



Political violence and intimidation against Teachers in Zimbabwe

**Report prepared for the Progressive
Teachers Union of Zimbabwe [PTUZ] by
the Research and Advocacy Unit [RAU].**

May 2012

Executive Summary

This report is a follow-up of a report published earlier in February titled, “Every School has a Story to Tell: Teachers experience with elections in Zimbabwe”. Whilst the first report is largely given in summary form, recording the violations that teachers have experienced since 2000, this present report gives deeper understanding to the violations and puts them in a global perspective. The report feeds into a broad campaign to promote the Right to Education by calling for the criminalisation of attacks on education and educational institutions. The report bridges the gap and provides knowledge of the existence and extent of attacks on education in Zimbabwe.

One of the key observations is that Zimbabwe, though not in a state of war, is listed amongst 9 countries that are leading in the attack on education. This is largely due to the fact that during every election since 2000, the country resembles a state of war as a result of state-sponsored violence. But the attacks on education and militarisation of educational institutions have escaped the attention they deserve and have only reported under general human rights violations. The extent of the continued occurrence of attacks on education contradicts the claims of high literacy rate figures Zimbabwe has recorded.

Importantly, the two reports lay a strong foundation for further research to aid the campaign to declare schools as safe zones for peace. These areas in need of further investigation would include specific aspects of the military involvement in education and political use.

Some of the key findings of the report include the following;

- *The age group of the teachers had an effect of whether teachers experienced or witnessed violence. The younger the teachers, the more prone they were to attacks. 18% of the sample was under the age of 30 and was unlikely to disclose their political or trade union affiliation because of the associated dangers.*
- *Affiliation to a trade union also had a bearing on whether one was attacked. 66% of the respondents refused to disclose their trade union affiliation as well as their political party affiliation. It is most likely that those associated with a trade union recorded high incidences of attack.*
- *The study also established that most violations that took place against teachers did so during school hours, or at the very least in full view of school children. This has long term effects on violence on the society as violence breeds violence.*
- *Since schools are major focal points for community activities, and mostly community-enhancing activities, this abuse of school facilities is extremely serious, especially, as was pointed out above, where children can be exposed to very damaging events. From the current data it is not possible to determine whether the bases identified were at schools or not: in the design of the study, it was felt to be too threatening to ask this question of the teachers.*
- *242 teachers stated that there was a base in their area, with bases mentioned in 46 Districts within Zimbabwe. 122 teachers could identify the commander by name, and the most important observation is that the bases fell under the command of officers with military background.*

The report concludes with a number of recommendations as follows:

1. *The Government of Zimbabwe must immediately declare schools as zones of peace and as such enact laws that restrict and criminalise the use or occupation of schools for political activities, especially during the electoral period.*
2. *Civic society and teacher unions must develop monitoring systems to detect early warning systems of attacks on education and to report political disturbances in schools in compliance with UN Resolution No. 1612 with additional modifications relevant to the situation in Zimbabwe.*
3. *The Ministry of Education in conjunction with critical stakeholders like the police, parents and teacher unions must set up school protection committees so that social services rendered by schools are not interrupted during times of conflict like elections*
4. *The Joint Monitoring and Implementation Committee (JOMIC) must actively investigate all reports involving political violence and intimidation against teachers, and at schools.*
5. *The government must uphold strictly provisions of paragraph 20 to the First Schedule of Statutory Instrument 1 of 2000 (Public Service Regulations, 2000) and clauses 79, 80 and 81 of the ILO/UNESCO Recommendations concerning the Status of Teachers to negate the current insistence on teachers being compelled to support only one political party.*
6. *The Ministry of Education must introduce civic education in the primary and secondary school curriculum which promotes national cohesion, peace and tolerance;*
7. *The process of national healing, if ever it is ever going to take off meaningfully, should have a thematic area dealing with the education sector in order to restore the social bond between teachers and communities which has been weakened by recurrent election violence and politicisation of the public service.*
8. *Overall compliance with the spirit and letter of the GPA is strongly recommended in order to curb on institutionalised violence.*

1. INTRODUCTION

Parts of the world are becoming a deadly place to be a student, teacher or education official. Attacks on education often escape international attention amid the general fighting in conflict-affected countries. But the number of reported assassinations, bombings and burnings of school and academic staff and buildings has risen dramatically in the past three years, reflecting the increasingly bloody nature of local conflicts around the world. Accurate global figures do not exist for the number of teachers, students or officials killed each year, or for other types of attack such as abductions, torture and threats of violence, nor are there accurate global figures for the number of attacks on schools, universities and education offices. But there are specific figures for the number of incidents in particular countries and territories, and they suggest that the worst affected in the past five years include Afghanistan, Colombia, Iraq, Nepal, the Palestinian Autonomous Territories, Thailand and Zimbabwe, and in all cases except Nepal the conflict is ongoing. [Brendan O'Malley. 2007. UNESCO]

It is invidious that Zimbabwe, with its renowned education system, should now feature in an international report on political violence against teachers. However, as the above excerpt points out, it is perhaps never surprising that education systems are dragged into political conflicts, for the hearts and minds of the young are always a threat to autocratic governments. This has been no more evident than in the turmoil that has afflicted North African countries during 2011, and, in Zimbabwe too, the disaffection of the young for the continued political reign of ZANU PF has been strikingly evident since 2000. And, of course, between the needs of the politicians and the young, stand teachers and their schools, but, whilst there has been considerable attention paid to children and young persons in situations of war and low-intensity conflict, too often there has been only peripheral attention to the burdens of the teachers, except as incidental to the needs of children.

The issue of the *impact of armed conflict on children* was given expression in a Note by the Secretary-General of the United Nations in 1996¹. Dealing mostly with effects of frank war, the report was also concerned with lesser political disturbances, where it was commented in Section 188:

It is less difficult to maintain educational services during low-intensity conflicts, as in Sri Lanka and Peru, and schooling is likely to continue during periodic lulls in countries where fighting is intermittent or seasonal. Even where services are maintained, however, education will be of lower quality. Funds will be short and the supply of materials slow or erratic. In addition, fear and disruption make it difficult to create an atmosphere conducive to learning and the morale of both teachers and pupils is likely to be low. Studies in Palestinian schools reported that teachers and students had difficulty concentrating, particularly if they had witnessed or experienced violence or had family members in prison or in hiding. Teachers are also exposed to political pressure: in Kurdish areas in Turkey, for example, teachers have been threatened by non-state forces for continuing to teach the Turkish curriculum. In some countries, teachers have been forced to inform on students and their families. Teachers who go for long periods without salaries are more susceptible to corruption.

¹ *Impact of armed conflict on children: Note by the Secretary-General.* August 1996. Fifty-first session. Item 108 of the provisional agenda [A/51/150]. PROMOTION AND PROTECTION OF THE RIGHTS OF CHILDREN UNITED NATIONS Distr. GENERAL A/51/306. 26.

As can be seen, there is recognition that the needs of children as far as schools in times of violence are concerned is intertwined with the needs of teachers, but it is still fair to observe that the major preoccupation (and rightly so) has been on children².

It is clear though that teachers and schools are common targets in times of political disturbance, and increasingly so as the excerpt at the beginning points out, with attacks on education – schools, teachers, and pupils – in no less than eight countries. In Thailand, for example, it has been reported that over 100 teachers were killed in the southern border provinces in the period between January 2004 and September 2010, with an equal number injured³. In Sri Lanka, military attacks had damaged or destroyed 261 schools, with more than 250,000 children having their education disturbed. Many schools were turned into internally displaced persons (IDP) camps or military shelters⁴. In Nepal, 28 teachers were killed after the state of emergency was declared in 2001. In the worst situations, the education system can be almost destroyed as was the case in Cambodia where 80% of teachers were killed by the Pol Pot regime, and a similar percentage was killed in Rwanda.

Table1: Select human rights violations against educators in Colombia (1991-2006)
Source: Nicolai (2009)⁵

	Murder	Death threat	Disappearance	Forced displacement	Torture	Total
1991	44	2	1	0	3	50
1992	28	3	1	0	5	37
1993	14	0	3	0	0	17
1994	38	0	2	0	3	43
1995	31	1	4	0	4	40
1996	69	163	6	1	0	239
1997	84	285	1	261	0	631
1998	49	228	3	425	0	705
1999	39	365	3	26	0	433
2000	60	37	13	136	2	248
2001	84	49	7	26	0	166
2002	94	20	4	3	0	121
2003	49	212	3	89	0	353
Total	683	1365	51	967	17	3083
%	22	44	2	31	1	

² Since 1999, the UN Security Council has adopted seven resolutions to improve the protection of children during armed conflict. In 2005, through UN Security Council Resolution 1612, the UN Security Council created a monitoring and reporting mechanism (MRM) to collect timely and reliable information on six grave violations committed against children in situations of armed conflict, including killing or maiming, recruitment or use of child soldiers, attacks against schools, rape or other grave sexual violence, abduction, and the denial of humanitarian access. See *An uncertain future? Children and Armed Conflict in the Central African Republic*. May 2011. WatchList on Children and Armed Conflict.

³ “Targets of Both Sides”. *Violence against Students, Teachers, and Schools in Thailand’s Southern Border Provinces*. September 2010. Human Rights Watch.

⁴ *No Safety No Escape: Children and the Escalating Armed Conflict in Sri Lanka*. April 2008. WatchList on Children and Armed Conflict.

⁵ Nicolai, S (2009), *Opportunities for Change. Education innovation and reform during and after conflict*. UNESCO & INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR EDUCATIONAL PLANNING.

As an example of the kinds of risks that can be faced by teachers during times of organised violence, Table 1 shows the violations reported in Colombia during the period 1991 to 2006. It is apparent that the personal risks to teachers are not trivial; for example, an average of 53 teachers per year have been killed since 1991. The kinds of violations seen in Colombia are very similar to those seen in Zimbabwe generally since 2000.

There are additional consequences to widespread political violence where teachers may flee into exile or leave the profession, and, more sinister, teachers are recruited into to conflict themselves or are forced to drive the ideological imperatives of a regime.

In a detailed review on schools and armed conflict, Human Rights Watch made a number of recommendations to address this growing problem⁶:

- *All countries should enact domestic legislation that prohibits as a war crime intentionally attacking buildings dedicated to education, provided they are not military objectives. For ICC states parties, this prohibition should be included in legislation implementing the Rome Statute.*
- *All countries that lack regulation over the military use of schools should consider enacting domestic legislation or other policies that prohibit armed forces and armed groups from using or occupying schools, school grounds, or other education facilities in a manner that either violates the international humanitarian law requirement to take all feasible precautions to protect the civilian population and civilian objects against the effects of attacks, or that violates the right to education under international human rights law.*

Human Rights Watch also made a further set of recommendations to governments on appropriate policies and regulations that should control the relationship between government security forces and the education system.

Questions of protection are obviously important, but there are other aspects of the problems caused by war and low-intensity conflict, and, as pointed out in a comprehensive review by DFID, these concern the perversion of the educational system for direct political purposes. As the report comments⁷:

*The existence of conflict inevitably raises questions concerning government views on the **purpose of education** and the extent to which education is seen as a tool for political or ideological purposes. Political involvement in operational matters, such as education appointments, deployment of teachers, determination of the curriculum etc., may provide some indication of the extent to which government perceives education as mainly about 'social control' or about 'empowerment' through social, economic and cultural development. Military expenditure compared to education is an important indicator of the relative importance attached to education.*

The report goes on to state:

⁶ *Schools and Armed Conflict. A Global Survey of Domestic Laws and State Practice Protecting Schools from Attack and Military Use.* July 2011. Human Rights Watch.

⁷ *Education, Conflict, and International Development.* February 2003. Department for International Development. [Sections 67 & 68, p23].

*In many circumstances political elites are likely to want to use education for their own purposes. Where there is conflict this suggests an even greater need for systems and structures that ‘insulate’ the education sector from **political bias**, potential **corruption** and interference in operational decisions to implement policy. Capacity building and training for those working within the public service may therefore be a necessary prerequisite for the success of any overall education sector plan that takes account of conflict.*

This is not a trivial point and the need for a politically impartial education system is endorsed by UNESCO⁸:

Governments and parties to conflict should work to ensure education is perceived as neutral by ensuring schools, colleges and universities are transparently run in an inclusive, nonsectarian non-discriminatory way, regardless of sex, creed or ethnicity, and that curricula are non-propagandist and sensitive to local linguistic, cultural and religious specificities.

These are all matters that concern Zimbabwe, running the range from guarantees of protection for teachers and pupils through the use of schools for military or political purpose to the need to ensure an educational system free from direct political manipulation. This present report will focus mainly on teachers, but, as will be seen, the data does indicate the effects for schools and pupils too.

1.1 Political violence and the Zimbabwe school system

It is important to point out at the outset that there can be no claims that Zimbabwe is suffering from a war, but it can be reliably claimed that there has been continuous political violence since the 2000 Constitutional Referendum, which at times approaches the level of low-intensity conflict, particularly during elections. There have been 5 major elections in Zimbabwe since 2000 – the 2000 Parliamentary Election, the 2002 Presidential Election, the 2005 Parliamentary Election, the March 2008 Harmonised Elections, and the June 2008 Presidential re-run – and, of these elections, three – the 2000 Parliamentary Election, the 2002 Presidential Election, and the June 2008 Presidential re-run – have been exceedingly violent⁹. There have also been a large number of by-elections in which violence has been prominent feature¹⁰.

As was pointed out in the preliminary report¹¹, there has been little specific reporting on political violence and intimidation against teachers since 2000. The first relatively detailed report was produced by the Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum in 2002, which was the basis for a number of other reports, including a letter from the Canadian Association of University Teachers to President Mugabe¹². Drawing on this report, UNESCO observed the following in its 2007 report:

⁸ *Education under Attack. A global study on targeted political and military violence against education staff, students, teachers, union and government officials, and institutions.* Brendan O'Malley. 2007. UNESCO.

⁹ Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum (2001), *Politically motivated violence in Zimbabwe 2000–2001. A report on the campaign of political repression conducted by the Zimbabwean Government under the guise of carrying out land reform*, HARARE: ZIMBABWE HUMAN RIGHTS NGO FORUM; Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum (2002), *Human Rights and Zimbabwe's Presidential Election: March 2002*, HARARE: ZIMBABWE HUMAN RIGHTS NGO FORUM; CSVR (2009), *Subliminal Terror? Human rights violations and torture in Zimbabwe during 2008*. June 2009. JOHANNESBURG: CSVR.

¹⁰ See, for example, Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum (2001), *Report on Election-related Political Violence in Chikomba*, HARARE: ZIMBABWE HUMAN RIGHTS NGO FORUM.

¹¹ See *The Anatomy of Terror* [available at <http://www.sokwanele.com/node/2334>].

¹² Canadian Association of University Teachers (23 May, 2000) letter to President Mugabe of Zimbabwe.

Zimbabwe: *Between 2001 and 2002, there were at least 238 human rights violations against teachers, including 34 cases of torture, 75 incidents of assault, 13 death threats, 45 school closures and 6 abductions. In addition, 2 ministers were alleged to have issued death threats against student leaders and their principals for supporting the opposition Movement for Democratic Change. In 2000, there were allegations of rape and molestation of female teachers and severe beatings of teachers and headmasters due to their political allegiance*¹³.

Save the Children (UK), in a 2010 report produced for a 2011 global report, noted the adverse consequences of the politicisation of the School Development Committee and the activities of the youth militia, the so-called “Border Gezi Youth” or the “Green Bombers”¹⁴. So it is clear that the attacks on teachers and schools are receiving international attention, but it is also evident that those international agencies concerned with political violence and intimidation against schools, teachers, and pupils are drawing on relatively old data, and also on more anecdotal reporting.

Important in the Save the Children report is the attention given to the School Development Committees (SDC). Originally established to increase the involvement of the local community in the running of the schools, SDCs are argued to be highly susceptible to political influence, particularly through the power of Ward Councillors, many of whom in the rural areas of Zimbabwe act determinedly in the interests of ZANU PF¹⁵. As Save the Children comment:

It is often the case that considerable influence is exerted by the ward councillor, and it is not unusual to find that other members of the SDC belong to the councillor’s political party, making it easy for bias to enter the system and leave the school governance open to manipulation for political purposes. Although no documented cases exist, there is much anecdotal evidence from NGOs that children are favoured, or not, by the SDC according to the political allegiance of their family. This bias manifests itself particularly in the allocation of the Basic Education Assistance Module (BEAM), with only children from the same political party as the ward councillor benefitting from the programme. For teachers, those with opposing political views have been intimidated and forced to relocate – this too has consequences for children, who are left with fewer teachers and a diminishing quality of education.

The Save the Children report also devotes some detail to the activities of the “youth militia” – a general term for ZANU PF supporters as well as the graduates of the National Youth Service training scheme that has operated on and off since 2002. The effects of the youth militia have been documented in several reports¹⁶, and referred to in many others. The youth militia (and especially those graduating from the National Youth Service Training scheme are not an insignificant constituency, with one estimate arguing that about 29,000 had passed through the

¹³ See again *Education under Attack. A global study on targeted political and military violence against education staff, students, teachers, union and government officials, and institutions*. Brendan O’Malley. 2007. UNESCO.

¹⁴ *School Development Committees and Youth Militia in Zimbabwe*, in *Case studies on the role of politicisation of education in conflict-affected countries. The Hidden Crisis: Armed Conflict and Education*. Background paper prepared for the Education for All Global Monitoring Report 2011. August 2010. SAVE THE CHILDREN (UK).

¹⁵ For a comprehensive analysis of the extent to which ZANU PF controls virtually all aspects of rural life (and including the schools), see Matyszak, D.A (2010), *Formal Structures of Power in Rural Zimbabwe*. November 2010. HARARE: RESEARCH & ADVOCACY UNIT. See also *The Anatomy of Terror* [available at <http://www.sokwanele.com/node/2334>].

¹⁶ See, for example, Solidarity Peace Trust (2003), *National youth service training – “shaping youths in a truly Zimbabwean manner”*. An overview of youth militia training and activities in Zimbabwe, October 2000 – August 2003. 5 September, 2003. ZIMBABWE & SOUTH AFRICA: SOLIDARITY PEACE TRUST.

scheme. This is not trivial when it is recognized that the training was explicitly ideological, and wholly in support of ZANU PF's ideological perspective. It is alleged that many of these "graduates" have been given employment within the educational system, where their influence can be seriously detrimental to the aims of bona fide learning. As Save the Children comment again:

There are also reports of incidences of militia going into schools in many other areas over this same period, making "hate speeches" about the teachers and systematically assaulting them in the presence of their pupils. In July 2009, the Progressive Teachers Union of Zimbabwe (PTUZ) reported that the same youth militia implicated in the election violence of 2008 had established bases in schools around the country and were intimidating teachers. Reports from the PTUZ cite teachers being pulled from classes and beaten as "sell-outs and puppets of the west". The type of intimidation can range from full-scale beatings to enforced attendance at meetings or "re-education" camps where lessons centre on a biased view of the country's history.

However, it is clear from the many reports of the Human Rights Forum, and specifically the report on violations against teachers, that it is not merely youth militia who are the culprits. As an illustration the case below identifies "war veterans", ZANU PF supporters, other teachers, education support staff, and even officials of the Ministry of Education as being involved.

Shamva

13 January 2002

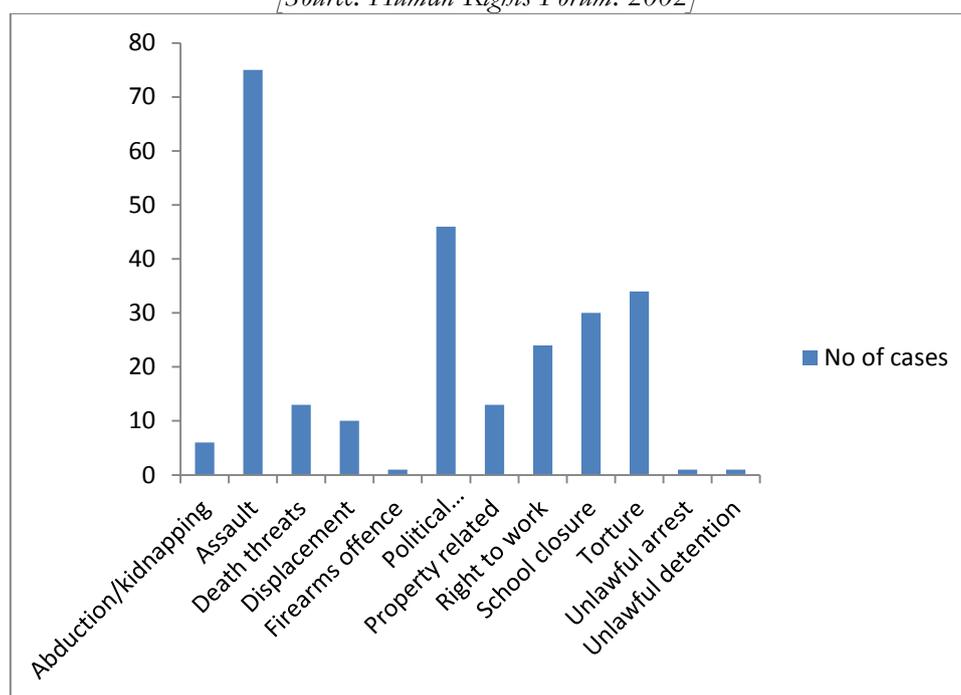
Collin Kamarizeni (Deputy Headmaster), Florence Usayi (Senior female teacher), Kennedy Mafondera (Senior male teacher) and an unnamed temporary teacher were allegedly assaulted by a group of "war veterans" and Zanu PF youths. They ordered the transfer of four teachers on allegations that they were MDC supporters. A report was made to the police but no action had been taken at the time of the report. A group of thirty "war veterans" and Zanu PF youths set up a base at Chindunduma Two High School. They were receiving free food rations from the school kitchen. Christine Dhewa, the school matron, also the Zanu PF District Chairperson in the women's league, was allegedly giving the group food and material support. The school head, Ella Pawandima, allowed the group to use the school's Nissan truck in their terror campaigns in the area. Lakayana Dube, the Mashonaland Regional Director for Education, denied any knowledge of the forced transfers. However it is alleged that Dube facilitated the transfers.

This case also illustrates the co-ordinated system of repression that can exist in a rural setting, a system that continues to date, and was comprehensively described in a 2010 report. This report, *the Anatomy of Terror*, indicated that ZANU PF supporters, "war veterans", youth militia, the Zimbabwe Republic Police [ZRP], the Zimbabwe National Army [ZNA], the Central Intelligence Organisation [CIO], and traditional leaders all seemed to co-operate in ensuring that there would be little or no support for opposition political parties in the rural areas of Zimbabwe¹⁷. The types of violations reported as being perpetrated against teachers are again not trivial, as can be seen from Table 2.

¹⁷ See again *The Anatomy of Terror* [available at <http://www.sokwanele.com/node/2334>].

Figure 1: Human Rights Violations against Teachers, 1 January 2001 to 31 June 2002

[Source: Human Rights Forum, 2002]¹⁸



In a report released around the same time as the Human Rights Forum report, it was noted that, in 2002, schools had become focal points for the perpetration of violence and other forms of abuse, with over 40% of reported “bases” being at schools¹⁹.

However, these reports were released in 2002 and 2003, and much has happened since. It is clear that gross human rights and other human rights violations have been consistently reported since 2002, but what has not been clear is the extent to which schools, teachers, and pupils have been targets. This was the aim of national study by the Progressive Teachers Union of Zimbabwe [PTUZ] in 2011, with the issue of a preliminary report on the study in January 2012²⁰. This preliminary report released the very general findings from the survey, and the current report gives the more detailed information and further analysis.

2. METHODOLOGY

The methodology for the study was described in the previous report, but, briefly, it involved the following. A questionnaire was drafted and tested with a group of teachers randomly selected from Mashonaland East province and within and around Harare. A set of Enumerators underwent training in administering the questionnaire. Every care was undertaken to have the sample population 51% representative of women. This was however difficult, especially in the rural constituencies, where many female teachers refused point blank to take part in the survey. The major reason given was fear of reprisal as the main structures of violence within the

¹⁸ Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum (2002), *Teaching them a lesson. A report on the attack on Zimbabwean teachers*, HARARE: ZIMBABWE HUMAN RIGHTS NGO FORUM.

¹⁹ Reeler, A.P. (2003), *The Perpetrators of Gross Human Rights Violations in Zimbabwe from February 2000 to March 2003*, Paper presented to “Civil Society and Justice in Zimbabwe: A Symposium”, organised by the Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum, Themba Le Sizwe and the International Bar Association, Holiday Inn, Johannesburg, 11-13 August 2003.

²⁰ See again *The Anatomy of Terror* [available at <http://www.sokwanele.com/node/2334>].

communities are still intact. However, despite the fears, the demographic distribution goals were achieved with 51% female respondents compared with 49% male respondents.

It is also worth noting that the sample was largely biased towards rural areas. This is explained by the fact that most of the schools in Zimbabwe are rural based. It was also evident in that most of the violations reported in the initial desk study were reported in rural areas, which is also consistent with all human rights reports since 2000.

The allocation of questionnaires was determined by the number of schools in each province and district. The targeted sample was 1,200 teachers, randomly selected from schools, with a bias for 51:49 female teachers. In addition, the sample of teachers was drawn from 16% of the schools in each Province, which finally worked out as an average of 17 schools per District from 54 Districts sampled. The sampling was based on data from the Ministry of Education.

A total of 1200 questionnaires were distributed to the enumerators, and a total of 1159 completed questionnaires were finally received, which was a 97% return rate. Of the returned questionnaires, 1086 were available for analysis after cleaning, which then gave a 91% return rate (or 94% of the actual returns). This was felt to be an acceptable rate of return given the difficulties and insecurities associated with doing community surveys in current Zimbabwe.

Only one Province, Mashonaland East, had a return rate below the 3% confidence level for the rate of return, but three Provinces, Mashonaland West, Matabeleland North, and the Midlands, had rates that were greater than the expected return rate. In all, samples were obtained from 53 different districts, with an average of 21 questionnaires per district.

For the present report, we were concerned to examine the effects of a number of factors that have been shown in previous human rights reports to affect the frequency of violations – place of residence (Province, rural or urban, etc), gender, age, political affiliation, elections, etc - as well as a number of factors that were highly relevant to teachers – belonging to a union, violations taking place at school, child witnesses, and being an election official. For this report, the data were further cleaned, taking out all incomplete questionnaires, leaving a total of 823 cases, which was 69% of the total issued and 71% of the returns. Statistical analysis was carried out to examine the effects of all these factors. Only significant findings are reported and commented on in this report.

3. POLITICAL VIOLENCE AND INTIMIDATION

As can be seen from Table 2, ZANU PF supporters, War veterans, and Youth Militia are reported to be associated with every one of the 11 violations sampled. The Zimbabwe National Army [ZNA] and the Central Intelligence Organisation [CIO] are reported to be associated with 9 of the 11 violations, whilst the Zimbabwe Republic Police [ZRP] and Traditional leaders are associated with 8 out of the 11 violations.

Table 2: Significant associations between perpetrators and violations for teachers.

Abduction	ZANU PF supporter, War veterans, Youth Militia, ZNA, ZRP, CIO, Traditional leader
Assault	ZANU PF supporter, War veterans, Youth militia, ZNA, ZRP, CIO, Traditional leader, Fellow teacher
Disappearances	ZANU PF supporter, War veterans, Youth militia, ZNA, ZRP, CIO, Traditional leader, Ministry of Education official
Extortion	ZANU PF supporter, War veterans, Youth militia, ZNA, ZRP, CIO, Traditional leader, Fellow teacher, Ministry of Education official
Indecent assault	ZANU PF supporter, War veterans, Youth militia, ZNA, ZRP, CIO, Traditional leader, Fellow teacher, Ministry of Education official
Other violence	ZANU PF supporter, War veterans, Youth militia, Traditional leader, Ministry of Education official
Property destruction & theft	ZANU PF supporter, War veterans, Youth militia, ZNA, ZRP, CIO, Traditional leader, Fellow teacher, Ministry of Education official
Rape	War veterans, Youth militia, ZRP, CIO, Fellow teachers
Sexual violence	ZANU PF supporter, War veterans, Youth militia, ZNA, CIO
Threats	ZANU PF supporter, War veterans, Youth militia, ZNA, ZRP, CIO, Traditional leader, Fellow teacher, Ministry of Education official
Torture	ZANU PF supporter, War veterans, Youth militia, ZNA, Traditional leader, Fellow teacher

Alarming, fellow teachers are reported to be associated with 7 of the 11, including assault, indecent assault, rape, and torture, and, even more seriously, Ministry of Education officials are reported as involved in 6 out the 11, including disappearances and indecent assault, as well as extortion, property destruction and theft, and threats.

Overall, this picture – of the many different agencies and bodies being involved in political violence and intimidation – corresponds closely to that reported in many other human rights reports. In particular, the pattern of all of these agencies and bodies collaborating in political violence and intimidation fits very closely with that found in an empirical investigation of 15 constituencies mentioned above. As this report concluded:

ZANU PF has clearly developed a comprehensive strategy for dealing with other parties competing in elections that strongly draws on its control of the structures and processes operating in the rural areas. Each aspect of a villager's life, from the very ability to occupy land within the area, access to food, agricultural inputs, and, in some instances, access to his or her church, may be subject to the control of ZANU PF. This is accomplished through the control over formal governmental structures as provided by statute, the adulteration of these structures and legislated procedures, through traditional authorities, and through ZANU PF party structures and personnel in the area in question.²¹

3.1 Gender:

51% of the sample was female. Women teachers did not report significantly more frequent violations than males. However, there were a number of differences that seem important.

²¹ See again *The Anatomy of Terror* [available at <http://www.sokwanele.com/node/2334>].

Firstly, women were significantly younger than the males. Secondly, women were more likely to admit membership of a trade union. Thirdly, women were more likely to admit to membership of ZANU PF or ZAPU, but less likely to admit to membership of the MDC parties. Fourthly, women were more likely to report having been forced to vote in all elections since 2000, including the Constitutional referendum, but only experiencing violence in 2000 and 2002. This suggests that women are easier to intimidate generally, but also that the violence and intimidation became more indiscriminate in the later elections. Fifthly, women were more likely to report having been forced to vote, having direct experience of violence, and to have reported the violation to the police.

3.2 Age:

Age was another factor that may have been relevant, given that the support for the MDC parties is generally drawn from the younger age groups in Zimbabwe. 18% of the sample was under the age of 30 years, and a contrast was done between the under-30 and the over-30 age groups. Significantly more teachers under 30 years were unwilling to disclose their union affiliation or their political party preference. Higher frequencies of the younger group were forced to vote, were victims of political violence, had been physically injured, and had reported the violation to the police. As regards being forced to vote, the younger group reported this more frequently for all elections since (and including) the 2000 Constitutional Referendum, but there were very high frequencies for both groups in the 2008 Presidential re-run.

This all suggests that the younger age group (which has been identified as more likely to support the opposition political parties) were more probable targets for political violence and intimidation.

3.3 Political Party affiliation:

It is evident since 2000 that being a member or suspected member of the MDC increased the probability of experiencing political violence and intimidation. In this survey, teachers that expressed a political party affiliation as opposed to those that were reluctant to say (or did not have any preference) were much more likely to report having been forced to vote, having an experience of political violence or intimidation, or to having been physically injured. 66% of the respondents refused to state any preference for a political party (if they had any), and teachers expressing party affiliation [irrespective of party] reported significantly more violations (9.77) than those that did not (8.25). Those with expressed party affiliation for the MDC-T had significantly more frequent violations on average²², as did those that expressed any form of trade union affiliation (see also Section 3.3 below).

Elections were clearly times of greater risk for those teachers with expressed political party affiliations, with this group reporting having been forced to vote in every election since (and including) the 2000 Constitutional Referendum, and having experienced violence in every election since 2000 apart from the 2005 Parliamentary election.

It is evident that the patterns vary according to the group, but, in respect of teachers that report being politically affiliated (and are probably known as such in the communities in which they live), all groups involved in perpetrating violence and intimidation are mentioned in respect of virtually all violations. Those with expressed political party affiliations reported higher frequencies of violations at the hands of War veterans, Youth militia, the ZNA, the ZRP, the CIO, Traditional leaders, and Ministry of Education officials.

²² 10.67 vs 8.50 violations.

3.4 Trade Union affiliation:

In addition to political affiliation, the study also examined trade union affiliation, since trade unionists have been frequent targets for political violence. Firstly, a contrast was made between those who admitted belonging to any trade union and those that were unwilling to state any affiliation, if any.

3.4.1 Admit or deny affiliation:

In contrast to the refusal of teachers to state their political party preference (where 66% said that they did not want to answer the question), only 20% of teachers were unwilling to state which union they belonged to. Those admitting trade union affiliation were significantly more likely to report more violations than those refusing or being unwilling to state such affiliation²³, but there were fewer significant differences in perpetrators and their violations compared with those that admitted a political affiliation [see Table 2 above]. Union members were significantly more likely to report indecent assault, sexual violence, threats, extortion, and abductions. The most frequently reported perpetrators for union members were ZANU PF members, war veterans, the ZNA, the ZRP, the CIO, and Fellow teachers.

Those that were willing to state their union affiliation were also significantly more likely to refuse to disclose their political party preference, but were also significantly more likely to have been forced to vote, with the 2002 Presidential election, the 2005 Parliamentary election, and the 2008 elections in March being seen as the elections in which they were forced to vote. The same group reported experiencing political violence during elections in 2000 [Constitutional referendum], the 2000 Parliamentary election, the 2002 Presidential election, and the March 2008 Harmonised elections. Finally, union members were more likely to report that school children were likely to have witnessed violence and intimidation, whether at school (during working hours) or at home, and they, themselves, had witnessed political violence or intimidation.

3.4.2 PTUZ affiliation:

Since the PTUZ seems to have been a particular target for political violence and intimidation amongst the teachers unions, this was examined separately. Of those that were willing to disclose their union affiliation, 56% were members of PTUZ, with the remainder divided between ZIMTA [30%], the TUZ [4%], and 10% reported being a member of a union but did not specify the union. Those admitting affiliation to PTUZ were not more likely to report more frequent violations, except at the hands of the ZRP and the CIO. However, members of PTUZ were significantly more likely to report having been forced to vote in 2000 [Constitutional referendum], 2000 Parliamentary elections, 2005 Parliamentary elections, and the March 2008 Harmonised elections. They were more likely to report experiences of violence in 2000 [Constitutional referendum] 2000 Parliamentary elections, and the March 2008 Harmonised elections. However, both groups had very high percentages that experienced violence in the 2008 Presidential re-run.

3.5 Province:

It has been evident from all previous human rights reports that the political violence is unequally distributed across the country, with some geographical areas much more prone than others. In particular, the Mashonaland Provinces have consistently been reported as being the more violent areas, and a contrast was done between Mashonaland Provinces [Mashonaland Central, East and West] with the remaining seven Provinces. 31% of the sample came from the three Mashonaland Provinces.

²³ 9.29 vs 7.42 violations.

Significantly more teachers from the Mashonaland Provinces were unwilling to disclose their political party preferences, were forced to vote in virtually all elections since 2000, and reported being a victim of political violence during the 2000 Parliamentary, the 2002 Presidential election, and 2008 Presidential Run-off. Total violations were significantly more frequent for teachers from the Mashonaland Provinces²⁴, with assault, indecent assault, sexual violence, threats, disappearances, and extortion the most significant violations. Teachers from the Mashonaland Provinces also reported a significantly wider range of perpetrators involved in their violations²⁵, with ZANU PF supporters, War veterans, Youth militia, and traditional leaders identified as the most frequent perpetrators. They were also more likely to report having been physically injured and having reported the crime to the police.

3.6 Was an Election Official

One of the greatest risks that a teacher can face is to become actively involved in the electoral process, either as an electoral officer or, more dangerously, as a polling agent for a political party. However, as one of the groups that are better educated in the rural areas, and hence capable of carrying out duties as election officials, teachers have traditionally been involved in elections. 24% of the sample had acted as an electoral official during one of the elections since 2000, and 53% reported being a victim of political violence during an election, but an equal number [53%] of those who were not polling agents also reported being victims of political violence. Hence, it would seem that being a polling agent did not carry greater risks for teachers.

Nonetheless, a contrast was carried out between teachers that had acted as electoral officials and those that had not. Although there were no differences between the two groups in the rates of reporting political violence, those that were polling agents reported significantly more violations than those that were not²⁶. In particular, the polling agent group reported higher frequencies of torture, assault, indecent assault, sexual violence, threats, and extortion.,

Unsurprisingly, significantly more teachers that had acted as electoral officials were unwilling to disclose their political party preference. As regards the alleged perpetrators, ZANU PF supporters, war veterans, Youth militia, the ZRP and the CIO were reported with higher frequencies by the polling agent group, and this group also reported significantly higher frequencies of perpetrators overall²⁷. The polling agent group were more likely to have been forced to vote in the 2000 Constitutional referendum, the 2000 and 2005 Parliamentary elections, and the 2002 Presidential elections: there were no differences between the two groups for the 2008 elections, but very high frequencies for both groups being forced to vote in 2008 Presidential re-run. The polling agent group were significantly more likely to have experienced political violence in the Constitutional Referendum, the 2000 Parliamentary elections, and the 2002 Presidential election, but high frequencies [70% or so] of both groups were likely to have experienced violence during the 2008 Presidential re-run.

3.7 Violation at school during working hours:

It was also evident that large numbers of teachers that had experienced violence reported that this had occurred during working hours and at school. This is important since it has severe implications for the education system as a whole, and hence a contrast was carried out between those that reported that the violations had taken place at school during working hours and those

²⁴ 11.7 vs 9.02 violations.

²⁵ 10.7 perpetrators vs 8.2 perpetrators.

²⁶ 10.7 vs 8.6 violations.

²⁷ 9.7 vs 7.8 perpetrators.

that had not. Those reporting violations during working hours reported significantly more violations, with torture and rape being especially more frequent.

Those that expressed a political party preference, irrespective of the party, were significantly more likely to report that the violations had happened at school during working hours. They were also significantly more likely to have experienced a physical injury and to have reported this to the police. However, there was significantly higher probability that the police would either take no action or were sympathetic to the perpetrators. They were also more likely to have witnessed political violence and to have been forced to vote in an election or to have experienced violence during an election. However, both groups reported high frequencies of being forced to vote or experiencing violence violation in the June 2008 Presidential re-run. Those reporting violations during school hours were also more likely to report having witnessed violence, and obviously there was a higher probability that children would have witnessed violence and intimidation.

3.8 Children as likely witness:

Given that so many teachers reported a violation occurring during working hours, the probability that the violence and intimidation could have been witnessed by children seemed very high. Thus a contrast was done between two groups: one that was composed of those that reported a violation during school hours, together with those that experienced a violation at home (children as likely witnesses), and the other of the remaining cases. The rationale for the first group was that obviously both children at school and at the homes of teachers were more likely to witness violations against teachers. Most of those that probably had children witness violations did not wish to disclose either their union affiliation or their political party preference.

They were more likely to have been forced to vote, more likely to have been a victim of political violence, more likely to have been physically injured, and to have reported the crime to the police. They were more likely to have been forced to vote in all elections since the 2000 Constitutional Referendum, and similarly to have experienced violence in the same, but high frequencies of being forced to vote and experiencing violence were reported by both groups as might be expected from other analyses of the data.

3.9 The effects of “bases”:

Bases at schools have been reported continuously since 2000: 41% of the *bases* identified during the 2002 Presidential election were at schools, with 78% of those being at primary schools²⁸. A more recent report in 2009 indicated that nearly 20% of identified bases were placed at school, and the interested reader is referred to this report for a more detailed understanding of the operations of bases²⁹. So, it is clear that there has been little change over a decade.

Since schools are major focal points for community activities, and mostly community-enhancing activities, this abuse of school facilities is extremely serious, especially, as was pointed out above, where children can be exposed to very damaging events. From the current data it is not possible to determine whether the *bases* identified were at schools or not: in the design of the study, it was felt to be too threatening to ask this question of the teachers.

²⁸ See 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.

²⁹ See again *The Anatomy of Terror* [available at <http://www.sokwanele.com/node/2334>].

A total of 242 teachers stated that there was a *base* in their area, with *bases* mentioned in 46 Districts within Zimbabwe. 122 teachers could identify the commander by name; however, since some of the *bases* seemed to have more than one commander, or the teachers could only identify the main personnel associated with the *base*, this gave a final list of 150 names [see Appendix 3].

What is startling about this list is the number of army officers [6] identified as *base* commanders, as well as the number of “*war veterans*” [10]. The association between “*war veterans*” is well-known, and, for example, one of those identified by five respondents in this study, Boniface Mutemachani, was previously identified in other human rights reports³⁰. However, this study provides corroboration of the finding, in the “*Anatomy of Terror*”, that many *bases* are under the control of actual military personnel or persons with military experience.

In fact, there were very few differences between those that mentioned *bases* and those that did not. Those that reported bases were not more likely to have either more frequent violations or perpetrators, but they were more likely to report having been forced to vote in all elections since 2000 (apart from the Constitutional Referendum), and to report having experienced violence in the 2000 Parliamentary and 2002 Presidential elections. Both groups reported very high frequencies of violence in 2008.

4. CONCLUSIONS

As was indicated in the preliminary report, political violence and intimidation of teachers (and by implication pupils) is a serious problem in Zimbabwe. 51% of the teachers reported a direct experience of political violence and intimidation, whilst 56% reported witnessing the same. Clearly these are not trivial numbers.

This picture is amplified in the current report.

It is evident from the replies of these 823 teachers, drawn from all over the country (with many different political and union affiliations) that political violence and intimidation are carried out by a wide variety of different perpetrators, including fellow teachers and Ministry of Education officials. Very serious violations of human rights are alleged, and it is deeply disturbing to see that fellow teacher and Ministry of Education officials are alleged to have been involved in the perpetration of such serious crimes as assault, indecent assault, rape, and torture. The associations between ZANU PF supporters, war veterans, and the Youth militia are well known and it is not surprising to see that teachers too have been frequent targets for these groups.

From the overall picture obtained, it is difficult not to assume that this all represents systematic attacks on teachers (and obviously on pupils), exemplifying the concerns expressed by DFID and UNESCO (see earlier). This conclusion is strengthened by the more detailed analysis.

There were few differences due to gender, but women did report that they were more likely to have been forced to vote in every election since 2000. Age, however, was an important factor in increasing the probability of becoming a victim of political violence and intimidation, and teachers under 30 years had significantly higher frequencies of violations, perpetrators, had been physically injured, and being forced to vote. This suggests that younger teachers were perceived as being more likely to support parties in opposition to ZANU PF, which has been a finding in other human rights reports.

³⁰ 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.

Teachers with expressed political party or trade union affiliations are much more likely to report having been the victims of political violence than those that don't or are unwilling to state their affiliations. It is interesting that it did not seem to matter whether the teacher was affiliated to MDC or ZANU PF: both groups had higher frequencies of violations and perpetrators, although it was evident that there were trends for those teachers belonging to MDC-T or the PTUZ to have significantly higher frequencies of both in some respects.

It is also evident that some areas of the country are more dangerous for teachers than others, and here the oft-reported association between violence and the Mashonaland Provinces was once again found. Teachers working in these three Provinces had significantly higher frequencies of violations, perpetrators, being forced to vote, and having a violation during elections. The general finding that all human rights violations increase significantly during elections in Zimbabwe is replicated here: it would have been surprising if it had not.

Having been an election official was a serious risk factor for teachers, as has been frequently noted in previous reports. This did not result in a greater probability of violence and intimidation during an election for this group – elections are risky times for everyone, including teachers – but teachers that had been polling agents reported higher frequencies of virtually all the sampled violations and perpetrators. Teachers that were polling agents were more likely to have been forced to vote in elections, but both groups reported very high frequencies of violations associated with the 2008 elections. On this data, 2008 was quite clearly the most violent election ever held in Zimbabwe, even worse than the 2002 Presidential election.

Three other findings are of the most serious import. The first is the finding that very high numbers of teachers reported that the violations they experienced or witnessed took place at the school where they worked and during working hours. This was more likely to be the case if the teacher had an expressed political party affiliation (irrespective of party, but more frequent if the teachers supported MDC-T), and this was significantly associated with rape and torture. Those reporting that violations happened at school were more likely to report having been forced to vote and to have experienced violence and intimidation during an election.

The second finding is related to the first, and is to do with the probability of political violence and intimidation being witnessed by children. The effect of the political violence of the past decade on children has not been well-investigated to date. In the earlier report, it was asserted (based on the overall sample of 1086 teachers) that some 60% of the violations could have been witnessed by children, either at school or at a teachers home. This figure should be revised downwards to 41% due to the smaller and cleaner data set. However, this is still not a trivial number, and, as was seen above, the teachers that reported children as likely witnesses were more likely to have had an experience of political violence, been forced to vote, to have these experiences during an election, and to have been physically injured. In short, there are severe risks to school children (and the children of teachers) for witnessing political violence and intimidation.

The final finding relates to the identification of *bases*. The presence of *bases* in 46 Districts, whether or not they were at schools or not, and the association of military personnel or persons with military experience as being in charge of these *bases*, is of great concern, especially when previous reports have placed so many *bases* as being at schools. It seems unacceptable that the Inclusive Government allows this to continue and has not instituted an enforceable policy to ensure that schools are off-limits to political activities of all kinds, and certainly that schools are not used as places where gross human rights violations take place, even more that such violations should take place in front of young children.

5. RECOMMENDATIONS

As regards the recommendations that arise from this study, the recommendations of the previous report can be re-stated.

1. *The Government of Zimbabwe must immediately declare schools as zones of peace and as such enact laws that restrict and criminalise the use or occupation of schools for political activities, especially during the electoral period.*
2. *Civic society and teacher unions must develop monitoring systems to detect early warning systems of attacks on education and to report political disturbances in schools in compliance with UN Resolution No. 1612 with additional modifications relevant to the situation in Zimbabwe.*
3. *The Ministry of Education in conjunction with critical stakeholders like the police, parents and teacher unions must set up school protection committees so that social services rendered by schools are not interrupted during times of conflict like elections*
4. *The Joint Monitoring and Implementation Committee (JOMIC) must actively investigate all reports involving political violence and intimidation against teachers, and at schools.*
5. *The government must uphold strictly provisions of paragraph 20 to the First Schedule of Statutory Instrument 1 of 2000 (Public Service Regulations, 2000) and clauses 79, 80 and 81 of the ILO/UNESCO Recommendations concerning the Status of Teachers to negate the current insistence on teachers being compelled to support only one political party.*
6. *The Ministry of Education must introduce civic education in the primary and secondary school curriculum which promotes national cohesion, peace and tolerance;*
7. *The process of national healing, if it is ever going to take off meaningfully, should have a thematic area dealing with the education sector in order to restore the social bond between teachers and communities which has been weakened by recurrent election violence and politicisation of the public service.*
8. *Overall compliance with the spirit and letter of the GPA is strongly recommended in order to curb on institutionalised violence.*

Appendix 1
Correlations between reported violations

	Rape	Torture	Assault	Property destruction or theft	Indecent assault	Sexual violence	Threats	Disappearance	Extortion	Other violence	Abduction
Torture											
Assault											
Property destruction or theft	0.14*		0.38**								
Indecent assault			0.88**	0.42**							
Sexual violence			0.28**	0.44**	0.27**						
Threats	0.13*		0.34**	0.30**	0.34**	0.12*					
Disappearance			0.38**	0.37**	0.43**	0.18**	0.39**				
Extortion			0.30**	0.26**	0.27**	0.26**	0.36**	0.32**			
Other violence		0.11		0.11*							
Abduction	0.11*		0.33**	0.40**	0.32**	0.23**	0.30**	0.30**	0.24**		
Total violations	0.12*	0.22**	0.73**	0.62**	0.73**	0.44**	0.66**	0.64**	0.65**	0.15*	0.53**

*p=0.01; **p=0.001

Appendix 2
Correlations between reported perpetrators

	ZANU PF supporter	War veterans	Youth militia	ZNA	ZRP	CIO	Traditional leader	Fellow teachers
War veterans	0.77**							
Youth militia	0.74**	0.83**						
ZNA	0.56**	0.62**	0.64**					
ZRP	0.19**	0.26**	0.18**	0.26**				
CIO	0.35**	0.40**	0.35**	0.51**	0.31			
Traditional leader	0.25**	0.24**	0.18**	0.23**	0.28	0.24**		
Fellow teachers	0.12*		0.20**	0.15**	0.11	0.12*		
Ministry of Education official	0.20**	0.17**	0.13*	0.18**	0.35	0.14*	0.31**	0.11*

*p=0.01; **p=0.001

Appendix 3
Names of Alleged “Base Commanders”

Name of Alleged Perpetrator	No of times mentioned	Name of Alleged Perpetrator	No of times mentioned
Mutemachani [War vet]	6	Jonasi, Eric	1
Makwenjere [Col]	5	Kachepa	1
Gono [Major]	4	Kamera, Welly	1
Makuni, Paul	4	Kamonere, Pius	1
Moyo [Major]	4	Kaphlamba, Farai	1
Top Six	4	Kasimbe, Obert	1
Bhobho	3	Katsvario, G	1
Chiromo, Governor	3	Kumalo, Khiwa	1
Karonga	3	Kutsirai, Mrs	1
Macharavanda. Taurai	3	Machingura	1
Makumbe, Thadius Bhunya	3	Mahobho	1
Baloyi [former MP]	2	Mahungu, Callisto	1
Chaka, Nyanga	2	Makota	1
Chikara, Clemence	2	Mandere	1
Gwanetsa [Lt Col; MP]	2	Mandoza, Bra	1
Hofisi, Kazamula	2	Mapunga, Kizito	1
Hungwe [Major]	2	Masendeke	1
Karima	2	Masikinye	1
Kutsi	2	Masunda, Tonganai	1
Mapurisa, Charles	2	Mavawa	1
Mashatini	2	Mazvanya	1
Masingwini, Monday	2	Mhlanga, Mr	1
Mutepaire, Hordon	2	Moyo [Sgt]	1
Ndindani, Walter	2	Mucheringe, Gatemore	1
Nyagupe, Pedzai	2	Muhamba	1
Badza, July	1	Mujeki, Tafirenyika	1
Bhebhe, Simbonge	1	Mukamuri	1
Black Jesus	1	Mundere, Douglas	1

Chauke, Gibson	1	Munhanga, Austin	1
Chigariro, Ronald	1	Murombo, Simon	1
Chihwande	1	Musimiki, Edward	1
Chimbare, Patrick	1	Muusha [War vet]	1
Chinofuka, Asan	1	Muwadi, Joseph	1
Chiodza, Mike	1	Mzilikazi	1
Chipato [Headman]	1	Ndlovu [Major]	1
Chitupwani, John	1	Nhare [Youth Commander]	1
Chomugore, Adheri [War vet]	1	Nhena, Mrs	1
Councillor Jobongo	1	Nhmodzevarume, Tiger	1
Councillor Makwengana	1	Nyakaridze, Norman	1
Councillor Mulambulila	1	Nyika [War vet]	1
Dera	1	Nzvimbo [War Vet]	1
Ezra [War vet]	1	Ocean	1
Fungwane, Thomas	1	Parish	1
Gwava [War vet]	1	Rondo, P	1
Hazvid, Hope	1	Rundu, Vengai [War vet]	1
Hodella, Solomon	1	Saburi, Peter [CIO]	1
Hokoyo, John	1	Shumba, Mr	1
Hondongwa	1	Sofan, Terry [War vet]	1
Hunguru, Peter	1	Steamer, Lovemore	1
Jakarasi, Wellington	1	Taapatsa	1
Japi, John	1	Vengere, Itai	1
Jawet	1	Vhirepi, Roderick	1
		Zawanda, B	1