





Of Entitlement, 'Cockpit and chunhu chedu' (our thing) Politics

Introduction

A dark cloud engulfed the country in the early evening hours of the 'day of love' February 14 as news of the passing on of the champion and icon of democracy Morgan Richard Tsvangirai filtered. Tsvangirai leaves an indelible footprint in the fight for democracy. In death Tsvangirai who succumbed to colon cancer was saluted even by those who caused him and his supporters untold suffering over the years since the formation of the Movement for Democratic Change in 1999. Described as an icon and one who transformed the political profile of Zimbabwe since 1999, the demise of this larger than life figure saw Zimbabwe witness words of praise from the most unlikely quarters but what was clear was that Tsvangirai's passing united Zimbabweans as they mourned him. The Zimbabwe Peace Project (ZPP) acknowledges Tsvangirai's contribution democracy and also reflects on the multitudes of victims the organisation has had to profile and refer for assistance, their crime being the holding of divergent views.

As the 2018 harmonised elections draw closer, according to a roadmap released by the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC), expected anytime between July 21 and August 22, 2018, what is happening in political parties is disturbing as it does not by any measure foretell free, fair and credible elections. The death of Tsvangirai heightened tensions in the opposition MDC-T as the Vice Presidents jostled for the ultimate position in the 'cockpit' which saw his funeral marred by ugly incidents of violence and rowdiness. One of the vice presidents Thokozani Khupe and three other officials Douglas Mwonzora, Lwazi Sibanda and Abednigo Bhebhe had to seek refuge in a hut at the Tsvangirai rural

ABOUT ZPP

The organisation was founded in 2000 by church-based and human rights organisations. The current members of ZPP are Evangelical Fellowship of Zimbabwe (EFZ), Zimbabwe Council of Churches (ZCC), Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Zimbabwe (CCJPZ), Counselling Services Unit (CSU), Zimbabwe Human Rights Commission (ZimRights), Civic Education Network Trust (CIVNET), Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights (ZLHR) and Women's Coalition of Zimbabwe (WCoZ).

ZPP was established with the objective of monitoring, documenting and building peace and promoting the peaceful resolution of disputes and conflicts. The peace project seeks to foster dialogue and political tolerance through non-partisan peace monitoring activities, mainly through monitors who document the violations of rights in the provinces.

The monitors, who at full complement stand at 420, constitute the core pool of volunteers, supported by three Regional Coordinators. The Regional Coordinators relate with the national office headed by the National Director and programme officers in various units.

homestead as a group of youths bayed for their blood and threatened to burn down the hut.

While the MDC-T struggled with violence against some of its own, in Zanu PF deepening factions and conflicts reveal that factions and did not disappear with the seismic political shift in November 2017. In some communities while the supposed victors from November 2017, Lacoste faction, seek to consolidate their power and influence and regrettably punishing perceived G40 members, the influence of the 'icon' Robert Mugabe seems to be real. There are reports that in some communities in the Mashonaland provinces in particular Mashonaland Central some citizens claim they are not aware that former president Mugabe has been replaced. The G40 sought attention of the regional and continental bodies the Southern African Development Community and the African Union to consider the November shift of power as a coup, a method of power transfer not recognised by both groupings. The catch 22 situation is that both organisations have officially recognised the government in Harare. Even the









former president is reported to have broken his silence since November and claimed that his family is being ill-treated by the new administration. The tensions among citizens at the local level are increasing and might to come to a head in the run up to the elections as some citizens report the deployment of the military, a situation similar to that of 2008 when gross acts of violence were perpetrated.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

A decrease of about 30% in the total number of violations recorded in February has been noted from 245 violations to 176 violations. The decrease is deceiving, as it points towards an environment of calm as the country approaches elections but beyond the numbers there is much more.

In previous months, the harassment and intimidation connected to demanding of serial numbers during the Biometric Voter Registration (BVR) exercise resulted in an increase in violations particularly in rural communities. However, the public condemnations of the practice by ZEC and Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP) as well as two publicized arrests have seen the violations decreasing sharply.

February recorded a decrease in harassment and intimidation cases to 118 violations, followed by a decrease in discrimination cases recording 20 violations. The month also witnessed an incident where murder was perpetrated in Harare. Manicaland had the highest recorded violations with 34, followed by Mashonaland Central with 29, and Midlands with 28.

Intimidation and/or harassment cases have been high in Midlands, Masvingo, Manicaland and Mashonaland Central. Cases of murder were recorded and these were attributed to the disproportionate force used by police to disperse protesters in Harare as a result of poor coordination and messaging between government and the Harare city council. Despite government cancelling its earlier 48 hour ultimatum to remove public transport operators and vendors from Harare's CBD, the Harare city council announced another directive and through the police went ahead with the operations leading to resistance by operators. The ministry of Local Government, Public Works and National Housing eventually issued a statement halting the clearing of the CBD of public transport operators. An increase in the number of assault cases is very worrying and is pointing towards a potentially bloody 2018 election putting the free, fair and credible elections mantra at risk. All along the minimum violations were intimidation and harassment but this month there are recorded cases of physical assault and sadly fatalities.

The increase in physical confrontations fuelled by internal party contradictions is not a good indicator for the coming elections and moreso as political parties are expected to have primary elections in the next few months. The mooted MDC Alliance for example means candidates may be imposed and others asked to give way and this may fuel conflict. There were 17 intra-party violations all centred on the succession disputes within the MDC-T and power tussles within Zanu PF.

Zanu PF was responsible for close to 46% of the violations mainly because of demanding of serial numbers, victimisation of G40 members and marginally harassing of opposition party supporters. The MDC-T was responsible for close to 28% of the violations mainly attributed to the succession disputes in the party. There was an occasional harassing of Zanu PF supporters. Both parties were responsible for hate language, which is breeding ground for conflicts at the local level.







Eighty nine percent of the victims do not have a known political affiliation. This is evidence ordinary people are being targeted victimisation rather than those who have a known political affiliation. Political parties are more concerned with recruiting new members and hence the terror tactics targeted at fence sitters rather than known hardliners. Those aligned to G40 might not want their political affiliation known since they are on the receiving end of all sorts of violations at the hands of Lacoste faction members who are claiming revenge.

Increased intra-party violence and violence against others

Political activists, traditional leaders and in a curious case, a retired senior police officer Assistant Commissioner Edmore Veterai who is eyeing a parliamentary seat in Bikita are accused of demanding serial numbers. This practice has been condemned by both ZEC and the police. ZPP has noted that there has been a conviction in Masvingo concerning violence centred on collection of serial numbers and believes more could be done considering the practice is widespread.

Intolerance on the rise

Political intolerance is on the rise. Cases of intimidation and harassment and even assault of those wearing regalia of dissenting political views were reported. A case of Zanu PF supporters who were intimidated for wearing t-shirts emblazoned with the face of former President Robert Mugabe was recorded. Several MDC-T supporters were assaulted for wearing regalia with Tsvangirai's face while others were assaulted for expressing their political leader preferences within the MDC-T. A shop owner in Marondera was threatened for playing pro-MDC songs in his shop. In Gokwe and Mashonaland West bans on political meetings of opposition parties were imposed while in an

extreme case a traditional leader fined a villager three chickens on allegations that the villager is an MDC-T supporter. As the country enters the election period such cases are expected to rise.

Police Brutality

The police once again acted contrary to their constitutional obligations to protect human life and property when called upon to restore order. Disproportionate force was used in skirmishes involving public transport operators and police after an ultimatum was issued to transport operators to vacate the central business district of Harare. Three people were killed after police used live ammunition in discharging their duties. In Bulawayo police used heavy handed tactics to disperse protesting National University of Science and Technology (NUST) students when they released dogs. The ZPP calls for the establishment for an independent commission of enquiry to investigate the conduct of the police in these cases.

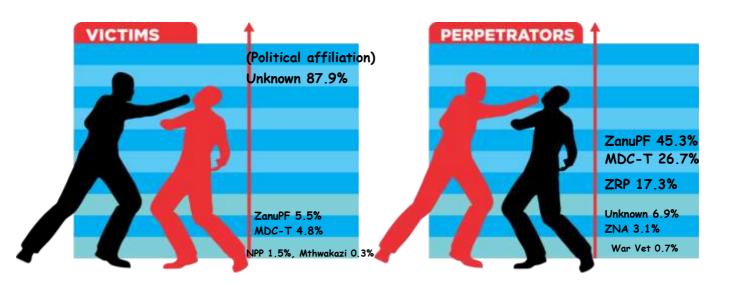
Minimum demands for zero tolerance to all forms of violence in elections 2018

- Create an enabling political environment free from intimidation, harassment and threats conducive for the conduct of free, fair and credible elections in 2018
- Enforce measures for perpetrators to account for their actions to eliminate political and/or electoral violence
- Establish and enforce the operationalisation of investigative committees and multi-party liaison committees
- Desist using hate language and slogans that perpetuate conflict and avoid using food and other aid to influence the electorate
- Stop traditional leaders, and security agents from instilling fear in the electorate and encourage the establishment of electoral resolution mechanisms

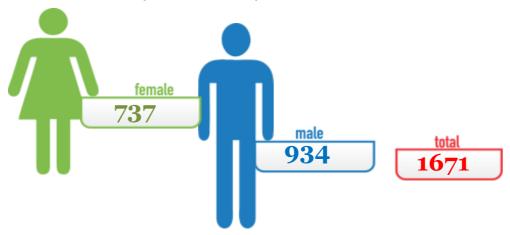




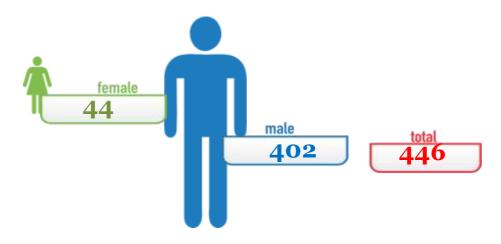
The Dashboard: Incident Statistics at a Glance



Analysis of Victims by Gender



Analysis of Perpetrators by Gender









Recorded Intra-Party Violations

		ZANU				
Province	MDC-T	PF	MDC-N	ZimPF	PDP	Total
Bulawayo	1	0	0	0	0	1
Harare	2	0	0	0	0	2
Manicaland	2	2	0	0	0	4
Mash Central	1	2	0	0	0	3
Mash East	0	1	0	0	0	1
Mash West	2	1	0	0	0	3
Masvingo	0	1	0	0	0	1
Mat North	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mat South	0	0	0	0	0	0
Midlands	1	1	0	0	0	2
Overall Total	9	8	0	0	0	17

17 intra party violations were recorded for February, the majority within the MDC-T (9 cases) and 8 recorded for Zanu PF

Distribution of violence by type across provinces

ACTS	Midlands	Byo	Mat. South	Mat. North	Masvingo	Manicaland	Harare	Mash. East	Mash. West	Mash. Centra	I TOTAL
Murder	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	3
Rape/Sexual Harassment	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kidnapping/abduction	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Assault	3	1	0	0	3	2	5	1	4	1	20
Theft/looting	1	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	5
Discrimination	3	0	1	0	2	6	0	3	0	5	20
MDP	0	1	0	0	0	1	2	1	0	0	5
Torture	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	2
Unlawful Detention	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Intimidation /harassment	21	3	3	3	13	23	7	12	10	23	118
Displacement	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Attempted Murder	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Attempted Rape	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Banned Political Party Mtg	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Disrupted Political Mtg	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Total	28	6	4	3	20	34	18	19	15	29	176

February recorded a decrease in harassment and Intimidation cases to 118 recorded violations, followed by a sharp decrease in discrimination with 20 violations, and a decrease in assault with 20 and then theft/looting with 5. February also witnessed murder incidents perpetrated in Harare. Manicaland had the highest recorded violations for February with 34, followed by Mashonaland Central with 29, and Midlands with 28







Following the death of MDC-T leader, the power tussles involving Vice Presidents Khupe and Chamisa took an ugly twist. Khupe alleges being labelled a dissident, a victim of gender discrimination after she was attacked in Buhera for her power ambitions by party youths known as the 'order of the Vanguard'. The National Peace and Reconciliation Commission meeting held in Bulawayo was disrupted at the instigation of the Mthwakazi group as they argued that the commission was Shona dominated. Sixty nine NUST students were detained for protesting and a number of them were injured after the police set dogs on them.

Category of incident		Feb 2018	Jan 2018
Assault	Û	1	0
Discrimination	$\stackrel{\triangle}{\Box}$	0	0
MDP	Û	1	0
Intimidation/harassment	①	3	0
Unlawful detention	①	1	0



Factional ruptures manifested in the MDC-T prior to and after the death of Tsvangirai resulting in nasty clashes between youths affiliated to both party vice presidents Chamisa and Elias Mudzuri. Zanu PF activists still identified recording serial numbers in communities. The ruling party's intolerance of opposition parties continued despite

promises by President Emmerson Mnangagwa to create an environment conducive to holding free, fair and credible elections. Zanu PF youths attacked Joice Mujuru, National People's Party (NPP) president and some of her supporters in ward 30 Glenorah. Mujuru escaped with a swollen eye while six of her supporters were assaulted. The assaults are reported to have been perpetrated by Zanu PF activists Sera, Milcah, Matemba, Teddy, Kasirai, Musengu, Lucky, Ndux and Spencer Mutero all led by Councillor Hondo.

The police emerged drivers of conflict and perpetrators of human rights violations. They incited public violence in Harare CBD when they allegedly shot and reportedly killed three people after engaging in street battles with kombi drivers.



Figure 1. NPP activist injured after attacks in political violence



Figure 2: Cars burnt during clashes between police and public in Harare

On 23 February police officers fired teargas in Harare Central Business District to disperse



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protesters at Harare Central police station who demanded answers on why the police had opened fire on unarmed citizens.



Figure 3: Crowd confronts police at Harare Central Police Station



Figure 4: Police stand guard outside Harare Central Police Station

Two vehicles were burnt during the conflict.

Despite a statement by ZEC that it is an offence to record serial numbers from BVR voter registration slips, Zanu PF activists have continued to violate the Electoral Act and section 156(c) of the constitution. On 14 February in Kuwadzana ward 7, 3 Zanu PF activists led by Mrs Bande (house number 1082 Crowborough phase 2) reportedly conducted a community outreach in Crowborough recording serial numbers.

On 15 February a case of factionalism within the MDC-T was reported at late President Tsvangirai's Highlands residence in Harare where mourners had gathered to pay tribute to the

late MDC-T President. Some youths affiliated to MDC-T vice president Chamisa threatened to unleash violence on those perceived to have opposed his appointment as acting president by the MDC-T National Council. They reportedly attempted to assault MDC-T vice president Mudzuri whom they accused of boycotting a National Council meeting convened by Chamisa. However, party youths from the security structures intervened to maintain order.

Category of incident		Feb 2018	Jan 2018
Assault	1	5	2
Discrimination	Ţ	0	4
MDP	$\stackrel{\square}{\Longrightarrow}$	2	2
Intimidation/harassment	\Box	7	14
Murder	①	3	0



During the month of February, the province recorded a total of 17 cases of human rights violations. These included violations around the electoral act, right to personal security, political rights and the right to food and water. The month saw the violation of the electoral act rapidly decreasing following the public condemnation of the practice of collecting serial numbers by ZEC and the police. However, some remote areas still recorded such violations. The notable constituencies which recorded violations related to the electoral act were Chipinge East, Mutare







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West, Chimanimani East, Headlands and Mutasa Central.

The right to personal security of the citizen in this province during the month under consideration registered a lot of violations. Assault cases, intimidation and harassment were recorded in Buhera at the burial of late MDC-T leader. There was an arson attempt on Khupe, Mwonzora and Bhebhe, when visibly intoxicated MDC-T youths threatened to burn the hut the leaders had sought refuge in. Khupe told journalists the rains prevented the grass from catching fire. The other threat to personal security which was recorded in Chikanga/Dangamvura was intimidation after legislator Esau Mupfumi threatened to unleash the military on headmasters sending away children for non-payment of fees. While the sending back children for non payment of fees is a violation of the right to education, the situation cannot be addressed by unleashing the military. A case of intra-party violence was also recorded in Nyanga North between members of the opposition MDC-T, which led to a fist-fight after they allegedly failed to agree on the candidate to support in the elections expected later this year.

Category of incident		Feb 2018	Jan 2018
Theft/looting	1	2	1
Discrimination	\Box	6	15
MDP	Û	1	0
Intimidation/harassment	\Box	23	45
Assault	1	2	0
Banned Political Meeting	Û	0	1



The major violations recorded were around socioeconomic and civil and political rights. Although publicly rejected government has distribution of food and other aid including inputs, political affiliation has determined one's ability to access food aid. Perceived opposition supporters and those who do not attend or partake in ruling party activities were denied food aid. Intimidation was also prominent in communities as the demand for voter's serial numbers by Zanu PF activists continued to violate the Electoral Act and section 156(c) of the constitution. Inter party clashes between Zanu PF and MDC-T youths were dominant as both parties clashed following the death of Tsvangirai. A particular case was reported in Mazowe central where MDC-T youths threatened to assault Zanu PF youths who wanted to block them celebrating the life of their leader. Despite the alleged Operation Restore Legacy by the military, in Zanu PF factional fights have been reported between Lacoste and G40 (those opposed to President Mnangagwa). Perceived G40 activists have been victimised on accusations of sabotaging ruling party activities in village wards.

Category of incident		Feb 2018	Jan 2018
Assault	Û	1	1
Theft/looting	\Box	0	4
Discrimination	Û	5	19
MDP	Û	0	0
Intimidation/harassment	①	23	36







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During the month of February residents of Goromonzi North at Craig James Farm, witnessed an inhuman and unjustified eviction. The eviction brought forth a series of violations ranging from socio-economic to civil and political rights. 32 families were unlawfully evicted and left in dire need of shelter, food and water as the rains pounced on them on the road. The dubious land baron behind the evictions was identified as Chris Tandi who is alleged to have invaded the farm during the fast track land reform program. Greediness and corrupt tendencies of influential senior political players and dubious land barons has been the main driver in unlawful evictions.

Meanwhile violations in the province were circled around forced gathering, intimidation and people being coerced to surrender their voters' registration serial numbers. The main perpetrators of these violations were traditional leaders and Zanu PF youths. These violations were rife in Murehwa North, Seke, Mudzi South and Uzumba.

MDC-T supporters in the province were also intimidated and in some cases assaulted for celebrating the life of their late President. Zanu PF activists desire a one party state seen in the manner they have tried to crash all opposition activities. Meanwhile, Chiefs in Mashonaland East have declared support for Zanu PF as the country braces for elections. Chief Musarurwa said; 'Chiefs will not allow anyone who did not

contribute in the Zimbabwean liberation struggle to lead them.' These sentiments were in a clear reference to the MDC-T acting President Chamisa. Chiefs vowed to do everything within their powers to ensure that Chamisa does not win.



Figure 5. Stranded residents evicted from St Craigs Farm

Category of incident		Feb 2018	Jan 2018
Assault	\Rightarrow	1	1
Theft/looting		0	0
Discrimination		3	3
Displacement	\Box	1	0
Torture	Û	1	0
Intimidation/harassment	Û	12	15



Cases involving the Zimbabwe National Army (ZNA) officers perpetrating violence in Mashonaland West were high during the month of February. Opposition supporters had their political rights and freedom of expression infringed by the ZNA officers. In Kariba and Chakari the ZNA officers assaulted and intimidated opposition





supporters. Residents were assaulted for wearing opposition regalia and in some cases threatened and intimidated for discussing the current political situation by the same officers.

An MDC-T supporter was seriously assaulted by Zanu PF activists in Banket for celebrating and wearing a T-shirt inscribed with Tsvangirai's picture. Opposition supporters have assaulted, intimidated and denied farming inputs. 90% of the violations recorded in Mashonaland West have been perpetrated by Zanu PF activists.

A case of intra-party violence was recorded in Kadoma Central in the MDC-T camp over transport logistics to the funeral of their late President. Factional strife in the MDC-T has been rekindled by succession wrangles.

An MDC-T supporter was assaulted by Zanu PF activists in Banket at Kuwadzana shopping Centre on 19 February. It is alleged that Henry Kanhema was brutally assaulted for wearing MDC-T party regalia and celebrating the life of the late MDC-T leader. Kanhema sustained deep injuries on the head was rushed to Banket hospital where he was stitched. The case was reported at Banket Police station and one of the suspects was arrested while the others still large. are



Figure 6. Henry Kanhema of Banket assaulted by Zanu PF supporters

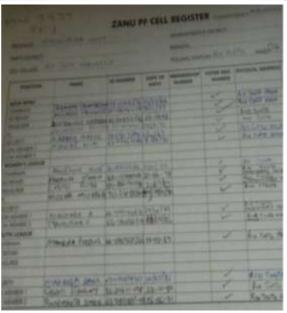


Figure 7. Zanu PF cell register

Category of incident		Feb 2018	Jan 2018
Assault	\Box	4	0
Theft/looting	\Box	0	1
Discrimination	\Box	0	2
Intimidation/harassment	Û	10	9
Disrupted Political Mtng	1	1	0



Threat level: Medium

The province recorded a number of human rights violations. The cases recorded in Masvingo this past month ranged from the right to personal security, the electoral act, right to food and also notably the freedom to profession or trade recorded in Gutu Central. During the month under review the right to personal security was violated, the outstanding cases being of a villager who was







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assaulted for refusing to disclose his voter registration slip serial number. The perpetrator was found guilty and sentenced to 105 hours of community service. Members of the ZNA assaulted a bus driver in Chiredzi South for allegedly transporting border jumpers to neighbouring South Africa through the Limpopo River.

Cases of violations with regards to the electoral act declined during the month under review. This may be due to the fact that ZEC and ZRP publicly condemned the practice. But still in areas like Bikita South, Masvingo Central, Bikita South and Gutu Central cases such violations recorded. Food aid continued to be a political tool to induce compliance.

Category of incident		Feb 2018	Jan 2018
Assault		3	2
Discrimination	Û	2	8
Intimidation/harassment	Û	13	27
Theft/looting	1	2	0



The period under review, recorded two cases of Zanu PF activists forcibly demanding voter registration slips from citizens in Bubi and Hwange. This was done shortly after the public pronouncement by ZEC and ZRP which barred individuals from demanding voters registration slips from citizens. In some areas within the province, Zanu PF activists remain loyal to the old habits of intimidation worse off after satements by

ZEC and ZRP. Such cases in other areas have significantly disappeared although subtle ways of intimidation especially being forced to attend Zanu PF meetings have become the order of the day. Candidate imposition is seen as a future source of conflict in both the ruling party and opposition. In Tsholotsho North in particular, it is said that Retired Brigadier Sakhumuzi Khumalo has been imposed as the incumbent Zanu PF Member of Parliament. Khumalo seeks to replace Jonathan Moyo.

Category of incident		Feb 2018	Jan 2018
Assault		0	0
Theft/looting		0	0
Discrimination	Û	0	1
Intimidation/harassment	Û	3	4



In the month of February, the province recorded two cases of human rights violations. Citizens demonstrated against a headmaster who is alleged to have committed fraud and hence the school had to shut down for days. The other one was recorded in Beitbridge East where Zanu PF activists forced citizens to join the cell groups after they had misled them that the meeting was for fertiliser distribution. This suggests that Zanu PF activists continue to intimidate and threaten citizens. This has been an ongoing trend in the province since January.

Cat	tegory of incident		Feb 2018	Jan 2018
Assa	nult	\Box	0	0







Theft/looting		0	0
Discrimination	Û	1	3
Intimidation/harassment	Û	3	5



Political intolerance leading to the suppression of citizens' political rights dominated the cases which were recorded in the province. Out of 18 human rights violations recorded, 11 were violations of political rights. These also included cases of intra-party violence. The other violations which were recorded during the month included the right to food, the electoral act as well as the right to personal security. In Gokwe Central Chief Nemangwe who was in the company of the Zanu secretary for war veterans Matemadanda addressed residents and declared that no other parties were going to be allowed to campaign. A similar case was reported in Gokwe-Kana were the Zanu PF leadership with the blessing of village heads uttered the same words. This clearly violates Section 281(2)(a and b) of the constitution which states that traditional leaders must not be members of any political party or in any way participate in partisan politics, act in a partisan manner.

The month of February, also recorded cases of intra-party violence, use of hate language by political parties. Intra-party violence was recorded in Gweru Chiwundura between members of the MDC-T. The misunderstanding was on who was the preferred successor of the late party president.





The use of hate language in the build-up to the burial of the late Tsvangirai by mainly MDC-T members accusing Zanu PF members of being responsible for the death of their leader was recorded.

Category of incident		Feb 2018	Jan 2018
Assault	Û	3	0
Theft/looting	Û	1	0
Discrimination	ightharpoons	3	3
Intimidation/harassment	1	21	13

Food and other forms of aid

Food and farming inputs aid continues to be used as a political tool in most provinces. The cases are very low in Matabeleland North, South and Bulawayo despite the provinces being the worst food insecure due to dry weather. The practice has been rampant in areas where the populations survive on subsistence farming such Mashonaland, Manicaland and Masvingo. Those who failed to produce voters' slips to have serial numbers recorded by ruling party activists were the common victims of deprivation of farming inputs or food aid.



Figure 8. Villagers who had names omitted from beneficiary list









0/Zero	0/Zero	6/Six	4/Four	3/Three	0/Zero	2/Two	0/Zero	1/One	2/Two
		ALTH.	ATTA	ATT A		ALL LAND		學	ALLEY A
		W		(T)		W		44	W
Bulawayo	Harare	Manicaland	Mashonaland Central	Mashonaland East	Mashonaland West	Masvingo	Matabeleland North	Matabeleland South	Midlands

