



**ZIMBABWE  
PEACE  
PROJECT**



# **TELICOMP**

*Independently monitoring the constitution making process*

## **Report**

*Shadowing the Outreach process*

**13 – 26 September 2010**

### ***Outreach progress***

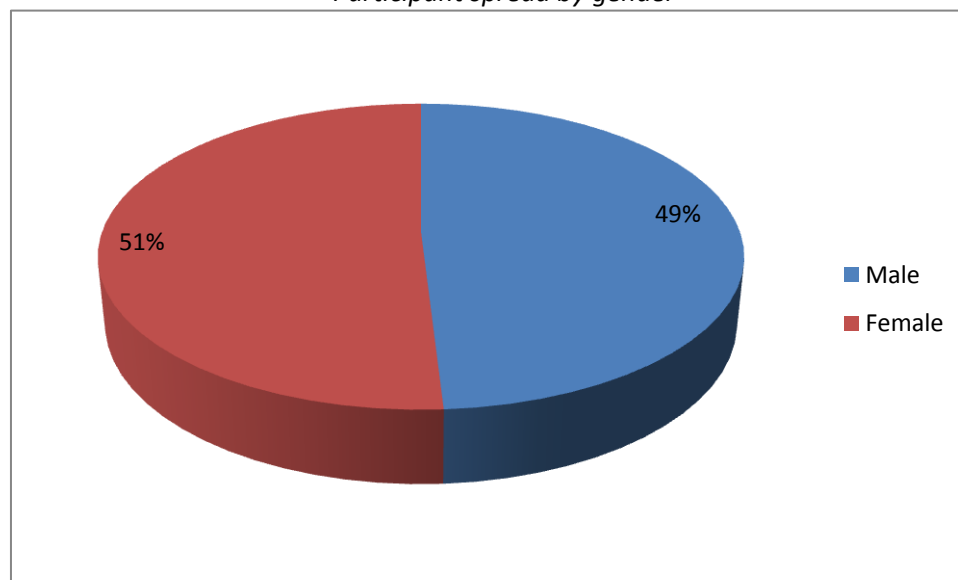
The period under review saw COPAC re-visiting meetings that had been rescheduled, rounding off outreach consultations in five provinces that exclude Manicaland, Matabeleland North and Matabeleland South. A total of 424 outreach meetings were conducted across the country, with the highest and lowest figures in the Midlands and in Mashonaland West, respectively.

The outreach attendance profile remains skewed towards high attendance which accounted for the bulk 76 % [324] of the total outreach meetings recorded in the period under review. Notwithstanding these high attendance records, it is instructive to note that highly attended meetings conducted under a climate of duress and fear is only significant as statistical records as they hardly enhance participation levels!

A total of 91 943 participants were recorded in the period under review, however, with 46 % [42 378] of these being accounted for by the two provinces of Mashonaland Central and Midlands while the provinces of Mashonaland East, Matabeleland South and Matabeleland North had disturbingly low participant records.

Participant gender structure reflects a slight departure from past trends, showing a slim swing towards the female population who now account for 51 % [43 009] while men account for 49 % [41 725]. Females retained majority in four provinces that include Mashonaland Central, Masvingo, Manicaland, Matabeleland North and Matabeleland South. Participant gender structure was as shown in the pie chart below:

*Figure 1*  
*Participant spread by gender*



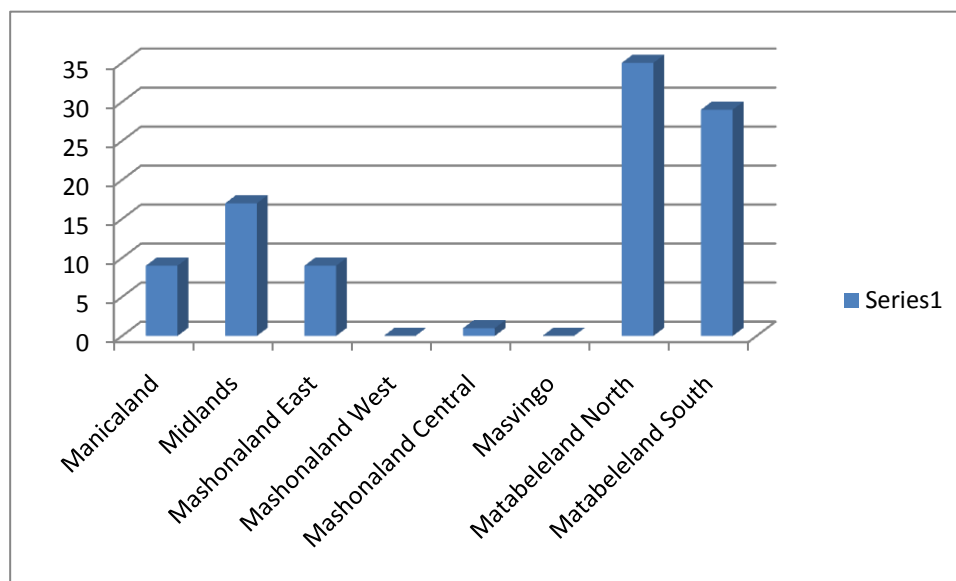
### ***Observed challenges***

#### **Low attendance still in obstinate retreat mode**

In spite of these positives, low attendance challenges remain in obstinate retreat mode, especially in the provinces of Matabeleland North, Matabeleland South and Midlands. A total of 100 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. While the incidence of low attendance appear to have statistically declined in the provinces of Masvingo, Mashonaland Central and Mashonaland West, ZZZICOMP remains concerned that this may have been accounted for by forced attendance and bussing in of participants. The actual spread of low attendance cases was as graphically shown below:

*Figure 2*  
*Provincial spread of lowly attended meetings*



### **Cases**

Among the most conspicuous low attendance cases recorded in the period under review were those encountered at meetings that were held in Midlands 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. Close analysis of these incidents suggest low attendance attributed to the interplay of factors which include fear, poor publicity, limited mobilization, apathy and misinformation of communities.

### **Some meetings abandoned under highly compromised political circumstances**

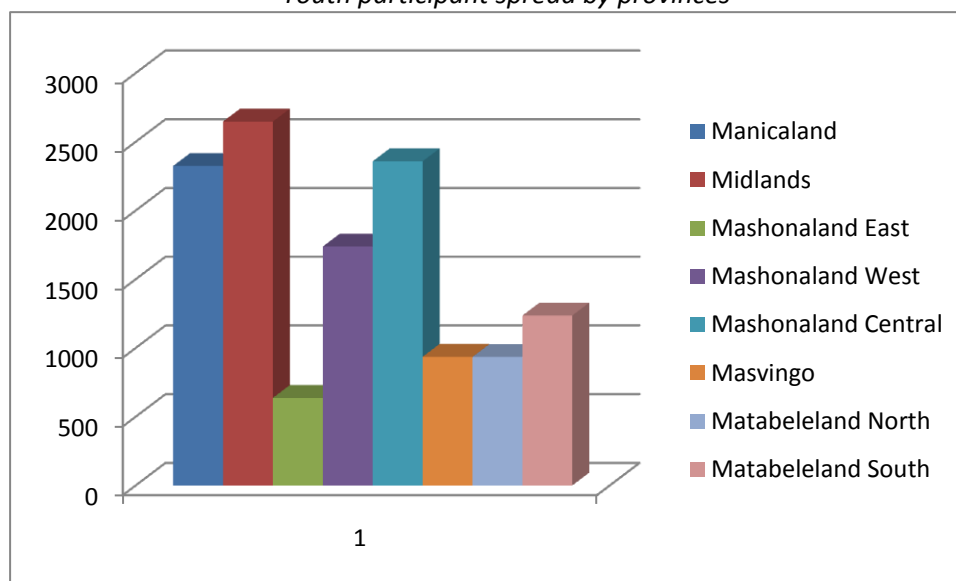
Although only six cases of called-off meetings were recorded, the fact that they were mostly abandoned under untenable political circumstances is indeed a cause for concern. This is even more worrying given that the outreach exercise is nearing conclusion. In Manicaland province where five cases were recorded, cases included a meeting that was scheduled for 17 September at St Jukes 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-T. 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.

### **The youth constituency remained lowly mobilized**

Youth mobilization for outreach meetings remained stressed with even dotted incidents of zero youth attendances at several meetings in the provinces of Masvingo and Matabeleland North. Of the total participants recorded in the period under review, a mere 14 % [12 811] was accounted for by the youths. The provinces of Mashonaland East, Masvingo and Matabeleland North was the most affected areas. A combination of apathy, fear of political reprisals, misinformation and poor publicity seem to have accounted for observed scenarios. For a detailed spread of low youth attendances by provinces, refer to the graph below:

*Figure 3  
Youth participant spread by provinces*



### **Cases**

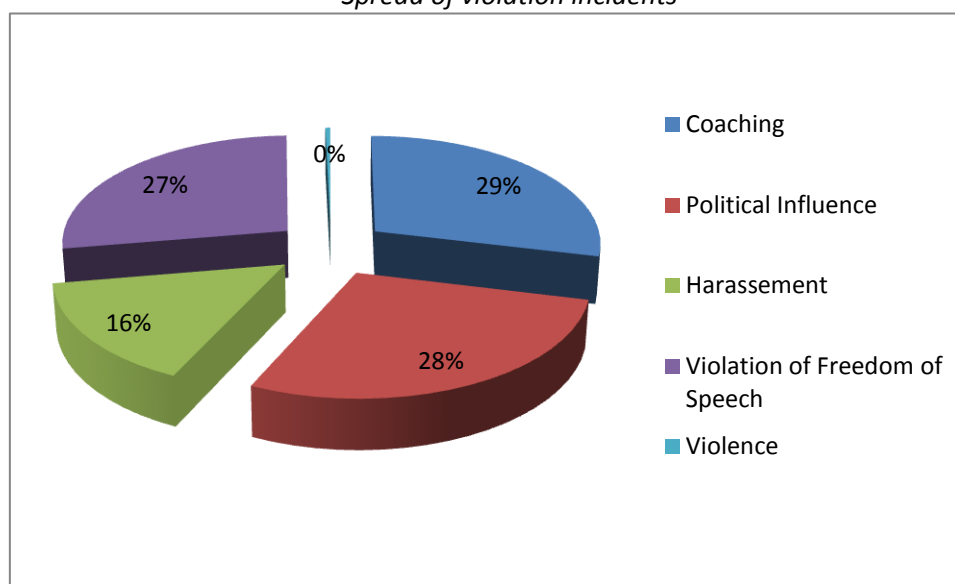
Sampled cases included meetings that were held in Mashonaland East on 14 September at Guya Primary School in Muramba 11 Ward of Maramba-Pfungwe where 7 % [100] out of the 1 400 people in attendance were youth; meetings that were held in Mashonaland Central on 13 September at Karayeti village in Ward 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 continue gathers more momentum as consultations draw to an end**

The outreach violations record still show a threatening statistical presence, with a total of 1005 cases having been recorded in the period under review, of which, 29 % [289] were cases of coaching, 28 % [283] cases of political interference, 27 % [274] breaches of freedom of speech, 16 % [155] cases of harassment and 0.4 % [4] cases of violence.

Constitution outreach consultations are 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 venues that were used as bases in the violent-infested 27 June 2008 elections, deploying security agents at venues, use of opening and closing prayers laced with hate language. Below is a pie chart of the incident spread of violations?

Figure 4  
Spread of violation incidents

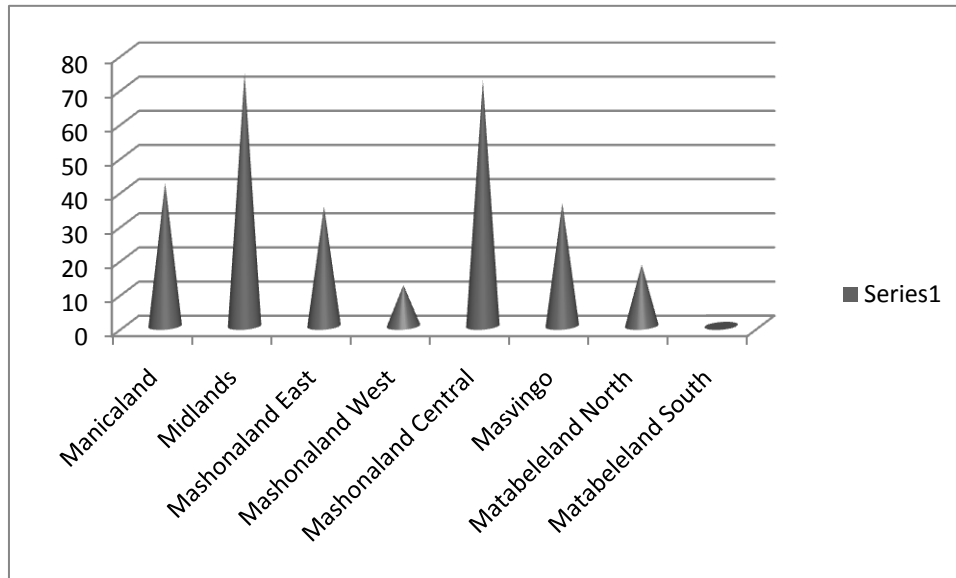


### **Coaching**

Coaching had the highest violation toll of 289, mostly committed by both the two main rival political parties, ZANU PF and MDC T, 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.

Coaching spread by provinces point to an uneven distribution with the provinces of Midlands and Mashonaland Central accounting for 51 % [145] of the total violations toll. See the graph below:

*Figure 5*  
*Spread of coaching incidents by provinces*



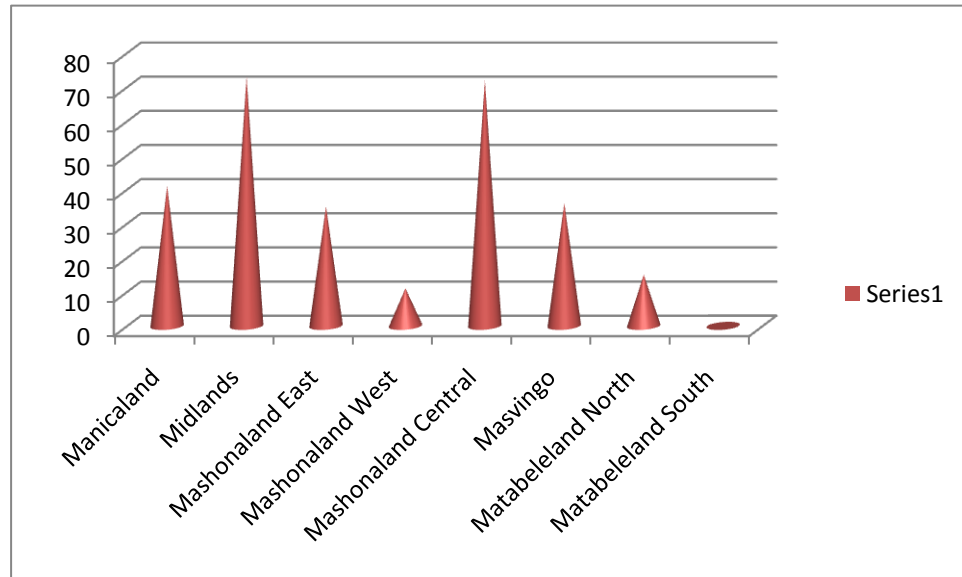
### **Cases**

Sampled cases included meetings that were held in Midlands on 13 September at Stateland in Ward 28 of Gokwe-Mapfungautsi where people were spotted by Z ZZICOMP 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” (That is it) whenever a contribution was made.

### **Political Interference**

Political party interference was still pervasive, accounting for 28 % [283] 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. Constitution consultation processes have in essence transformed into a de facto partisan processes in which tolerance is only accorded to contributions that fall within political party-defined parameters, scenarios that have regrettably muted contributions from other societal stakeholders. Provincial spread of political interference was as shown below:

Figure 6  
Spread of political interference



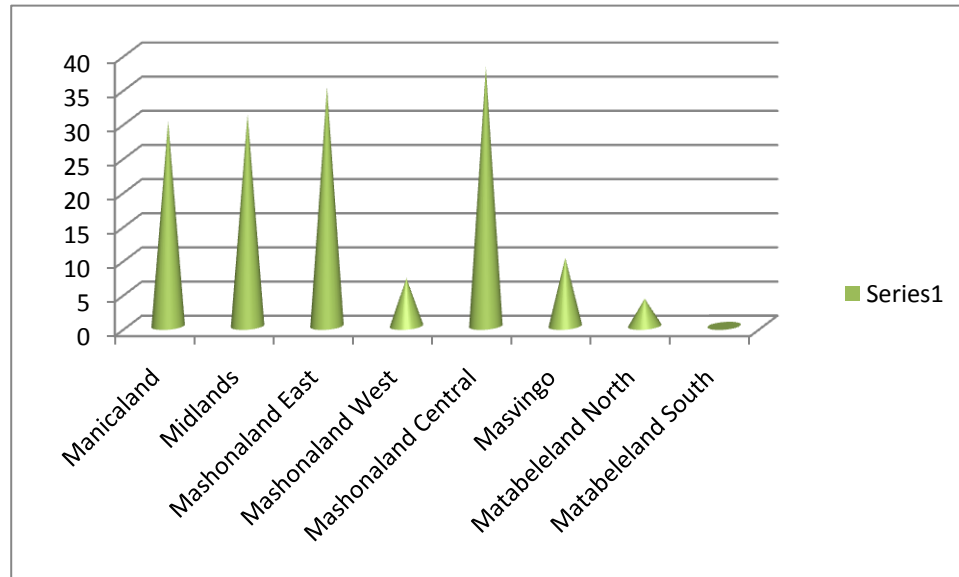
#### **Cases**

The Midlands province had the highest record of political interference toll accounting for 26 % [73] of the total toll of 283. This is not surprising as meetings were being conducted in Gokwe District, one of the most politically restive parts of Midlands. Sampled cases included meetings that were held 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 based in and reportedly speaking on behalf of the locals.

#### **Harassment**

Acts of harassment were also visible, accounting for 15 % [155] of the total violation toll and with disturbingly high provincial spreads in the provinces of Mashonaland Central, Mashonaland East, Midlands and Manicaland. See the graph below:

*Figure 7*  
*Spread of acts of harassment*



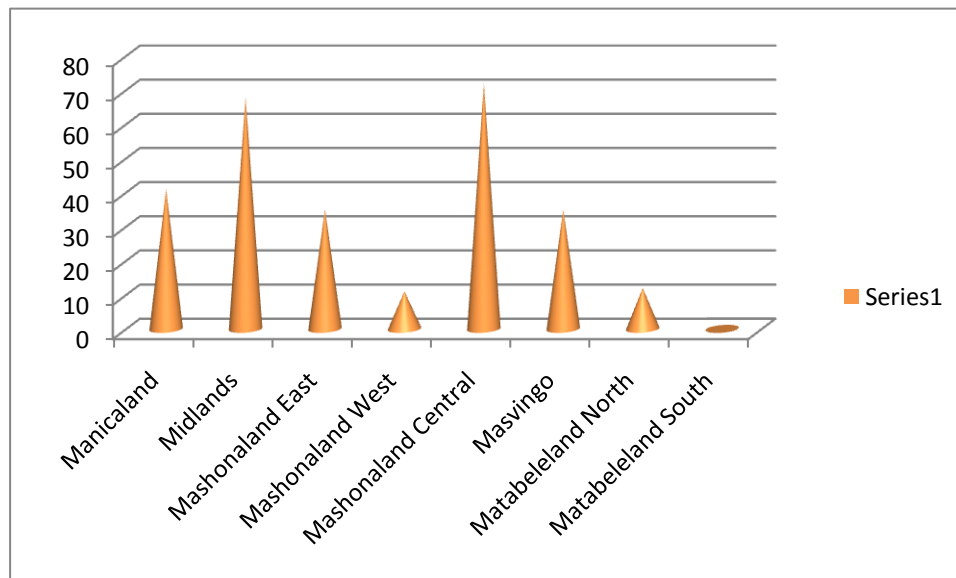
### **Cases**

Reported cases included meetings that were held in Midlands 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 School 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 21 September at Chikobvore Primary School in Ward 30 of Makoni South where war veterans were intimidating people at the venue.

### **Freedom of Speech**

Reported high incidence of harassment, coaching and political party interference have a cumulative effect on freedom of expression as they induce fear into the public. ZZZICOMP provincial reports continue to refer to cases in which citizen voices were muzzled through verbal and physical threats, deployment of state security agents at outreach meetings, telling the public that recording equipment will be used to identify individuals who stray from declared political party positions, among others. The period under review recorded a total toll of 274 cases of freedom abuse, the bulk of which were accounted for by the provinces of Mashonaland Central, Midlands and Manicaland.

*Figure 8*  
*Breaches of Freedom of expression*



## Emerging Constitutional Issues

### **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, Murambatsvina, Gukurahundi and 2008 politically-motivated violence.
- President and Prime Minister
- Devolved State
- Freedom of assembly, choice and worship
- Right of education, life, health and shelter

### **Conclusions**

Although constitutional outreach consultations have been concluded in five provinces, the process remained entirely a de facto contest between ZANU PF and MDC T a scenario that appear to have sidelined the views of other stakeholders. The risk of a constitutional outcome that reflect an obscene skew towards the short term interests of political parties remains a threatening reality.

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.

Low youth attendance remained pronounced, with Midlands and the two provinces Matabeleland among the most affected.