



Five Years of Progress or Stagnation?



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Context setting (I/II)

What, Why & How



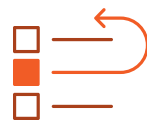
What | About zimcitizenswatch.org

- The zimcitizenswatch.org project (ZCW) has been tracking the progress towards the implementation of the 234 electoral promises made by the ruling ZANU PF since the inauguration of the president



Why | Reason for development

- This project is focused on understanding the progress made by the government in implementing the promises that they made in their manifesto
- To provide objective and critical analysis of the not-so-new government in terms of what it was committing itself to, the actions it was taking, and issues it was neglecting, with the intention to ensure that there is an honest public discussion on progress or lack thereof



How | Process for tracking & scoring

- The government's actions were captured daily on ZCW by recording publicly published Actions. These were in turn used to calculate the barometer score which is a measure of two phenomena:
 - The pace at which the government was implementing the promises it made during the elections and,
 - The comprehensiveness of the measures being adopted
- Each promise is classified under a specific sector, which is then averaged to give us a Sector Barometer Score



Context setting (II/II)

What the barometer score is and isn't as well as covers and what it does not



- The barometer is based on tracking what the ruling party committed itself to doing



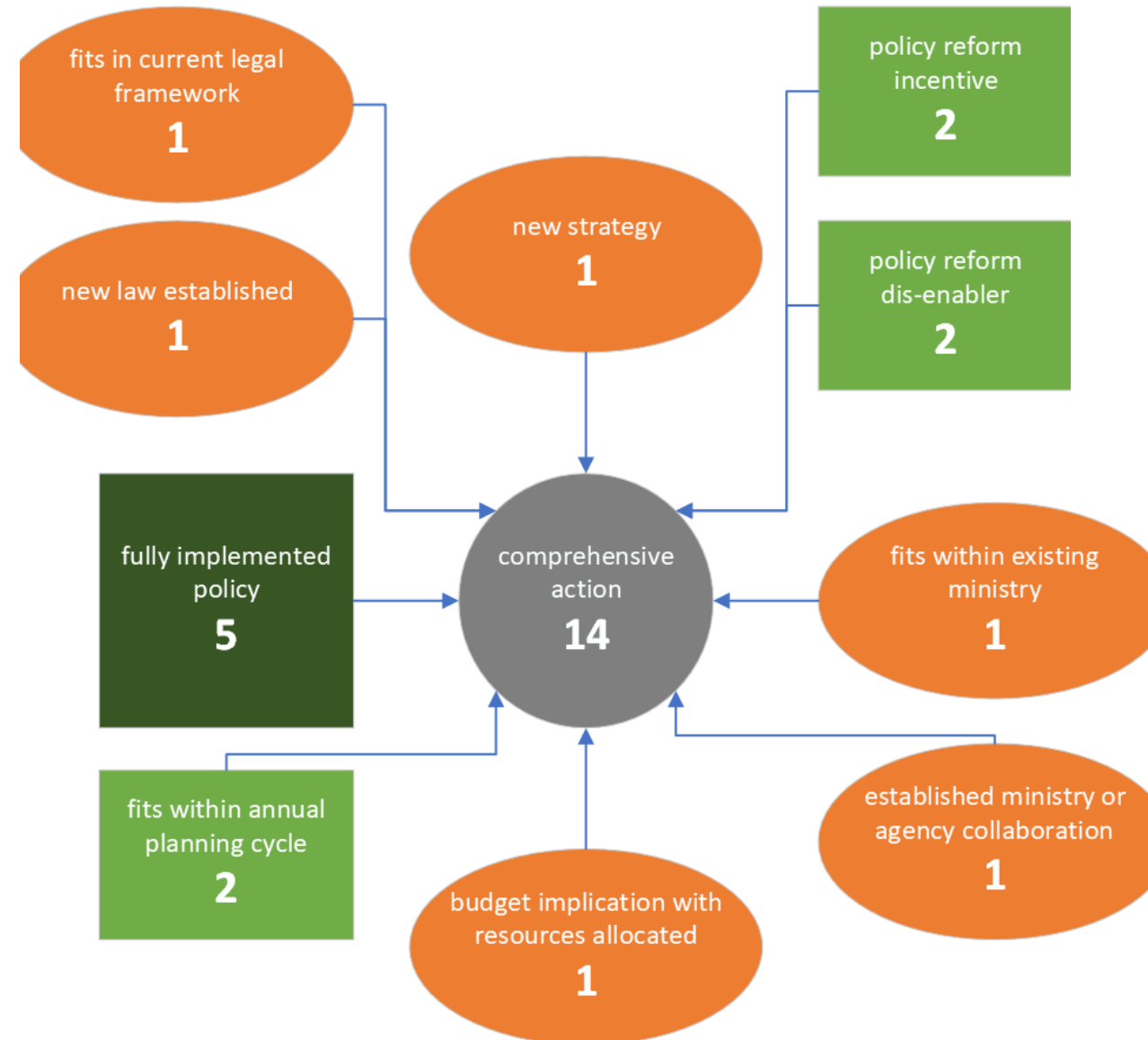
- Not an evaluation based on the concerns that citizens might have of their government

Methodology

Action Scoring

Each action is assessed across 8 dimensions

- Each dimension is given a weighted score
 1. New Strategy
 2. Policy Reform Incentive or Dis-enabler
 3. Legal provisions: either fit into the current legal framework or a new law was established
 4. Fits within a specific existing ministry
 5. Established ministry or agency collaboration
 6. Resources allocated in budget
 7. Fits within the planning cycle
 8. Is fully implemented
- The action is then scored out of 14 to give the overall action score.
- NB: If there are multiple actions, then those are averaged to give the final score

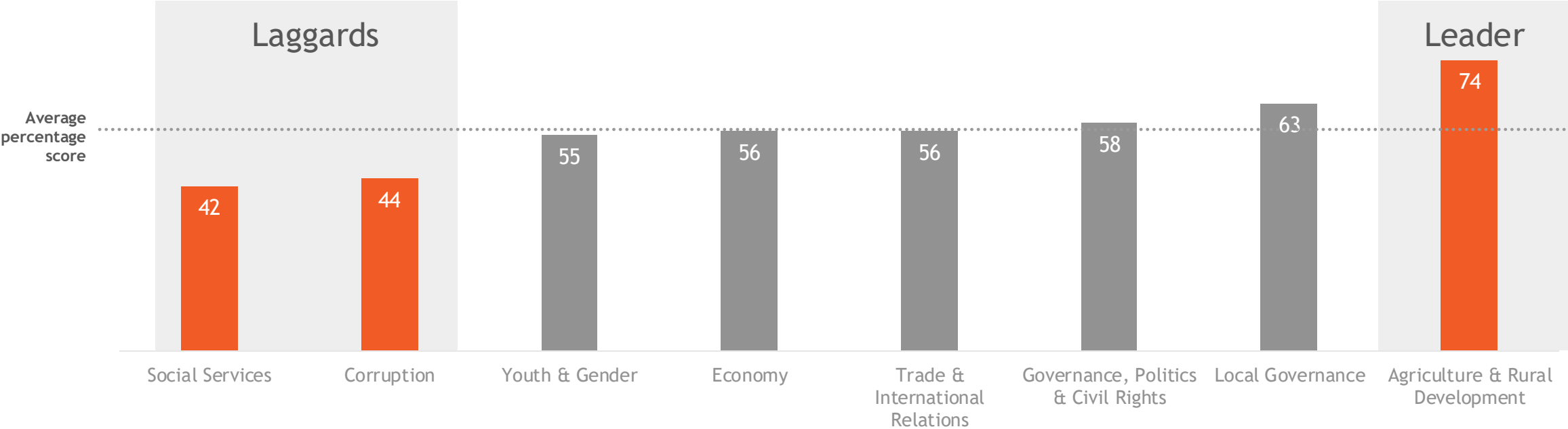


Methodology

Promise Status and Score






Promise Status	Score (out of 14)	Meaning
In Progress	(1-11) 1-80%	This is the assessment of the extent to which the actions are in line with the respective promise
Modified	(1-11) 1-80%	This is the assessment of the extent to which the actions are in line with the <i>*modified*</i> promise
Implemented	(12-14) 80-100%	If an action involves budget allocations, ministry oversight and collaboration and has been fully implemented, then that action scores highly on the barometer and the promise is considered implemented
Broken	(0) 0%	If an action goes against the promise, then that promised is scored a 0. This promise is as good as it is if no actions were taken.
Non-Commenced	(0) 0%	If no actions are taken under the promise, then it scores a zero (0).

The government performed poorly in Social services and Corruption clusters scoring below the average of 56% while Agriculture & Rural development was the best performing cluster



Promise Count	42	4	16	113	14	11	2	32
% Implemented	2	0	12	6	7	18	0	0
% In progress	71	75	69	85	93	72	100	78
% Not commenced	2	0	12	6	7	18	0	9

Substantial progress has been made in the sector since 2018 with a **74% completion rate** of promises made

Average tonnage production by the numbers	
2000 - 2017/18	018/19 - 2022/23
	Maize
1,168,075	1,248,291
	Tobacco
125,498	214,070
	Cotton Lint
112,402	114,979
	Wheat
109,229	197,469
	Soybeans
79,858	55,700

Positive factors that had a bearing on the score

- Introduction of the Pfumbudza/Intwasa* program aimed at enhancing smallholder farmers' production
- Improvements in the delivery of inputs through the Presidential Inputs Scheme contributed towards improved production levels.
- Introduction of the Presidential Rural Development Scheme which delivered 1020 boreholes, with 112 equipped with bush pumps.
- Production figures have been increasing each year. Production figures for maize, wheat, and tobacco have surpassed previous records each year.
- Tobacco yields hit a record in the 2022/2023 season. An estimated 260 million kgs were delivered at the auction floors in the first four months of 2023, while the previous year (another good one) farmers delivered 182 million kgs at the by the end of the marketing season

Negative factors that had a bearing on the score

- However, the government has not yet embarked on implementing five (16%) of the promises.

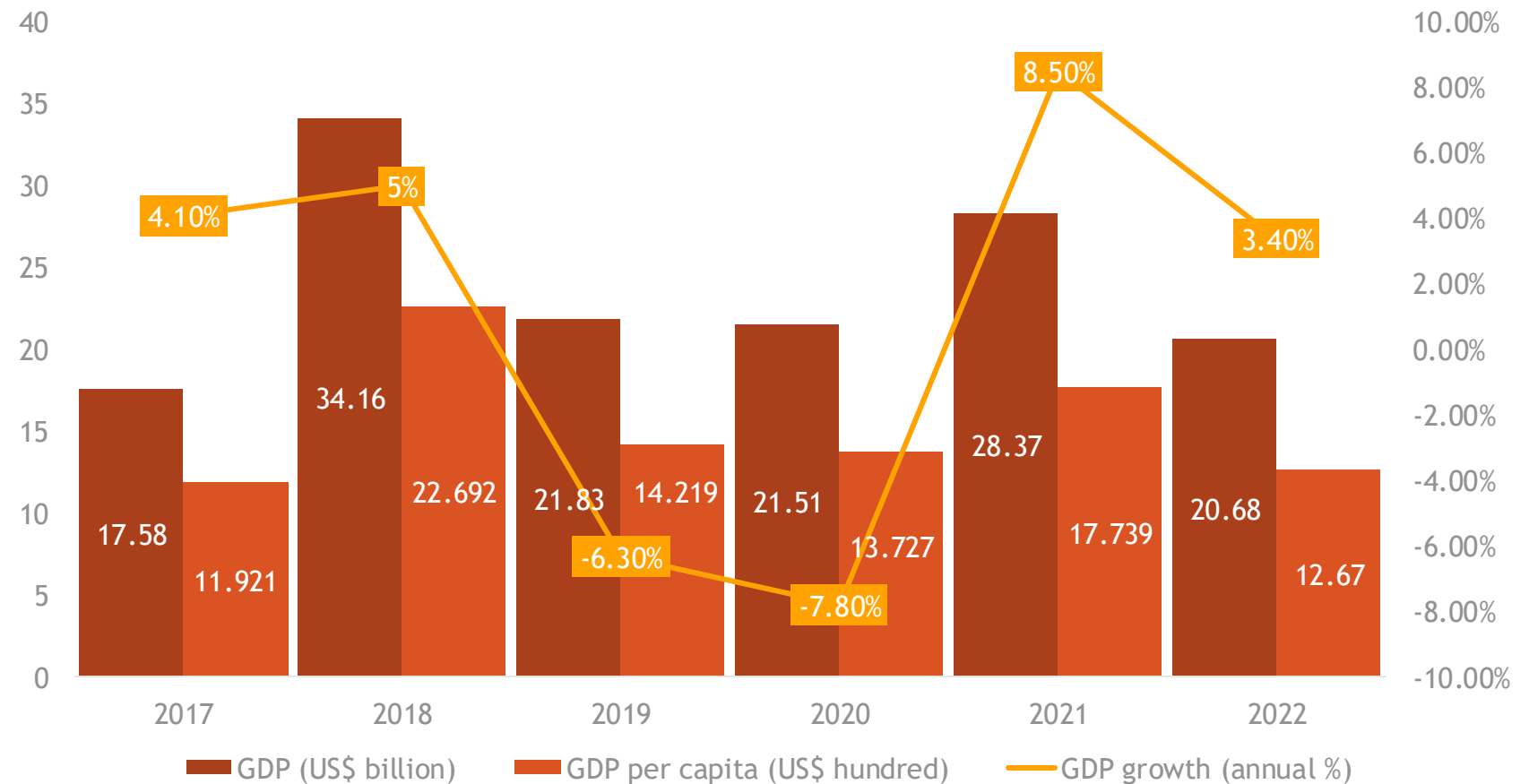
* A conservation agriculture scheme adopted by Government to boost yields for communal and smallholder farmers who do not have access to irrigation. The scheme was adopted in light of erratic rains the country has been receiving over the past few years.

Attempts at dealing with the economic dimension of a multi-faceted socio-economic crisis had **56% competition rate** (1/2)

- Current attempts at resolving the economic dimension of the quarter century old socio-economic crisis can be understood through the number of policy measures (at times contradictory) that the government has put in place since 2018:
 - The Transition Stabilisation Plan (TSP 2018 - 2020) which included the introduction of a 2% intermediated money transfer tax (IMMT) on e-transactions, curbing government borrowing, renaming the Real Time Gross Settlement Dollar (RTGS) to the Zimbabwe Dollar (ZWL) and banning the use of foreign currencies in order to end a multicurrency system. However, the multi-currency system - in particular, the use of the USD as legal tender- was reinstated in March 2020
- Government has pursued an infrastructure modernisation drive over the last 5 years. Significant initiatives include but are not limited to (i) upgrading the Beitbridge Border Post, the expansion of the Robert Gabriel Mugabe International Airport, and rehabilitation of major roads like the Beitbridge-Harare highway and the completion of and resuscitation of major dam projects

Attempts at dealing with the economic dimension of a multi-faceted socio-economic crisis had **56% competition rate** (2/2)

- There has been some notable progress in attracting foreign direct investments
- To date, there have been significant foreign direct investment flows into mining
- The efforts mentioned above have made a positive impact on GDP



Trade and International Relations: 56% progress

- Zimbabwe for a while (November 2017 until July 30, 2018) dominated international headlines for the right reasons; (i) economic reforms, (ii) reassurances to international elections observers (iii) commitment to free and fair elections and (iv) a new commitment to opening the public space

Positive factors that had a bearing on the score

- Established full diplomatic relations with Rwanda
- Soon after the elections several MOUs were signed with various countries and entities, for example:
 - MOUs with Malawi in the fields of local governance, immigration and gender issues amongst others
 - Revival of the Joint Commission with Zambia
- Sought the assistance of the president of ADB to help resolve re-engagement with international financial institutions
- In 2019, held the first meetings with the EU that had not happened in 17 years aimed at ending trade and economic hostility
- There has been a significant recovery around several horticulture value chains; in 2021, horticultural exports grew by 6.8%, to the value of US\$64.6 Million inclusive of blueberries.

Under Governance, Politics and Civil Rights, the government scored a **58% completion rate** for the 11 promises under the sector

Positive factors that had a bearing on the score

- The government acted under all 11 actions and implemented two promises:
 - Ensuring the independence, transparency and dependability of the judiciary
 - Setting up a Commission of Inquiry on the 1 August violence & make the findings of the same public
- Introduction of e-passports and decentralising the process out of Harare by opening centres in Bulawayo, Murewa District, and Mazowe District.
- Introduced a new digital web-based Court Case Management System (Integrated Electronic Case Management System [IECMS]) as part of the measures to ensure improved access to justice

Negative factors that had a bearing on the score

- Government broke the promise of ‘upholding and applying fully the rule of law, while ensuring equality before the law’. Since the riots in January 2019, the government has effectively banned public protests
- The COVID-19 period and related lockdown measures led to an effective shutting down of the public space
- Two leading opposition politicians are in prison. Job Sikhala, has been in prison for more than 365 days on remand awaiting trial
- There are several other cases where the concept of ‘equality before the law’ has been violated. In many instances opposition-related persons are arrested and are subjected to humiliating conditions, like walking in leg irons. They are routinely denied bail at the Magistrate Courts while ZANU-PF-connected public officials who are arrested appeared in court in their suits with no leg irons and were quickly granted bail
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Local Governance: 63% progress

Positive factors that had a bearing on the score

- The passing of the devolution policy is one of the most significant measures implemented during the period under review. The policy provides for the following:
 - Facilitation for democratic participation of people in making decisions that will affect them through delegating defined central Government powers down to lower tiers and levels of Government, entailing local, political and economic governance powers to designated Provincial and Metropolitan Councils, as well as Rural District and Urban Councils
 - Enhancing citizens' participation in the management of local affairs and development.
 - Local Authorities will be empowered to make decisions which previously required authorisation by officials at Provincial and Ministry Head Offices situated in Harare or regional capitals.
 - A mechanism for resource sharing; and
 - Enable fiscal capacitation of the lower tiers of Government

Negative factors that had a bearing on the score

- There are still outstanding challenges in how the Ministry of Finance determines allocations to different local authorities
- All the promises have not been fully implemented

Youth and Gender: 55% progress

Positive factors that had a bearing on the score

- Two promises under this cluster have been fully implemented:
 - Increasing women's access to finance
 - Ensuring youth mainstreaming in all national development programmes.

Negative factors that had a bearing on the score

- There are some promises that the government has not carried out any actions on:
 - The government did not pursue the promise to ensure 50/50 representation in key decision-making positions in both public and private institutions
- The 2018 elections witnessed a decrease in women's representation at the national and local level and it's most likely that there will be fewer women in both the upper and lower houses after the 2023 harmonised elections

Social Services: 42% progress

Positive factors that had a bearing on the score

- The social services cluster is made up of four sub-clusters which are, (i) pension systems and allocations, (ii) housing, (iii) health, and (iv) education
- Out of the 4 subsectors, Education has the best score (53%) where the government in partnership with the private sector has secured more than ZWL 90 million in loans for students in tertiary institutions; developed eight innovation hubs and industrial parks at six state universities
- In education, the government made progress on nine promises
- One of the major actions under this sector is the approval of the Compensation Framework for 2009 Insurance Policy Holders and Pension Scheme Members and Supplementary Compensation by the Government towards implementation of the promise of Creating social safety nets
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Negative factors that had a bearing on the score

- No movement on several promises that were made
- The period under review has been characterised by several industrial actions, especially by nurses and doctors going on strike for improved conditions of service. Furthermore, a lot of medical professionals took advantage of opportunities in the UK to migrate there
- Under the Health subsector, two promises have been broken:
 - The review of the remuneration structure for medical professionals
 - ensure that the treasury allocates at least 15% of the national budget to health care (in line with the Abuja declaration)

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Corruption: 44% progress

Positive factors that had a bearing on the score

- The government made four (4) promises and started work on three of them
- Set up anti-Corruption courts across all ten provinces, including the commissioning of virtual courts.
- Invested in training the judiciary on judging corruption cases
- The Anti-corruption body advocated for amendment of the laws governing corruption and worked on anti-corruption campaigns across all 10 provinces
- Several arrests and convictions have been made

Negative factors that had a bearing on the score

- The arrests of former cabinet ministers Prisca Mupfumira and Obadiah Moyo (separate dates and charges) and that of Gokwe-Nembudziya legislator Mayor Wadyajena led to the impression of a government focused on eradicating corruption but their cases are still pending before courts

Conclusion

Despite the overwhelming evidence of government-led spending in infrastructure modernisation, increased investments in mining and revamping local production in manufacturing and agriculture livelihoods remain largely precarious ▶

- 1 Manifestos are Essential but they need Refining**
If executed well the manifesto-driven approach must provide for possibilities of aligning with the electorates through several innovations of cocreation and codesign
- 2 Political Will to Execute the War on Corruption**
In many instances, those accused of corruption are quickly given bail and their cases are rarely brought back to court
- 3 The Need for Long-Term Policy Consistency**
Attempts at resolving the socio-economic has seen a high number of policy measures (at times contradictory) being put in place since 2018
- 4 An Alternative Infrastructure Modernisation Framework**
The government has made remarkable progress in modernising infrastructure. However, the progress made has not led to improved incomes or livelihoods
- 5 Old Habits Die Hard**
Despite repeated claims to be new or 'the second republic' some of the old behaviours have remained the same
- 6 Sanctions create a policy autonomy opportunity**
The isolation of Zimbabwe is an opportunity for policy autonomy

About

SIVIO Institute (SI) is an independent organisation focused on ensuring that citizens are at the centre of processes of socio-economic 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 multidisciplinary, 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
- (iii) 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