





MAICOMP

Independently monitoring the constitution making process

Weekly Report

Shadowing the Outreach process

19 - 25 July 2010

1. Introduction

This weekly report presents an update on outreach-related experiences from 19 July to 25 July. It highlights the successes and challenges noted by ZZZICOMP observers on the outreach processes during the period under review.

2. Observations

High Attendance Cases [Above 100 people]

The period under review witnessed visible increases in *cases* of "high attendance" at outreach meetings in all provinces save for Matebeleland North and Matebeleland South. Of the 273 outreach meetings that were conducted in the period, 80.2% [219] were "high attendance" cases while 19.8% [54] were "low attendance" cases. ZZZICOMP applauds these developments with the hope that this will translate into an equally corresponding improvement in participation levels at outreach meetings.

Overall increase in outreach participants

A total of 58 566 people were recorded as having attended outreach meetings in the period under review compared to the 30 364 recorded in the first 12 days of July. Though with varying degrees, this increase was manifest in almost all the eight provinces with 31.8% [12 763] in Mashonaland Central, 30.8% [12 358] in Mashonaland West, 13.7% [5 487] in Manicaland and 14.2% [5 702] in Midlands. However, the Matebleleland region remained generally in the low figure zone with 3.8% [1 544] in Matebeleland North and 2.7 % [1 087] in Matebeleland South [See figure 1].

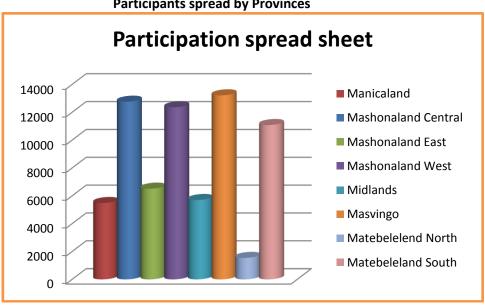


Figure 1
Participants spread by Provinces

Increase in Youth Participants

The period under review also experienced an increase in youths attendance, records increasing from 6162 recorded in the first 12 days of July to 21 918 in the current period. This increase in youth attendances was visible in six provinces that include Mashonaland Central with 26%, Masvingo with 23.1%, Mashonaland West with 20.3%, Mashonaland East with 12.8%, Manicaland with 9%, and

Midlands 6.2%. However youth attendance remained low in Matebeleland region with 2.8 % in Matebeleland North and 1.9% in Matebeleland South. [See Figure 2].

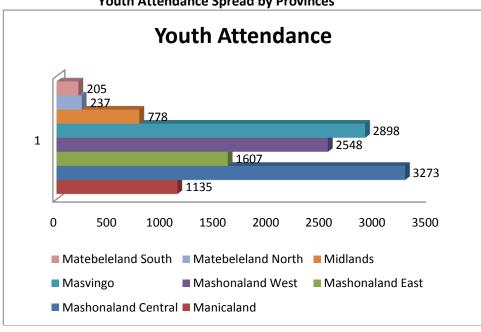


Figure 2
Youth Attendance Spread by Provinces

In Mashonaland West, high youth attendance cases included meetings that were held on 22 July at Mutorashanga in Ward 15 of Zvimba North where out of the 546 people in attendance, 154 were youths; on 24 July at Kutama Farm Primary School in Ward 21 of Zvimba East where out of the 340 in attendance, 110 were youths; on 23 July at Grey Court Primary School in Ward 34 of Zvimba North where 140 of the 380 participants in attendance were youths, on 24 July at Magwa Farm in Ward 19 of Zvimba East where out of 350 in attendance, 120 were youths; on 25 July at Nyambara Primary School in Ward 26 of Zvimba East where out of the 376 people who attended, 180 were youths; and also on 19 July at Mumvovu Primary School in Zvimba East where out of 590 in attendance, 200 were youths.

Distribution of Participants by Age

However, when compared on the basis of age, the attendance profile remained heavily skewed towards the adult category with 79% [45 996] of the total number of participants being adults while 21% [21 918] were youths. [See Figure 3 and 4]

Figure 3
Attendance Distribution by Age

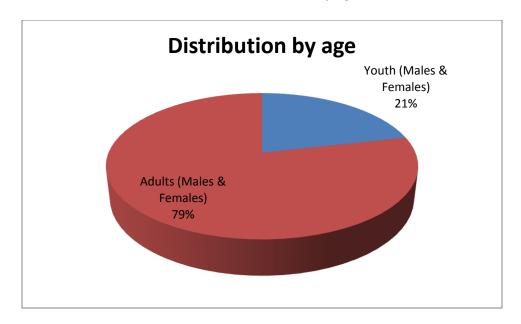
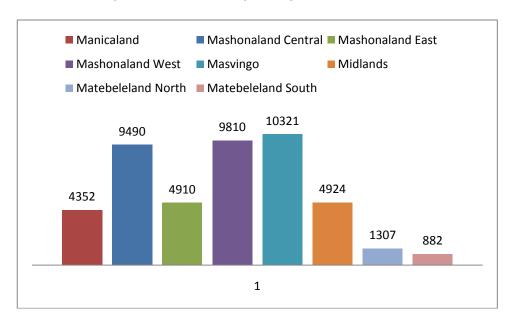
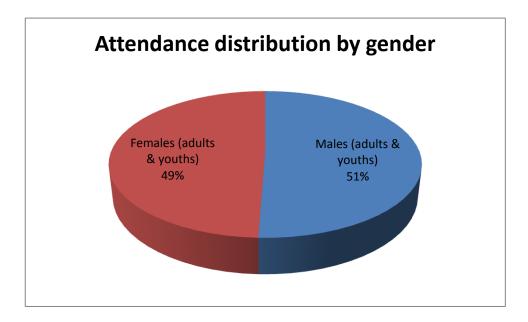


Figure 4
Spread of Adult Participants by Provinces



Distribution of Participants by Gender

Gender attendance profile remained balanced with males constituting 51 % [29 680] of the total recorded figure of participants [58 566] while females accounted for 49% [28 997]. [See Figure 5].



Decline in meetings being called off

There was also a visible decline in the number of meetings that were called off after COPAC had failed to turn up at scheduled venues or still after a few people had turned up. A paltry record of 8 cancellations was recorded compared to the 42 that were recorded in the first 12 days of July. The few cases of cancellations reported were in the Midlands province where meetings that were scheduled on 21 July at Welshblock Farmhouse in Ward 20 of Shurugwi North, on 23 July at Vugwi Primary School in Ward 10 of Shurugwi South and on 21 July at Gutsaruzhinji Farm House in Ward 19 of Shurugwi South were reportedly called off after the COPAC teams failed to turn up. In Matebeleland North province, reported cases of cancellations involved meetings that were scheduled for 21 July at Nagangala Primary School in Ward 1 of Binga North and on 22 July at Nsenga Primary School in Ward 5 of Binga District which were also cancelled after COPAC teams failed to turn up.

3. The Operational Environment

The operational environment provides the prime macro framework within which the outreach programme is undertaken. How that environment is constituted invariably has a bearing on the success or failure of the outreach programme. The environment may either enable or disable the outreach process.

The operational environment, especially in Mashonaland West, Manicaland, Mashonaland Central, Mashonaland East remains heavily infested with incidents that pose a threat to the success of the ongoing outreach programme. It remains heavily polarized along party lines with outreach processes influenced by party politics. Members of the public still feel politically insecure to express their personal views on the constitution in public. As will be shown in the later parts of this report, presence of well known perpetrators of violence such as CIOs and military personnel at most meetings is reportedly inducing fear in members of the public. The operational environment is so politically suspect that members of the public hardly trust if the proceedings that are captured on cameras and also recorded

on tapes will be put to good use after the outreach process

Profile of Outreach-Related Violations

Although ZZZICOMP has not received any case of violence, outreach-related malpractices in the form of intimidation/harassment, political interference, access denial, coaching and violation of freedom of speech remain visible, though in varying degrees, in all the eight provinces. A total of 560 outreach-related malpractices were recorded in the period under review [See Figure 6].

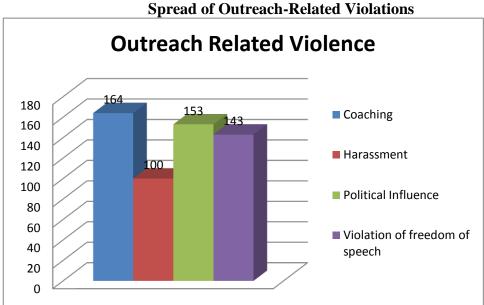
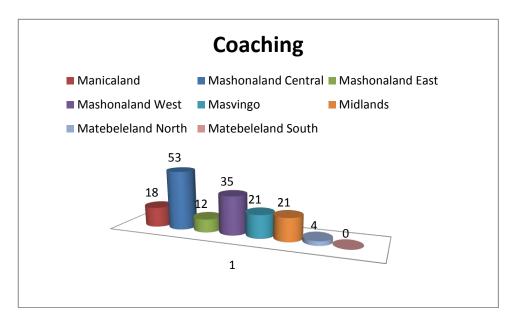


Figure 6
Spread of Outreach-Related Violations

Violations through Coaching

Of this toll, 29.3% [164] were coaching-suspect incidents with a spread of 32.3% in Mashonaland Central, 11% in Manicaland, 21.3% in Mashonaland West, 12.8% each in Midlands and Masvingo, and 7.3% in Mashonaland East with extremely low records in the Matebeleland regions [See Figure 7].

Figure 7
Coaching Spread by Provinces



Particularly worrying is the high visibility of these violations in provinces like Mashonaland West, Manicaland, Mashonaland Central, Midlands, Mashonaland East and Masvingo that were also reported to have posted high attendance records at most of their outreach meetings. In Mashonaland West, on 24 July at Kutama Farm Primary School in Ward 21 of Zvimba East, people were reportedly given pamphlets containing ZANU PF constitutional positions before the COPAC meeting. At another meeting in the same province that was held on 23 July at Grey Court Primary School Ward 34 of Zvimba North, Zanu PF leaders were reported to have addressed people before the COPAC meeting and selected a few people who were to speak on behalf of others.

Mashonaland Central was also home to incidents of pre-coaching. At a meeting that was held on 23 July at Rusenza Business Centre in Ward 6 of Mazowe North, ZANU PF members were reported to have been trained before the COPAC meeting while at another meeting that was held on 20 July at Gapara Business Centre in Ward 28 of Shamva South, only 5 trained males were said to have participated while others reportedly chorused in support.

In Masvingo, outreach meetings that were held on 19 July at Maringa Business Centre in Ward 8 of Mwenezi West, 21 July at Tsakani Primary School in Ward 13 of Mwenezi East, 22 July at Sarahuro Business Centre in Ward 5 of Mwenezi East, 19 July in Mushaya Primary School in Ward 6 of Mwenezi East, 22 July at Sandiza village in Ward 2 of Mwenezi West; Firidzi Business Centre in Ward 11 of Mwenezi West, 20 July Shayamavhudzi Primary in Ward 11 of Mwenezi West-were reportedly conducted in circumstances that makes a mockery of outreach processes. For instance, at Firidzi, people were reportedly arranged by headmen, councilors and ZANU PF activists in such a way that those who were to participate were seated in front and had prepared answers which they read out during contributions. At Sandiza village, only a few people participated with the same few answering questions all the time. At Sarahuro Business Centre, ZANU PF supporters from Ward 14, allegedly led by the ZANU PF District Commissar, reportedly tried to disrupt proceedings. Views expressed at most of these meetings were as concluded by ZZZICOMP observers, of one political party, ZANU PF.

Intimidation

Acts of intimidation still cast a disturbing record, threatening participation levels at outreach meetings. Of the 560 outreach-related violations recorded in the period under review, 17.9 % [100] were cases of harassment visibly spread in almost all the eight provinces with 7% of these recorded in Manicaland, 34% in Mashonaland West, 27% in Mashonaland Central, 19 % in Masvingo, 11 % in Mashonaland East with zero-harassment reports in the two provinces of Matebeleland region [See Figure 8 below].

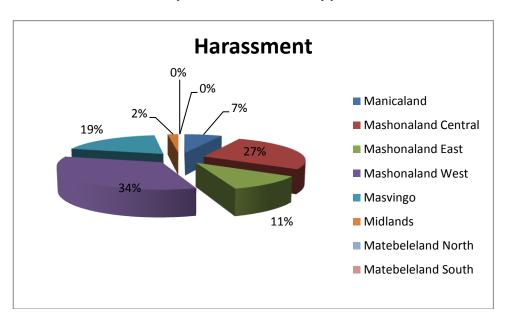


Figure 8
Spread of harassments by provinces

In Mashonaland West, at a meeting that was held on 23 July at Gerry Court Primary School in Ward 34 of Zvimba North there were reports of political influence from the village head who ordered people to stick to the drafted parts. People were grouped according to their party branches and cells before the meeting.

At meetings that were held on 19 July at Mhandu in Ward 9 of Zvimba South and on 23 at Glenesk Farm in Ward 33 of Zvimba North debate was strangled as people had reportedly been threatened by the village head before the COPAC meeting. The youths who were in attendance were reportedly not free to participate and were represented by elders who constantly ordered them to second their views.

In Mashonaland Central, cases of intimidation were reported at various meetings that include one on 22 July at Jingamvura Business Centre in Ward 1 of Mazowe North where observers claim that only well known ZANU PF members were allowed to contribute during the meeting. At another meeting that was held on 19 July at Kaziro School in Ward 23 of Shamva North there were reports of observers who were chased away even as they proved that they were accredited. Few selected people were given the opportunity to speak. At yet another meeting in the same province that was held on 23 July at Kawanzarura Business Centre in Ward 8 of Mazowe Central, well known MDC members were visibly silent during the meeting with only ZANU PF members answering all the questions with no one opposing contributions.

In Midlands, at a meeting that was held on 21 July at Musasa in Ward 18 of Tongogara where around 800 people were in attendance, debate was reportedly gagged by the presence of a national army officer [name withheld] who was answering questions on almost all the most politically touchy Talking Points like 2,3, 6, 8 and 10, scenarios that saw consensus on these issues generally under a climate of fear. As reported by observers present at the meeting, people agreed on issues they were secretly in disagreement with some reportedly seen mumbling to themselves. In some cases, those who were picked to speak were reading from papers which had answers to the questions being asked, people in some cases were not answering questions as per the topic.

Political Interference

Incidents of political interference also remain visible with 27.3 % [153] of the 560 outreach-related violations being cases of political interference with records of 12 % in Manicaland, 10 % in Midlands, 23% in Mashonaland West, 35 % in Mashonaland Central, 13% in Masvingo, 7% in Mashonaland East and zero-records on political interference in Matebeleland region[See Figure 9].

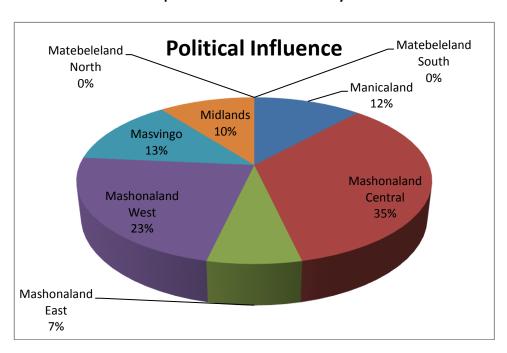


Figure 9
Spread of Political Influence by Provinces

In Mashonaland West, at a meeting that was held on 24 July at Kutama Farm Primary School in Ward 21 of Zvimba East, the meeting was reportedly dominated and controlled by ZANU PF members, scenarios that are said to have restrained people from contributions. People from other political parties were reportedly denied access to COPAC meetings, allegedly on the pretext that they did not have party political cards. Debate at this meeting was reportedly one sided and muffled as only ZANU PF supporters were allowed to air their views. These were reportedly the experiences on 22 July at Mutorashanga in Ward 15 of Zvimba North where ZANU PF party leaders were reportedly encouraging their supporters to intimidate others from participating with anyone departing from set positions booed COPAC teams were also suspected to have first hand meetings with ZANU PF political leadership before they held outreach meetings in the province.

At most meetings in Manicaland province, meetings turned out to be political contestations between ZANU PF and MDC-T, with supporters of both parties reportedly shouting at each other.

At another meeting that was held on 22 July at Nyamhingura Primary School in Ward 3 of Mutasa North, debates were reportedly dominated by war veterans with ZANU PF supporters reportedly trying to bar MDC supporters from contributing, arguing that the country was won "through bloodshed". At other meetings such as the one on 23 July at Samanga Primary School in Ward 7 of Mutare North, the majority of speakers were reportedly selected speakers who were contributing along party lines and airing the position of their political parties. They were also, as reported, taking issues personally and explaining matters within the context of MDC president Morgan Tsvangirai or ZANU PF president, Robert Mugabe.

In the same province, at a meeting held on 21 July at Zongoro Primary School in Ward 24 of Mutasa South, ZANU PF vehicles were reportedly ferrying people to the venue while at the meeting party supporters were obstructing others by shouting "zvataurwa ndizvozvo" [" what has been said is the way forward"]. At another meeting on 21 July at Mapara Secondary School in Ward 24 of Mutasa Central, ZANU PF COPAC team members were reportedly hostile to other members of COPAC, taking political positions and bulldozing other team members. This was reportedly the case on 22 July at Magadzire in Ward 13 of Mutasa Central, on 22 July at Staple Ford Primary in Ward 22 of Mutasa South, on 21 July at St Augustine in Ward 26 at Mutasa South and also on 23 July at St Columbus Mission in Ward 1 of Mutasa North- where only party supporters were allowed to participate with even reports of political activists being bused from outside the area to push for political positions.

Violation of Freedom of Speech

Violations of freedom of speech also remained visible with 25.5% [112] cases of the 560 outreach-related violations having documented with extremely high tolls in Mashonaland Central [53], Mashonaland West [32], Mavingo [20], Manicaland [15], Midland [12] and Mashonaland East [11].

4. Performance of COPAC Teams

Cases in which some Talking Points are not covered

Incidents in which some Talking Points are not covered remain visible, reportedly because COPAC Teams were behind time, continue to be reported. Reported cases include meetings on 21 July at Kalungwiza Primary School in Ward 23 of Binga North of Matebeleland North where Talking Points 1 and 3 were not covered; on 22 July Nsambala Commission Centre in Ward 3 of Binga North of Matebeleland North where Talking Point 13 was not covered; and on 22 July at Dongamusiye in Ward 5 of Binga North in Matebeleland North where Talking Points 8 and 13 were not covered.

COPAC Teams Facing translation Problems in some areas

Though assessments of the performance of COPAC teams in explaining issues and concepts relating to Talking Points was in most ZZZICOMP reports presented as generally credible, there were instances in which some themes [for example, Public Service, Hybrid, First Past The Post,] were not fully explained to the public. For instance, at a meeting that was held on 20 July at Siamupa /Tyunga Secondary School in ward 1 of Binga of Matebeleland North province, COPAC teams did not give participants enough time to participate with issues reportedly rushed over.

Translation of themes into local languages was also affected by language problems. For instance, COPAC teams who were on 22 July covering Dongamusiye in ward 1 of Binga North in Matebeleland North and

also on 20 July at Mujele Fishing camp in ward 22 in Binga District of Matebeleland North reportedly did not understand Tonga and had to speak through an interpreter who, as reported, tended to omit issues he did not like. Scenarios of this nature raise the risk of distortion on essential issues.

5. Analysis of Participants responses on Talking Points

"Personal views" overshadowed by "party views" on Talking Points

Analysis of public responses on Talking Points were generally cultured along party lines, with both political parties, ZANU PF and MDC T actively involved in selling their constitutional positions by way of distributing fliers before the arrival of COPAC teams. Public responses therefore tended to be more on the "party" rather the "personal" side. Contributions either reflected MDC T or ZANU PF positions depending with which political party was dominating at the outreach meeting. This tended to sideline contributions of other groups.

Some Talking Points generally more prone to political influence than others

While political influence remains prevalent, it is not evenly distributed across the Talking Points. It tended to be *issue-specific* with Talking Points such as 2 [Arms of the State], 3 [Systems of Government], 4 [Bill of Rights and Citizenship], 6 [Youth], 8 [Media], 9 [War Veterans, 10 [Land, Natural Resources and Empowerment], 12 [Elections, Transitional Mechanisms and Independent Commissions, 13 [Executive Organs of the State] most prone to political influence. They constituted the *contested terrain* at most outreach meetings. Pre-coaching by political parties was also principally targeted at these politically sensitive Talking Points. Even those selected by political parties to speak on behalf of others generally restricted their contributions to these core areas. These were also the areas that were mostly prone to *coerced* "unanimously agreed" resolutions.

Incidents of personal views most visible on the less politically- contested Talking Points

Analysis of debates at outreach meetings show that Talking Points 5 [Women and Gender Issues], 7 [The Disabled], 11 [Labour], 14 [Public Finance], 15 [Traditional Institutions and Customs, 16 [Religion] and 17 [Rights of Minorities and Languages] were less prone to political influences. On these Talking Points, it was easy to see people from different parties arriving at consensus decisions. The incidence of people expressing *personal* views was also high on these issues. Also evident was the influence of cultural, religious and social factors on views expressed on these issues. Consensuses reached on these Talking Points were mostly genuinely or freely agreed consensuses.

Analysis of scenarios at outreach meetings also suggest that in those provinces and areas that were less politically sensitive, incidents of "consensus after serious debates" tended to be manifest with instances in which COPAC Teams resorted to *voting* after encountering deadlocks. Also emerging from these analyses is that where both MDC T and ZANU PF supporters were well represented, reports pointed to lively debates with proposals that were arrived at after serious debates. This was reportedly the case at some meetings that were held in Shurugwi District of Midlands Province on 22 July at Nhema Primary School in Ward 14, on 19 July at Selukwe Primary School in Ward 5, on 20 July at Marishongwe Business Centre in Ward 20 and on 21 July at Zhaugwe Primary School in Ward 18.

6. Recurring Issues on Talking Points

- Respect for national independence, peace, right to life, education, health
- Executive who is either President or Prime Minister, serving two terms of five years each. All ministers and MPs should be elected. In Matebeleland, the proposal to have MPs not crossing the floor with seat

- was pronounced. The point of two vice presidents generated fierce debates.
- Unitary State mostly proposed, although calls for devolved State with power devolved to provinces were visible in some parts of Midlands and the Matebeleand provinces. The proposed number of provinces also differed however with five provinces most frequent.
- War veterans should be respected, provided with state assistance but should be apolitical. Views expressing the need to expand the term "war veteran" to include other freedom fighters like war detainees and war collaborators.
- State assistance for the disabled. Free access to medical services and transportation. There was general consensus on this issue.
- Traditional leaders must be given powers to resolve minor disputes while major cases are referred to magistrate courts. Traditional leaders should also not be affiliated to any political party.
- While various youth age thresholds were proposed, there is consensus that it should be below 35 years
- Views seem to be more inclined towards bicameral parliamentary system although sentiments that it is a burden to the economy were also expressed.
- Independent Media that accords balanced and free access to information, right to publish news and report events. State owned stations that are free from propaganda. Issue of banning foreign broadcasters and ban on private radio stations fiercely resisted. Need for an Independent Media Commission
- Retention of death penalty
- Respect of all religions, and languages
- Citizenship through birth, residency and marriage. The issue of dual citizenship also featured at those meetings where issues were freely debated and free from party influence.
- Safety at work, respect for international labour practices
- First Past The Post, Independent Electoral Commission, protection of voters' roll, everyone above 18 free to vote

End Notes

Talking Points

- 1 Founding Principles of the Constitution
- 2 Arms of the State
- 3 Systems of Government
- 4 Bill of Rights and Citizenship
- 5 Women and Gender Issues
- 6 Youth
- 7 The Disabled
- 8 Media
- 9 War Veterans
- 10 Land, Natural Resources and Empowerment
- 11 Labour
- 12 Elections, Transitional Mechanisms and Independent Commissions
- 13 Executive Organs of the State
- 14 Public Finance
- 15 Traditional Institutions and Customs
- 16 Religion
- 17 Rights of Minorities and Languages