





MACOMP

Independently monitoring the constitution making process

Monthly Report

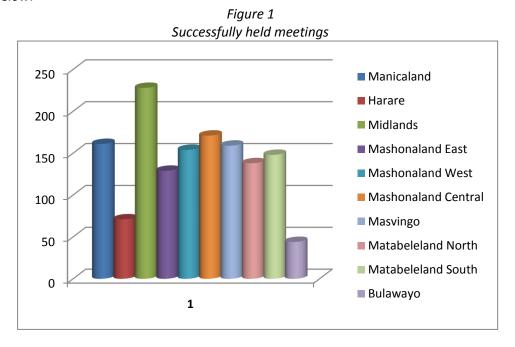
Shadowing the Outreach process

September 2010

Introduction

The month of September saw COPAC extending its constitutional outreach consultations to the two metropolitan provinces of Harare and Bulawayo which had been suspended when the outreach program kicked off on 23 June. Harare and Bulawayo outreach meetings had been postponed amid fears that *inter alia* the World Cup matches that had kicked off in South Africa on 11 June had the potential of reducing attendance in the two metropolitan provinces. Although the target by COPAC was to round off consultations in all the ten provinces by end of this month, this fell by the way side as those in Harare were suspended amid deep-seated inter-party tension and violence.

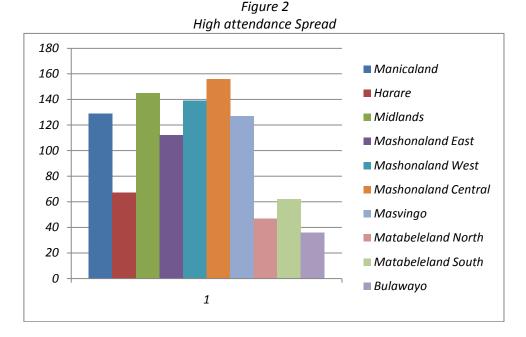
Despite this setback, a total of 1 403 outreach meetings had by end of this month been reportedly conducted in all the ten provinces, the record indicating an increase by 18 % from the 1155 meetings that were recorded in August-though with low records of meetings in the metropolitan provinces of Bulawayo and Harare. The provincial spread of successfully held meetings by end of September was as shown below:



Outreach attendances

Attendance profiles maintained the trend observed since the onset of the constitution outreach meetings in June-heavily skewed towards high attendances. Of the total 1 403 outreach meetings recorded in September, 73 % [1 020] were highly attended ones, with even cases of "high fringe zone" attendances especially in the provinces of Mashonaland Central, Mashonaland East and Masvingo. A "high fringe zone" attendance case is a meeting where over 500 people were reportedly in attendance.

However, attendance levels remained on a low note in the provinces of Bulawayo, Matabeleland South and Matabeleland North, suggesting that the Matabeleland region may have failed to recover from the spell of apathy perceived to have been haunting the region since the onset of outreach consultations. Close analysis of scenarios at most of these high zone attendance cases also strongly suggest that these high attendance records were a result of forced attendance and bussing in of participants, mostly party supporters. ZZZICOMP reports also point to pronounced deep-seated fear, coaching and harassment at most of these highly attended meetings-scenarios that have drowned citizen voice. The spread of high attendances by provinces was as shown below:



Cases

Among the notable high attendance cases reported were those in Mashonaland Central province which were held on 4 September at Mutwa in Ward 20 of Mt Darwin West constituency where 1367 people attended, at Mutanagore Primary School in Ward 18 of Mt Darwin West constituency where 1283 people attended and also at Chakanetsa Primary School in Ward 18 of Mt Darwin East constituency where 999 people attended. Those reported in Mashonaland East province included meetings that were held on 8 September at Chitseka in Karamba Ward of Maramba Pfungwe where 1380 people were in attendance and on 9 September at Masetu Primary School in Chiguze Ward of Maramba Pfungwe where 1650 people were in attendance. In Masvingo province, reported cases included meetings that were held on 1 September at Mbuyamaswa Primary School in Ward 9 of Zaka North where 606 people were in attendance and on 8 September at Muzondidya Primary School in Ward 30 of Zaka where 820 people were in attendance.

Participants

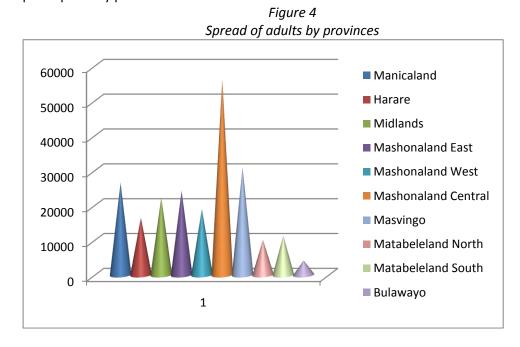
A total of 271 127 participants were recorded in the period under review, however with high records in most of the politically restive provinces that include Mashonaland Central, Manicaland, Mashonaland West and Mashonaland East. Consistent with observed past trends in the two provinces of Matabeleland, participant records remained low notably in Bulawayo province even though outreach meetings were reportedly conducted under relatively peaceful conditions. Detailed spread of participants by provinces was as shown below:

Participant Spread by provinces 70000 ■ Manicaland Harare 60000 ■ Midlands 50000 ■ Mashonaland East 40000 ■ Mashonaland West 30000 ■ Mashonaland Central Masvingo 20000 ■ Matabeleland North 10000 ■ Matabeleland South 0 Bulawayo 1

Figure 3 Participant Spread by provinces

Age spread of participants

The age profile of participants remains adult-dominated with 82 % [221 313] of the 271 127 participants being adults, however, with 23 % of these being accounted for by Mashonaland Central. Below is the spread of adult participants by provinces:



Participant gender profile

For the first time since the onset of constitution outreach consultations, ZZZICOMP records point to a participant gender profile that reflects a slight swing towards the females who now constitute 51 % [137 918] of the 271 127 participants while males account for 49 % [133 209]. Though a late development, this shift is welcome, as women account for a larger portion of the national population [around 52 %] in

Zimbabwe. ZZZICOMP fervently hopes that with this swing there will also be a corresponding constitutional swing in favor of the women population. The pie chart below illustrates the current gender structure of participants:

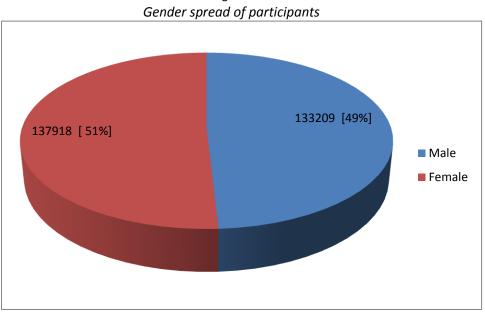
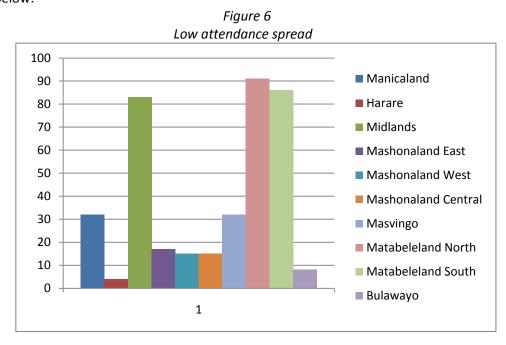


Figure 5

Low attendance

Notwithstanding these positives, low attendances arising from fear, poor publicity, limited mobilization, apathy and misinformation of communities has continued to haunt the process to the end, with the provinces of the Midlands, Matabeleland North and Matabeleland South among the mostly affected. A total of 383 lowly attended cases were recorded in the period under review, some incidents showing meetings that were conducted when less than 50 people were in attendance. Spread by provinces was as shown below:



Cases

In Matabeleland North province, cases included meetings that were held on 4 September at Ngubo Mlilo Line in Ward 11 of Tsholotsho South constituency where 30 people were in attendance and on 11 September at Cloremore in Ward 13 of Bubi constituency where 32 people were in attendance.

Those reported in Midlands province included meetings that were held on 13 September at Stateland A in Ward 28 of Gokwe-Mapfungautsi where there were only 19 participants and also on 13 September at Stateland B in Ward 28 of Gokwe-Mapfungautsi where only 12 people were in attendance. Cases reported in Matabeleland North province included meetings that were held on 21 September at Chitekani Primary School in Ward 11 of Umguza where 18 people attended and also on 24 September at Lozi Keyi Clinic in Ward 17 of Umguza where 25 people attended. Those reported in Matabeleland South province included meetings that were held on 13 September at Somene Hall in Ward 15 of Bulima where 38 people were in attendance, on 14 September at Tjompani Primary School in Ward 20 of Bulima where 42 people were in attendance and on 15 September at Blangani in Ward 21 of Bulima where 42 people were in attendance.

Cancellations/disruption of meetings

Logistical and administrative glitches laced with inter-party political violence continue to delay the rounding off of consultations in some provinces. With the constitutional outreach consultations drawing to a close, a total of 44 meetings were reportedly cancelled, the bulk being abandoned under highly untenable political circumstances, 14 being in Harare province, 10 in Manicaland province, 9 in Matabeleland North province, 6 in Mashonaland Central province and 4 in Midlands province.

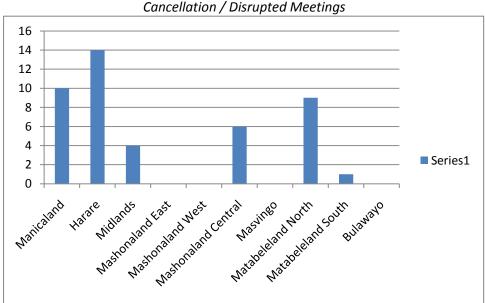


Figure 7

Cancellation / Disrupted Meetings

Cases

In Harare, 14 meetings were reportedly abandoned midstream as deep-seated inter-party violence resurfaced. In Budiriro constituency, meetings which were scheduled for 19 September at OK Shopping Centre in Ward 45 had to be abandoned midstream when people exchanged blows. This broke out when a suspected ZANU PF activist making contributions on what kind of media the country should have, castigated pirate radio stations saying they should be banned as they were distorting the political

situation in the country. This did not go down well with one suspected MDC-T activist who reportedly heckled the participant, labeling him a foreigner from Mozambique. Skirmishes erupted for 30 minutes, people exchanging blows while police struggled to contain the situation to no avail-leading to the abandonment of the meeting. In Zengeza East, the MDC-T MP of the area reportedly drove off saying he would only return after police had beefed up the security. People could be seen coming from beer outlets to make contributions while clutching bottles of beer and visibly drunk. By close of day, COPAC teams had not pitched up.

Those reported in Manicaland province included a meeting that was scheduled for 17 September at St Judes in Ward 33 of Mutare South which was reportedly abandoned after suspected ZANU PF supporters who had been bused in from areas outside that ward ignored instructions from COPAC to leave the venue. In the same province, a meeting that was listed for 18 September at Vengere Hall in Ward 1 of Makoni Central was abandoned, reportedly after suspected ZANU PF supporters had chased away participants they suspected to be supporters of the MDC. Another meeting that was scheduled on 21 September at Shana Primary School in Ward 31 of Mutare Central was also reportedly abandoned when suspected ZANU PF supporters who had been identified as outsiders, turned rowdy and threatened other participants, including COPAC team members. A meeting that was listed for 21 September at Mavhezha Primary School in Ward 30 of Makoni South was abandoned after suspected ZANU PF supporters led by a retired army general reportedly told COPAC team members that communities in the targeted ward had not been informed about the scheduled meeting, after which they sang and danced to the Chimurenga song "Zimbabwe Ndeyeropa" with an abandon reminiscent of the pungwe nights of the liberation struggle.

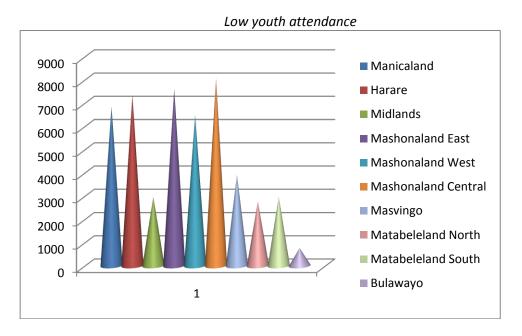
In Matabeleland North province, people who had gathered for a constitution outreach meeting that had been scheduled for 5 September at Mathe Primary School in Ward 16 of Tsholotsho constituency were reportedly dismissed because of poor attendance, also at Thetshaneni in Ward 18 of Tsholotsho South and at Gotshane Line in Ward 15 of Tsholotsho South constituency meetings were called off because of poor attendance by communities.

Cancellations reported in Mashonaland Central province were mainly due to COPAC team's failure to turn up. Among those affected were meetings that had been scheduled for 1 September at Bandimba Primary School in Ward 34 of Mt Darwin district, on 3 September at Chibaba Primary School in Ward 15 of Mt Darwin East, on 3 September at Chironga in Ward 14 of Mt Darwin East constituency, on 4 September at Kanyama Primary School in Ward 2 of Mt Darwin West constituency and also on 4 September at Ruya Primary School in Ward 23 of Mt Darwin district. In Gokwe-Kana, Midlands province, affected cases included meetings that were listed for 3 September at Kana Business Centre in Ward 2, Dzvuke Primary School in Ward 1, both of Gokwe-Kana constituency and Jabila Business Centre in Ward 3.

Youth attendance

Youth attendance remains victim to deep-seated apathy, with the four provinces of Bulawayo, Midlands, Matabeleland South and Matabeleland North among the mostly affected, with even records of zero attendances at several meetings in the affected areas. Of the 271 127 participants recorded in the month under review, 18 % [49814] were youths. Below is the detailed spread of youth participants by provinces:

Figure 8



Cases

In Mashonaland East province, reported cases of extreme low youth attendance included meetings that were held on 1 September at Shamu Secondary School in Ward 11 of Murewa West constituency where 7 % [7] of the 97 participants were youths, on 6 September at Chimango Business Centre in Mukota Ward of Mudzi West constituency where 7 % [30] out of the 450 people in attendance were youths, on 8 September at Chitseka in Karaba Ward of Maramba Pfungwe constituency where 6 % [80] out of the 1 380 people in attendance were youths and also on 9 September at Musetu Primary in Chigunze 1 of Maramba Pfungwe constituency where 9 % [150] out of the 1 650 people in attendance were youths, and on 14 September at Guya Primary School in Muramba 11 Ward of Maramba-Pfungwe where 7 % [100] out of the 1 400 people in attendance were youth.

In Masvingo province, zero youth attendance cases were reported at meetings that were held on 4 September at Mapanje Primary School in Ward 17 of Zaka West constituency, on 6 September at Muchokwa Primary School in Ward 22 of Zaka West constituency, on 7 September at Vanyoro Community Hall in Ward 23 of Zaka West constituency and on 8 September at Mudavanhu Primary School in Ward 33 of Zaka Central constituency.

In Mashonaland Central province, extreme low youth attendance cases included meetings that were held on 13 September at Karayeti village in Ward 4 of Rushinga where 2 % [5] out of the 275 people in attendance were youth and also on 17 September at Mavume Village in Ward 13 of Rushinga where there was 1 youth out of the 203 people in attendance.

In the case of Matabeleland North, youth attendance was so low that several meetings reportedly had zero youth attendances. Among these were meetings that were held in Umguza on 22 September at Taaldale in Ward 13, on 23 September at Luzzini Store in Ward 16 and on 24 September at Lozi Key Clinic in Ward 17.

Outreach Violations

Outreach violations remain a threat to the constitution outreach consultations with noted resurgences in extreme cases of violence as the process drew to a close. In Harare province, constitutional outreach consultations which had been scheduled for three days running from 18 September to 20 September were suspended on 21 September "until a full review has been conducted" [The Herald, 21 September] as unbridled inter-party political violence stalked the process, relegating it to a mortal combat between the two main rival parties, ZANU PF and MDC T, who interestingly are part of the inclusive government.

Violations in the form of manhandling of the Honorable Members of Parliament, intimidation, verbal threats, racial intolerance, assaults, fistfights, whistling and booing of participants presenting different views, sloganeering, singing of revolutionary songs, bussing in of participants, among other things, were recurring scenarios at most outreach consultations, with Mbare, Budiriro, Greystone Park and Dzivarasekwa as lead hotbeds. A politically electric atmosphere prevailed at almost all outreach meetings, scenarios that saw the violation toll ballooning to 3083 in the month under review. Of this toll, 28% [849] were cases of coaching, 27 % [837] cases of political interference, 26 % [810] breaches of freedom of speech, 19 % [571] cases of harassment/intimidation and 0% [16] cases of violence.

Constitutional outreach consultations were routinely violated through bussing in of participants to venues that are perceived to be strongholds of rival political parties, singing of party songs at outreach venues, use of hate language, booing of dissenting views, use of the violent-infested 27 June 2008 elections bases as outreach venues, deploying security agents at venues, use of opening and closing prayers laced with hate language. It was in these circumstances that the month under review emerged with an outreach violation spread as shown below:

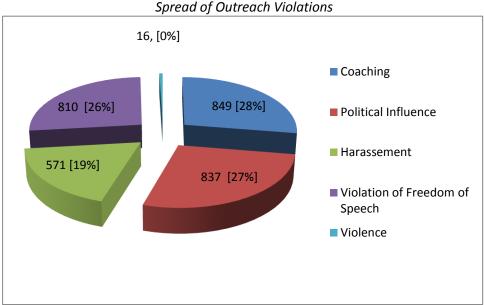


Figure 9

Coaching

As gleaned from the pie chart above, coaching was the most frequently committed outreach violation, with the two main rival political parties, ZANU PF and MDC T, as the main culprits, however with overwhelming evidence pointing to ZANU PF as the lead perpetrator. Coaching continued to manifest itself through people being seen reading from prepared scripts, people providing answers to Talking Point questions that have not been asked, political party-initiated coaching meetings routinely held at

outreach venues before the arrival of COPAC teams, proposals that are "unanimously" endorsed without any meaningful debates, among others.

Analysis of coaching incidents by provinces point to a lopsided distribution with visible toll spreads of 171 in Mashonaland Central, 150 in Mashonaland West, 125 in Masvingo, 111 in Midlands, 97 in Mashonaland East, 90 in Manicaland, 70 in Harare, 24 in Matabeleland North, 8 in Bulawayo and 3 in Matabeleland South. Below is a graphic spread of coaching incidents by provinces:

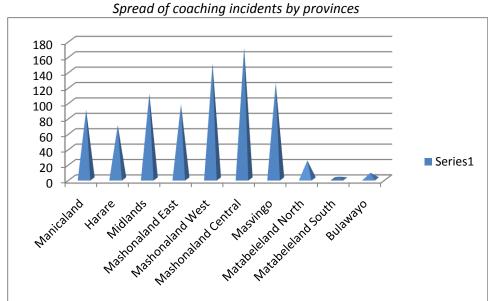


Figure 10 Spread of coaching incidents by provinces

Cases

ZZZICOMP provincial reports referred to several incidents in which people were gathered by war veterans and reminded to "speak what they had been taught" as well as cases where people were openly reading from prepared scripts. These malpractices characterized proceeding at meetings that were held on 2 September at Dotito Primary School in Ward 9 and on 5 September at Ruwani Primary School in Ward 8 in the Mt Darwin West constituencies of Mashonaland Central province. Also similarly affected were meetings that were held in Mashonaland East province on 1 September at Shamu Secondary School in Ward 11 of Murewa West constituency and in Masvingo province on 2 September at Padare Business Centre in Ward 10 of Zaka West constituency and also on 4 September at Murembwa Primary School in Ward 17 of Zaka West constituency.

Coaching incidents reported in Midlands include meetings that were held on 13 September at Stateland in Ward 28 of Gokwe-Mapfungautsi where people were spotted by ZZZICOMP observers being openly instructed on what to say by the ZANU PF political leadership, on 14 September at Cheziya High School in Ward 6 of Gokwe South where both ZANU PF and MDC- T bussed in their supporters from other wards in desperate attempts to sway outreach outcomes to their favour, on 17 September at Gura Business Centre in Ward 8 of Gokwe-Cheziya where people were openly reading from scripts as well as on 18 September at Nyamponda Primary in Ward 9 of Gokwe-Nembudziya where people were consistently chorusing "Ndizvozvo" [as it is] whenever a contribution was made.

In Harare province, the constitutional outreach process for children that were held for two days at the parliament of Zimbabwe in Harare on 22 to 23 September was not spared amid reports of high levels of coaching with children taking partisan positions on constitutional issues. A total of 335 children, 172 females and 163 males-drawn from various provinces in Harare, 120 of which were Child Parliamentarians, 10 child governors, 30 child senators and 155 child representatives of different sectors including the disabled and street kids- attended the meeting.

Political Interference

Political party interference remained pervasive, accounting for 28 % [837] of the total violations toll and commonly expressed through chanting of political slogans, singing of political songs, bussing in of participants, organizing participants along party lines, using opening prayers to express political party positions on the constitution-regrettably transforming meetings into a de facto partisan processes in which tolerance is only accorded to contributions that fall within political party-defined parameters. Below is the provincial spread of political interference:

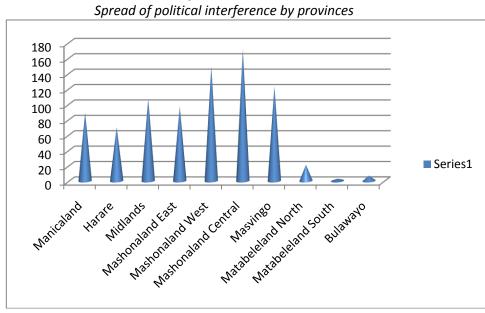


Figure 11

Cases

Most of the above highlighted forms of political interference were manifest at meetings that were held in Mashonaland East province on 9 September at Musetu Primary School in Chiguze Ward of Maramba Pfungwe constituency and on 11 September at Chimhodzi Primary School in the Marowe Ward of Uzumba constituency. In Masvingo province, reported cases included meetings that were held on 1 September at Gwangwava Business Centre in Ward 8 of Zaka Central constituency and also on 2 September at Padare Business Centre in Ward 10 of Zaka constituency. In Midlands province, affected meetings included those that were held on 31 August at Munyati Hall in Ward 31 of Zibabgwe-Chirumanzu constituency and also on 3 September at Jabula Business Centre in Ward 3 of Gokwe-Kana constituency, on 13 September at Stateland A in Ward 28 of Gokwe Mapfungautsi where contribution was the preserve of war veterans and an army Major, on 14 September at Tower Light Salvation Army in Ward 2 of Gokwe South where suspected ZANU PF supporters were allegedly bussed in and reportedly speaking on behalf of the locals.

In Harare province, politically compromised outreach include meetings that were lined up for Epworth at places that include Chinamano Primary School in Ward 7 where the local ZANU PF councilor was seen registering everyone attending the meeting and those not sanctioned to speak either booed or verbally threatened. ZZZICOMP observers further allege that most of the participants were not resident in the area, having been bused in from other areas. At Makono Secondary School in Ward 2, suspected ZANU PF supporters were seen singing political songs and dancing with an abandon reminiscent of political party rallies. At Chizungu Primary School, the opening prayer and closing prayers were reportedly riddled with hate speech perceived to be targeted at MDC party activists. Those affected in Chitungwiza District include meetings that were held at Shingai Primary school in Zengeza West constituency where MDC-T party COPAC members led by one honorable reportedly walked out of the venue in protest, citing irregularities on how the process was being conducted. This was allegedly after another honorable member of ZANU PF gave opening remarks that were perceived as exhorting partisan debate.

Breaches of freedom of expression

Freedom to express personal views at the ongoing constitution outreach meetings remain covertly restricted through various ways that include threatening those who express dissenting views, intimidating people by telling them that recording equipment will be used to identify individuals who express views that stray from declared party positions, deploying state security agents and known yester /previous perpetrators of violence to outreach venues, among others. A freedom of speech violations toll of 810 was reported in the period under review with high tolls in the provinces of Mashonaland West, Mashonaland Central and Masvingo. Below is the detailed spread of violations by province:

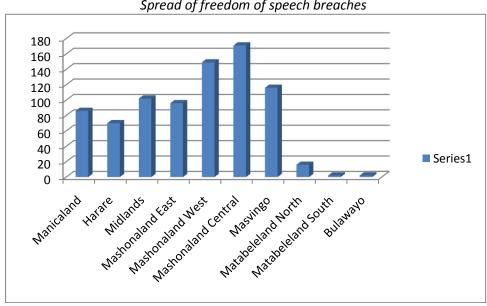


Figure 12
Spread of freedom of speech breaches

Harassment/Intimidation

Though ranked fourth in the period under review, harassment remains a potent threat to the gathering of public views at the ongoing constitution outreach consultations. ZZZICOMP provincial reports continue to refer to dotted incidents in which people were threatened with a replay/repeat of the violent scenarios of the June 2008 elections, verbal threats, denying supporters of other political parties access to outreach meetings, labeling those who express contrary views as sell-outs, threatening to use recording equipment to identify individuals expressing views that stray from declared party

constitutional positions, among others. A total of 571 cases of harassment were reported with Mashonaland West accounting for 25 % [145] of the total number of cases of harassment. The spread of harassment by provinces was as shown below:

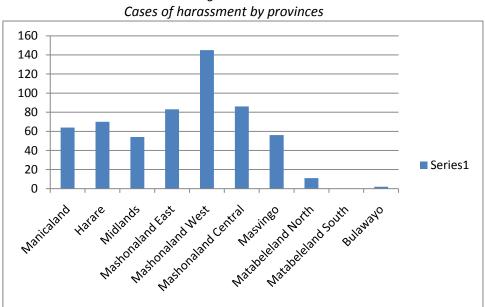


Figure 13

Cases

Reported cases included meetings that were held in Midlands province on 18 September at Kuyedza Primary School in Ward 11 of Nembudziya where suspected state security agents were deployed at venues while in Manicaland province, cited cases included meetings that were held on 14 September at Nehumba Primary in Ward 34 of Headlands where threats of displacement from farms were reportedly issued to those who stray from party positions, on 16 September at Nerwande Primary School in Ward 24 of Makoni West where suspected ZANU PF supporters were reportedly intimidating participants and forcing everyone to talk according to their party position, on 21 September at Nyadzonya Primary School in Ward 31 of Makoni South where the atmosphere was reportedly agitated with ZANU PF militia monitoring proceedings at the venue, on the same day at Chikobvore Primary School in Ward 30 of Makoni South where suspected war veterans were intimidating people at the venue.

In Harare province, reported cases include meetings that were held at Seke 2 High School in Chitungwiza District where a white man was reportedly harassed by suspected war veterans and ZANU PF youth militia who, in a typical case of racial intolerance, were arguing that white people were not part of the constitution making process. ZZZICOMP reports of other meetings in this district generally refer to widespread outreach violations in the form of bussing in of participants, intolerance towards divergent views, political influence and coaching with most contributions at outreach meetings in this district conspicuously the same, word for word. In Harare North which includes Mt Pleasant, Lewisam Primary School, Greystone Park, and Hatcliffe Extension open space, Avondale Primary, Alfred Beit Primary, Dzivarasekwa 3 Hall and Dzivarasekwa 2 had most of its meetings [save Avondale Primary School] highly attended, though high attendance did not translate into participation as whistling, clapping of hands, singing and dancing characterized proceedings at most outreach meetings in the district. Although 9 meetings had been scheduled, two of them did not take place due to security concerns of the COPAC members.

In Waterfalls district which covered meeting points such as Hatfield Community Hall, Sunningdale Primary 1, Sunningdale Community, Masasa Park Creche, Kutsaga Hall, St Jones Retreat, and Waterfalls Hall-the political atmosphere was generally tense and intimidating although attendance was generally high. Opening and closing prayer were full of hate language directed towards supporters of the MDC-T party. There were allegations of coaching and bussing in of participants.

Violence

The month under review witnessed a swing from subtle to extreme forms of violence, with Harare province as the lead violence-prone zone, with even reports of the death of an MDC T activist, Crispin Mandizvidza from the injuries sustained during one of the disturbances that rocked outreach meetings in Mbare.

In Harare province's Harare Central District, inter-party violence reared it vicious form at most outreach meetings in the district, the environment generally politically electric with outreach experiences on 18 September at Mai Musodzi Hall in Ward 3 of Mbare, a telling case of uninhibited inter-party violence. As gleaned from ZZZICOMP reports, participants to the venue were vetted by ZANU PF party youths with those known or suspected to be from known rival political parties, reportedly barred from entering the venue. COPAC teams led by Co-chairperson Munyaradzi Mangwana and Gokwe-Nembudziya House of Assembly Flora Buka were reportedly besieged at the venue, allegedly after they had announced that the outreach exercise would be deferred to 20 September to allow tempers to cool down. Participants went on to close gates in a bid to prevent COPAC teams from leaving. Police officers in riot gear had to move in to prevent the situation from turning ugly as people started chanting their party slogans in protest. Earlier in the day, violence had erupted, reportedly leaving two people injured. Although meetings at Mbare Netball Complex in Ward 11 and Stoddat Hall in Ward 12 went ahead, debate was highly compromised as people were seen reading from printed answers with suspected ZANU PF supporters reportedly threatening people they perceived to be members of other political parties.

In Mabvuku Tafara, constitutional outreach meetings lined up for 18 September were reportedly abandoned midstream as politically motivated violence reared its ugly face, youths from the two main political parties, MDC- T and ZANU PF, engaging in fist fights. At Tafara Community Centre in Ward 46, 80 % of the participants were reportedly people who had been bused in from nearby Caledonia Farm by suspected war veterans and youth militia. The meeting was nearly disrupted by violence as youth from the MDC-T and ZANU PF engaged in fist fights.

At Dzivarasekwa 2 and 3, an Honorable Senator of the constituency [name withheld] was reportedly slapped by ZANU PF militia suspected to be from the presidential guard camp in the area. Access to the venue was reportedly tightly controlled as participants were vetted at the gate and those that were not members of ZANU PF or were not spouses of soldiers from the army camp, were reportedly turned away. At Greystone Park Primary School, the gates were reportedly manned by war veterans who were vetting people attending the meeting. The COPAC team including those that were affiliated to ZANU PF reportedly fled from the scene after one of the participants, a suspected supporter of the MDC- T party, was heckled by suspected ZANU PF members. Two white people who had turned up for outreach consultations were reportedly threatened with violence after they expressed interest in contributing their views. There were also allegations that most of the participants were not residents of the area. A ZZZICOMP observer was also detained for 3 hours at the venue after the COPAC outreach team had left while two ZZZICOMP Coordinators and driver were detained for 30 minutes at the school by the war veterans, all this in full view of the police who looked on helplessly without intervening to restore order.

At Lewisam Primary School, two white men were reportedly denied participation and ordered to leave the meeting. A ZZZICOMP observer monitoring proceedings at the meeting was also initially denied access to the venue although he was later allowed in when COPAC teams arrived. Contributions at this meeting reportedly reflected rampant coaching and general lack of tolerance for dissenting views, boos and verbal threats generally characterizing proceedings at the meetings. At Hatcliffe Extension Open Space where over 1000 people had turned up, suspected ZANU PF youths were reportedly singing and dancing to revolutionary songs.

Emerging Constitutional Issues

People advocated for devolution of power to be enshrined in the Constitution. They specifically wanted the Constitution to empower the provinces to be run by local authorities and provincial governors who are voted for than those appointed. They also agreed that they should be a land audit, (one man one farm) and that the Constitution should ensure that land owners are given title deeds for their land, not leases. Also proposed was a President with limited powers, five provinces, elected provincial governors, two terms for both President and Prime minister, among others.

Mashonaland East

- Respect for the liberation heritage
- Elected provincial governors
- An elected President who has powers to appoint ministers
- Land distribution should prioritize those in need.
- An a-political traditional leadership.

Matabeleland North

- Respect the national anthem, human rights.
- One President and one Vice President. President with limited powers.
- War veterans should be apolitical
- Elected provincial governors
- Devolved State with ten provinces

Matabeleland South

- Respect for human rights
- Either an Executive President or Executive Prime Minister with one Vice President or Deputy Prime Minister.
- Devolved State with ten provinces

Mashonaland Central

- Respect for the history of the nation, irreversibility of land reform, national anthem, no to homosexuality
- Elected President, who is above 40 years of age.
- All ministers should be MPs.
- Unitary State and retention of 10 provinces
- Youths should be between 18 to 35 years
- Disabled people must be given a parliamentary seat.

Midlands

- Respect for the national values and aspirations of Zimbabweans
- Youths between 18 to 35 years
- President with a history of the liberation struggle
- Unitary State
- All political and civil rights must be guaranteed, retain death penalty.
- Gender equality
- Respect for the disabled
- Respect for war veterans-free education to their children
- Land should be owned by the State
- Independent Electoral Commission. Election dates must be defined in the constitution.

Masvingo

· Right to life, freedom of association, freedom of speech, right to land, freedom of movement, right

to food and shelter

- Either an elected President or Prime Minister, all between 40 and 65 years of age.
- Unitary State with 10 provinces
- Elected Provincial Governors
- Parliamentary seat for disabled people
- Respect for human rights
- President and Prime Minister
- Youths between 15-30 years

Mashonaland West

- Executive President with two Vice presidents. President elected for a minimum of two terms only, each of five years.
- Executive President as Head of State, Government and Commander in Chief of the Defence Force
- Unitary State with ten [10] provinces to remain
- Provincial Governors should be elected by the people
- Church should not be involved in politics

Manicaland

- Remember First and Second Chimurenga, Murambatswina, Gukurahundi and 2008 Genocide
- President and Prime Minister
- Devolved State
- Freedom of assembly, choice and worship
- Right of education, life, health and shelter

Conclusions

Constitutional outreach consultations remained entirely a de facto contest between ZANU PF and MDC T -scenarios that may have sidelined the views of other stakeholders. The risk of a constitutional outcome that reflects an obscene skew towards the short term interests of political parties remains a threatening reality.

Although the period under review witnessed resuscitation in constitution outreach consultations which had been suspended at the start of the programme in Harare and Bulawayo due to reasons already explained, consultations in Harare turned out to be caricature of the constitution making process. Though highly attended, the climate under which they were conducted was too electric to allow space for citizen voice. Those that went ahead should be urgently investigated to verify if the proposals that emerged from these meetings should be taken on board.

Use of opening prayer sessions, bussing in of people from wards that are outside the venue and even from other provinces in a bid to neutralize views of other parties appeared to gather more momentum as constitution outreach consultations drew to a close.

Youth attendance remained stressed, with the provinces of Bulawayo, Midlands, Matabeleland South and Matabeleland North among the mostly affected.

The operational environment remains deceivingly calm, outreach violations in the form of harassment, political interference, coaching, and breaches of freedom of speech haunting constitution outreach consultations. Most of the malpractices reported in previous reports still maintain stubborn presence, some cases even pointing to resurgences. Particularly still evident is the bussing in of participants, deployment of known perpetrators of violence at outreach venues, grouping people under headmen, allowing only known party supporters to contribute at meetings, using opening prayers to outline expected responses on Talking Points, among others.