



Zimbabwe women and their participation in elections

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Women's participation in the political life of a country has always faced an uphill struggle. Beginning with the fight for the right to vote, which was granted very late even in such well-developed countries as Switzerland, a major hurdle has been the underlying patriarchy of many nations. The struggle for equal pay and rights in the work place is still ongoing, and, even where these rights are apparently protected by law, there remain the attitudes of men to overcome. However, in addition to patriarchy, women seeking to participate in politics must often not merely overcome the credibility gap imposed by patriarchal attitudes, but face even greater problems, and, in many countries, this is the danger of political violence, especially in countries where the contest for political power is intense and violent. Zimbabwe is such a country.

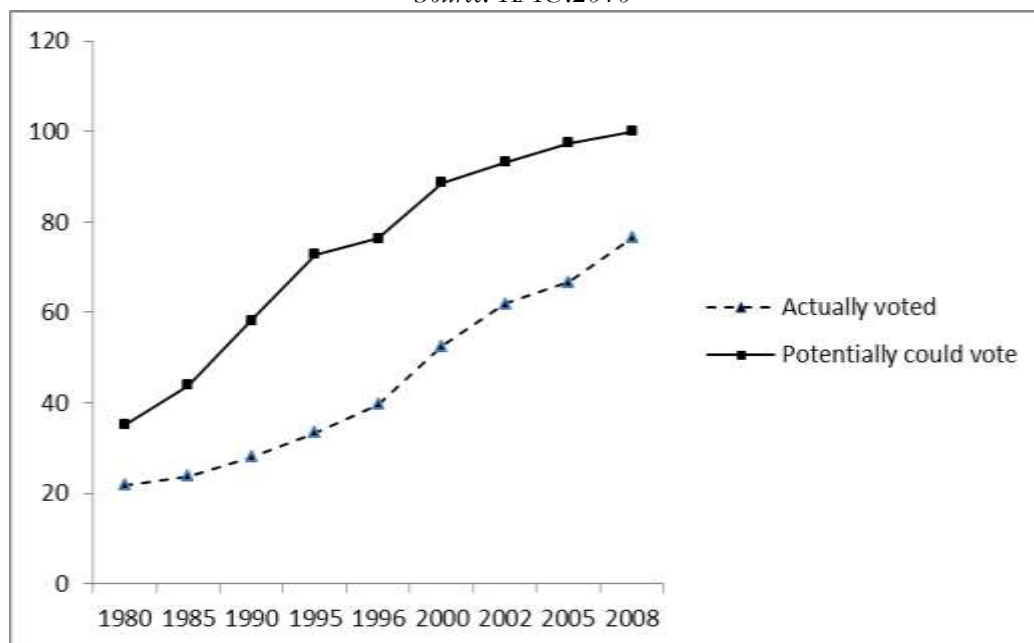
Women and Elections:

There is no doubt that women in Zimbabwe have a strong interest in the political life of their country. Based on the findings of a national poll of 2158 women, drawn from all 10 Provinces, in mid-November to early-December 2009, Zimbabwean women indicated this interest.

Women believe that they should participate in politics and increasing numbers of women are voting, although in less numbers than are actually eligible to vote, as can be seen from Figure 1 below.

Figure 1: Voting since 1980

Source: RAU.2010¹



There were a variety of reasons for not participating, some of which were purely administrative, such as failure to register or the inability to acquire a national ID². However, there other reasons, and here women report that they have become increasingly unsafe during elections, and very large numbers report that they have

¹ 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 Womens' Coalition of Zimbabwe (WCoZ). May 2010. HARARE: RESEARCH & ADVOCACY UNIT

² Acquiring official documents is another area in which women suffer discrimination in Zimbabwe. See Dube, R (2008), *A Right or a Privilege: Access to Identity and Citizenship in Zimbabwe*. November 2008. HARARE: RAU.

experienced violence during elections [See Table 1 below]. As can be seen, the numbers of women feeling unsafe during elections has been rising steadily since 2002, with nearly 70% reporting being unsafe in 2008

Table 1: Feelings of safety during elections since 1980

Source: RAU.2010

Year	Extremely safe	Safe	Neither safe nor unsafe	Unsafe	Extremely unsafe	Don't know
1980	14%	11%	1%	1%	0.5%	5%
1985	14%	14%	1%	1%	0.3%	4%
1990	14%	16%	2%	2%	0.4%	4%
1995	16%	19%	2%	2%	0.6%	4%
1996	16%	21%	3%	4%	0.9%	3%
2000	10%	20%	8%	17%	5%	2%
2002	7%	20%	7%	24%	10%	2%
2005	6%	16%	5%	0	46%	0
2008	5%	6%	3%	16%	52%	1%

Now, the assertion that women feel unsafe is not the same as actually being unsafe, but it is clear that these feelings are supported by women's actual experience [See Table 2]

Table 2: Experience of violence during election since 1980

Source: RAU.2010

Year	Number [%]
1980	0.1%
1985	0.3%
1990	0.3%
1995	0.2%
1996	1%
2000	9%
2002	20%
2005	19%
2008	62%

It is evident that there is a dramatic increase in political violence experienced by women since 2000, and that, according to women, political violence against women was rare in all elections prior to 2000, which corresponds exactly to the known facts about Zimbabwean elections. It is also striking that the number reporting feeling unsafe during elections in 2008 is very similar to the number reporting experiencing violence in the same year.

However, most women believe that violence is unacceptable during elections, and most women believe that the running of the electoral process should not favour any single party.

Violence and Elections in Zimbabwe:

Lest it be thought that the above findings are merely opinion and not fact, consider the evidence about elections since 2000. All elections in Zimbabwe since 2000 have been violent, and none have been internationally accepted: there have been disputes between Western countries and SADC in particular about the validity of elections since 2000, but no responsible nation was able to accept the June 2008 Presidential re-run. The

unacceptability of this last election was cause for the setting in place of a government of national unity, under a SADC-brokered Global Political Agreement (the GPA). Incidentally, the GPA has not found great favour with the women of Zimbabwe, who felt strongly that no civic voice was included in the drafting of this agreement, and, in particular, that there had been no attempt to canvass women's views.

But the issue at hand is politically motivated violence against women. It is abundantly clear that human rights violations are much more frequent during elections - before, during, and after. As can be seen from Table 3, virtually all human rights violations are more frequent during elections.

Table 3: Average number of violations per month, July 2001 to June 2009

Source: monthly reports of the Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum³

	No election [n=71]	Election month N=25]
Abduction	5.1	36.3
Arrest & detention	214.4	177.5
Assault	61.7	192.9
Attempted murder	0.5	1.4
Death threat	1.9	10.5
Disappearance	0.6	2.4
Displacement	23.9	65.2
Freedoms	219.4	220.2
Murder	1.8	12.5
Political discrimination	92.2	248.0
Property related	25.1	86.2
Rape	0.3	1.4
Torture	47.6	219.5
School closure	0.2	5.2

These statistics are not disaggregated for gender, but this was canvassed in the RAU 2009 survey.

- 52% stated that they had been victims of violence and 14% stated that they had been physically maimed;
- 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 state officials were threats, torture, assaults, 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 a startling 16% reported that someone in the community had been raped;
- 44% reported that women are affected differently by political violence,

³ See, for example, Zimbabwe 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.

giving reasons ranging from their weaker physical status to their inability to go into hiding due to their family responsibilities.

Now, this data does not allow a determination about which period the violations took place, but it can be assumed (as shown in Table 2) that most took place in the past decade. Of particular concern is the very high incidence of politically motivated rape, but some care must be taken in interpreting these findings. If it is true that 16% of women have been raped, this would be a frightening statistic, but it should be borne in mind that this is women reporting about rapes that they know about, and, of course, this may mean that many women may know about the same case in the community, and hence the figure is artificially high. However, that 2-3% have either experienced political rape or have a family member who was raped is still a frighteningly high number, and extrapolated to the general population means many thousands at least.

It is also clear that women know who are the villains, and can be seen from Table 4 [over], there is no doubt that the violence is one-sided, and strongly associated with the previous ZANU PF government. Of course, any involvement by the government agencies or failure to prevent the involvement of government agencies, let alone party political supporters, leads to accusations of crimes against humanity. Women were polled about their views of transitional justice and accountability in the same survey, but this is not germane to the present discussion, which concentrates on elections.

Table 4: Political party affiliation and violations (ZANU-PF versus MDC-T)

Source: RAU.2010

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

Now there is one way in which women's experience of politically motivated violence is mostly unique, and this involves sexual violence. This is not to say that men do not get sexually abused, but rather that this is an overwhelmingly common abuse against women, and not only during elections, but also in complex emergencies such as applies in the Eastern DRC currently.⁴

Sexual violence and elections

Politically motivated rape has been previously described as occurring both during the

⁴ See, for example, USAID/DCHA ASSESSMENT REPORT. *Sexual Terrorism: Rape as a Weapon of War in Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo. An assessment of programmatic responses to sexual violence in North Kivu, South Kivu, Maniema, and Orientale Provinces.* January 9-16, 2004.

Liberation War of the 1970s as well as during the disturbances in the 1980s, termed Gukurahundi.⁵

Since 2000, there have been increasing numbers of reports alleging politically motivated rape, but no specific examination of the issue. The most comprehensive and continuous record of human rights violations since 2000 has been the Monthly Political Violence Reports of the Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum – the Human Rights Forum. Since July 2001, when the first of these reports was issued, the Human Rights Forum has issued a total of 96 monthly reports. These reports detailed a total of 41,428 violations, but only 27 reports of rape.

In a report produced ahead of the 2008 Harmonised Elections, rape was only 0.1% of the total number of violations seen to that point.⁶ There are different possible interpretations of this very low figure: either politically motivated rape is very uncommon or cases are not being reported to the Human Rights Forum and its members, the latter being the most likely.

Similarly low figures for politically motivated rape are evident in the reports of the other major monitoring body, the Zimbabwe Peace Project [ZPP]. An indication can be taken from comparison of the Human Rights Forum and ZPP's reports on the violence in 2008, arguably the most violent election in Zimbabwe's history.

In 2008, monitoring the elections, the Human Rights Forum indicated that politically motivated rape constituted on 0.07% of the total violations reported, whilst the ZPP report that rape was 0.17% of all violations.⁷

On face value, this suggests that politically motivated rape has not been common in the past decade, but it is also evident that the reported rates increased as a function of the proximity to the community: 0.07%, the rate from victims reporting to urban-based organizations, increased to 0.17% when the reports emanated from community-based persons.

However, allegations about politically motivated rape have been included in a number of other reports. In 2002, the Amani Trust, in a study of 139 displaced commercial farm workers, reported that 4% of the women alleged rape during the disturbance that accompanied the farm invasions, but 14% of the sample alleged that they had witnessed rape.⁸ A subsequent study of commercial farmers and farm workers reported that 7% of farm workers had experienced politically motivated rape.⁹

In 2006, two reports were issued that mentioned politically motivated rape. The Human

⁵ See, for example, See, for example, CCJP, *The Man in the Middle: torture, resettlement and eviction* 1975 page 20; CCJP, *Civil War in Rhodesia: Abduction, Torture and Death in the Counter-Insurgency Campaign*. 1976; CCJP & LRF, *Breaking the Silence-Building True Peace: A Report on the Disturbances in Matabeleland and Midlands 1980 to 1988*.1997 page 13.

⁶ Zimbabwe 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.

⁷ CSVR (2009), *Subliminal Terror? Human rights violations and torture in Zimbabwe during 2008*. Report produced for the Centre for Violence and Reconciliation by Tony Reeler. June 2009. JOHANNESBURG: CSVR .

⁸ See Amani (2002), *Preliminary Report of a Survey on Internally Displaced Persons from Commercial Farms in Zimbabwe*, HARARE: ZIMBABWE.

⁹ JAG/RAU (2008), *Reckless Tragedy: Irreversible? A Survey of Human Rights Violations and Losses suffered by Commercial Farmers and Farm Workers from 2000 to 2008*. Report prepared by the Research and Advocacy Unit [RAU]. December 2008. HARARE: JUSTICE FOR AGRICULTURE TRUST.

Rights Forum, in a report on gender based political violence, indicated that 6% of the sample of 447 women reported rape.¹⁰ A higher percentage was reported in a study of women seeking asylum in South Africa; politically motivated rape was reported by 15% of the 102 women seen by the Zimbabwe Torture Victims/Survivors Project of the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation.¹¹

Other Zimbabwean studies have reported politically motivated rape. A study of the female members of the National Constitutional Assembly [NCA] reported that 8% of the sample of 231 alleged politically motivated rape.¹² An earlier study of the Women of Zimbabwe Arise [WOZA] did not find that rape was common, but 23% of the 1,983 women interviewed reported that they undergone degrading and humiliating treatment through the forced removal of their underwear whilst in custody.¹³ A third recent study, mainly concerned with psycho-social assistance to victims of organized violence and torture, reported that 5% of the sample of 102 survivors alleged politically motivated rape.¹⁴

One of the obvious difficulties in making any clear statements about politically motivated rape is that of distinguishing one form of rape from another, although this is obviously a moot point for the victims. The distinctions between various forms of rape – *forced concubinage, political rape, and genocidal rape* – are important, but it is not possible on the available reports to draw any clear conclusions about the prevalence of the different forms.

Two further studies are helpful in understanding politically motivated rape in Zimbabwe. Both were published in late 2009, and both dealt with examinations of alleged rape victims amongst women in exile outside Zimbabwe.

The first of these, by AidsFreeWorld, examined 70 alleged survivors, detailing 380 total acts of rape by 241 perpetrators; many of these rapes were by multiple perpetrators, mostly identified as supporters of ZANU PF, and, in many instances, the perpetrators could be clearly identified by the victims.¹⁵ These women were interviewed in South Africa and Botswana, where they had fled into exile. Forty of the 70 women also reported that they had been severely assaulted, either before or after the rape, with sticks, electric cords, logs or metal rods.

The second study, by the Medical Foundation for the Care of Victims of Torture, reported upon a sample of 100 women that had applied for asylum, and who had alleged torture.¹⁶ Twelve of the sample came from Zimbabwe. What was noteworthy about this

¹⁰ 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.

¹¹ CSVr (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.

¹² 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.

¹³ WOZA (2008), *The effects of fighting repression with love*. A report by Women of Zimbabwe Arise (WOZA). March 2008. ZIMBABWE: WOMEN OF ZIMBABWE ARISE.

¹⁴ RAU (2009), *A Research Note on the Effectiveness of the Tree of Life*. Report prepared by Tony Reeler [Director]. June 2009. HARARE: RESEARCH & ADVOCACY UNIT.

¹⁵ Aids-Free World. *Electing to Rape. Sexual Terror in Mugabe's Zimbabwe*. 2009 page 18.

¹⁶ Medical Foundation. *Justice Denied: The experiences of 100 torture surviving women of seeking justice and rehabilitation*. 2009 page 4.

study was that 80 had been raped, and 78 of these had been raped by multiple perpetrators.

Perhaps the only study from which some kind of inference can be drawn about the national prevalence of politically motivated rape comes from the national survey of women conducted by RAU, Idasa, the International Center for Transitional Justice [ICTJ] and the Women's Coalition of Zimbabwe in December 2009.¹⁷ This was outlined earlier.

The most recent study, by RAU and the Zimbabwe Association of Doctors for Human Rights [ZADHR], added greater depth to the understanding of politically motivated rape. In a clinical study of 34 women, of whom 27 were finally included in the sample, it was found that politically motivated rape was confirmed for all these cases. Rapes were reported as occurring in 2001 [1], 2002 [1], 2003 [1], and 2008 [24]. Hence, most rapes [89%] occurred in 2008, but, of course, there is no suggestion that rape was actually more common in 2008 than in any other year.¹⁸

A distressingly high number of the rapes [11] took place in public, at or near the victim's home, and witnessed by the victim's family and children. Most [21] were beaten prior to rape, some quite severely. Over three-quarters [21] were victims of multiple rape, with an average of three rapists per incident. One woman reported 3 separate rape incidences in June 2008 by a total of 13 perpetrators and 14 women reported 3 or more perpetrators to their rape.

Most [23] did not report the rape to the authorities at all. Only 4 reported the rape. Most of the women did not receive appropriate care for the trauma that they had experienced. Only one of the women reported having received therapeutic care for psychological consequences of the violence following the sexual assault. Of course there are additional hazards in Zimbabwe as a consequence of rape, and, after the rape, 15 underwent testing for HIV, with over half [8] testing positive. Most importantly, of the 7 victims that had undergone testing both before and after the rape, all 7 were now possibly HIV positive as a consequence of the rape.

So, it seems evident on the available evidence that politically motivated rape takes place, that it is more common during election periods, and may be of much greater frequency than is comfortable if the survey findings are any estimate.¹⁹

Women and the way forward:

The women of Zimbabwe have a very clear idea of what would bring peace to the country: the three most common responses to the question about what would bring peace were *an end to violence*, *free and fair elections*, and *democracy*.

¹⁷ RAU (2010), *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. HARARE: RESEARCH & ADVOCACY UNIT;

¹⁸ RAU (2010), *No Hiding Place. Politically Motivated Rape of Women in Zimbabwe*. Report prepared by the Research and Advocacy Unit (RAU) and the Zimbabwe Association of Doctors for Human Rights (ZADHR). December 2010. HARARE: RESEARCH & ADVOCACY UNIT;

¹⁹ More detailed explorations of political violence, elections, and other issues related to human rights, democracy, and good governance can be found on the RAU website [www.researchandadvocacyunit.org].

With the clear prospects of elections in 2013, and remotely in 2012, women have deep concerns about the nature of these future elections, and have proposed a clear set of steps that should be taken in order to ensure valid elections, and the full participation of women. Here the Women's Coalition of Zimbabwe has specified the "*MINIMUM CONDITIONS FOR WOMEN OF ZIMBABWE FOR FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS*" [see Appendix 1].

These conditions revolve around reforms in six key areas, and provide one of the more comprehensive proposals being forward into the current, ongoing negotiations being brokered by the SADC Facilitation team under President Jacob Zuma of South Africa. Unsurprisingly, there are a number of proposals aimed at dealing with the issue of politically motivated violence:

- The state should ensure full security of women and girls during election periods and end impunity;
- Parties must commit to non-violent campaigning and desist from hate speech in accordance with the GPA;
- Mainstreaming non-violence education in all awareness raising and voter education campaigns;
- The state should guarantee and safeguard freedom of movement, expression and assembly;
- The National Healing process should be funded and implemented in earnest by a legally constituted body;
- The state should promote adequate and continuous voter education targeted more specifically at women.

Most of these reforms are hinted at in the decisions of the SADC Troika Summit held in Livingstone, Zambia, in March 2011. These decisions, despite assertions to the contrary by ZANU PF, stand, and have been extended by the decisions of the Extraordinary Summit of the Heads of State and Government of SADC held in Johannesburg on 11th and 12th June 2011. One of the key matters decided in Johannesburg, which will be key to the development of safety for women, is the decision to strengthen the Joint Monitoring and Implementation Committee [JOMIC] of the Inclusive Government, and to second representatives of the Organ Troika to JOMIC. This enhanced capacity of JOMIC, a body tasked with investigating breaches of the GPA amongst other things, can allow women to challenge the prevailing impunity for violations by direct reporting to this body. This could very well act an inhibitory mechanism for violence and intimidation, and should be very strongly supported by all parties involved in the Zimbabwe crisis, both Zimbabwean and regional.

As will also be seen in Appendix 1, there are also a wide range of key reforms advocated by WCoZ, but, in summary, they cover the following areas:

1. Conducive environment for women to participate in elections;
2. Functional Commissions;
3. Reform of the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC);
4. Deployment of local, regional and international observers;
5. Media Reforms;
6. Accurate and complete voters roll.

Conclusions

This very brief excursion through the dilemmas faced by Zimbabwean women in engaging in political life cannot possibly do justice to the complexity of the problem, but hopefully can at least give a flavour of the problems and give a brief look at the manner in which women assert that these can be solved.

However, it is important to realize that, unless the scourge of politically motivated violence during elections is eliminated, then women will be not only be victims and potential victims of this violence (and in some of the most horrible ways imaginable, and multiple rape is certainly one of the more horrible things that can happen to a person), but will be discouraged from participating in political matters. The final result will be that women's voices will be absent from the most important institutions in the nation's life, and this can only be to the detriment of the nation.

It is thus crucial that strong support is lent to the international (and hence national) campaign being launched this year during the 16 Days of Gender Activism. The campaign this year launches a three-year campaign to eliminate militarism and political violence against women [see Appendix 2], and, given the alarming situation in Zimbabwe, it seems that Zimbabwean civil society organisations (and especially women's organisations) need to strongly endorse this campaign and mount an aggressive campaign within Zimbabwe to remove the scourge of political violence against women.

A previous version of this paper was submitted as part of the panel discussion on “Improving Women’s participation in electoral processes” at the UN Women Conference on “Leading Innovations for Gender Responsive Service Delivery”, 21-22 June 2011, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. This was part of the 2011 UN Public Service Forum on the theme of “Transformative Leadership in Public Administration and Innovation Governance: Creating a Better Life for All”.

Appendix 1
WOMEN'S COALITION OF ZIMBABWE [WCoZ]

WOMEN'S ROADMAP TO ELECTIONS (FRAMEWORK)

Background

Zimbabwe has been going through a socio-economic and political transition following the signing of the Global Political Agreement (GPA) on the 15th of September 2008 by the three main political parties. Critical issues that have lagged behind in implementation are;

- Writing of a new constitution in a democratic way
- A national healing process
- Socio-economic and political reconstruction
- Free and fair elections

MINIMUM CONDITIONS FOR WOMEN OF ZIMBABWE FOR FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS

2. Conducive environment for women to participate in elections

a) A new Constitution

- A Constitution that upholds the principles of participation of women in electoral and governance processes
- A new constitution that guarantees a quota and the 50/50 principle for women and men in decision making positions
- A hybrid political system that provides for the participation of women in politics
- Constitutional provisions for gender equity and equality as well as removal of Constitutional provision 23 (b) that allows for discrimination on the basis of customary law in matters of personal law

b) Legal reform and reform of repressive legislation

- Domestication of international and regional instruments dealing with women's empowerment specifically the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development
- Reform of repressive legislation such as POSA, AIPPA, BSA
- Amend the Political Parties Finance Act to allocate resources to women candidates
- Amend the Criminal Codification and Reform Act

c) An end to politically motivated violence and intimidation

- The state should ensure full security of women and girls during election periods and end impunity
- Parties must commit to non-violent campaigning and desist from hate speech in accordance with the GPA
- Mainstreaming non-violence education in all awareness raising and voter education campaigns
- The state should guarantee and safeguard freedom of movement, expression and assembly
- The National Healing process should be funded and implemented in earnest by a legally constituted body

- The state should promote adequate and continuous voter education targeted more specifically at women
- d) Promote intra-party democracy**
- All political parties should promote intra-party democracy to allow women to be better represented, including affirmative action policies
- e) Non-partisanship**
- Government should promote of nation building above party politics and De-politicisation of national and international days/events
 - Non-partisan use of state resources, humanitarian aid traditional leadership structures
 - Respect for the doctrine of separation of powers
- f) Functional Commissions**
- To ensure that the Human Rights, Media and Anti-corruption commissions become fully functional and are well resourced
- 3. Reform of the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC)**
- Transform ZEC to be a truly independent electoral commission with full mandate to oversee elections, answerable to a minister and reporting to parliament to increase its accountability
 - Effect 50/50 representation in the management body, programming and election observation
 - ZEC should be in charge of inviting and accrediting all observers
 - ZEC should be provided with adequate resources for running the election
 - Zimbabweans in the diaspora to be allowed to vote
- 4. Deployment of local, regional and international observers**
- Election observers should be gender sensitive and allows teams to have equal representation of women
 - Observers should come 6 months before and 3 months after the elections to observe the whole electoral cycle
 - Regional civic society observers should be invited and accredited on time
 - Zimbabwe should invite both monitors and observers for elections
 - Zimbabwe should adhere to SADC Principles & Guidelines for election observers
 - ZEC should decentralize registration and accreditation of local observers by carrying out the process at provincial and district level
 - We recommend that SADC governments and civic society be invited as monitors so as to play the interventionist role
 - Security of observers and monitors must be guaranteed by the state
 - The Code of conduct for election observation should be gender sensitive
 - ZEC should have authority to work throughout
- 5. Media Reforms**
- Government should facilitate the licensing of independent radio and TV stations

- Equitable access by women and men to the ZBC by all political parties and candidates
- TV and radio stations should make reasonable charges for airtime for political parties
- Zimbabwe should have gender sensitive media reforms to allow women's voices to be heard

6. Accurate and complete voters roll

- Women demand the reform of the Citizenship Act
- ZEC should allow all Zimbabweans to register to vote by removing the need to produce proof of residence
- ZEC should carry out mobile registration campaign
- Zimbabwean citizens must be allowed access to the electronic voters roll at no cost at any time
- ZEC should further cleaning of the voters roll to reflect current voters
- There should be adequate dissemination and publicity of information on the inspection of the voters roll

Appendix 2 2011 Theme

From Peace in the Home to Peace in the World: Let's Challenge Militarism and End Violence Against Women!

Building upon the information gathered from participants during the 2010 campaign, this year's 16 Days Campaign will delve further into five issues that were identified as priorities for those working on the intersections of violence against women and militarism:

1. **Bringing together women, peace, and human rights movements to challenge militarism:** For decades, women's, human rights, and peace movements have advocated for the use of peaceful strategies to end conflict and violence and to achieve women's rights. These movements challenge the socio-economic structures that allow violence and discrimination to continue. While we may have different approaches to bringing about a more just world, advocacy in all of these areas is inherently tied to challenging militarism and putting forward a feminist alternative. Civil society plays a crucial role in pushing for more expansive understandings of security that emphasize peace and the fulfillment of human rights as a way to achieve genuine security for all. There are many international tools and mechanisms that can help us hold our governments accountable for protecting and respecting rights (e.g., the Beijing Platform for Action, CEDAW, International Humanitarian Law, the Human Rights Council, the Security Council's Resolutions 1325, 1820, 1888, 1889, 1960 on Women, Peace, and Security, and more).
2. **Proliferation of small arms and their role in domestic violence:** Domestic violence is a reality in every country of the world. This violence becomes even more dangerous when guns are present in the home, as they can be used to threaten, injure, or kill women and children. According to the International Action Network on Small Arms (IANSA) Women's Network, women are three times more likely to die violently if there is a gun in the house. Small arms are also one of the major causes of civilian casualties in modern conflicts. Not only do small arms facilitate violence against women, due to their association with violent masculinity, they often perpetuate violence itself. Regardless of the context - conflict or peace - or immediate cause of the violence, the presence of guns invariably has the same effect: more guns mean more danger for women. Consequently, this year we will also look at the sale, trade, proliferation, and misuse of small arms.
3. **Sexual violence in and after conflict:** Rape is often used as a tactic of war to drive fear and humiliate or punish women, their families, and their communities. Sexual violence in conflict and post-conflict situations is used to reinforce gendered and political hierarchies. While there has been more attention to this crime in recent years, sexual violence remains a major barrier to women's safety and reintegration, as its effects are physically, psychologically, and socially devastating.
4. **Political violence against women, including Pre/During/Post-election violence:** The use of violence to achieve political goals has specific gendered implications. From electoral violence that targets women with sexual violence to harassment or

“sexuality baiting” of female protesters and political candidates, open misogyny in public and political spaces results in violations of women’s human rights. Even when women play crucial roles in peaceful revolutions, they may be excluded from political roles in the new governments. Governments that use force against their own civilians, suspend rule of law in an “emergency” period, use “anti-terrorism” laws to suppress pro-democracy movements or to silence human rights defenders also employ militaristic ideologies that attempt to pass off violence as “security” measures.

5. **Sexual and gender-based violence committed by state agents, particularly the police or military:** Even in places where there is no recognized conflict, militarized violence against civilians by uniformed personnel takes place. Militarism tends to privilege a particular form of aggressive masculinity, and sexual violence is one tool that might be used to assert power over others. Individuals in positions of authority may believe they can commit crimes with impunity, and this is exemplified by high rates of sexual violence within the military, threats by police to women reporting cases of violence or assault, violations committed by peace-keeping forces, and violence against women living and working around military bases.

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