

claims of **Contested Progress**

An Analysis of Government Performance
2018 - 2021



Tendai Murisa

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About SIVIO Institute

SIVIO Institute (SI) is an independent organisation focused on ensuring that citizens are at the centre of processes of socioeconomic and policy change. It aims to contribute towards Africa's inclusive socio-economic transformation. It is borne out of a desire to enhance agency as a stimulus/catalyst for inclusive political and socio-economic transformation. SIVIO's work entails multi-disciplinary, cutting edge policy research, nurturing citizens' agency to be part of the change that they want to see and working with communities to mobilize their assets to resolve some of the immediate problems they face.

SIVIO institute has three centres/programs of work focused on; (i) civic engagement (ii) philanthropy and communities (ii) entrepreneurship and financial inclusion. In the process SI addresses the following problems:

- » Inadequate performance of existing political and economic system
- » Increasing poverty and inequality
- » Limited coherence of policies across sectors
- » Ineffectual participation in public processes by non-state actors
- » Increased dependence on external resources and limited leveraging of local resources

About the Author

Tendai Murisa is the Executive Director of SIVIO Institute. He is a development practitioner and researcher in the areas of public policy, agency, social movements, philanthropy, NGOs, and propoor development across Africa



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Introduction

The ZANU-PF led government under President Mnangagwa has been in office since August 2018. On their way to the office, the ruling party, alongside others, developed a campaign manifesto in which they made a number of promises on what they would do if elected to office. We have been tracking progress using the www.zimcitizenswatch.org platform. The platform tracks the conversion of promises contained in the manifesto since their first day in office. To date, out of the 235 promises made, the ZANU-PF government has kept 185 (78.72%), has not commenced on 31, broke 4 promises and 14 have been fully implemented. In this report we provide a detailed analysis of government performance based on results from the tracker. It is important to note that rating performance on the basis of a political party's manifesto is not adequate. There is need to understand the levels of satisfaction of the electorate. We hasten to add that this report should be read in conjunction with another study that we carry out annually – the [Citizens' Perceptions and Expectations survey](#) where we determine the levels of citizen satisfaction with government performance.

Some of the top line promises made during elections included; transforming Zimbabwe into an upper middle income economy by 2030, the creation of one million formal sector jobs, issuing land tenure documents (99 year leases for A2 and permits for A1), building 2000 schools by 2023, rehabilitating and establishing at least one vocational training centre per administrative district, establishing at least one hospital per administrative district, and delivering at least 1.5 million affordable housing within five years amongst many others (ZANU-PF, 2018). In this report we analyse performance across all the sectors. Performance by sector has generally been uneven. The social policy sector remains neglected except for COVID-19 related interventions. There are a couple of broken promises across all sectors

Background

Electoral forms of democracy dominate African politics. They remain an attractive form of competitive politics. There is reason to believe that the competitive nature of politics at best provides room for electing leaders or a political party with a better set of ideas that align with the electorate's aspirations. However, there is no evidence yet that the competitive nature of politics is based on the superiority of ideas. Admittedly, politics, unlike economics, is not necessarily an arena of logic, there are many other reasons behind voting choices. In 2018, we carried out a survey on

voter behaviour which demonstrated that very few people go through political party manifestos before making decisions on who to vote for.

The current government was elected to office on the 31st of July and the President was sworn into office on the 26th of August 2018. In the period leading to the elections most of the contesting political parties clarified their political positions/ideology through election manifesto documents. At that time, we sought to nurture a more analytical approach to voting decisions. Whilst there is no evidence of how these documents are widely read, we devoted time analysing their content and looking at the differences. Beyond being used as tools to prove political sophistication and to woo the few that actually read them, political party manifestos are an invaluable tool for tracking performance and keeping officeholders in check on the basis of their own commitments. Furthermore, after elections had been concluded in the courts, we subdivided the promises in the manifesto into eight thematic clusters.

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Methodology

The analysis contained in this report is based on the data generated by the platform; zimcitizenswatch.org. The tracking is based on the ZANU-PF 2018 manifesto titled 'Unite, Fight Corruption, Develop, Re-engage, Create Jobs' (ZANU-PF, 2018). From the manifesto, we identified 235 promises which we grouped into eight thematic sections. We have been following up on how the government is converting the promises into actions using media reports that comprise the government's own reporting through the post Cabinet briefings, independent local and international newspapers, and other credible news sources. The promises are to be completed over the five-year term which ends in August 2023. The tracker is updated accordingly and then used to calculate the barometer score as outlined below.

The barometer measures two phenomenon; the pace at which the government is implementing the promises it made during the elections and the comprehensiveness of the measures being adopted. It uses a very elaborate scoring as described in Table 2. We allocate a score for each indicator. The lowest score an action can receive is 2 which equates to 14% progress, as the action involves a change to the current way of doing things (either an incentive or a dis-enabler). A perfect score of 14 suggests that the adopted measure is most likely to comprehensively resolve the problems behind the promise. If there have been multiple actions that have been undertaken or implemented against a single promise, we calculate an average score for all the related actions by dividing the total scores for the actions by the total number of actions. We have done this to avoid the danger of giving the impression that the government has implemented multiple actions, yet the actions are only aimed at addressing one promise.

We then compute the scores against each promise taken within a sector to give us a Sector Barometer Score. This score represents the percentage progress taken towards fulfilling the promises identified in that thematic area. This final score is shaped by the status of promises as broken and non-commenced promises will score lower, while implemented promises will score above 80%.

A broken promise includes instances where the government chooses to ignore what it promised and either takes a completely different action which violates the promise or fails to implement what it committed itself to doing initially. The implication of each score is described in Table 1 to make sense of the result.

Table 1: Description of Promise Status

Score	Description
Kept Promise	Government has acted in line with the promise
Broken Promise	Actions prevent the fulfilment of the promise or directly oppose the promise
Implemented Promise	Completed actions have fulfilled the promise
Not Commenced Promises	No actions have been taken to fulfil the promise

Furthermore, it is important to indicate that the barometer serves two purposes; to track progress being made by the government on an ongoing basis and to analyse whether the government has been successful in implementing its own promises. The latter can only be done at the end of the government's term of office. The Kept and Broken Promises categories are useful in determining whether the government is on course to fully implement its commitments. However, the high/low number of kept promises during the government's term of office is not in itself an indication of success. It suggests that the government is likely to fulfil the promises it made.

There are limitations to a tracker-based analysis such as ours.

1. We are limited to mostly analysing whether the ruling party, ZANU-PF, is still committed to the promises it made. There is limited room to determine if sticking to the promises made would positively impact on the wellbeing of the nation.
2. The ZANU-PF manifesto is not time specific and there is no indication of sequencing to the public policy reform program being implemented. There could be a lot of activity but in the absence of a clearly defined sequencing-based planning tool - we can only assume that they are following a plan. We observed this weakness during the analysis of all political parties' manifestos.
3. The tracker-based approach, with its focus on promises made within a certain period and context, may not adequately account for issues that emerge during the implementation period such as the January protests, drought, Cyclone Idai and the COVID-19 pandemic. These were major events that could have contributed to a stretching of resources.

Benefits of the Tracker

While there are challenges to the methodology, we still subscribe to the idea that a rigorous reporting system on government performance based on electoral promises is critical for instilling discipline on the part of officeholders and inspires confidence amongst citizens.

1. It fosters a new culture of political accountability. In many instances, political party manifestos have been used to lure votes and are quickly abandoned. In the absence of a baseline set of promises, it becomes difficult to determine if indeed the government has been successful at what it committed itself to achieving.
2. It helps to create a new conversation within and outside of government on the need to communicate policy programs and outputs. Voters in their different associational platforms and non-state actors focused on advocacy have an evidence base for holding conversations with government on policy performance and effectiveness.
3. Our analysis combines with other objective benchmarks that can be used to determine if indeed what the government has been doing contributes towards positive socio-economic and political change such as Gross Domestic Product (GDP), employment figures, levels of investment into the country, perception indexes on corruption, ease of doing business and political freedoms. These are generally accepted standards used to compare countries.

Table 2: Barometer Action Quality Scoring

Action	New Strategy	Yes=1 no=0
	Policy Reform (+) Incentive	Yes=2 no=0
	Policy Reform (-) Dis-enabler	Yes=2 no=0
	Does it fit in an existing Legal Framework?	Yes=1 no=0
	Has a new law been established?	Yes=1 no=0
	Has budget implications. New resources have been allocated	Yes=1 no=0
	Fits within an existing ministry	Yes=1 no=0
	Cross ministry/agency collaboration established	Yes=1 no=0
	Time-frame-fits within current annual planning cycle	Yes=2 no=0
	Is it a fully implemented policy?	Yes=5 no=0
Barometer Action Score		Total

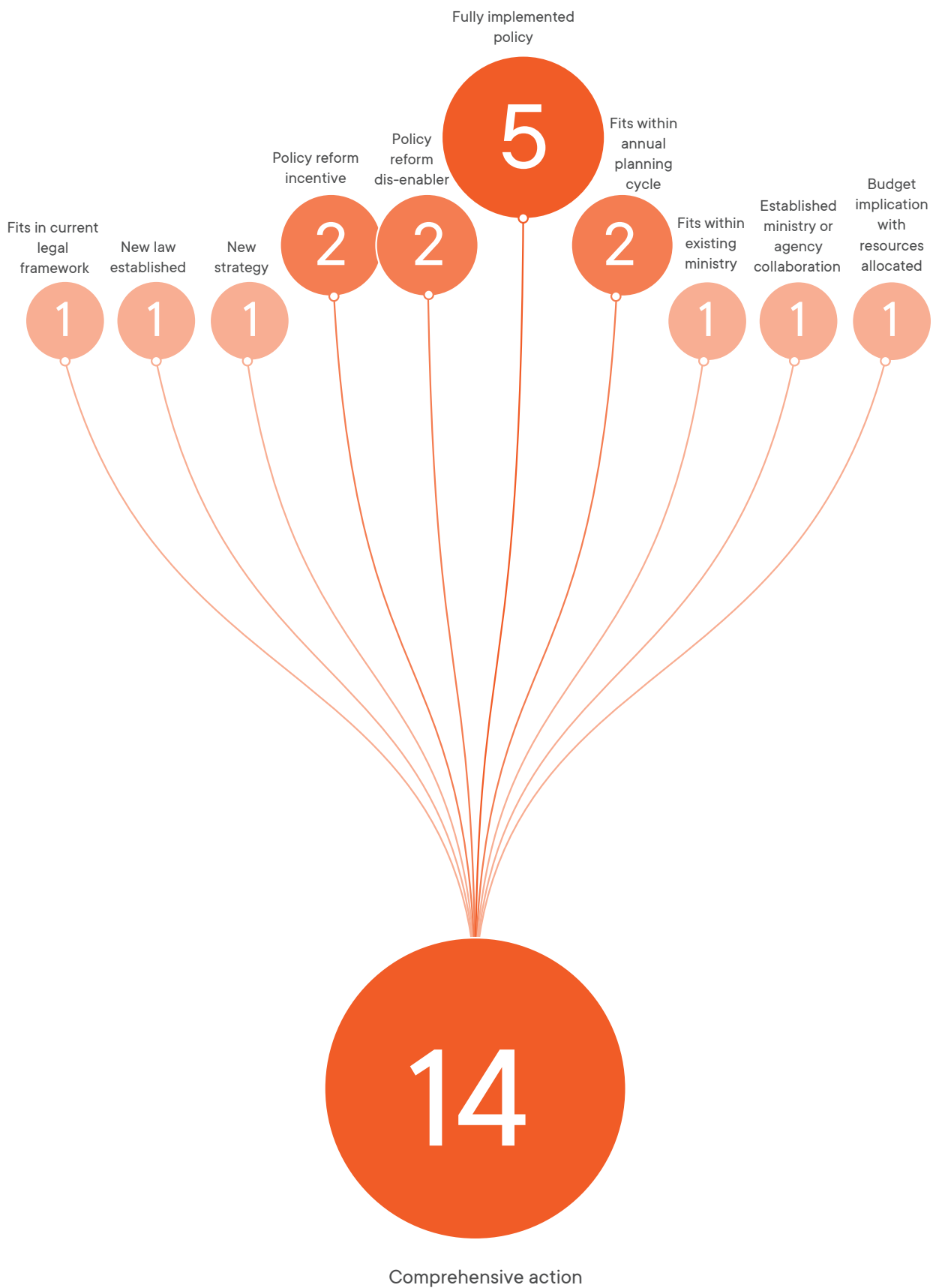


Figure 1: Barometer Action Quality Scoring

Contextual Analysis

It is important to consider the context under which we examine government performance. The country has, like the rest of the world, been battling COVID–19, a global pandemic. Prior to COVID–19 the Government of Zimbabwe (GoZ) also had to deal with the effects of Cyclone Idai. These unforeseen challenges tend to stretch the governments' capacities. Areas directly affected by COVID–19 include health delivery, employment creation and social welfare support. The GoZ reports that they have spent US\$ 127 million on the purchase of COVID–19 vaccines (Zinyuke, 2021), ZWL \$ 25,3 billion on healthcare, with development partners disbursing US\$511 million in 2021, and ZWL\$ 31,6 million spent on grants (Ministry of Finance and Economic Development, 2021). Rent seeking behaviour was also on the increase during these difficult times. Economic agents took advantage of the disrupted public procurement mechanism to short-circuit the system. Several alleged cases of corruption were reported during the initial phase of the outbreak of COVID–19. To date, the then Minister of Health and Child Welfare, Obadiah Moyo, is facing charges related to improper conduct in the procurement of equipment required to deal with the COVID–19 situation. No government was ready to deal with the pandemic. The government's interventions probably had a negative on the delivery of other promises and other intervening factors. In a nutshell, COVID–19 led to unexpected government expenditure, reversal of gains in other sectors such as health and education, worsened the situation for informal sector players and constrained economic growth.

Furthermore, there have been very limited inflows of official development aid (ODA) and foreign direct investments (FDI). The majority of official development aid (especially from the United States government and the European Union) has been channelled towards humanitarian support. Development finance focused on infrastructure rehabilitation, agricultural development, entrepreneurial support, and other sectors has been severely constrained. The challenge of securing ODA is not unique to Zimbabwe but is spread across many emerging economies. Others, for instance Ghana and Zambia, have resorted to borrowing from private equity funds which are at times associated with punitive interest rates. Zimbabwe remains ineligible for loans from the World Bank due to failure to meet previous commitments. The government received US\$ 958 million in the form of Special Drawing Rights from the IMF (Ministry of Finance and Economic Development, 2021), US\$ 500 million from Afreximbank (Zimbabwean [Government Gazette](#), 2021), US\$ 716 million from the AfDB and more recently US\$ 1 523 million from the World Bank (Ncube, 2021).

Table 3: Public External Debt by Creditor Type end September 2021 (US\$ million)

	Non-Guaranteed			Guaranteed			Grand Total
	DOD	Arrears	Total	DOD	Arrears	Total	
External Debt (a+b+c+d)	1,738	5,182	6,920	4,883	1,388	6,271	13,191
a. Bilateral Creditors	1,271	3,320	4,591	22	832	854	5,445
Paris Club	110	2,831	2,942	19	823	843	3,784
Non-Paris Club	1,160	489	1,649	3	8	11	1,661
b. Multilateral Creditors	246	1,862	2,108	0	557	557	2,664
World Bank	162	1,070	1,232	0	291	291	1,523
African Development Bank	31	599	630	0	87	87	716
European Investment Bank	14	167	181	0	179	179	361
Others	38	26	64	0	0	0	64
c. RBZ Assumed Debt (2015)	221	0	221	0	0	0	221
d. RBZ Balance sheet Debt				4,860		4,860	4,860
RBZ Borrowing – Guaranteed				1,448		1,448	1,448
				72		72	72
RBZ Borrowing – Non-Guaranteed				3,340		3,340	3,340
Blocked Funds							

Source: (Ncube, 2021)

The implications of financial measures against Zimbabwe such as the United States government's Zimbabwe Development and Economic Recovery Act (ZIDERA) have not been comprehensively discussed. The GoZ together with her allies from across the region have made the call for the lifting of these measures. However, no systematic study of the harm caused by these measures has been done yet. The prevailing partisan-based polarisation has also served to dilute any prospects of consensus on the effects of these measures. According to citizens perceptions the government's poor performance, lack of service delivery and economic challenges are mostly due to corruption within government (see Mususa, 2022).

Overview of Government Performance

Table 4 and figure 2 provide an overview of progress made towards the conversion of promises made into policy actions. The figure covers the 41 months (August 2018 – December 2021) that the government has been in office since the elections. As already mentioned, 185 promises have been kept. Significant progress has been made in almost all the sectors. Progress remains slow in social service delivery, agriculture, and corruption despite a high score on the number of promises kept.

Table 4: Overview of Government Performance by Sector

Thematic Area	Promises	Actions	Kept Promises		Broken Promises		Implemented Promises		Modified Promises	Not Commenced Promises	
Agriculture & Rural Development	32	196	23	72%	0	0%	4	13%	0	5	16%
Corruption	4	60	3	75%	0	0%	0	0%	0	1	25%
Economy	113	491	90	80%	4	4%	10	9%	0	9	8%
Governance, Politics & Civil Rights	11	96	9	82%	1	9%	1	9%	0	0	0%
Local Governance	2	45	2	100%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0	0%
Social Services	42	160	28	67%	1	2%	0	0%	1	12	29%
Trade & International Relations	15	96	14	93%	0	0%	0	0%	0	1	7%
Youth & Gender	16	38	13	81%	0	0%	0	0%	0	3	19%

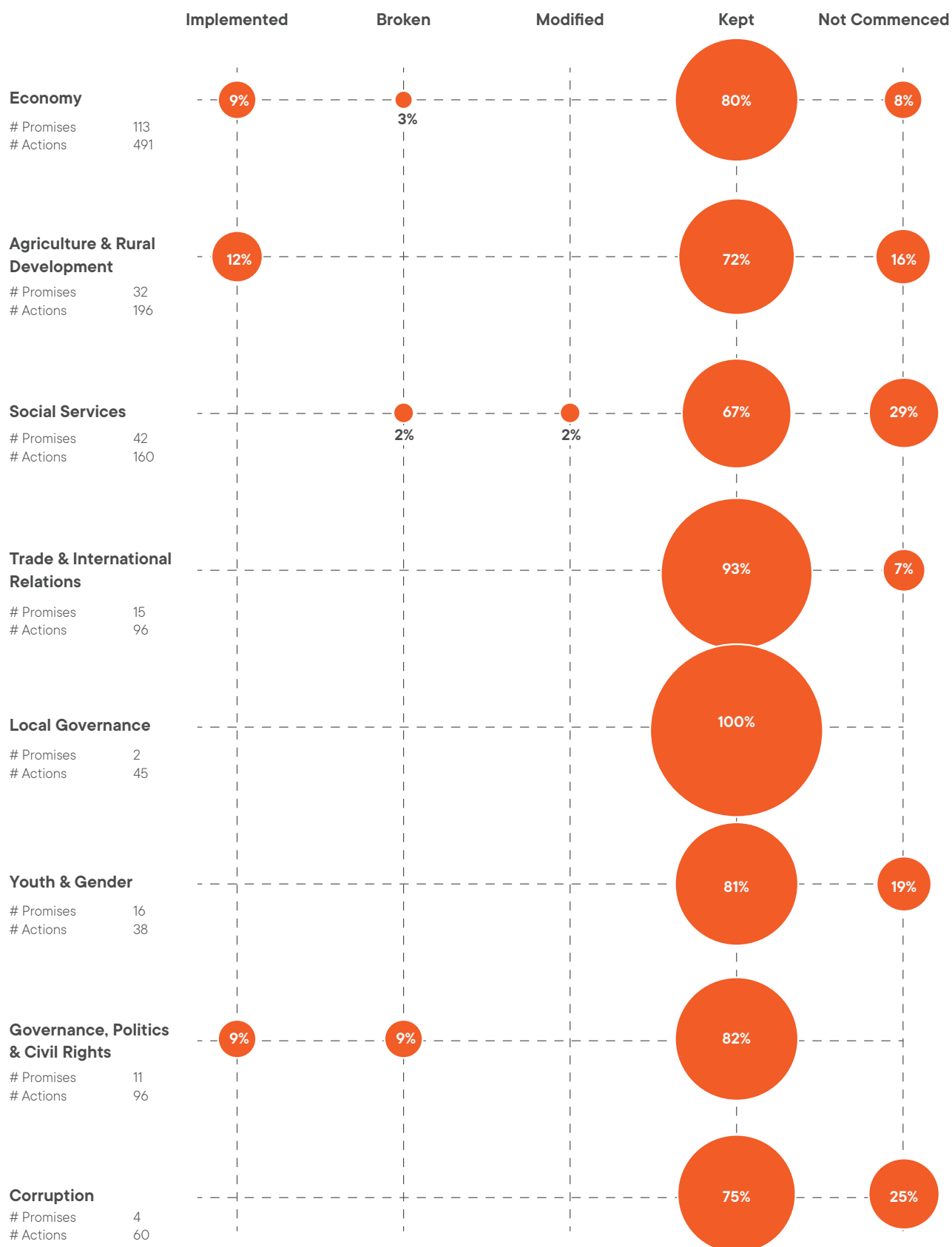


Figure 2: Overview of Government Performance by Sector

In some instances, the high promise kept score is due to the low number of promises made in that cluster. For instance, ZANU-PF made only two promises related to local government and 11 under Governance, Politics and Civil Rights. The majority of the promises were made in the Economy cluster (113) and Social Services (42) was a distant second. Perhaps this explains the prominence of the Ministry of Finance and Economic Development and the Central Bank in public policy making discourse. The fact that the economy has been in crisis since the late 1990s is no secret (see Kanyenze, 2022). There have been challenges to do with capacity utilisation (especially in the manufacturing sector), viability of state-owned enterprises, employment, currency stability, infrastructure development and informalisation of the economy.

Scoring Government Performance by Sector

Economy (Barometer Score 62%)

The ruling party made a total of 113 promises in the campaign manifesto and of these 94 have been kept. They have fully implemented nine and they have not commenced on nine promises. The Table below provides an analysis of progress made within the sector.

Table 5: Analysis of Government Performance in the Economic Sector

Sub-sector	# Promises	# Actions	Barometer Score
Budget Accountability	5	47	 61%
Economic Model (focus on State Owned Enterprises SOE)	4	17	 80%
Employment	8	37	 64%
Financial Services	10	27	 49%
Informal Sector	3	8	 46%
Investment Model	12	45	 73%
Mining	12	35	 58%
SMEs	13	32	 63%
Infrastructure	24	167	 65%
Tourism	10	39	 70%
Manufacturing	12	37	 51%
Total	113	491	 62%

Source Analysis based on www.zimcitizenswatch.org (accessed at Feb 2022)

In the past year the government embarked on several initiatives aimed at economic recovery and fostering accountability. They began publishing the names of beneficiaries of the foreign currency auction system (Muhamba, 2021). The Minister of Finance announced that they had achieved a fiscal surplus and ZIMRA surpassed targets for Q1 and Q2. The government had introduced presumptive tax to include informal business activities in January 2020. However, towards the end of the year tax compliance amongst SMEs had dropped by 37% according to ZIMRA statistics.

The Ministry of Finance also completed the shift to a program-based budgeting approach in September 2021. The government recapitalised the Industrial Development Corporation (IDC) and repositioned it into a development finance institution. The partially government owned Kuvimba Mining House paid a US\$5.2 million dividend - a first of sorts. It was reported that some of these revenues were used to pay displaced former large scale commercial farmers. The same period was also characterised by a significant improvement of Zimbabwe's trade balance.

However, some of the progress has been put under scrutiny by the Auditor General's report. In her audit of Government's financial year ending December 2020, she found that close to US\$300million had been lost through stray payments. The report raises concerns about the government's spending without the necessary paperwork and the increasing number of projects that have not been properly budgeted for. The report cites, for instance, several road projects that were not properly budgeted for and the Ministry of Transport had to repeatedly approach Treasury for more resources.

It was reported that the Zimbabwe United Passenger Company (ZUPCO) had created 7146 jobs since January 2019 (Agere, 2021) but this still needs independent verification. Several new measures meant to improve the viability of SMEs were introduced and these include the launch of Zimbabwe Mercantile Exchange Private Ltd (ZMX) for farmers and an increase in financing for SMEs. There has been a significant focus on infrastructure development projects. They include the rehabilitation of existing and building of new infrastructure. In the manifesto, ZANU-PF committed to building a dam for each province. In 2021 the government carried out the following:

- » Opening of the National Data Center ([Swinhoe, 2021](#)).
- » Declared all roads to be a state of national disaster ([Marewo, 2021](#)).
- » Launch of the Matabeleland South DDF Blitz Road Maintenance Program (Muleya, 2021).

- » Signed an agreement with COMESA to sub-delegate the upgrading of Chirundu Border Post (Gakunga, 2021).
- » Licensed 80 IPP projects (Saunyama, 2021).
- » Signed an MoU with the Russian state atomic energy corporation (Admin, 2021).
- » Completed Phase 1 of the modernisation of the Beitbridge Border Post (Admin, 2021).
- » Opened the Nkayi Village Information Centre (Phiri, 2021).
- » Launch of Centragrid Solar Park in Nyabira (Zimpapers Digital, 2021).

There were some reforms in the financial services sector. The government's central bank allowed exporters to hold their US dollars beyond 60 days and Tobacco farmers now get 60% of their earnings in foreign currency. However, there are concerns to do with the overly bureaucratic nature, especially when it comes to approval of investments. During the period under review, the government removed State Cannabis Ownership Rules in response to several complaints about the lack of policy clarity in this potentially lucrative value chain. Several joint ventures submitted to ZIDA by Ministries of Environment, Climate, Tourism and Hospitality Industry and Mines and Mining Development were also approved.

However, the same government also broke several promises; they reduced civil servants' salaries. They also promised to ensure that the rights of workers enshrined in the Constitution are fully protected. The teachers that went on strike were suspended without pay. Furthermore, some of the cabinet's decisions have not been popular. For instance, the approval of the Bulawayo Vehicle Parking Management System Project. Could this be the government overextending itself into decisions that should traditionally be made by local authorities?

Agriculture & Rural Development (Barometer Score 49%)

The ruling party made 32 promises related to achievement of agricultural modernisation and rural development. In the 2019 budget, the government allocated 10% of its total budget towards agriculture. The allocations towards agriculture have been over 14% ever since. Furthermore, the government committed to a land audit which it claimed would lead to optimal allocation of land across natural regions and accommodation of those requiring land. In 2019, the government signed the Global Compensation Agreement on land which sought to finalise outstanding

compensation issues for those displaced from large scale farms through the fast-track land reform. However, the actual compensation has not effectively started. The table below provides a summary of promises made, the number of actions and the barometer score for each sub-cluster.

Table 6: Overview of Performance in the Agriculture & Rural Development Sector

sub-sector	# promises	# actions	Barometer Score
Rural Development	5	25	40%
Agriculture & Agribusiness	18	128	57%
Land and Agrarian Reform	9	43	50%
Total	32	196	49%

Source Analysis based on www.zimcitizenswatch.org (accessed at Feb 2022)

Rural Development

In November 2021 the government launched the Presidential Rural Development Programme which is aimed at creating a US\$6 billion rural economy by 2025, rising to US\$8 billion by 2028 from the current US\$300 million (Netsianda, 2021). Through this scheme the government committed itself to increasing access to portable drinking water to 10 million people (70% of the population) living in rural areas. It is further envisaged that the Programme will generate 840 000 jobs.

The GoZ carried out a number of other actions aimed at contributing to rural development inclusive of:

- » The electrification fund which has powered over 9700 rural schools across the country as of 13 December 2021 (Tshuma, 2021).
- » Construction of a number of dams inclusive of Kunzvi Dam, Tokwe Mukosi, Causeway, Gwayi-Shangaani, Gariya Dam wall rehabilitation in Tsholotsho and others listed below.
- » Disbursement of \$46 million for rehabilitation of boreholes across the country (Mutanda and Towindo, 2021).

In the campaign manifesto, the ruling party committed to building a dam for each province. To date the government has built and completed 11 dams as shown in Table 7:

Table 7: Dams Constructed Since 2018

Dam	Province	Cost	Start of construction	Status as of Feb 2022
Bindura Dam	Mashonaland Central	US\$ 84 million	2018	In progress: 38% complete
Dande Dam	Mashonaland Central		2019	In progress
Silverstroom Dam	Mashonaland Central	Estimated US\$ 171 million	2019	In progress
Chivhu Dam	Mashonaland East	Estimated US\$ 192 million	2019	In progress: 83% complete
Causeway Dam	Mashonaland East / Manicaland	US\$ 5 million	2019	Completed 2021
Tuli-Manyanga	Matabeleland North	Estimated US\$ 38 million	2019	In progress
Semwa Dam	Mashonaland Central	ZWL\$ 3.4 billion	2020	In progress: 40% complete
Kunzvi Dam	Mashonaland Central	Estimated US\$ 109 million	2021	In progress: 8% complete
Ziminya Dam	Matabeleland North	Estimated US\$ 132 million	2022	In progress
Vungu Dam	Midlands	Estimated US\$ 87 million	2022	In progress
Marowanyati Dam	Manicaland	US\$ 33 million		Completed 2021
Gwayi-Shangani Dam	Matabeleland North	US\$ 600 million		In progress: 59% complete

Source (Factsheet, 2022)

The lowest score in this sector was 40% for Rural Development. This is largely because most of the measures and actions were still at launch stage at the time of writing. Furthermore, Government has only announced its intentions to do several rural development projects but there is limited tangible action to report except for the dams and bridges projects.

Agriculture & Agribusiness

Since 2018, agricultural production has increased, especially that of maize, wheat and cotton. There have been significant (and at times controversial) government led investments into agricultural production. The new government continued with the Mugabe era Presidential Inputs Scheme targeted at smallholder farmers and adopted the Pfumvudza/Intwasa cropping practices developed by Foundations for Farming. The government has since added the President Rural Horticulture Transformation plan “under the Agriculture and Food Systems Transformation Strategy (2020–2025) to transform agriculture from a US\$5,2 billion to a US\$8,2 billion sector, contributing 20 percent of GDP by 2030 vision” (Dube-Moyo, 2021). Production on ARDA¹ farms has significantly improved. Other actions that government embarked on include the launch of the Climate Strategy and Zimbabwe’s agricultural commodities exchange through Statutory Instrument (SI) 184 of 2021. The figures demonstrate the increase in production of cotton, wheat, and maize. Tobacco has not improved from the all-time high of the 2017–2018 farming season.

ARDA is a parastatal established in terms of the ARDA Act whose mandate is to spearhead agriculture, rural and agro-industry development through the deployment of technology and smart agriculture practices across Zimbabwe.



Source (Index Mundi, 2022 and FAO stat, 2022)

Figure 3: Crop Production 2018–2021 (Cotton, Tobacco, Maize and Wheat)

Land and Agrarian Reform

As already stated, the GoZ has committed itself to compensate former large scale commercial farmers who were displaced during the fast-track land reform for improvements on their farms. Through the Global Compensation Agreement, the government committed itself to paying US\$3.5 billion for farm improvements. A total of 2,801 former commercial farmers acceded to the compensation out of 2,963 that were approached with the compensation offer. In June 2021 the GoZ began the process of paying farmers who had agreed to the compensation offer. According to a Bloomberg article, 'the state-linked Kuvimba Mining House Ltd. transferred \$1 million to the farmers as the government and at the same time asked for a delay in paying the full \$3.5 billion compensation it had agreed to a year ago' ([Marawanyika and Sguazzin, 2021](#)).

In mid-May of 2021, the government launched the land bank, which is, in effect, one of four subsidiaries of the Agricultural Finance Corporation (AFC), with others being the insurance company, leasing company and the Agricultural Development Bank of Zimbabwe (Agribank). It is designed to help drive growth in the agricultural sector through the provision of affordable finance to farmers.

Social Services (Barometer Score 39%)

The crisis in Zimbabwe is multifaceted but has significant social ramifications which include collapse of public health delivery, declining enrolment in schools and quality of education, a non-existent public transport system, erosion of pensions and social safety nets. The country has, since the turn of the century, failed to turn the plug on the high levels of migration of skilled health and education personnel. The 39% barometer score is perhaps very generous given the stagnation and decline in this sector. We measured the government's performance in the areas of pensions, housing, health and education (see Table 8).

Table 8: Overview of Performance of Social Services Sector

sub-sector	# promises	# actions	Barometer Score
Pension Systems / Allocations - NSSA	9	44	<div></div> 46%
Housing	8	39	<div></div> 35%
Health	15	38	<div></div> 36%
Education	10	39	<div></div> 40%
Total	42	160	<div></div> 39%





Source Analysis based on www.zimcitizenswatch.org (accessed at Feb 2022)

The highest score achieved is in pensions systems, however, pensions remain very low. Those who worked in the civil service before retiring were paid US\$30 per month throughout the year and there was also a pension bonus of \$100 plus US\$80 for spouses. The cost of living has been rising across the country and US\$30 per month is hardly sufficient to cover groceries given the instability in prices and speculative behaviours characterising the economy.

The government approved the Insurance and Pensions Commission (Amendment) Bill which will hopefully lead to improved transparency within the sector. The Table below provides highlights of actions taken by the government to improve transport, housing, health, and education delivery.

Table 9: Quarterly Highlights

The table includes some highlights of Government Actions taken to address promises to the Social Services sector specifically in Transport, Housing, Health and Education

	Transport 	Housing 	Health 	Education 
1st Quarter	ZUPCO receives 50 new buses	\$1,35bn for 220 000 houses	Health Services Amendment Bill	Launch of National E-learning Strategy
2nd Quarter	Launch of National Labour Migration and National Disability Policies	Contracts signed for Dzivaresekwa Flats project	Solar power installed at 129 (of targeted 150) primary care clinics	UZ develops agro-industrial park
3rd Quarter	Introduction of rail coaches	Launch of National Human Settlements Policy	Impilo Electronic Health record system deployed	32 schools (of targeted 40) were registered
4th Quarter	Launch of NRZ ZUPCO Cowdray Park Commuter Train	Lupane Housing Project 90% complete	Opening of Bona Rural Health Clinic in Bubi	Zimbabwe signs education professional exchange MOU with Rwanda

Source (www.zimcitizenswatch.org 2022)

The re-introduction of ZUPCO buses and the collaboration with National Railways of Zimbabwe (NRZ) has contributed to alleviating the shortage of affordable transportation. However, there have been a number of complaints about the quality of service offered by

ZUPCO and capacity to move people on time, especially during the morning and evening peak hours. Many of the intra-city routes are serviced by older buses that constantly break down. The government's decision to ban independent commuter omnibuses and oblige others to work under the ZUPCO franchise has also negatively affected possibilities of a competitive public transport system. In the meantime, demand for transport still outweighs the supply.

Whilst the promises being tracked were made before the outbreak of COVID-19, it is noteworthy to discuss the government's response to the pandemic. According to the IMF, pandemic-related spending, equivalent to 2% of GDP, was financed by reallocation within the budget in 2020. In 2021, such outlays represented about 1.6% of GDP, partially financed by the SDR allocation (IMF, 2022).

The government embarked on an aggressive vaccination drive which was identified as a crucial step towards re-opening of the economy. In some ways the government's response to COVID-19 also served to exacerbate the crisis. First, they literally rendered informal trade impossible. Borders with all neighbouring countries were closed and, in the process, disabling cross border flows of informal trade. Second, household vulnerability worsened across the country. The impact of the government's cash transfer has not been adequately measured. Most of the respondents to our field survey had either not ever heard of it or were aware of it but had not benefitted from it (Mususa, Jowah, Satuku and Mutungamiri, 2021).

We have also observed that the government broke a social service promise where, they promised to allocate at least 15% of the national budget to health care in line with the Abuja declaration. In 2018 they allocated 10.3%, in 2019 10.70%, in 2020 11.32%, in 2021 12.98% and for the 2022 budget there was an allocation of 12.7% towards the health sector.

Governance, Politics and Civil Rights (Barometer Score 61%)

Governance and politics in Zimbabwe remain a contested terrain. Our barometer score of 61% is bound to be controversial. The cluster contains promises that were made to address issues to do with governance, politics and civil rights. Government made a total of 11 promises in this sector which perhaps explains why they have scored highly. The base was always low. Besides, the period under review (2021), and the year 2020 were dominated by COVID-19 related lockdowns. The lockdowns and related COVID-19 measures closed off the space for citizen-based mobilisations and opportunities to test the government's responses. Prior

to the 2019 period, the government had demonstrated a heavy-handed approach in dealing with citizen protests. The responses to teachers' and doctors' strikes is a demonstration of continued heavy handedness. The cluster under discussion is divided into two sub-categories: (i) national healing and addressing historical injustices and (ii) governance.

Table 10: Overview of Performance in Governance, Politics & Civil Rights Sector

sub-sector	# promises	# actions	Barometer Score	
National Healing and Addressing Historical Injustices	3	7	<div></div>	60%
Governance	8	89	<div></div>	62%
Total	11	96	<div></div>	61%

Source Analysis based on www.zimcitizenswatch.org (accessed at Feb 2022)

There were no new actions on the national healing front. Government embarked on a number of actions focused on improving governance. For instance, judiciary related measures included the completion of the Chinhoyi provincial court building and the launching of the first female open prison in Marondera. Government passed the Administrative Justice Amendment Bill, 2021.

Economic governance focused actions included the passing of the Public Finance Management Amendment Bill, launch of National Labour Migration, amendments to the Labour Bill, Launch of translated NDS1 documents, March 2021, and the passing of the Principles for the Electronic Transactions and Electronic Commerce Bill. Social governance related actions taken include the passing of the Children's Amendment Bill, 2021 and Guardianship of Minors Amendment Bill.

It is important to note that the above actions fall short of the political and civil rights reforms that have been raised by many others including the need to increase the autonomy/independence of the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC) and the restrictions around public gatherings. Furthermore, the government broke the promise to uphold and apply fully the rule of law while ensuring equality before the law' way back in 2019 when they allowed soldiers into the streets to quell demonstrations, and in a number of arbitrary arrests which have been quashed in the courts when people had already been denied their rights through incarceration.

Corruption (Barometer Score 46%)

The ruling party made four promises aimed at addressing corruption as per Table 12. In the period under review the government embarked on the following actions:

- » Amended the Anti-Corruption Act.
- » ZACC set up a crack team to target local councils.
- » ZACC started the process of tracking US\$ 13 million external assets
- » ZACC started legal process of acquiring properties in Isle of Man.

During the same time under review, a number of independent studies, pointed to an increase of high-level cases. The Centre for Development Network's Sentry report published in July 2021 focused on the activities of the founder of Sakunda Holdings, Kudakwashe Tagwirei's business activities and allegations of corruptly amassing a vast business empire through his close relationship with security and political elites. The report focused on the ways in which the businessman had benefitted through the government's agricultural subsidy program. There have been other allegations of unfair procurement practices which favour politically connected businessmen and women. There was a high-profile case of attempted smuggling of gold through the Harare International Airport by a prominent businesswoman. Transparency International's corruption ranked Zimbabwe 157 out of 180 with a CPI score of 21 out of 100. Perceptions of levels of corruption have not improved since 2018.

Table 11: Overview of Performance in Corruption Sector

sub-sector	# promises	# actions	Barometer Score
Corruption	4	60	46%

Source Analysis based on www.zimcitizenswatch.org (accessed at Feb 2022)

Table 12: Progress in Addressing Promises to Deal with Corruption

# promises	# actions	Barometer Score	
Ensure a corruption-free environment in both the private and public sectors.	21	<div></div>	60%
Swift justice will be served on perpetrators of crime and other acts of economic sabotage.	37	<div></div>	59%
Initiate a broad-based campaign on the need to uphold sound ethical standards across all sectors.	2	<div></div>	64%
Ensure non-interference by the Executive in the operations of Constitutional institutions combating corruption.	0		0%
Total	60	<div></div>	46%

Source Analysis based on www.zimcitizenswatch.org (accessed at Feb 2022)

Despite all these efforts, corruption seems to be on the rise especially in government procurement. The recently released report by the Auditor General demonstrates the weakening of government controls. In the report the Auditor General raises concerns about:

- » Payments that were made with no paper trail.
- » Goods paid for (such as cars, teachers' blankets and cutlery) but never received.
- » Payments made by Ministry of Finance officials on behalf of line Ministries - only for the latter to dispute that these disbursements were made. The amounts involved are very significant, for instance, Treasury claims to have made payments of US\$18.2 million on behalf of the Ministry of Agriculture, for policy and administration but the Ministry did not record the payments.

The above examples suggest a weakening of controls, sloppiness, and lack of capacity on the part of Treasury. The chaotic conditions described in the report are a fertile ground for corrupt activities which may be hard to prove in a court of law given the usual claims of lack of evidence. However, in the courts of public opinion the damage has already been done.

Conclusion

The report has demonstrated that the government has carried out a number of measures especially in the economic and infrastructure development areas. Whilst it is probably too early to make a judgement call on whether the government has been an overall success or failure it is becoming increasingly clear that the government will not be able to fulfil certain promises. Government is behind on the implementation of the following promises:

- » the creation of one million formal sector jobs,
- » issuance of land tenure documents (99–year leases for A2 and permits for A1),
- » building 2000 schools by 2023,
- » rehabilitation and establishment of at least one vocational training centre per administrative district,
- » establishment of at least one hospital per administrative district,
- » delivery of at least 1.5 million affordable housing within five years amongst many others.

Furthermore, the data generated by others such as ZIMVAC (2021) suggests an increase in vulnerability. Our Citizens Perceptions Expectations report of 2021 also indicates an increase in the number of citizens who are dissatisfied with the performance of the government. Is it possible that these challenges may have to do with the expert led paradigm of policymaking? The GoZ like many others has not sufficiently invested in meaningful consultations with citizens and aligned policies to issues emanating from these discussions. There is a pre-occupation with indicators such as growth of Gross Domestic Product (GDP). The usefulness of GDP as an accurate measure of economic growth has been challenged especially where we have high levels of informalisation. Government should instead focus on indicators such as the number of new formal sector jobs, creating a competitive job market where workers are rewarded according to regional standards, improved access to high quality social goods (education, health, and transport) and finally identifying ways of creating a sustainable and viable agriculture subsidy fund.

In the meantime, rural livelihoods continue to worsen. According to the

[Zimbabwe Vulnerability Assessment Committee's 2021 report](#), over 72% of households depend on food aid from either the government or non-state actors such as NGOs. To their credit, government plays a large role in providing welfare supporting (ZIMVAC 2021). At the same time, it has neglected social policy delivery, perhaps under the assumptions of the positive trickle-down effect. This is despite the vast body of knowledge emerging from the global South about the ineffectiveness of neoliberal approaches to economic development and the clear case that has been made in support of deploying resources towards social policy. Perhaps what is even more worrying is the neglect of policy advice from government supported platforms such as the Tripartite Negotiating Forum, especially on wages. Related to this neglect of policy advice is the continued clamp down on civil servants' strikes over declining wages. The development projects under discussion have also been challenged on the basis of the lack of transparency in the awarding of tenders. It has been suggested by the US based Sentry that the agriculture subsidy program commonly known as Command Agriculture was abused by connected business elites to make big profits from government and destabilise the local currency. State led development projects have historically, always been tainted by allegations of graft. Furthermore, the current government is seen to be soft on corruption despite the rhetoric to the contrary. Others argue that the market is better able to optimally allocate value.

Finally, the evidence of performance or lack of it presented above suggests that we ask the question about the kind of state we are dealing with; is it a developmental state or populist authoritarian regime? The government has deployed significant resources towards a massive infrastructure rehabilitation, agricultural production and put in place measures to enhance mining production. According to the IMF, "Real GDP rose by 6.3% in 2021 reflecting a bumper maize harvest, strong pickup in mining, and buoyant construction. A tighter policy stance since mid-2020 (relative to 2019) has contributed to lowering inflation to 60.7% at end-2021" (IMF, 2022).

However, given the gravity of the crisis in the country, a business-as-usual approach to governance was always not going to be enough. Perhaps the biggest weakness of the government is the failure to read the changing environment. Globally, there is a growing consensus on the need for effective and accountable government administrations. There are many working organisations like SIVIO Institute that are also tracking the conversion of promises into policy actions. Using accessible online platforms, they can report on government's performance and fact check claims made by government officials. Probably no one in the ruling party expected that there would be organisations interrogating their

performance based on their promises four years into office. These are indeed changing times and African political and public policy analysis are evolving and hopefully contributing towards a more evidence-based engagement between officeholders and the electorate.

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