085	0.125	−159
Health care	0.679	0.048	0.072	0.018	0.105
F2. Rehabilitation and Restoration					
Legal rehabilitation measures	0.178	0.788	0.069	0.051	−024
Educational measures for victims or their children	−061	0.664	−031	0.109	−034
Employment support	0.391	0.627	0.125	−117	0.111
F3. Self-Determination and Territory					
Returning of the land	0.212	0.102	0.780	0.061	0.089
Self-determination	0.138	0.005	0.769	−059	−175
F4. Truth and Justice					
Knowledge of the truth	0.211	−044	0.022	0.772	0.016
Investigation of the whereabouts or fate of the victims	−271	0.202	0.329	0.630	0.253
Prosecuting those responsible	0.274	0.095	−291	0.591	−167
F5. Real e Indeminizaciones					
Compensation measures	−073	0.067	−133	0.010	0.826
Returning properties	0.459	−156	0.144	0.021	0.526

bombings, destruction of property, and forced displacement are types of human rights violations reported more often by women who mostly live in the refugee camps, torture, threats, and surveillance are forms of violence that have been primarily described by men, by those who directly suffered violence, and by the victims who still resist within the Western Sahara. The resident population of the Western Sahara made significantly more reference to physical and psychological consequences, as well as to the impact on their sexuality and gender identity (the Western Sahara is where most people directly experienced violence in terms of torture, threats, and surveillance, in contrast to the population in the refugee camps). Meanwhile, the population in the refugee camps (represented mostly by women and relatives of disappeared detainees) referred mostly to consequences associated with forms of violence, such as forced displacement and bereavement, in the form of abandonment and social isolation, in a similar manner to what was described by Boehnlein et al. (2004) and Bello (2004). They also referred to a greater emotional damage that persists even today, in a manner similar to other studies that described a greater traumatic impact in this population (Fazel et al., 2005; Marshall et al., 2005; Silove et al., 2002; Vojvoda et al., 2008).

Over half of the Sahrawi population has sought refuge in Algeria since 1976, but since then, they have remained in a state of transience and emergency for 37 years. The refugees arrived in Algeria after a long exodus through the desert, they were also subjected to plunder and bombings, and many had left behind dead or disappeared relatives. Hundreds of people died in the bombings at Um Dreiga or Guelta, and there has been no recognition of what happened, or of the dignity of the victims, or of the responsibility of the perpetrators. The refugee population is supported by international solidarity and humanitarian aid provided by various governments and civil society organizations from different countries, but the situation has been considered more as a problem of humanitarian aid than as a situation of grave human rights violations. The results of this study thus reveal the differential impact on victims who are in the refugee camps separated from their families and uprooted from their land, as well as the conditions of uncertainty and tentativeness that have been maintained with the passage of time.

This document is copyrighted by the American Psychological Association or one of its allied publishers.
This article is intended solely for the personal use of the individual user and is not to be disseminated broadly.

This document is copyrighted by the American Psychological Association or one of its allied publishers.
This article is intended solely for the personal use of the individual user and is not to be disseminated broadly.

Table 8
Needs for Reparation (Frequencies and Percentages): Social Anchors

	Refugee camps		W. Sahara		Men		Women		Relatives		Direct victim		Total	
	n	%	*n*	%	*n*	%	*n*	%	*n*	%	*n*	%	*n*	%
F1. Victim care	6	4.92	23	16.55	13	9.85	16	12.40	1	2.00	28	13.27	29	11.11
F2. Rehabilitation and Reintegration	4	3.28	8	5.76	5	3.79	7	5.43	3	6.00	9	4.27	12	4.60
F3. Land and Self-Determination	71	58.20	57	41.01	54	40.91	74	57.36	22	44.00	106	50.24	128	49.04
F4. Truth and Justice	57	46.72	78	56.12	68	51.52	67	51.94	39	78.00	96	45.50	135	51.72
F5. Properties and Indemnities	10	8.20	26	18.71	21	15.91	15	11.63	7	14.00	29	13.74	36	13.79

It is necessary to bear in mind that, in general, individual testimonies are not a good source of information about collective impacts, because people tend to focus more on their own personal affectations. That means, in the case of the Western Sahara, individual affectation is seen as part of an attack on a person's group, which is, in this case, the Sahrawi people. They also show the sense of loss and involvement as a people, with a strong prominence even today, because this is an unresolved conflict that has dragged on for many years and this has increased the feeling of individual anxiety.

Regarding coping strategies, it appears that most of the population socially shared accounts about what happened and changed roles within the families; nearly half recurred to a coping strategy based on family (see McMichael & Manderson, 2004) and religion (mainly women), as previous studies have described (Halcón et al., 2004; Khawaja et al., 2008). Finally, one third of those interviewed chose a collective form of coping by means of getting organized in order to defend their rights as victims (especially among the population resisting within the Western Sahara itself), and these people have exhibited psychosocial benefits in previous studies (Başoğlu et al., 1997; Becker & Lira, 1989; Goodman, 2004; Gorman et al., 2003; Punamaki-Gitai, 1990).

Within the camps, this collective coping has had a strong foundation on the work carried out by women. These are women who were carrying their children and their few belongings, and fled through the desert and were victims of bombings, while the men joined the armed resistance of the POLISARIO Front. It was the women who kept the refugee camps, cared for their families, or reversed their traditional roles in the maintenance of their collective project. This role adopted by women has also been found in other contexts, in which they were responsible for family care (Goldenberg, 1990; Lunde & Ortmann, 1990) and for the collective memory of the community (Leydesdorff, Passerini, & Thompson, 1996).

Within the camps, Sahrawi women have protected their livelihoods and those of their families, and that of their people as from their traditional roles in Sahrawi culture, while also questioning such roles, as is the case of the

women in the National Union of Sahrawi Women in the refugee camps.

However, this resilience is also burdened by the 37 years that the refugee population has remained in the desert, abandoned to a fate determined by the lack of international commitment to support a solution based on United Nations resolutions and international law, including respect for human rights within the Western Sahara and the return of refugees.

In recent years, there has been a growing debate about the processes of truth, justice, reparation, and reconciliation after violent conflicts or dictatorships in different parts of the world (Inter American Institute of Human Rights, 2011). All of these situations have been quite common in Latin America, Europe, and Africa over the past two decades. Today, many of these issues are on the international agenda in countries in North Africa and in the transition processes in the Arab world. In these processes, there has been talk of "transitional justice," that is, the role that truth, justice, and reparation policies have in political transitions after armed conflicts or dictatorships.

Data from this study show that the principal way to repair what has happened goes through a broader demand for the prevention of human rights violations in the future, more respect for human rights and the application of international law, including the right to self-determination and the right of return and territorial restitution, and making those responsible accountable for the human rights violations they committed. Other recurrent demands are for truth and the return of land. Other slightly less frequent demands are forms of reparation associated with victims' care, measures for their rehabilitation and reintegration, or even economic measures or return of property. These lower frequencies are probably related to the different level of reflection on what it means to redress victims who have not participated in human rights groups, and less knowledge of the different dimensions of the various meanings of reparation, as well as a higher projection of the political aspects of the reparation and the resolution of the conflict as the most important measures for the victims. The differences between the two places have to do with the fact that of victims temporary disappearances and arbitrary detention are in the territory of Western Sahara, whereas the victims of bombings and exile are in the camps, although there are victims of forced disappearances in both places. In the former case, they have occasionally made claims for reparation to Morocco, whereas the population living in the camps has not been able to do this because of their status and the lack of recognition of the human rights violations they have suffered.

In the case of the Western Sahara, these concepts are still in question. Before the death of Hassan II and after the enthronement of King Mohammed VI in 1999, Morocco began a process of internal change that continues to this day. Political parties have been legalized, parliamentary elections have been held, and new spaces have been opened for political participation and freedom of expression, and some opponents of the regime are now even government officials. In addition, the Moroccan state has launched certain compensation and recognition policies for victims of the Hassan II regime, but the role of such policies in the Sahrawi population has been much smaller, and has not responded to international standards of investigation and search for the disappeared. There has been no punishment for those responsible, nor has there been any explicit acknowledgment of human rights violations committed in the Western Sahara. This, together with the lack of guarantees of nonrepetition, has made the continuation of human rights violations against the Sahrawi population possible. However, Sahrawi human rights organizations continue being illegal, military trials are still being held against civilians, and freedom of expression is denied to Sahrawi organizations (Amnesty International, 1996; Human Rights Watch, 2008, 2009). The blocking and frustration of political solutions, without there even being any monitoring of the human rights situation by the United Nations, is a breeding ground for despair and a threat to the situation in the region, while the conditions of exclusion and marginalization of group demands can induce extreme behaviors (Finkel & Moghaddam, 2005; Staub & Bar-Tal, 2003; Staub et al., 2005; Taylor & Moghaddam, 1994) that hinder any peace processes.

This document is copyrighted by the American Psychological Association or one of its allied publishers.
This article is intended solely for the personal use of the individual user and is not to be disseminated broadly.

Therefore, and taking into account the results of this study, we suggest that certain actions be taken in order to lead the current ceasefire toward an effective peace process: (a) the application of international law, as expressed in numerous United Nations resolutions; (b) the demilitarization of everyday life in Western Sahara, and the verification of the situation of civil and political, economic, social, and cultural rights by independent international actors; (c) the creation of specific mechanisms of transitional justice (exhumation processes, research and acknowledgment of the truth, acknowledgment of responsibilities and a collective memory for the prevention of violence, the acknowledgment of the right to return, compensation for damages, as well as the setting up of rehabilitation and health programs); and (d) measures that contribute to improve relationships in the Western Sahara, facilitating spaces for dialogue and projects that promote the social integration of the population.

Conclusion

The refugee population and the women were the main victims of the bombings, displacement, and destruction of property, whereas the population living in the Western Sahara, especially men, have been further affected by torture, threats, and surveillance. In addition, the population living in the Western Sahara has suffered more psychophysical consequences, whereas the refugee population, the women, and the relatives of victims of forced disappearances reported further consequences, such as social isolation, abandonment, and stigmatization. The emotional impact that persists today is very important in both zones, but is somewhat higher among the refugee population that places a greater emphasis on the harm suffered by the community. This impact is related to having been victims of bombings and forced displacement, with the loss of the territory, and with having suffered greater psychophysical consequences and a lack of social support.

Religious and family coping strategies are characteristic among women in contrast with men. The organization and conduct of complaints is significant among the people in the Western Sahara, who also demand more economic reparation and victim-centered measures, whereas the refugee population and the women make significant reference to measures such as the returning of land and self-determination as a form of repair. On the other hand, compared with direct victims, the relatives of the disappeared make more reference to measures focused on truth and justice, such as truth and return of the remains so as to be able to cope with the grief stemming from loss and uncertainty.[11] Considering these impacts, these ways of coping and these demands are to be a central aspect of peace building in the case of the Western Sahara.

[11] After conducting this research, a team from the University of the Basque Country found two graves containing the first eight disappeared people to be found in the history of the conflict. These civilian casualties were Bedouins, found with firearm wounds that are typical of extrajudicial executions, and their identities, including two of whom were children, were confirmed by means of DNA testing. This has reenacted the demands by relatives of the disappeared for the localization of their loved ones as part of measures of respect for human rights (Beristain & Etxeberria, 2013).

References

Alonso, F. J. (2001). Intervención oral en la IV Comisión de las Naciones Unidas Sobre la Descolonización del Sáhara Occidental [Oral intervention in the IV United Nations Commission on the Decolonization of the Western Sahara]. *El vuelo del Ícaro, 1,* 27–30.

Amnesty International. (1996). *Morocco/Western Sahara: Kelthoum Ahmed Labid El-Ouanat, Prisoner of Conscience*. London, United Kingdom. Report number: AI: MDE 29/03/96.

Amnesty International. (2010). *Rights trampled-Protests, violence and repression in Western Sahara*. London, United Kingdom. Report number: AI: MDE 29/019/2010.

Badía, A., Fernández, X., & Carranza, S. (1999). *La cuestión del Sáhara Occidental ante la Organización de las Naciones Unidas* [The question of the Western Sahara in front the United Nations Organization]. Madrid, Spain: Universidad Carlos III de Madrid.

Baró, I. (1990). *Psicología social de la guerra: Trauma y terapia* [Social psychology of the war: Trauma and therapy]. San Salvador, El Salvador: Editorial of the Catholic University.

Bar-Tal, D., & Bennink, G. (2004). The nature of reconciliation as an outcome and as a process. In

This document is copyrighted by the American Psychological Association or one of its allied publishers.
This article is intended solely for the personal use of the individual user and is not to be disseminated broadly.

Y. Bar-Siman-Tov (Ed.), *From conflict resolution to reconciliation* (pp. 11–38). New York, NY: Oxford University Press. doi:10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195166439.003.0002

Basic Principles and Guidelines on the Right to a Remedy and Reparation for Victims of Gross Violations of International Human Rights Law and Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law, A/RES/60/147, United Nations, Resolution General Assembly (2005).

Başoğlu, M. (1992). *Torture and its consequences: Current treatment approaches*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Başoğlu, M., Mineka, S., Paker, M., Aker, T., Livanou, M., & Gok, S. (1997). Psychological preparedness for trauma as a protective factor in survivors of torture. *Psychological Medicine, 27,* 1421–1433. doi:10.1017/S0033291797005679

Becker, D., & Lira, E. (1989). *Derechos Humanos: Todo es según el dolor con que se mira* [Human rights: Everything is according to the pain with which it looks]. Santiago de Chile, Chile: ILAS.

Bello, M. N. (2004). *Desplazamiento forzado. Dinámicas de guerra, exclusión y desarraigo* [Forced displacement. Dynamics of war, exclusion and uprooting]. Bogota, Colombia: Universidad Nacional de Colombia.

Beristain, C. (2005). Reconciliación y democratización en América Latina: Un análisis regional. Papel de las políticas de Verdad, Justicia y Reparación [Reconciliation and democratization in Latin America: A regional analysis. Truth, justice and repair]. In Inter American Institute of Human Rights. (Ed.), *Verdad, justicia y reparación. Desafíos para la democracia y la convivencia social* (pp. 55–84). San José, Costa Rica: International IDEA.

Beristain, C. (2009). *Diálogos sobre la reparación. Qué reparar en los casos de violaciones de derechos humanos* [Dialogs on the repair. What to repair in the cases of violations of human rights]. Quito, Ecuador: M° de Justicia y Derechos Humanos.

Beristain, C. M., & Etxeberria, F. (2013). Meheris: A possibility of hope. *Mass graves and the first Sahrawi disappeared who have been identified: Summary*. Retrieved from http://biblioteca.hegoa.ehu.es/system/ebook2s/19546/original/Meheris_SUMMARY_Ingl_s_Franc_s_rabe_.pdf?1382022858

Beristain, C. M., & González Hidalgo, E. (2012). *El Oasis de la Memoria. Memoria histórica y violaciones de Derechos Humanos en el Sáhara Occidental* [The oasis of memory. Historical memory and human rights violations in the Western Sahara]. Bilbao, Spain: Hegoa.

Boehnlein, J. K., Kinzie, D., Sekiya, U., Riley, C., Pou, K., & Rosborough, B. (2004). A ten-year treatment outcome study of traumatized Cambodian refugees. *Journal of Nervous and Mental Diseases, 192,* 658–663. doi:10.1097/01.nmd.0000142033.79043.9d

Bojholm, S., Foldspang, A., Juhler, M., Kastrup, M., Skylv, G., & Somnier, F. (1992). *Monitoring the health and rehabilitation of torture survivors*. Copenhagen, Denmark: Rehabilitation and Research Centre for Torture Victims.

Brune, M., Haasen, C., Krausz, M., Yagdiran, O., Bustos, E., & Eisenman, D. (2002). Belief systems as coping factors for traumatized refugees: A pilot study. *European Psychiatry, 17,* 451–458. doi:10.1016/S0924-9338(02)00708-3

Chirot, D., & Seligman, M. E. P. (Eds.) (2001). *Ethnopolitical warfare: Causes, consequences, and possible solutions*. Washington, DC: APA Press.

De Greiff, P. (2006). *The handbook of reparations*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Doise, W., Spini, D., & Clèmence, A. (1998). Human rights studied as social representations in a cross-national context. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 28,* 1–29.

Fazel, M., Wheeler, J., & Danesh, J. (2005). Prevalence of serious mental disorder in 7000 refugees resettled in Western countries: A systematic review. *The Lancet, 365,* 1309–1314. doi:10.1016/S0140-6736(05)61027-6

Ferrer Lloret, J. (2001). *La aplicación del principio de autodeterminación de los pueblos: Sáhara Occidental y Timor Oriental* [The application of the principle of self-determination of the peoples: Western Sahara and East Timor]. Alicante, Spain: Universidad de Alicante.

Finkel, N. J., & Moghaddam, F. M. (2005). *The psychology of rights and duties: Empirical contributions and normative commentaries*. Washington, DC: APA Press.

Gibson, J. L. (2004). *Overcoming apartheid: Can truth reconcile a divided nation?* New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.

Goldenberg, M. (1990). Different horrors, same hell: Women remembering the Holocaust. In R. Gottlieb (Ed.), *Thinking the unthinkable, meaning of the Holocaust* (pp. 150–166). New York, NY: Paulist Press.

Goodman, J. H. (2004). Coping with trauma and hardship among unaccompanied refugee youths from Sudan. *Qualitative Health Research, 14,* 1177–1196. doi:10.1177/1049732304265923

Gorman, D., Brough, M., & Ramirez, E. (2003). How young people from culturally and linguistically diverse background experience mental health: Some insights for mental health nurses. *International Journal of Mental Health Nursing, 12,* 194–202. doi:10.1046/j.1440-0979.2003.00289.x

This document is copyrighted by the American Psychological Association or one of its allied publishers.
This article is intended solely for the personal use of the individual user and is not to be disseminated broadly.

Halcón, L. L., Robertson, C., Savik, K., Johnson, D. R., Spring, M. A., Butcher, J. N., . . . Jaranson, J. M. (2004). Trauma and coping in Somali and Oromo refugee youth. *Journal of Adolescent Health, 35,* 17–25. doi:10.1016/j.jadohealth.2003.08.005

Hayner, P. (2002). *Unspeakable truths: Transitional justice and the challenge of truth commissions*. London, UK: Routledge.

Human Rights Office of the Archbishop of Guatemala. (1996). *Metodología para una Comisión de la verdad en Guatemala* [Methodology for a commission of the truth in Guatemala]. Guatemala City, Guatemala: Author.

Human Rights Watch. (2008). *Human rights in Western Sahara and in the Tindouf refugee camps: Morocco/Western Sahara/Algeria*. New York, NY: Author.

Human Rights Watch. (2009). *Freedom to create associations: A Declarative Regimen in Name Only*. New York, NY: Author.

Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, A/RES/2105(XX), United Nations, Resolution General Assembly (1965).

Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, A/RES/2189(XXI), United Nations, Resolution General Assembly (1966).

Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, A/RES/2326(XXII), United Nations, Resolution General Assembly (1967).

Inter American Institute of Human Rights. (2011). *Contribution of truth, justice, and reparation policies to Latin American democracies*. San José, Costa Rica: IIHR.

Kelman, H. C. (2005). Building trust among enemies: The central challenge for international conflict resolution. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 29,* 639–650. doi:10.1016/j.ijintrel.2005.07.011

Kelman, H. C. (2008). Reconciliation from a social-psychological perspective. In A. Nadler, T. E. Malloy, & J. D. Fisher (Eds.), *The social psychology of intergroup reconciliation* (pp. 15–32). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Khawaja, N. G., White, K., Schweitzer, R., & Greenslade, J. (2008). Difficulties and coping strategies of Sudanese refugees: A qualitative approach. *Transcultural Psychiatry, 45,* 489–512. doi:10.1177/1363461508094678

Kira, I. (2002). Torture assessment and treatment: The wraparound approach. *Traumatology, 8,* 54–86. doi:10.1177/153476560200800203

Kordon, D., Edelman, L., Lagos, D., & Kersner, D. (1995). *La impunidad: Una perspectiva psicosocial y clínica* [The impunity: A psicosocial and clínical perspective]. Buenos Aires, Argentina: Sudamericana.

Leydesdorff, S., Passerini, L., & Thompson, P. (1996). *Gender and memory*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Lunde, I., & Ortmann, J. (1990). Prevalence and sequelae of sexual torture. *Lancet, 336,* 289–291. doi:10.1016/0140-6736(90)91814-Q

Malley-Morrison, K., Mercurio, A., & Twose, G. (Eds.). (2013). *International handbook of peace and reconciliation*. New York, NY: Springer. doi:10.1007/978-1-4614-5933-0

Mariño Menéndez, F. (2003). *El Conflicto del Sahara Occidental* [Western Sahara conflict]. Madrid, Spain: Universidad Carlos III de Madrid- Ministerio de Defensa.

Marshall, G. N., Schell, T. L., Elliott, M. N., Berthold, S. M., & Chun, C. A. (2005). Mental health of Cambodian refugees 2 decades after resettlement in the United States. *JAMA: Journal of the American Medical Association, 294,* 571–579. doi:10.1001/jama.294.5.571

McMichael, C., & Manderson, L. (2004). Somali women and well-being: Social networks and social capital among immigrant women in Australia. *Human Organization, 63,* 88–99.

Moghaddam, F. M., & Marsella, A. J. (2004). *Understanding terrorism: Psychosocial roots, consequences, and interventions*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

North, C. S., & Pfefferbaum, B. (2002). Research on the mental health effects of terrorism. *JAMA: Journal of the American Medical Association, 288,* 633–636. doi:10.1001/jama.288.5.633

Omar, S., Murphy, J., El Jalil, L., & Hamoudi, E. (2008). *El papel de la sociedad civil en la construcción de paz en el Sahara Occidental* [Civil society in the construction of peace in the Western Sahara]. Barcelona, Spain: Icaria/Universidad Jaume I/Fundación Cultura de Paz-CEIPAZ.

Punamaki-Gitai, R. L. (1990). *Political violence and psychosocial responses: A study of Palestinian women, children and ex-prisoners*. Helsinki, Finland: Tampere Peace Research Institute.

Pyszczynski, T., Solomon, S., & Greenberg, J. (2003). *In the wake of 9/11: The psychology of terror*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association. doi:10.1037/10478-000

Question of Territories Under Portuguese Administration, A/RES/2107(XX), United Nations, Resolution General Assembly (1965).

Question of Western Sahara, A/RES/35/19, United Nations, Resolution General Assembly (1980).

Reis, C., Ahmed, A., Amowitz, L., Kushner, A., Elahi, M., & Iacopino, V. (2004). Physician participation in human rights abuses in southern Iraq. *JAMA: Journal of the American Medical Association, 291,* 1480–1486. doi:10.1001/jama.291.12.1480

This document is copyrighted by the American Psychological Association or one of its allied publishers.
This article is intended solely for the personal use of the individual user and is not to be disseminated broadly.

Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court. (2002). U.N. Doc. A/CONF.183/9. Retrieved from http://legal.un.org/icc/statute/romefra.htm

Ruiz, M. (2003). El largo camino jurídico y político hacia el "Plan Baker II": ¿Estación de termino? [The long juridical and political way towards the "Plan Baker II": Is it the last station?] *Anuario Mexicano de Derecho Internacional, 5,* 445–498.

Segura, A. (2001). A propósito de la regionalización en Marruecos y la Cuestión del Sáhara Occidental [About the regionalization in Morocco and the question of the Western Sahara]. *Quaders de la Mediterránea, 2,* 101–104.

Shnabel, N., & Nadler, A. (2008). A needs-based model of reconciliation: Satisfying the differential emotional needs of victim and perpetrator as a key to promoting reconciliation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 94,* 116–132. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.94.1.116

Silove, D., Steel, Z., McGorry, P., Miles, V., & Drobny, J. (2002). The impact of torture on post-traumatic stress symptoms in war-affected Tamil refugees and immigrants. *Comprehensive Psychiatry, 43,* 49–55. doi:10.1053/comp.2002.29843

Silver, R. C., Holman, E., Mcintosh, D., Poulin, M., & Gil-Rivas, V. (2002). Nationwide longitudinal study of psychological responses to September 11. *JAMA: Journal of the American Medical Association, 288,* 1235–1244. doi:10.1001/jama.288.10.1235

Skretteberg, R. (2008). Occupied country, displaced people. *NRC Reports, 2*(5). Retrieved from http://www.nrc.no/arch/_img/9258989.pdf

Soroeta Liceras, J. (2001). *El Conflicto del Sáhara Occidental, reflejo de las contradicciones y carencias del Derecho Internacional* [The conflict of the Western Sahara, reflection of the contradictions and lacks of the International Law]. Bilbao, Spain: Universidad del País Vasco.

Staub, E., & Bar-Tal, D. (2003). Genocide, mass killing, and intractable conflict: Roots, evolution, prevention, and reconciliation. In D. Sears, L. Huddy, & R. Jarvis (Eds.), *Handbook of political psychology* (pp. 710–751). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Staub, E., Pearlman, L. A., Gubin, A., & Hagengimana, A. (2005). Healing, reconciliation, forgiving and the prevention of violence after genocide or mass killing: An intervention and its experimental evaluation in Rwanda. *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology, 24,* 3, 297–334. doi:10.1521/jscp.24.3.297.65617

Steel, Z., Silove, D., Phan, T., & Bauman, A. (2002). Long-term effect of psychological trauma on the mental health of Vietnamese refugees resettled in Australia: A population-based study. *The Lancet, 360,* 1056–1062. doi:10.1016/S0140-6736(02)11142-1

Taylor, D., & Moghaddam, F. M. (1994). *Theories of intergroup relations: International social psychological perspectives*. New York, NY: Praeger.

Vázquez, C., Cervellón, P., Pérez-Sales, P., Vidales, D., & Gaborit, M. (2005). Positive emotions in earthquake survivors in El Salvador (2001). *Journal of Anxiety Disorders, 19,* 313–328. doi:10.1016/j.janxdis.2004.03.002

Vesti, P., Somnier, F., & Kastrup, M. (1992). *Psychotherapy with torture survivors*. Copenhagen, Denmark: Rehabilitation and Research Centre for Torture Victims.

Viñar, M. (2005). The specificity of torture as trauma: The human wilderness when words fail International. *Journal of Psychoanalysis, 86,* 311–333.

Vojvoda, D., Weine, S. M., McGlashan, T., Becker, D. F., & Southwick, S. M. (2008). Posttraumatic stress disorder symptoms in Bosnian refugees 3 1/2 years after resettlement. *Journal of Rehabilitation Research & Development, 45,* 421–426. doi:10.1682/JRRD.2007.06.0083

This document is copyrighted by the American Psychological Association or one of its allied publishers.
This article is intended solely for the personal use of the individual user and is not to be disseminated broadly.

View publication stats