



***Preying on the  
"Weaker" Sex:  
Political Violence  
against Women in  
Zimbabwe***

**Report produced by IDASA (An African Democracy  
Institute), the International Center for Transitional  
Justice [ICTJ] and the Research and Advocacy Unit [RAU]**

**November 2010**

## Summary of Key Findings

Our previous report briefly detailed the violence experienced by women captured in a national survey of Zimbabwean women that consisted of data drawn from an initial sample of 2,200 women, which reduced to 2,158 after cleaning the data<sup>1</sup>. The present report expands upon this previous report, *Women, Politics and the Zimbabwe Crisis*, covering the findings in greater detail relating to the experiences and witnessing of political violence from the same sample, but of only 2,149 women due to the inclusion of the data relating to witnessing which was not included in the first report. There is a companion report, *When the Going gets Tough, the Men get Going*, detailing the responses of women to RAU's findings from the survey deriving from 10 focus discussion groups in the 10 Provinces of Zimbabwe, and involving 150 women who were not part of the original survey.<sup>2</sup>

### Personal Experience of Violence

- More than half stated that they had been victims of violence;
- The most commonly reported perpetrators were non-state agents [ZANU-PF supporters, war veterans, youth militia];
- The most common violations reported at the hands of both state officials and non-state agents were assault, threats, and torture in that order;
- 2% reported being personally raped;
- 44% reported that women are affected differently by political violence, giving reasons ranging from their weaker physical status to their inability to go into hiding due to their family responsibilities.

### Witnessing of violence against family members

- 45% of the women surveyed indicated that they had witnessed violence against members of their families;
- 23% reported that they had witnessed violence against their family members between 2-5 times;
- 5% witnessed the violence 6-10 times, and 5% reported that this had happened more than 10 times to family members;
- The most frequent violations witnessed by the women against their family members by non-officials were assault, threats, torture and arson, and the first three were also the most common violations witnessed against family members by officials;

### Witnessing of violence against members of the community

- 56% reported violence against members of their community;
- 64% reported that they were themselves victims of community violence;
- 20% reported that they had witnessed 2-5 incidences of violence against members in their communities;
- 16% witnessed this violence more than 10 times.
- The most frequent violations witnessed in the communities were, in order of frequency, assault, threats, torture, destruction of property and arson;
- Violations witnessed by respondents were perpetrated mostly by non-officials rather than officials of the state, but officials were nonetheless mentioned with high frequencies.

---

<sup>1</sup> RAU (2010), *Women, Politics and the Zimbabwe Crisis*, Report produced by Idasa (Institute for Democracy in Africa), the International Center for Transitional Justice (ICTJ), the Research and Advocacy Unit (RAU), and the Women's Coalition of Zimbabwe (WCoZ). May 2010. HARARE: RESEARCH & ADVOCACY UNIT.

<sup>2</sup> RAU (2010), *"When the going gets tough the man gets going!" Women's views on Politics, Governance, Political Violence, and Transitional Justice*. Report produced by the Research and Advocacy Unit [RAU], Idasa [Institute for Democracy in Africa], and the International Center for Transitional Justice [ICTJ]. October 2010. HARARE: RESEARCH & ADVOCACY UNIT.

## **Injuries, medical and legal attention**

- 15% of the women surveyed indicated that they had suffered some form of physical injury;
- Of this group, 67% had sought medical attention;
- Only 10% gave reasons for their failure to seek medical attention, of that 10%, 51% reported that they were not seriously injured; 9% reported that there were no medical facilities; 9% stated that the facilities were too far away and 31% stated that the available medical facilities were too expensive.

## **Assistance by the police**

- 23% of those that reported experiencing political violence reported the matter to the police;
- Of those that did not report, 67% indicated that they did not report their violations to the police because of fear of reprisals;
- 31% did not report to the police because the police were involved in the violence.

## **Legal support**

- 4% of women victims reported that they had sought legal advice;
- 74% of this group reported that they had no knowledge of where to go for legal assistance;
- 13% said could not afford the costs involved with litigation.

## **Effects on women**

- 45% felt that women were affected differently to men by politically motivated violence;
- 18% felt that women were affected by the violence differently from men because women could be victims of rape;
- 15% thought this was because women were weaker than men and were therefore unable to defend themselves;
- 8% reported that the perpetrators violated women in order to get back at their husbands.

## **Rural versus urban women**

The number of violations reported was significantly higher among rural women. The violations that were reported more frequently were assault, torture, property destruction, abduction and rape;

- Non-officials were the most frequently reported perpetrators of violations against women;
- Rural women that reported being forced to vote were significantly more likely to also report political violence compared with their urban counterparts, and were also more likely to have experienced personal violence [assault, torture, etc], and to have been injured as a consequence of the violence;
- Rural women also reported significantly more violence against members of their family and in their communities, mostly by ZANU-PF supporters, war veterans, the police and the army;
- 62% of the women from Mashonaland provinces reported that they had been victims of political violence as opposed to 46% from the other provinces;
- The Mashonaland sample reported much greater involvement of officials than did those from the other provinces, and this was the case for all violations except indecent assault;
- Mashonaland provinces reported significantly higher frequencies of violations by non-officials, but for a smaller range of violations – abduction, assault, indecent assault, property destruction, and torture;
- The Mashonaland sample reported significantly higher rates of rape by officials than any other group;
- Of those that reported that they were victims of violence, 24% of the women from Mashonaland provinces reported that they were physically injured in contrast to 10% of the women from other provinces.

## **Politically Motivated Rape**

- 2% of the sample reported being raped personally, and 3% reported that a family member had been raped;
- The chances of rape were significantly increased if there were other violations, and markedly more so where the alleged perpetrator was a non-official;

## **Political party affiliation**

- 68% of the women that supported MDC-T reported that they were victims of political violence, as opposed to 34% of those that supported ZANU-PF;
- Women who claimed allegiance to the MDC-T reported significantly higher levels of all violations. The most frequent violations were threats, assault, property destruction, torture, arbitrary arrest, arson, indecent assault, rape and abductions;
- Violations were significantly more common at the hands of non-officials;
- Of those that stated that they were forced to vote, supporters of MDC-T were more likely to report having been a victim of political violence, had more personal experience of political violence, had more family members experience political violence, and had witnessed more political violence in the community than their ZANU-PF counterparts.

## **Recommendations**

- There is an imperative need to end political violence generally in Zimbabwe, and the risks to women (and the families that they care for) require urgent attention by the government and the political parties, not least for the purpose of promoting non-violent elections.
- The need for the security agencies to operate in a non-partisan fashion is crucial to the prevention of political violence, and the calls for total civilian oversight and control of the security forces must be taken seriously and acted upon with urgency.
- There is equally an urgent need for the strongest possible steps to be taken to ensure that all political parties abjure violence by their supporters, and the requirement that all political parties sign a code of conduct explicitly renouncing violence and intimidation.
- The indications about the extent of politically motivated rape require urgent attention from the government, and the relevant ministries, and especially the Ministry of Health and Child Welfare which should undertake a large scale investigation of the extent of politically motivated rape in order that a comprehensive programme of assistance to the victims can be put in place.

*"We have embarked in earnest on the process of national healing, reconciliation and integration. For the sake of our children and posterity, I want to urge all of you to note that the process of reconciliation is national. It does not seek to ferret out supposed criminals for punishment but rather calls on all of us to avoid the deadly snare of political conflict. Guided by the spirit of tolerance, we should continue to work together in promoting peace and stability regardless of political or religious affiliation,"<sup>3</sup>*

## 1. Background

Violence against women in the context of 'political conflict, repression and resistance' in Zimbabwe is a feature that has been seen in every election since 2000, and it is a frequent experience for women whether they are politically active or not. It can happen to women merely because they are perceived to be an opponent of ZANU-PF, as was so clearly seen in the Presidential run-off in 2008: women who were MDC members, or merely perceived to be a supporter of the MDC, were 10 times more likely to report a human rights violation than a female member of ZANU-PF.<sup>4</sup> However, female supporters of ZANU-PF were 40 times more likely to have been reported as a perpetrator<sup>5</sup>, where women were 16% of the total victims in 2008 according to the Solidarity Peace Trust and 21% according to the Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum<sup>6</sup>

However, as indicated above, 2008 was not an aberration. In 2006, the Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum [the *Human Rights Forum*] described 448 cases of violations against women, covering the period 2000 to 2006, with assault and political intimidation the most common violation<sup>7</sup>. It is important to note that during this period Zimbabwe had had three national elections (2000, 2002 and 2005) and it is well documented that violence increased during election years. Rural women were more likely than urban women to report property destruction, displacement, rape, and torture, whilst urban women reported assault, unlawful detention, and death threats more frequently. A similar contrast between rural and urban women emerged in a study of Zimbabwean women victims in the refugee population in South Africa<sup>8</sup>. As was the case with the Human Rights Forum report, ZANU-PF supporters and ZANU-PF youth were cited as the most common perpetrators.

Another Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum publication supported these findings, and this report is significant since the data came from cases before the High Court of Zimbabwe<sup>9</sup>. The plaintiffs, both male and female, that had experienced gross human rights violations at the hands of state agents, received favourable judgments or acceptance of liability in over 90% of the completed cases, providing strong evidence that state agents were violating human rights. Reporting upon 68 women out of 291 cases, it was found that aggravated assault, assault, and torture were the most frequent violations, and the most common alleged perpetrators were the Zimbabwe National Army, reported by 68% of the women complainants<sup>10</sup>.

---

<sup>3</sup> *No one is going to be arrested for political violence – Mugabe*. Gerald Chateta. August 9, 2010. [<http://www.zimeye.org/?p=20592>]

<sup>4</sup> See CSV (2009), *Subliminal Terror? Human rights violations and torture in Zimbabwe during 2008*. June 2009. JOHANNESBURG: CSV.

<sup>5</sup> See again CSV (2009), *Subliminal Terror? Human rights violations and torture in Zimbabwe during 2008*. June 2009. JOHANNESBURG: CSV.

<sup>6</sup> See again CSV (2009), *Subliminal Terror? Human rights violations and torture in Zimbabwe during 2008*. June 2009. JOHANNESBURG: CSV.

<sup>7</sup> See Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum (2006), *A Woman's Place is in the Home? Gender Based Violence and Opposition Politics in Zimbabwe*. Published by the Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum. December 2006, HARARE: ZIMBABWE HUMAN RIGHTS NGO FORUM.

<sup>8</sup> See CSV (2006), *Women on the run: Women survivors of torture amongst refugees in South Africa*. Report produced for the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation and the Crisis in Zimbabwe Coalition. ZIMBABWE TORTURE VICTIMS/SURVIVORS PROJECT: CENTRE FOR VIOLENCE AND RECONCILIATION.

<sup>9</sup> See also Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum (2006), *An Analysis of the Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum Legal Cases, 1998–2006*. Published by the Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum. June 2006, HARARE: ZIMBABWE HUMAN RIGHTS NGO FORUM. The Human Rights Forum has continued to sue for civil damages as consequence of state agents violating human rights, and, by the end of 2009, had entered suit for more than 1,500 cases since 1999. It is noteworthy that for a very high proportion – over 300 cases – the state had entered no appearance to defend, thus incurring a default judgement.

<sup>10</sup> This was probably due to the high percentage of cases from the food riots in 1997, and does not constitute a pattern seen subsequently.

A series of reports from Women of Zimbabwe Arise [WOZA] have also demonstrated the perils of both being an activist and being female<sup>11</sup>. WOZA members reported assault, physical torture, humiliating and degrading treatment, and political threats, occurring both in the course of peaceful protest and also in police custody. The Zimbabwe Republic Police [ZRP] were overwhelmingly the most frequent perpetrators, with the Uniformed Branch most frequent amongst the various branches of the ZRP, but war veterans, youth militia, and traditional leaders were also mentioned with some frequency.

Additional findings came from a study of the female members of the National Constitutional Assembly [NCA], where assault, death threats, political threats, and torture were alleged to be the most common violations reported, with the most common perpetrators being political party supporters, war veterans, and youth militia<sup>12</sup>. Again the patterns of abuse were similar to the previous reports. The most recent report on political violence, by the Zimbabwe Peace Project, indicates again that women are not spared from political violence, with 20% of the victims in April 2010 being women, and women constituting 12% of the perpetrators<sup>13</sup>.

There is also a strong link between elections and sexual violence, with sexual violence being used to silence dissent or intimidate opponents<sup>14</sup>. However, rape and sexual violence are usually much more difficult to document due to the reluctance of women to complain. There has been considerable anecdotal reporting of rape and sexual abuse since 2000, but very little systematic documentation of rape. However, two recent studies have suggested that the issue is more serious than might be read from the existing data: in all the reports mentioned above, rape and sexual violence are infrequently mentioned, which is remarkable when studies in other SADC countries have shown rape during times of political conflict to be of epidemic proportions<sup>15</sup>. That it is common in neighbouring countries does not, of course, necessarily have any implications for Zimbabwe, but the recent studies on Zimbabwe do give cause for concern.

In the first study, data was provided on 70 Zimbabwean women living in exile in South Africa and Botswana, reporting amongst them 380 total acts of rape by 241 perpetrators<sup>16</sup>. A second report, in which Zimbabwean women were 10% of the total of 100 women from 24 countries that had been tortured, indicated that 80% of the whole sample had been raped<sup>17</sup>. One case study in the report illustrates a common experience for Zimbabwean women:

*R is a nurse from Zimbabwe. She is married with three children, the first of whom was conceived as a result of rape. In 2007, when she refused to join Zanu-PF, she was taken from her house, slashed with a broken bottle, burned with sticks from a fire and beaten. In a separate incident, shortly after the birth of her third child, she was taken from her house and raped by four men. She was lactating at the time of the rapes. One of the men refused to rape her and was beaten by the others. R is HIV+ as a result of the attack, and experiences fear, anxiety, eating problems, nightmares and flashbacks. She washes obsessively in an attempt to clean herself.*

<sup>11</sup> WOZA (2007), *Defending Women – Defending the Nation. A Preliminary Report on Political Violence Against Women of Zimbabwe Arise [WOZA]*, October 2007, HARARE: WOMEN OF ZIMBABWE ARISE; WOZA (2008), *The effects of fighting repression with love. A report by Women of Zimbabwe Arise (WOZA)*. March 2008. ZIMBABWE: WOMEN OF ZIMBABWE ARISE; WOZA (2008), *Counting the Costs of Courage. The traumatic consequences of gross human rights violations suffered by WOZA women*. HARARE: WOMEN OF ZIMBABWE ARISE.

<sup>12</sup> NCA (2010), *Fighting for a New Constitution: Human Rights Violations experienced by Female Members of the National Constitutional Assembly*. Report produced by the Research & Advocacy Unit. March 2010. HARARE: RESEARCH & ADVOCACY UNIT.

<sup>13</sup> ZPP (2010), *Summary on Politically-Motivated Human Rights and Food-Related Violations*,. April 2010. HARARE: ZIMBABWE PEACE PROJECT.

<sup>14</sup> Rape and elections have been shown to be positively correlated before. Here see Human Rights Forum (2008), *Can the elections in Zimbabwe be Free and Fair?* Paper produced by the Research and Advocacy Unit [RAU] for the Human Rights Forum, HARARE: ZIMBABWE HUMAN RIGHTS NGO FORUM.

<sup>15</sup> Here see OXFAM (2010), *"Now, The world is without me": An Investigation of sexual violence in Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo*. A Report by the Harvard Humanitarian Initiative With Support from Oxfam America. April 2010.

<sup>16</sup> Aids-Free World (2009), *Electing to Rape. Sexual Terror in Mugabe's Zimbabwe*. December 2009. NEW YORK: AIDS-FREE WORLD.

<sup>17</sup> Medical Foundation (2009), *Justice Denied: The experiences of 100 torture surviving women of seeking justice and rehabilitation*. December 2009. LONDON: MEDICAL FOUNDATION FOR THE CARE OF VICTIMS OF TORTURE.

As is evident from this example, there are multiple consequences of rape as a form of torture; possible physical disability and certain psychological disorders, as well as the additional burdens of unwanted pregnancy and HIV.

Political violence against women is common in Zimbabwe, with assault, torture, threats, intimidation, displacement and property destruction frequently reported. The perpetrators are usually non-state agents, and reported to be ZANU-PF supporters, ZANU-PF Youth, and war veterans, but there are also high numbers of reports involving state agents such as the ZRP and the Zimbabwe National Army [ZNA].

## 2. Methodology

Our previous report, *Women, Politics and the Zimbabwe Crisis*, briefly detailed the violence reported by a national survey of Zimbabwean women that consisted of data drawn from a sample of 2,158 women<sup>18</sup>. This present report details the findings relating to the experiences and witnessing of political violence from the same sample of 2,149 women.

The questionnaire was developed from a previous instrument used in surveying women, and modified by the incorporation of new questions. The questionnaire went through four rounds of internal discussions between the three main organisations involved – ICTJ, Idasa, and RAU - before being translated into Shona and Ndebele. A small pilot, involving 53 women, was carried out by RAU to test the validity of the questionnaire, following which further modifications were included.

“Political violence” was defined in the questionnaire as any one of the following violations:

- Abduction;
- Arbitrary arrest;
- Arson;
- Assault;
- Enforced disappearance;
- Indecent assault;
- Property destruction;
- Rape;
- Torture;
- Threats.

These violation categories have been commonly described in human rights reports since 2000.<sup>19</sup>

A two-day training session was then held for potential enumerators, who were provided mostly by the member organisations of the Women’s Coalition as RAU is a member of the Coalition. Following selection and training, the enumerators were deployed for a small pilot phase, and both the questionnaire and the ability of the enumerators were re-examined. A small number of the enumerators were eliminated, and the major survey was begun.

A total of 2200 interviews were conducted throughout the country, as well as a smaller sample of Zimbabwean women living in Botswana and South Africa. Each interviewer was required to do 50 interviews in their local area, with the cases selected from every 10<sup>th</sup> household. It was not possible to strictly control the sampling, but it is evident that the study did achieve the objectives of obtaining wide geographical coverage and broad representation of ages. The interviews were conducted in the language of choice for the interviewee: English, Shona, or Ndebele, using the appropriate questionnaire. All respondents were informed of the confidentiality of the results, and that no individuals would be identified.

The sample was drawn from all 10 provinces of Zimbabwe, and the distribution and demographic features were mostly similar to previous surveys.<sup>20</sup>

---

<sup>18</sup> RAU (2010), *Women, Politics and the Zimbabwe Crisis*, Report produced by Idasa (An African Democracy Institute), the International Center for Transitional Justice (ICTJ), the Research and Advocacy Unit (RAU), and the Women Coalition of Zimbabwe (WCoZ). May 2010. HARARE: RESEARCH & ADVOCACY UNIT.

<sup>19</sup> See, for example, the Monthly Political Violence Reports of the Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum that has issued monthly reports from July 2001 to June 2009.

The data was entered on a purpose built database, and frequencies were calculated for all fields.

Although the methodology could not wholly attain the rigour of a randomized, stratified probability survey, it is evident that there is considerable agreement in this sample with the demographic data from the Afrobarometer 2009 report (AB4), except with respect to age, and even in respect of age there is moderate agreement with the data from AB4. Furthermore, it should be noted that, whilst the methods do not accord with strict random stratified sampling, the data itself is strongly corroborated by the findings of a large number of previous reports, especially in respect of violations, witnessing, and elections.

---

<sup>20</sup> See Chikwannah-Dzenga, A. B, Masunungure, E, & Madingira, N (2000), *Democracy and National Governance in Zimbabwe: A Country Survey Report*. Afrobarometer Paper No.12; Chikwana, A., Sithole, T., & Bratton, M. (2004), *The Power of Propaganda: Public Opinion in Zimbabwe*, 2004, Afrobarometer Report No. 42; Afrobarometer (2009), *Summary of Results. Round 4 Afrobarometer Survey in Zimbabwe*. Compiled by MPOI; *Public Attitudes to Transition in Zimbabwe*. 11 December 2009, Freedom House & Mass Public Opinion Institute.



### 3. Results

#### 3.1 Personal experience of violence

The total number of women interviewed in the survey who reported that they had been victims of political violence is 1118 [52%]. This was partly covered in our previous report, and we will briefly summarise these findings again<sup>21</sup>.

- 52% stated that they had been victims of violence and 14% of this group stated that they had been physically injured ;
- The most commonly reported perpetrators were non-state agents [ZANU-PF supporters, war veterans, youth militia], who were identified by 50% of the sample, as opposed to state officials that were identified by 15% of the sample;
- The most common violations reported at the hands of state officials were threats, torture, assault, and arbitrary arrest in that order;
- The most common violations reported at the hands of non-state agents were threats, assault, torture, and property destruction in that order;
- Rape was reported with a surprisingly high frequency: 2% reported being personally raped, 3% reported that a family member had been raped, and 16% reported that someone in the community had been raped<sup>22</sup>;
- 44% reported that women are affected differently by political violence, giving reasons ranging from their weaker physical status to their inability to go into hiding due to their family responsibilities.

In general, all violations were more frequently reported to have been perpetrated by non-officials than by officials, which has been the common finding in previous human rights reports in Zimbabwe, and here ZANU-PF party members, ZANU-PF youth, and “war veterans” have been the most frequently mentioned groups of non-officials<sup>23</sup>.

All of the violations were strongly correlated with each other [see Appendix 1], which suggests that any violation had a very high probability of being accompanied by other violations.

#### 3.2 Witnessing of violence against family members

The witnessing of violence against family members, separate from incidents which involved the victims, was also examined. 959 [45%] women indicated that they had witnessed violence against members of their families. 11% stated that this had happened only once to a family member, but 23% reported that they had witnessed violence against their family members between 2-5 times, 5% witnessed the violence 6-10 times, and 5% reported that this had happened more than 10 times to family members.

The most frequent violations witnessed by the women against their family members by non-officials were assault, threats, torture and arson, and the first three were also the most common violations witnessed against family

---

<sup>21</sup> See RAU (2010), *Women, Politics, and the Zimbabwe Crisis*. May 2010. Report produced by IDASA (An African Democracy Institute), the International Center for Transitional Justice [ICTJ], the Research and Advocacy Unit [RAU] and the Women’s Coalition of Zimbabwe (WCoZ). HARARE: RESEARCH & ADVOCACY UNIT.

<sup>22</sup> It is of course problematic to accept these figures as absolute, since, apart from those that report personal experience of rape, the other reports might overlap. For example, the reports of rapes in the community may reflect multiple reports of the same rape. However, given the reluctance of women generally to report rape, and hence communities to know about rapes, it may be that the figure for families might be closer to reality than is comfortable to accept.

<sup>23</sup> For example see Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum (2001), *Who was responsible? A consolidated analysis of pre-election violence in Zimbabwe*, HARARE: ZIMBABWE HUMAN RIGHTS NGO FORUM; Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum (2002), *Are They Accountable?: Examining alleged violators and their violations pre and post the Presidential Election March 2002*, HARARE: ZIMBABWE HUMAN RIGHTS NGO FORUM; ZPP (2008), *POST RUN-OFF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION REPORT NO.4*. July 2008. HARARE: ZIMBABWE PEACE PROJECT; Solidarity Peace Trust (2008), *Desperately Seeking Sanity: What Prospects for a New Beginning in Zimbabwe?* 29 July 2008. DURBAN: SOLIDARITY PEACE TRUST ; Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum (2008), *Damned Lies? Post Election Violence in Zimbabwe*. Report produced by the Research & Advocacy Unit. August 2008. HARARE: ZIMBABWE HUMAN RIGHTS NGO FORUM.

members by officials, but officials were unsurprisingly alleged to have more frequently engaged in arbitrary arrest as opposed to arson.

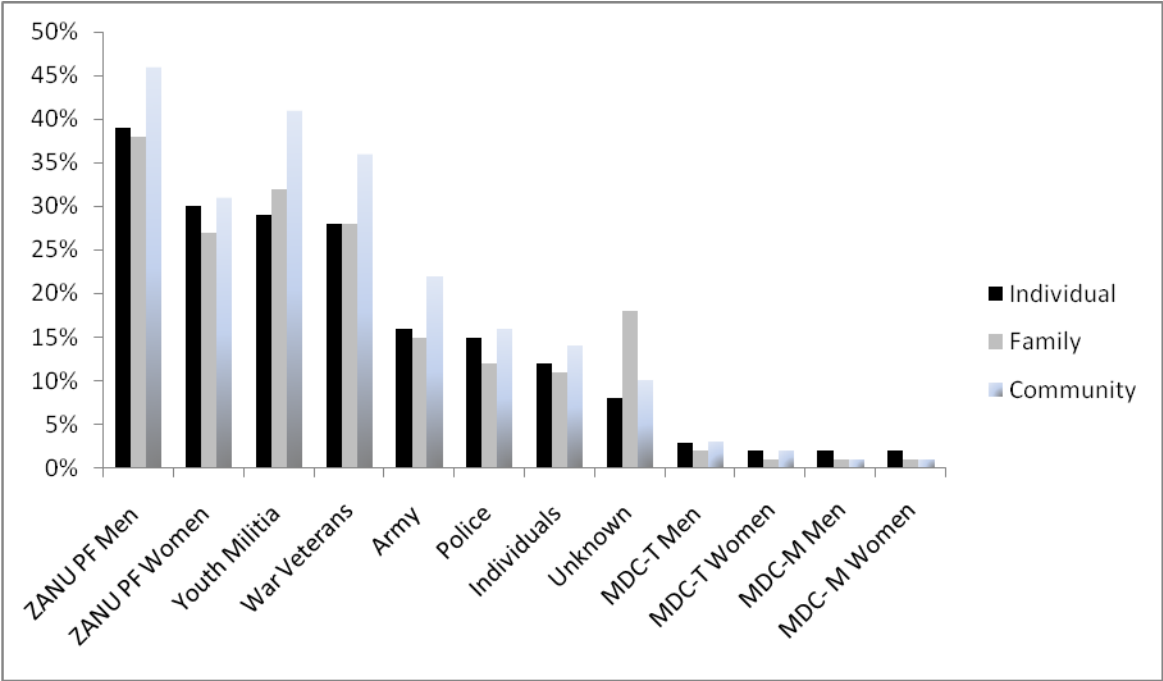
There were also allegations of murder of family members: 226 [11%] alleged that a family member had been murdered, which, extrapolated to the general population would be a very large number of murders. However, it should be borne in mind that the sample was reporting on their experiences of political violence over several decades, decades that have all had significant periods of political violence.

**3.3 Witnessing of violence against members of the community**

A significant proportion of the women in the survey [56%] reported that they had witnessed violence in their communities. Of the total sample that witnessed violence in the community, 769 [64%] reported that they were themselves victims of community violence. 422 [20%] reported that they had witnessed 2-5 incidences of violence against members in their communities, and 345 [16%] witnessed this violence more than 10 times.

The most frequent violations witnessed in the communities were, in order, assault, threats, torture, destruction of property and arson. These violations were perpetrated mostly by non-officials rather than officials of the state, but officials were nonetheless mentioned with high frequencies.

**Figure 1: Frequency of alleged perpetrators for individuals, families, & communities.**



The graph above shows that ZANU-PF men and women were identified as the most frequent perpetrators in respect of all groups: individuals, families, and communities. Youth militia and war veterans were the next most frequent groups identified as perpetrators of violence. State agents, namely the army and the police, were the third most common group witnessed as responsible for the violence in the community. The women were asked further to indicate the groups they witnessed most frequently instigating violence in their communities. The most witnessed instigators and frequent perpetrators of violence reported were again ZANU-PF men [33%], the war veterans [23%], youth militias [30%], and ZANU-PF women [21%].

There is no evidence from this survey to support the claim by ZANU-PF that the MDC is implicated in political violence; there is a negative relationship in respect of every one of the violations [see Appendix 2]. All the groups affiliated with ZANU-PF – men, women, youth, and war veterans – as well as the police and army are strongly associated with every violation, albeit with different strengths of association. The one startling finding is that

ZANU-PF women were seen as strongly implicated, and sometimes more strongly, in the perpetration of human rights violations than their male counterparts<sup>24</sup>.

In relation to sexual violence, rape, and indecent assault, these high frequencies of women reporting knowing about persons that experienced these violations in their communities may include direct victims of these violations who were wary of identifying themselves as having personally experienced these violations because of the shame and stigma associated with sexual violence in most communities. It may also represent over-reporting due to many women knowing about the same violation.

### ***3.4 Injuries, medical and legal attention***

A small number of the respondents indicated that they had suffered some form of physical injury, and slightly more than half of this group had sought medical attention. Of those that gave reasons for why they did not seek medical attention, about half reported that they were not seriously injured, while very small numbers reported that there were no medical facilities, or that the facilities were too far away, but about a third stated that the available medical facilities were too expensive.

When asked whether they had reported their matters to the police, very few answered in the affirmative. Of those that did not report and gave reasons for this, 40% indicated that they did not report their violations to the police because of fear of reprisals, and 19% did not report to the police because the police were involved in the violence. Very few reported that they had sought legal advice, with most approaching non-governmental organizations, such as the Human Rights Forum and Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights. This low percentage of people seeking legal assistance can be attributed to a number of reasons; some women reported that they had no knowledge of where to go for legal assistance, and some could not afford the costs involved with litigation.

## **4. Comparisons**

A number of comparisons were carried out, suggested by previous findings about political violence in Zimbabwe since 2000.

### ***4.1 Rural versus urban women***

Since, in general, all human rights reports since 2000 have indicated that the frequency of human rights violations was higher in rural as opposed to urban areas, a comparative analysis was undertaken between the rural women [57%] and urban women [43%] sampled in our survey. 18% of the rural women reported that they had suffered some physical injuries with 12% of the urban women having suffered some injuries. All types of violations reported were significantly higher for rural women; these included, assault, torture, property destruction, abductions and rape. Non-officials were the most frequently reported perpetrators of violations against women. So the general findings of previous human rights reports were repeated for this sample of women.

An additional contrast was done between women that were forced to vote with those that were not forced to vote, since there has been a consistent association between elections and human rights violations<sup>25</sup>. 59% stated that they had been forced to vote, but they did not specify in which election, which suggests that coercion has been a frequent feature of elections for a considerable time. Rural women reported more violence during elections for 1980, 1995, and 2000, but, interestingly, urban women reported significantly more violence for 2008 than their rural counterparts. Rural women who were forced to vote were significantly more likely to also report political violence compared with their urban counterparts. They were also significantly more likely to be subjected to more personal violence [assault, torture, etc], and to have been injured as a consequence of the violence. Rural women also reported significantly more violence against members of their family and in their communities.

---

<sup>24</sup> An analysis of the violence in 2008, using the publicly available information, indicated that women supporters of ZANU-PF were 40 times more likely to have been implicated in violence than their MDC-T counterparts. See again CSV (2009), *Subliminal Terror? Human rights violations and torture in Zimbabwe during 2008*. June 2009. JOHANNESBURG: CSV.

<sup>25</sup> For example, see Human Rights Forum (2008), *Can the elections in Zimbabwe be Free and Fair?* Paper produced by the Research and Advocacy Unit [RAU] for the Human Rights Forum, HARARE: ZIMBABWE HUMAN RIGHTS NGO FORUM.

ZANU-PF supporters, war veterans, the police and the army were mentioned as perpetrators more frequently by rural women.

Two other findings were of interest. Those stating that they were forced to vote were significantly more likely to disagree with the statement that “*the dominant party in a country must determine how elections are run*”, although both groups disagreed with the statement [88% v 75%]. Second, both groups stated that, if “*the dominant party determines how elections are run*”, this would affect the results.

#### 4.2 Mashonaland province versus other provinces

A further comparison to refine the understanding about the differences between rural and urban areas was undertaken with a contrast being made between the Mashonaland provinces, including Harare, and all the other provinces. The rationale here was that all human rights reports since 2000 had indicated that the violations were considerably more frequent in the Mashonaland provinces and Harare than in other provinces.<sup>26</sup>

**Table 1: Violations according to Province: Mashonaland & Harare versus Other Provinces**

|                               | Other Provinces<br>[n=1361] |                        | Mashonaland provinces<br>[n=786] |          |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------|----------------------------------|----------|
|                               | Non-Official <sup>27</sup>  | Official <sup>28</sup> | Non-Official                     | Official |
| <b>Abduction</b>              | 3.4%                        | 0.7%                   | 6.7%*                            | 4.6%*    |
| <b>Arbitrary Arrest</b>       |                             | 4.3%                   |                                  | 9.03%*   |
| <b>Arson</b>                  |                             | 4.8%                   |                                  | 10.2%*   |
| <b>Assault</b>                | 14.8%                       | 7.8%                   | 26.2%*                           | 10.4%*   |
| <b>Enforced disappearance</b> |                             | 0.8%                   |                                  | 4.3%**   |
| <b>Indecent assault</b>       | 3.7%                        |                        | 7.4%*                            |          |
| <b>Property Destroyed</b>     | 11.9%                       | 1.9%                   | 23.5%*                           | 4.9%*    |
| <b>Rape</b>                   | 1.3%                        |                        | 5.5%*                            |          |
| <b>Torture</b>                | 14.03%                      | 7.1%                   | 20.4%*                           | 11.8%*   |
| <b>Threats</b>                |                             | 25.9%                  |                                  | 31.9%*   |

\*<sup>29</sup>

In this survey, 62% of the women from Mashonaland provinces reported that they had been victims of political violence as opposed to 46% from the other provinces<sup>30</sup>, which repeats the frequent finding of previous human rights reports. However, the pattern of significant responses was slightly different to that obtained by merely contrasting rural and urban women. Firstly, the Mashonaland sample reported much greater involvement of officials than did those from the other provinces, and this was the case for all violations except indecent assault [see table above]. Secondly, the Mashonaland provinces reported significantly higher frequencies of violations by non-officials, but for a smaller range of violations – abductions, assault, indecent assault, property destruction, rape, and torture.

Of those that reported that they were victims of violence, 24% of the women from Mashonaland provinces reported that they were physically injured in contrast to 10% of the women from other provinces. Again this supports previous findings: that the violence is more extreme in the Mashonaland provinces and hence the injuries would be more serious.

<sup>26</sup> The three Mashonaland Provinces have generally been regarded as the heartland of support for ZANU PF, but were also the areas in which plantation agriculture (employing tens of thousands of farm workers) was dominant in Zimbabwe. Many human rights reports have indicated that a primary target for electoral violence has been the commercial farm workers due the possibility of their voting for the MDC. Harare Province, containing Zimbabwe’s largest urban population, has been the centre of support for the MDC.

<sup>27</sup> *Non-official* refers to political party supporters, youth militia, and war veterans.

<sup>28</sup> *Official* refers to state agents such as the police or army.

<sup>29</sup> All the scores identified with an asterix [\*] were statistically significantly. The contrasts were made between Other Provinces and Mashonaland Provinces, and between Officials and Officials in one contrast, and Non-officials and Non-officials in the other.

<sup>30</sup> This difference was highly significant [ $p=0.0001$ ].

### 4.3 Women tortured versus not tortured

Whilst it is evident that women reported high frequencies of various forms of political violence, torture can be argued to be perhaps a more serious violation than, say, threats or arbitrary arrest.<sup>31</sup> A high proportion [41%] of the sample reported being tortured, and this group was contrasted with those that did not report being tortured. 78% of those reporting torture also reported being a victim of political violence as opposed to only 34% of those that did not report being tortured; this meant that this first group were more likely to report, in addition to torture, other forms of political violence such as abduction, threats, property destruction, etc. Of the group that indicated that they had been tortured, 91% reported that they had been tortured by non-officials, and 51% reported that they had been tortured by an official, whilst 49% had been tortured by both.

There were a number of significant differences between the two groups. Assault, threats, arson, and indecent assault were significantly more frequent in the torture group. In both groups, non-officials were the most frequent perpetrators of the violations against women.

**Table 2: Rank order frequency of alleged perpetrators**

|               | No Torture<br>[n=1271] | Torture<br>[n=877] |
|---------------|------------------------|--------------------|
| MDC-M men     | 9                      | 9                  |
| MDC-M women   | 11                     | 11                 |
| MDC-T men     | 7                      | 8                  |
| MDC-T women   | 10                     | 9                  |
| Unknown       | 8                      | 7                  |
| War Veterans  | 3                      | 4                  |
| Youth         | 2                      | 2                  |
| ZANU-PF men   | 1                      | 1                  |
| ZANU-PF women | 4                      | 3                  |
| ZNA           | 5                      | 5                  |
| ZRP           | 6                      | 6                  |

It can be seen that the rank order for the frequencies of alleged perpetrators is virtually identical: both groups, for example, allege that ZANU-PF men were the most frequent violators with youth as the second most frequent category of perpetrator<sup>32</sup>. It is also worth noting the differences between women alleged to be perpetrators, with ZANU-PF women 28 times more likely to be alleged to be perpetrators by women expressing support for MDC-M, and 17 times more than women expressing support for MDC-T.

### 4.4 Political party affiliation

Since all reports indicate a much greater probability of experiencing violence if a person has expressed affiliation for the MDC, political party affiliation was examined. 68% of the women that supported MDC-T, which was 52% of the whole sample, reported that they were victims of political violence, as opposed to 34% of those that supported ZANU-PF, which was 9% of the whole sample<sup>33</sup>.

<sup>31</sup> *Torture* is distinguished from *assault* by reference both to the definition in the United Nations Convention and Zimbabwean criminal law. In Zimbabwean criminal law, *torture* would be described as *aggravated assault* as opposed to *common assault* by virtue of being an assault involving the use of a weapon, broadly defined. The reference to *torture* is that this form of assault is done with *intent*, for a *purpose*, and by a *state agent* or a person acting with the *condonation* of the state; that is, mostly by political party supporters acting with the impunity allowed by the state.

<sup>32</sup> Pearson's  $r$  [0.97];  $p=0.0001$ .

<sup>33</sup> This difference was highly significant [ $p=0.0001$ ].

**Table 3. Political party affiliation and violations: ZANU-PF versus MDC-T**

|                               | <b>MDC-T</b><br><i>[n=963; 52%]</i> |                 | <b>ZANU-PF</b><br><i>[n=168; 9%]</i> |                 |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------|
|                               | <b>Non-Official</b>                 | <b>Official</b> | <b>Non-Official</b>                  | <b>Official</b> |
| <b>Abductions</b>             | 7%*                                 | 4%*             | 0                                    | 2%              |
| <b>Arbitrary arrest</b>       | 3%                                  | 10%*            | 1%                                   | 2%              |
| <b>Arson</b>                  | 9%*                                 | 0               | 1%                                   | 0               |
| <b>Assault</b>                | 30%*                                | 13%*            | 7%                                   | 5%              |
| <b>Enforced disappearance</b> | 5%*                                 | 0               | 0                                    | 0               |
| <b>Indecent assault</b>       | 8%*                                 | 2%              | 1%                                   | 0               |
| <b>Property destroyed</b>     | 23%*                                | 0               | 5%                                   | 0               |
| <b>Rape</b>                   | 3%*                                 | 2%              | 0                                    | 0               |
| <b>Threats</b>                | 40%*                                | 20%             | 20%                                  | 17%             |
| <b>Torture</b>                | 24%*                                | 13%*            | 10%                                  | 7%              |

\*<sup>34</sup>

As can be seen from the table above, MDC-T women reported significantly higher levels of all the violations. The most frequent violations were threats, assault, property destruction, torture, arbitrary arrest, arson, indecent assault, rape and abductions. Again violations were significantly more common at the hands of non-officials.

**Table 4. Rank order frequency of alleged perpetrators according to expressed party affiliation.**

|                      | <b>ZANU-PF</b><br><i>[n=168]</i> | <b>MDC-T</b><br><i>[n=963]</i> |
|----------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <b>MDC-M men</b>     | 10                               | 9                              |
| <b>MDC-M women</b>   | 11                               | 10                             |
| <b>MDC-T men</b>     | 4                                | 8                              |
| <b>MDC-T women</b>   | 8                                | 11                             |
| <b>Unknown</b>       | 9                                | 7                              |
| <b>War Veterans</b>  | 1                                | 3                              |
| <b>Youth</b>         | 2                                | 2                              |
| <b>ZANU-PF men</b>   | 2                                | 1                              |
| <b>ZANU-PF women</b> | 6                                | 4                              |
| <b>ZNA</b>           | 5                                | 5                              |
| <b>ZRP</b>           | 7                                | 6                              |

Compared with the contrast between those alleging torture and those not, there was no significant agreement between the women from ZANU-PF and MDC-T about which groups were the most frequently alleged perpetrators<sup>35</sup>. However, both groups did agree that the most frequent perpetrators were war veterans, youth, and ZANU-PF men; they disagreed about the other categories of perpetrators.

This picture is further extended when the comparison is made with those that reported being forced to vote as opposed to those that were not. There were significant differences between those supporting MDC-T and those supporting ZANU-PF: supporters of MDC-T were more likely to report having been a victim of political violence, had more personal experience of political violence, had more family members experience political violence, and had witnessed more political violence in the community than their ZANU-PF counterparts.

<sup>34</sup> All the scores identified with an asterisk [\*] were statistically significantly. The contrasts were made between ZANU-PF and MDC-T, and between Officials and Officials in one contrast, and Non-officials and Non-officials in the other.

<sup>35</sup> Pearson's *r* [ 0.53]; not statistically significant.

#### **4.5 Politically Motivated Rape**

As indicated earlier, 2% of women alleged personal rape and 16% indicated that they knew of a rape in their community. This latter statistic can of course be very confusing since, as commented earlier, many women in the same community may be reporting on the same rape, which obviously distorts the finding. For this reason, we confined ourselves to only comparing those that reported *personal* rape with those that did not.

It is also important to be clear what is meant about the term “politically motivated rape”, and to distinguish this from other forms of rape. In this survey, the term was used to mean rape that involved some political element such as an indication that the rape was committed as a punishment for a party political affiliation, the affiliation of a spouse or family member, or occurred at a “base” or political meeting.

Women reporting personal rape were significantly more likely to report being victims of political violence. Women reporting personal rape were also significantly more likely to report other forms of human rights abuses: abduction, torture, assault, destruction of property, arson, indecent assault, and arbitrary arrest<sup>36</sup>. They were also significantly more likely to report physical injury, having sought medical attention, and to have reported the matter to the police.

Women reporting personal rape were significantly more likely to have also had a family member as a victim of political violence. Family members were significantly more likely to have experienced a human rights abuse: murder, rape, abduction, torture, assault, destruction of property, arson, indecent assault<sup>37</sup>, disappearance, and arbitrary arrest<sup>38</sup>. They were also significantly more likely to have witnessed political violence in their community [80% v 56%], and to have witnessed human rights abuses: murder, rape, abduction, torture, assault, destruction of property, arson, indecent assault, disappearances, and arbitrary arrests.

As was indicated in the previous section, all violations, including rape, were more frequently reported as being at the hands of non-official perpetrators, but the picture was slightly different when rape alone was considered. Here, the most frequent perpetrators alleged to be associated with personal rape and the other violations were ZANU-PF men, ZANU-PF women<sup>39</sup>, and the ZRP, and victims of personal rape were significantly more frequent in Mashonaland East Province.

Allegations about political rape are always problematic because of the emotional responses that these engender, but, on a conservative interpretation of these findings (and drawing no conclusions about the prevalence of political rape), it is apparent that, for a small percentage of Zimbabwean women, political rape in association with other gross human rights violations does occur.

---

<sup>36</sup> This difference was highly significant [ $p=0.0001$ ].

<sup>37</sup> It is important to note the distinction between rape and indecent assault in the Zimbabwe context. Rape is sexual penetration of a woman's vagina by a man's penis without the woman's consent, indecent assault is an assault involving inappropriate touching of the female body.

<sup>38</sup> This difference was highly significant [ $p=0.0001$ ].

<sup>39</sup> Although this study did not record violations according to gender, the companion report, *When the going gets tough, the men get gone!*, found that the women involved in violence were generally encouragers, supporters, and witnesses to violence perpetrated by men rather than being directly involved in committing physical assaults, etc.

## 5. Conclusions

There are a number of general conclusions to be drawn at the outset. Firstly, these findings are wholly corroborated by previous human rights reports, both local and international. Secondly, the types of violations – assault, torture, abductions, intimidation, threats, and property destruction and theft – compare to those seen in previous reports. Thirdly, the kinds of perpetrators corroborate with those seen in previous reports, with ZANU-PF supporters, ZANU-PF youth, and war veterans the most frequently mentioned groups. Fourthly, some groups of women appear at much greater risk for political violence than others, especially those who expressed overt support for the MDC-T. Finally, and this cannot be claimed strongly with survey data, it gives an estimate, at least for women, of the scale of past political violence.

The reported rates of political violence, both experienced and witnessed, are dramatically high, and, even assuming that they may be an over-estimate, represent very high numbers of women victims. Extrapolated to the general population we are talking about tens of thousands of female victims, perhaps as many as 500,000 in the past decade. This all points to a pressing need for urgent state action to accurately understand the extent of past violence so that appropriate measures can be taken, both to prevent any recurrence of such violence and also to develop assistance for the victims.

A very high proportion of the sample [41%] reported being tortured, and rape was significantly higher in this group than in the overall sample [3% as opposed to 2%]. 5% reported being tortured by a non-official and 3% by an official, and the number of those alleging rape also reporting torture was extremely high [82%]. Rape is certainly widespread across Zimbabwe, corroborating the findings of an earlier study<sup>40</sup>. On this data it is difficult to assert that rape is also systematic (which it may well be), and thus represents a crime against humanity, but it must be emphasized that the state has an obligation to ensure that neither widespread nor systematic violations are allowed to take place under its jurisdiction, and that failure to do so can count as a crime by omission.

Since the probability of women being raped if they are also tortured is so high, it is important to stress that rape, as was stated earlier, carries different consequences to other types of torture. In addition to the after-effects of possible physical disability and psychological disorder that are common to most forms of torture, rape carries the additional problems of possible pregnancy and/or HIV/AIDS, and these can considerably increase the suffering of a victim, never mind the high probability of an early death due to HIV/AIDS. This suggests that there is urgent need for a national inquiry into political rape that can both determine the extent and the needs of this group of victims.

The relationship between elections and political violence is also a matter of great importance, especially with the rhetoric of the political parties suggesting that there may be elections in 2011. There is a plethora of reports indicating the links between political violence and elections in Zimbabwe. This link resulted in African observer groups rejecting the outcome of the June 2008 Presidential re-run due to the violence. As is seen in this present survey, women belonging to the MDC factions, but mainly the MDC-T, are at much greater risk from political violence, but not exclusively so: whilst women expressing allegiance for MDC-T were significantly more likely to report political violence, it is still a cause for concern that women as a whole, and including those expressing support for ZANU-PF, were reporting being victims of political violence. It is also evident that elections are periods of greater risk for rural as opposed to urban women, but with the anomaly that urban women reported more violence in 2008 than their rural counterparts. In addition, rural women that reported being forced to vote reported significantly higher rates of violations.

It is also evident, and similar to most previous human rights reports since 2000, that the major culprits in the alleged perpetration of political violence and gross human rights violations are “non-officials”, with ZANU-PF supporters, youth militia, and “war veterans” the most commonly alleged perpetrators. It is clear that the political parties, and especially ZANU-PF, must be severely pressured to rein in their supporters and adhere to the kinds of electoral standards expected in modern democracies. However, note should be taken of the unacceptable number of allegations about the involvement of “officials” – the police and the army – in political violence and gross human rights violations.

---

<sup>40</sup> This was one of the conclusions of the AidsFreeWorld study released in December 2009. Here see again Aids-Free World (2009), *Electing to Rape. Sexual Terror in Mugabe's Zimbabwe*. December 2009. NEW YORK: AIDS-FREE WORLD.



Thus, the sentiments expressed by the President of Zimbabwe, Robert Mugabe, as shown at the beginning of the report – that there should be no persecution of perpetrators and reconciliation instead - are wholly at odds with reality, and the implication that yet another impunity should be declared is an insult to the suffering expressed by the women of Zimbabwe<sup>41</sup>.

## **6. Recommendations**

The results of this survey indicate a number of areas in need of urgent action.

Firstly, whilst there is an imperative need for an end to political violence generally in Zimbabwe, the risks to women (and the families that they care for) require urgent attention by the government and the political parties, not least for the purpose of promoting non-violent elections.

Secondly, the need for the security agencies to operate in a non-partisan fashion is crucial to the prevention of political violence, and the calls for total civilian oversight and control of the security forces must be taken seriously and acted upon with urgency.

Thirdly, there is equally an urgent need for the strongest possible steps to be taken to ensure that all political parties abjure violence by their supporters, and the requirement that all political parties sign a code of conduct explicitly renouncing violence and intimidation.

Fourthly, the indications about the extent of political rape require urgent attention from the government, and the relevant ministries, and especially the Ministry of Health and Child Welfare, which should undertake a large scale investigation of the extent of political rape in order that a comprehensive programme of assistance to the victims can be put in place.

---

<sup>41</sup> A future report, also drawing on the results of this survey, will outline women's views on justice.

**Appendix 1**  
**Correlations between violation types**

|                      | Arbitrary arrest | Arson | Assault | Disappearance | Indecent assault | Property destruction | Rape | Sexual violence | Threats | Torture |
|----------------------|------------------|-------|---------|---------------|------------------|----------------------|------|-----------------|---------|---------|
| Abduction            | 0.45             | 0.38  | 0.49    | 0.45          | 0.38             | 0.45                 | 0.57 | 0.46            | 0.34    | 0.52    |
| Arbitrary arrest     |                  | 0.37  | 0.44    | 0.35          | 0.40             | 0.46                 | 0.41 | 0.34            | 0.39    | 0.48    |
| Arson                |                  |       | 0.37    | 0.42          | 0.48             | 0.61                 | 0.48 | 0.48            | 0.24    | 0.32    |
| Assault              |                  |       |         | 0.37          | 0.36             | 0.57                 | 0.49 | 0.32            | 0.50    | 0.65    |
| Disappearance        |                  |       |         |               | 0.45             | 0.42                 | 0.44 | 0.48            | 0.33    | 0.35    |
| Indecent assault     |                  |       |         |               |                  | 0.45                 | 0.42 | 0.65            | 0.29    | 0.33    |
| Property destruction |                  |       |         |               |                  |                      | 0.54 | 0.42            | 0.39    | 0.55    |
| Rape                 |                  |       |         |               |                  |                      |      | 0.44            | 0.37    | 0.48    |
| Sexual violence      |                  |       |         |               |                  |                      |      |                 | 0.24    | 0.31    |
| Threats              |                  |       |         |               |                  |                      |      |                 |         | 0.56    |

*All significant at  $p=0.001$*

**Appendix 2**  
**Correlations between perpetrators and violations**

|                      | ZANU-PF men | ZANU-PF women | Youth | War veterans | Zimbabwe Republic Police | Zimbabwe National Army | MDC-T |
|----------------------|-------------|---------------|-------|--------------|--------------------------|------------------------|-------|
| Abduction            | 0.36        | 0.47          | 0.34  | 0.36         | 0.37                     | 0.39                   | -0.03 |
| Arson                | 0.29        | 0.31          | 0.33  | 0.28         | 0.33                     | 0.24                   | -0.04 |
| Assault              | 0.49        | 0.48          | 0.42  | 0.47         | 0.41                     | 0.42                   | -0.06 |
| Disappearance        | 0.28        | 0.31          | 0.39  | 0.32         | 0.29                     | 0.36                   | -0.01 |
| Indecent assault     | 0.25        | 0.28          | 0.28  | 0.28         | 0.31                     | 0.26                   | -0.03 |
| Property destruction | 0.44        | 0.46          | 0.37  | 0.39         | 0.4                      | 0.34                   | -0.05 |
| Rape                 | 0.38        | 0.38          | 0.33  | 0.33         | 0.32                     | 0.3                    | -0.04 |
| Sexual violence      | 0.24        | 0.26          | 0.28  | 0.25         | 0.29                     | 0.26                   | -0.02 |
| Threats              | 0.48        | 0.42          | 0.35  | 0.49         | 0.33                     | 0.41                   | 0.01  |
| Torture              | 0.48        | 0.48          | 0.34  | 0.47         | 0.39                     | 0.46                   | 0.01  |

### Appendix 3. Questionnaire

#### Women and Politics

##### 2.1 Elections

2.1.1 Which of the following statements do you agree with most? **Tick on answer**

|                                                                         |  |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|--|
| Women should be in the home and must not be involved in politics        |  |
| Women and men must have equal rights to engage in politics              |  |
| Women must only participate in politics with their husbands' permission |  |

2.1.2 Did you vote in all elections since you were old enough to vote? Tick on all the years that you voted. **(Can have multiple answers)**

|      |      |      |      |            |      |            |      |      |
|------|------|------|------|------------|------|------------|------|------|
| 1980 | 1985 | 1990 | 1995 | 1996(Pres) | 2000 | 2002(Pres) | 2005 | 2008 |
|      |      |      |      |            |      |            |      |      |

2.1.3 If not indicate why you did not vote **(Indicate all relevant responses)**

| Year of election | Reason for not voting |              |          |       |                     |                 |
|------------------|-----------------------|--------------|----------|-------|---------------------|-----------------|
|                  | Queues too long       | Intimidation | Violence | No ID | Not on voter's Roll | Other (Specify) |
| 1980             |                       |              |          |       |                     |                 |
| 1985             |                       |              |          |       |                     |                 |
| 1990             |                       |              |          |       |                     |                 |
| 1995             |                       |              |          |       |                     |                 |
| 1996             |                       |              |          |       |                     |                 |
| 2000             |                       |              |          |       |                     |                 |
| 2002             |                       |              |          |       |                     |                 |
| 2005             |                       |              |          |       |                     |                 |
| 2008             |                       |              |          |       |                     |                 |

2.1.4 How safe did you feel during election periods?

| Year of election | Extremely safe | Safe | Neither safe nor unsafe | Unsafe | Extremely unsafe | Don't know |
|------------------|----------------|------|-------------------------|--------|------------------|------------|
| 1980             |                |      |                         |        |                  |            |
| 1985             |                |      |                         |        |                  |            |
| 1990             |                |      |                         |        |                  |            |
| 1995             |                |      |                         |        |                  |            |
| 1996             |                |      |                         |        |                  |            |
| 2000             |                |      |                         |        |                  |            |
| 2002             |                |      |                         |        |                  |            |
| 2005             |                |      |                         |        |                  |            |
| 2008             |                |      |                         |        |                  |            |

2.1.5 Which years did you experience violence when you voted?

| 1980 | 1985 | 1990 | 1995 | 1996(Pres) | 2000 | 2002(Pres) | 2005 | 2008 |
|------|------|------|------|------------|------|------------|------|------|
|      |      |      |      |            |      |            |      |      |

2.1.6 Did you ever feel forced to vote for a particular party because of violence or threats of violence?

| Yes | No |
|-----|----|
|     |    |

2.1.7 Indicate whether you agree or disagree with the following

| The dominant party in a country must determine how elections are run                                 |       |                            |          |            |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|----------------------------|----------|------------|
|                                                                                                      | Agree | Neither agree nor disagree | Disagree | Don't know |
|                                                                                                      |       |                            |          |            |
| Opposition parties must not be allowed to campaign in areas known to be strongholds of another party |       |                            |          |            |
|                                                                                                      | Agree | Neither agree nor disagree | Disagree | Don't know |
|                                                                                                      |       |                            |          |            |

2.1.8 Indicate whether each of these statements has a bearing on the outcome of an election

|                                                                                                             |                                 |            |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------|
| <b>The dominant party in a country must determine how elections are run</b>                                 |                                 |            |
| Affects election result                                                                                     | Does not affect election result | Don't Know |
|                                                                                                             |                                 |            |
| <b>Opposition parties must not be allowed to campaign in areas known to be strongholds of another party</b> |                                 |            |
| Affects election result                                                                                     | Does not affect election result | Don't Know |
|                                                                                                             |                                 |            |

2.1.9 Sometimes it is acceptable for violence to be used in politics? Do you agree with this statement:

|                |       |                            |          |                   |            |
|----------------|-------|----------------------------|----------|-------------------|------------|
| Strongly agree | Agree | Neither agree nor disagree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree | Don't Know |
|                |       |                            |          |                   |            |

2.1.10 What do you believe to be the root causes of the political violence that occurred in Zimbabwe?

|               |                |                       |                                  |       |
|---------------|----------------|-----------------------|----------------------------------|-------|
| Colonial Rule | Power Struggle | Political Intolerance | Economic Motivation for conflict | Other |
|               |                |                       |                                  |       |

## 2.2 Violations

2.2.1 Were you a victim of any form of political violence?

|            |           |
|------------|-----------|
| <b>Yes</b> | <b>No</b> |
|            |           |

**(If No go to Q.2.2.10)**

2.2.2 If yes; what happened to you?

| <b>Form of violence</b> | <b>By officials(e.g. police)</b> | <b>By officials(e.g. vets, militia)</b> | <b>non war</b> | <b>Don't know who</b> |
|-------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|----------------|-----------------------|
| Rape                    |                                  |                                         |                |                       |
| Abduction               |                                  |                                         |                |                       |
| Torture                 |                                  |                                         |                |                       |
| Assault                 |                                  |                                         |                |                       |

|                           |  |  |  |
|---------------------------|--|--|--|
| Property destroyed        |  |  |  |
| House burnt (arson)       |  |  |  |
| Indecent assault          |  |  |  |
| Sexual violence(not rape) |  |  |  |
| Threats                   |  |  |  |
| Forced disappearance      |  |  |  |
| Arbitrary arrest          |  |  |  |
| Other (specify)           |  |  |  |

2.2.3 Were you physically maimed in the political violence?

| Yes | No |
|-----|----|
|     |    |

(If No go to Q.2.2.6)

2.2.4 Did you seek medical attention?

| Yes | No |
|-----|----|
|     |    |

If yes where?

| Public hospital | Private hospital | Clinic | Traditional healer | Religious healer(prophet) | Civil Society Organisation (e.g. CSU) | Church facility |
|-----------------|------------------|--------|--------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------------|-----------------|
|                 |                  |        |                    |                           |                                       |                 |

2.2.5 If no, why did you not seek medical attention?

| Injury not serious enough | Medical facility too far | Medical facility too expensive | No medical facilities | Other (specify) |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|
|                           |                          |                                |                       |                 |

2.2.6 Did you report the matter to the police?

| Yes | No |
|-----|----|
|     |    |

**(If No, go to Q. 2.2.8)**

2.2.7 If yes, state which police station you went to:

|  |
|--|
|  |
|--|

2.2.8 If no why did you not report the matter to the police?

| Fear of reprisal | Police also involved | Too injured to go and report | Other (specify) |
|------------------|----------------------|------------------------------|-----------------|
|                  |                      |                              |                 |

2.2.9 Did you seek legal advice?

| Yes | No |
|-----|----|
|     |    |

**(If No go to Q 2.2.10)**

|                                   |  |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| Private lawyer                    |  |
| Legal Resources Foundation        |  |
| Zimbabwe Human Rights Forum       |  |
| Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights |  |
| Other (specify)                   |  |

2.2.10 If no, why did you not go to a lawyer?

| No access | Cost too high | No knowledge of where to go | Other(specify) |
|-----------|---------------|-----------------------------|----------------|
|           |               |                             |                |

2.2.11 Do you think women were affected in a different way to men by politically motivated violence?

| Very much | Somewhat | Not much | Not at all | Don't know |
|-----------|----------|----------|------------|------------|
|           |          |          |            |            |

2.2.12 Why?

|  |
|--|
|  |
|--|

## 2.3 Witnessing

2.3.1 Did you witness any incidents of violence against your family member(s) separate from incidents in which you were involved?

| Yes | No |
|-----|----|
|     |    |

**(If no, go to Q. 2.3.3)**

2.3.2 If you said yes; how many incidents did you witness?

| 1 | 2-5 | 6-10 | More than 10 |
|---|-----|------|--------------|
|   |     |      |              |

2.3.3 If you said no, have any members of your family been victims of violence?

| Yes | No |
|-----|----|
|     |    |

**(If no, go to Q 2.3.5)**

2.3.4 What happened to the family member(s)? **(Can have multiple answers)**

| Form of violence          | By officials | By non officials | Don't know |
|---------------------------|--------------|------------------|------------|
| Murder                    |              |                  |            |
| Rape                      |              |                  |            |
| Abduction                 |              |                  |            |
| Torture                   |              |                  |            |
| Assault                   |              |                  |            |
| Property destroyed        |              |                  |            |
| House burnt               |              |                  |            |
| Indecent assault          |              |                  |            |
| Sexual violence(not rape) |              |                  |            |



|                      |  |  |  |
|----------------------|--|--|--|
| Threats              |  |  |  |
| Forced disappearance |  |  |  |
| Arbitrary arrest     |  |  |  |
| Other (specify)      |  |  |  |

2.3.5 Did you witness any incidents of violence against members of your community?

| Yes | No |
|-----|----|
|     |    |

**(If no go to Q.2.3.7)**

2.3.6 If you said yes; how many incidents did you witness?

|   |     |      |              |
|---|-----|------|--------------|
| 1 | 2-5 | 6-10 | More than 10 |
|   |     |      |              |

2.3.7 If you said no, has there been any violence in your community?

| Yes | No |
|-----|----|
|     |    |

2.3.8 What happened to the member(s) of your community? Multiple answers allowed

| Form of violence    | By officials | By non officials | Don't know |
|---------------------|--------------|------------------|------------|
| Murder              |              |                  |            |
| Rape                |              |                  |            |
| Abduction           |              |                  |            |
| Torture             |              |                  |            |
| Assault             |              |                  |            |
| Property destroyed  |              |                  |            |
| House burnt (arson) |              |                  |            |
| Indecent assault    |              |                  |            |

|                           |  |  |  |
|---------------------------|--|--|--|
| Sexual violence(not rape) |  |  |  |
| Threats                   |  |  |  |
| Forced disappearance      |  |  |  |
| Arbitrary arrest          |  |  |  |
| Other (specify)           |  |  |  |

2.3.9 If you personally witnessed incidents of violence against members of your family and/or your community which of the following groups were responsible for the perpetration of violence? **Tick all the groups you saw instigating violence but mark with a star on the one that you witnessed most frequently perpetrating violence.**

| Group                   | Against who: |        |           |
|-------------------------|--------------|--------|-----------|
|                         | Individual   | Family | Community |
| MDC-T men               |              |        |           |
| MDC-T women             |              |        |           |
| MDC-M men               |              |        |           |
| MDC-M women             |              |        |           |
| ZANU-PF men             |              |        |           |
| ZANU-PF women           |              |        |           |
| Youth Militia           |              |        |           |
| War veterans            |              |        |           |
| Police                  |              |        |           |
| Army                    |              |        |           |
| Individuals –identified |              |        |           |
| Unknown                 |              |        |           |
| Other (specify)         |              |        |           |

2.3.10 How has the violence impacted on your life? **Can have multiple answers**

|               |                     |                          |                |                |
|---------------|---------------------|--------------------------|----------------|----------------|
| Lost your job | Lost family/friends | Cannot work for yourself | Lost your home | Other(specify) |
|               |                     |                          |                |                |

2.3.11 Which of the following actors should be taking the lead to address violence against women that previously occurred in Zimbabwe?

| Government,<br>(including Executive<br>and Judiciary) | Parliament | Political parties | Civil society | Other |
|-------------------------------------------------------|------------|-------------------|---------------|-------|
|                                                       |            |                   |               |       |



## **The Research and Advocacy Unit [RAU]**

|                    |                                                                                      |
|--------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Address:</b>    | 2 Ernie's Lane, Monavale, HARARE, Zimbabwe                                           |
| <b>Telephone:</b>  | + 263(4) 339421                                                                      |
| <b>Fax:</b>        | +263(4) 339421                                                                       |
| <b>Cell phone:</b> | +263 772 273 839                                                                     |
| <b>Email:</b>      | admin@rau.co.zw                                                                      |
| <b>Website:</b>    | <a href="http://www.researchandadvocacyunit.org">www.researchandadvocacyunit.org</a> |