

# The 100 Day Report on the New Government - A Citizens' Perspective



*'Working towards inclusive societies'*



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# Introduction

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The 21<sup>st</sup> of November of 2017 will always be remembered as the day that marked the end of Mugabe's long rule. President Mnangagwa was sworn into office on Saturday the 25<sup>th</sup> of November at the National Sports Stadium. The 4<sup>th</sup> of March 2018 marks his first 100 days in office.

The Citizens' Report on the new government's first 100 days is an independent effort to objectively track their initial performance and provide a perspective from citizens on what has been achieved. It also seeks to inform government on the aspirations and desires of the people.

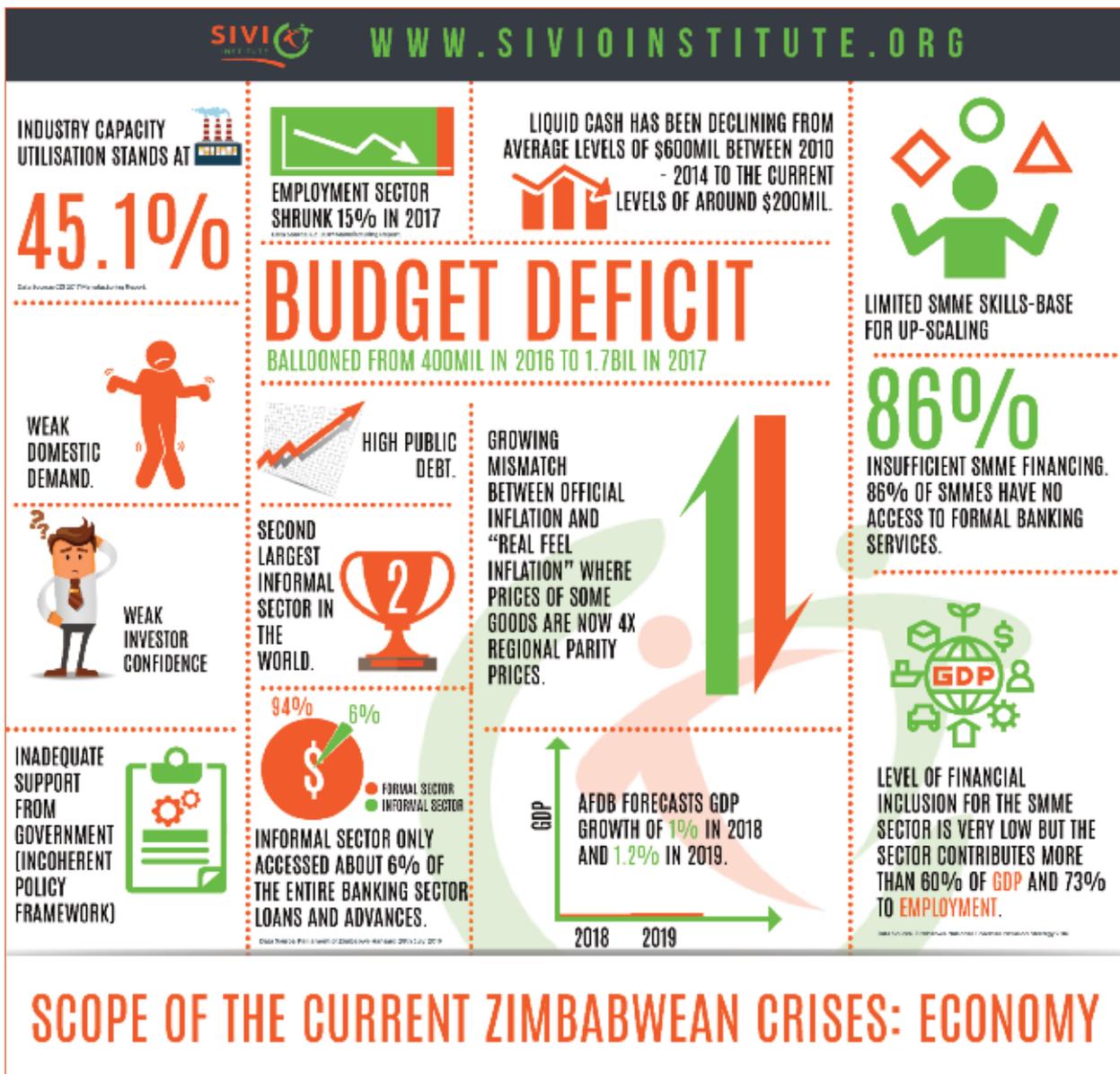
The report was compiled through a three-phased process:

1. Tracking and analysis of promises made by Government (especially the President) since November 25, 2017 against what has actually been accomplished.
2. Reviewed the socio-economic and political context that has been prevailing in the country. Whilst we remained alert to the fact that the new government had expressed intentions to change many things at breakneck speed we remained cautious about the depth of the challenges that the country faces.
3. Collected feedback from citizens on what they were thinking and how they were engaged or feeling the benefit of government-based initiatives.

While Zimbabwe's new leader seems keen on breaking with the past, despite having played a significant role in it. In speech after speech, as well as during his historic visit to the World Economic Forum in Davos, he has reiterated a commitment to usher in a new socio-economic and political order and stressed that 'Zimbabwe is open for business' and stressed that.

The emerging picture detailed in this report is one of renewed sense of the purpose for Zimbabwe, and the re-imagination of a new national identity. At the same time the survey illustrated high levels of scepticism that this could be more politicking ahead of an election and cynical effort by Government to secure legitimacy. Many people voiced concern that the current challenges were caused by the same ruling and that the problems cannot be solved that quickly.

The report is divided into four main sections comprising of the background and methodology section, the contextual analysis as of November 2017, a discussion and analysis of the government’s performance and finally a discussion on citizen expectations.





## Section One

# Background and Methodology

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In his inaugural address as President of the Republic, Mnangagwa acknowledged the urgent socio-economic and political challenges that the country faced and committed to ‘hit the ground running’ in terms of the execution of his assignment of turning Zimbabwe around. The President has and continues to use a very interesting phrase; ‘the voice of the people is the voice of God’.

The signals were that Zimbabwe could be on the brink of some significant and dramatic change beyond having a new leader in office. The new Government’s charm offensive was very loud and clear, here was a not so new suitor pretending to be one and promising citizens a new Zimbabwe. Social media platforms and the general mainstream media were initially not sure of what was taking place; debates at times highly polarized, were the order of the day. One of the most important questions was, why should Zimbabweans -give this group of politicians a chance to govern when they were part of the government that has presided over the collapse of the country? Many expert opinion pieces were written. On one hand, they sought to portray the new leader as a better pair of hands around the economy, while they also reminded us of the past violence and how the new president was an active participant in those sordid affairs. We were back to gridlock. It was clear there was need for a more objective and critical analysis of the not so “new” government. We needed a way to track what it was saying, what it intended to and what it was actually doing. We needed an honest and citizen informed assessment of the government’s performance.

One way was to analyse their performance against their own promises and commitments. However, we realized that alone would not be sufficient given the need to understand the broader macro-economic and socio-political context in which the new measures were being introduced. As the state is not a stand-alone unit but part of an ecosystem that derives legitimacy and sustenance both politically (voting and continued support) and financially (taxes and other levies) from citizens, we knew we needed to hear directly from the public. We wanted to know the extent to which the government’s actions were informed by the interconnected social, economic and political crises that impacted on daily life and understanding how the Government’s priorities matched those of their citizens.

Our hypothesis & research questions were:

- ❖ The new government like its predecessor is long on promises but short on delivery
- ❖ For a democracy to work we need active citizens
- ❖ Government's main priority should be to service citizens' interests

The work is divided into three clusters comprising of (i) revisiting the contextual factors that shaped the Zimbabwean crisis prior to the transition of power in November 2017 (ii) developing a tool to track all the promises that were being made initially by the President and senior ministers. (iii) We then began to check if there were any follow up actions being made to deliver on the promises made. Since different government's different websites are not adequately updated and we had to depend on mainstream media and their reporting on public officials' statements. Finally, we developed a survey instrument to gather the opinions of citizens on the performance of the new government. We suspected that there are high levels of information asymmetry on the part of responding citizens and thus made it one of our deliberate goals to measure if indeed citizens are informed of what is going on in government. In our survey questionnaire we made sure to use accessible language when asking about policy. Observations from previous studies (see for instance Murisa& Chikweche, 2013) are that one of the reasons policy is not broadly discussed is due to the alienating technical jargon used by professionals. We attempt, as much as possible, to ensure that the language in this report is highly accessible and serves to demystify policy. The process leading to the development of this report can be summarized as per Figure 1-1 below:

**Figure 1-1 Methodology**



### *Contextual Analysis*

Zimbabwe has since the turn of the century been experiencing a multi-dimensional crisis characterized by isolation from international financial circuits, economic meltdown, runaway inflation, and a poorly managed land redistribution exercise which led to the collapse of production and decline in agribusiness sector that supported agriculture. Politically, the period was associated with the moment of closing the playing field by the ruling party combined with the adoption of populist programmes around land reform, indigenization and many other graft promoting activities. The end of the Government of National Unity (GNU) period after the 2013 elections also coincided with the end of real efforts to resuscitate the economy as had been observed since 2009. The ruling party has since 2013 been in the middle of a brutal succession battle which led to the ouster of many senior politicians and the subsequent transfer of power in November 2017.

The country is in the middle of a delicate transition with a very real possibility of democratic consolidation. The public pronouncements made so far suggest an attempt at revamping the economy and opening political spaces through policy-based measures. However, the pronounced good intentions of political elites are never a sufficient guarantee of democracy, especially in a context where power has just been transferred through military intervention. There is a real possibility that if social forces are collectively mobilized to actively engage, this moment could be an opportunity to enhance democracy and significant economic reforms. The table below provides a detailed description of the Zimbabwe crisis.

Table 1-1

Dimension	Characteristics of the Crisis
Economic Aspects of the Crisis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>High Levels of Unemployment</li> <li>Hyperinflation</li> <li>International isolation (sanctions)</li> <li>Weak or no economic growth as measured by GDP</li> <li>De-industrialization/Closure of Companies</li> <li>Limited Utilization of Factory Capacity</li> <li>Collapse of infrastructure</li> <li>High prices of goods</li> <li>Cash shortages</li> </ul>
Agriculture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Contestations over land reform</li> <li>Land Reform induced decline/collapse of agricultural performance (2000-2008)</li> <li>Food crises/increase in number of food insecure households</li> <li>Shrinking of land under irrigation</li> <li>Shortage of productive inputs</li> <li>Climate change induced challenges</li> </ul>
Social-Health	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Shortage or unavailability of essential drugs</li> <li>Shortage of machines to carry out basic procedures</li> <li>Brain drain (Doctors and Nurses)</li> <li>Poor remuneration for Doctor and Nurses</li> </ul>
Social-Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Growth in population not matched by increase in education infrastructure</li> <li>High levels of teacher absenteeism</li> <li>Brain drain of highly qualified professionals</li> <li>Poor remuneration of teachers</li> <li>Shortage of textbooks</li> <li>Increasing numbers of school drop outs</li> </ul>
Social-Housing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Weak or no supply of low priced housing stock</li> <li>Increasing No. of families on housing waiting lists</li> <li>Weak financing mechanisms to support supply of housing especially for BOP based households</li> <li>Increasing prices of stands</li> <li>Increasing number of people living in informal settlements</li> </ul>
Political & Governance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Polarization</li> <li>High levels of intolerance of dissenting views</li> <li>Weak or no respect for rule of law</li> <li>Failure to manage succession within political parties</li> <li>Abuse of electoral processes</li> <li>Election based/related violence</li> <li>Increase in the number of citizen-based protests on government actions</li> </ul>

### *Tracking the Promises Made by the Government*

President Mnangagwa's statements around 'hitting the ground running' and his willingness to be judged on his actions from the day he assumed power are an invitation for the development of a more systematic framework to track and measure the performance of his government. The President referred to a 100-day plan and the establishment of performance dashboards- we have not seen these except for a few infographics circulating on social media platforms. In contrast our online tool collects and collates all articles that make reference to the GoZ, the President of Zimbabwe and other associated tags. The information was then analysed in terms of whether there are aligned to specific government promises and actions. We have also used some important source documents such as the President's inauguration address and the State of the Nation Address (SONA) delivered on the 20<sup>th</sup> of December, 2017.

Where possible, promises made by Ministers especially around the budget, have been tracked. The method of recording actions and ranking them is still evolving. The initial focus was on whether the government has followed up on promises made, including for example meetings with potential investors as actions related to attracting foreign investments, to some actions such as delivering a booster station at Magunje two weeks after making the promise to that effect. As the two actions cited above are different; one (station) is more substantial than the other but long term may not yield the same positive effects as attracting foreign investments. While this needs to be acknowledged, since it is still too early to measure the longer-term impact of actions, we continue documenting the different actions. The platform and this report contains lists of actions (see Annex 1) that have been undertaken by government at this stage, we have not assigned different weights to actions. We believe this is sufficient at least for now until we get to a point where we can evaluate the actual medium-term outcomes and long term-impact of the actions. It is important to acknowledge that the 100-day mark is usually associated with setting the tone of what the Government's primary focus is.

### **Gauging Citizens Perceptions**

Government's major priority should be its citizens. However, rarely do we find moments when Governments invest in understanding or learning what their citizens want. Instead in many cases (beyond Zimbabwe) those in office act as if they know what is best for their constituencies and proceed to implement measures and policies that they think will resolve the challenges they face.

While citizens have interests and aspirations that could either be aligned or misaligned with government actions and that the process of policy making is about trade-offs through a bargaining process based on competing interests, scarcity of resources and order of priorities, it is important to assess what has the greatest impact on the public at large and that benefits all or the majority of citizens. So, while President Mnangagwa has been quoted saying 'the voice of the people is the voice of God' we want to test the extent to which they had listened to 'this voice of God'.

A survey questionnaire was developed to gauge what a cross sections of the public think the priorities should be and the extent to which ordinary citizens were following what the Government is doing. The questionnaire was administered online (using our social media platforms) and face to face. Responses were collected from 1,299 people across Harare and Chitungwiza using face to face interview methods and 226 responses were received through our online channels-giving us a total of 1525 respondent (see section 3 below).

The four specific objectives to guide the research were:

- ❖ To capture what citizens believed the Government's priorities should be
- ❖ To create a baseline of citizens' understanding of Government promises and actions
- ❖ To measure the level of active engagement and consultation of citizens in Government policies and programmes
- ❖ To gather perceptions of how the Government is performing

This exercise is premised on the firm belief that holding officeholders accountable is the responsibility of citizens. As respondents came from different social and economic backgrounds, the survey provides a representative sample of the population and contributes to strengthening broader participation in governing and democracy, especially during this important period of transition. Along with other initiatives that seek to keep Government accountable and strengthen transparency this provides a contribution to that process. Our main interest lies in ensuring that democracy, beyond voting, is a lived reality for all. The democratic compact between state and citizens encompasses the broad gamut of human rights, inclusive of political and civil rights and more importantly social, economic and cultural rights. A country can only be democratic if all its citizens are able to enjoy these rights without discrimination. The government in power is expected to play a major role in ensuring that citizens are accorded their rights.

# SCOPE OF THE CURRENT ZIMBABWEAN CRISES: AGRICULTURE



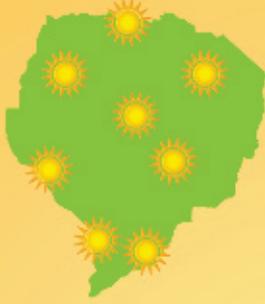
Cash shortages continue to constrain food access.



Command Agriculture investment should be separated from intra-party politics machinations.

# 99

year leases have been facing resistance from commercial banks for use as collateral.



### Climate Change Induced Challenges

Below-average rains cause water stress and lower production prospects for 2018 cereal crops.

## CONTINUED CONTESTATIONS OVER LAND REFORM.



Land Reform induced decline/collapse of agricultural performance (2000-2008). This resulted in a production decrease from 3 million tonnes to 1.3 million tonnes of all crops and livestock, excluding beef over a 12 year period.

# LOW

productivity is prevalent in both crop production and livestock resulting in increased imports pressure and weak value chain processes.

Infrastructure in the form of roads, machinery and equipment and post harvest handling facilities is largely under developed leading to more subsistence than commercial farming.



# 1.05

An estimated 1.05 million rural people are expected to be food insecure during the peak of the lean season between January and March 2018.

Fertilizer costs twice as much as in other neighbouring countries owing to expensive and obsolete Sable Chemicals production plant usage.



### High Utility Costs

High Electricity and water charges put pressure on overall production costs. Electricity contributes over 20% of production overheads.



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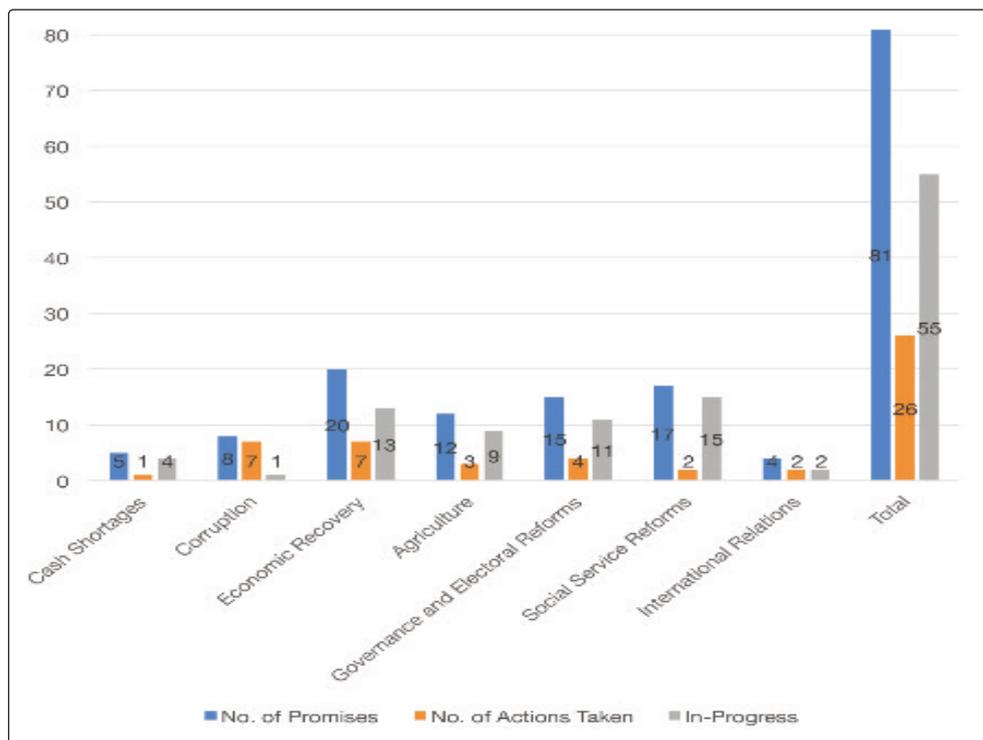


## Section Two

# Highlights of Government's Promises and Actions

Since 25 November, the new Government has made approximately 82 promises. We have organized these promises into seven cluster areas as per Figure 2-1 below. Annex 1 provides a more detailed description of promises the Government has made and the actions taken. According to our tracker the GoZ has carried out 26 actions suggesting a conversion of 32.10%.

Figure 2-1 **Summary of Promises Made by Government**



While the number of promises and actions are important to track, it is critical to acknowledge that it is impossible for any Government to translate all promises within such a short period. Public policy does not and cannot function that way. The first 100 days is seen as the honeymoon period in which the leader (even within a corporate setting) lays his/her vision and is allowed to make some mistakes.

What is important to digest and interrogate is has President adequately laid the vision for his Government, and started to build the mechanisms to translate that vision into practical action by initiating an ideological refocusing, pursuing legislative measures and adopting reforms especially in the economy and in particular financial sector.

### **Ideological Shift: A new Turn to the Right?**

Since ZANU (PF) came to power in 1980, it has always tried to be a bit pragmatic by allowing for market-based activities to thrive alongside the rhetoric of a state led socialist development. In the 1990s, the same approach continued, despite the fact that Government had little choice but to accept structural adjustment policies which led to a major rolling back of the State in areas such as agriculture, health and education. By the end of the 1990s, suffering from a political blowback to its economic policies, the GoZ took another turn. This time the rhetoric towards a more populist redistribution agenda, ostensibly as part of honouring the liberation promise but more importantly as a way of addressing the threat from the new opposition party, Movement for Democratic Change (MDC). The central pillars of the populist period were anti-imperialism, radical land reform and indigenization which have been central to ZANU PF policy throughout the post 2000 period.

President Mnangagwa at his inauguration, whilst confirming that land reform was irreversible also began to chart a new ideological vision and shift that suggests the embracing of the market and can be summarized as “Zimbabwe is open for business”. Ever since, the new Government, especially the President has been promoting the vision of a country eager and willing to allow market actors to operate without any hindrances within the sub-region and at international forums such as Davos. There have been a number of high level meetings between the new President with the UK government- suggesting the possibilities of re-establishing cordial relations with the former colonial masters.

President Mnangagwa has extended an olive branch to former white commercial farmers- promising them compensation and accommodation within the new agrarian structure. Whilst these were part of the previous government’s program-they had not received the kind of high level attention they are now getting. To demonstrate this commitment, the permanent secretary in the Ministry of Lands and Agriculture has recently been tasked to chair a committee on compensating former white farmers.

President Mnangagwa has also taken many by surprise in his vocal commitments to hold a free and fair elections including inviting international electoral observers from Western countries and the Commonwealth. This is a major departure from the stance

taken by his predecessor. He has also been careful not to get embroiled in controversy related to the United States. During a high profile BBC interview, he refrained from being too vocal in his condemnation of US President's Trump's negative comments about Africa by simply endorsing SADC and AU statements and redirecting the conversation towards Zimbabwe's need for foreign investments.

### **Highlights of Legal Reforms**

Some of the measures taken to enhance the new vision include:

- Scaling back on the indigenization act
- Providing high-level assurances to prospective investors.
- Fast-tracking of the establishment of the Special Economic Zones as part of a process to lure investors.

The legal reforms have also extended into broader governance issues which the international community has always asked government to resolve. One of the first bills that the President signed into law was to create a National Healing and Reconciliation Commission, and to whom he has already appointed a chairperson.

### **Highlights of Financial Reforms**

One of the great expectations from citizens was the resolution of the cash crisis. While the situation has not significantly changed, the Government, through the budget and monetary policy statements:

- Removed levy on all bank transactions under US\$10
- Facilitated greater use of electronic payment systems
- Cut excise duty by 6.5c per litre
- Successfully negotiated a US\$600million facility with Afreximbank.

# SCOPE OF THE ZIMBABWEAN CRISIS: CORRUPTION

A large number of tenders that have flouted proper procedures.



Upto 38% people pay bribes to speed things up

Upto 32% pay a bribe because it is the only way to access a service

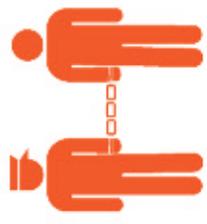



ZIMBABWE



is the 154 least corrupt nation out of 175 countries.

High Profile cases are mostly pursued as a means to political retribution.



Citizens and firms resort to bribery and corruption to speed up burdensome bureaucratic processes and access services to which they are entitled.



The country scores 21 on the Transparency International's Corruption Perceptions Index, which ranges from 0 (highly corrupt) to 100 (highly clean).



An estimated \$5 billion dollars has been externalised since 2009.



Corruption is identified as **ONE OF THE FIVE** most problematic factors for doing business in the country in the World Economic Forum's 2014/2015 Global Competitiveness Index.

The country scores 2.5 on a 1 to 7 (best) scale in terms of favouritism in government decisions, suggesting the existence of widespread patronage networks.




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## Section Three

# Citizens' Perceptions

The survey was deployed via two platforms; online and face to face. The face to face interviews were carried out at shopping centres spread across Harare and Chitungwiza as per table below.

Table 3-1 **Location of Face to Face Interviews**

Location	Respondents Count	%
Highfields	78	7.2
Chitungwiza	34	3.1
Avondale Shopping Centre	63	5.8
Msasa Spar	67	6.2
Mabvuku	64	5.9
Eastgate Shopping Mall	74	6.8
Warren Park Shopping Centre	72	6.6
Glen View 1 Shopping Centre	68	6.3
Glen View Ward 31/32 Shopping Centre	81	7.5
Glen Norah	67	6.2
Glen Norah: Chitubu and Spacemen Shops	32	3.0
Waterfalls	34	3.1
Mount Pleasant	33	3.0
Mbare	36	3.3
Budiriro	71	6.6
Chisipite	35	3.2
Westgate	35	3.2
Tynwald & Dzivarasekwa	36	3.3
Sunningdale	36	3.3
Hatfield	33	3.0
Kuwadzana & Crowbrough	34	3.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>1083</b>	<b>100</b>
Unknown Username (can't allocate it to a location unfortunately) <sup>1</sup>	<b>216</b>	

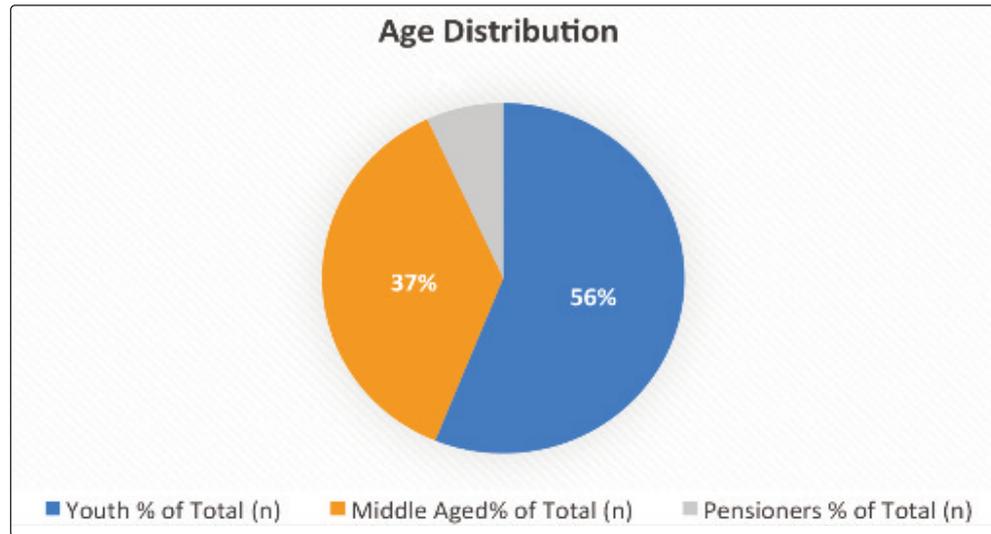
<sup>1</sup> \*Where enumerators forgot their usernames or did not enter them prior to data entry the application unfortunately still allowed submission hence the Unknown username count of 216.

\* These enumerators did complete their required number of surveys and possibly more but actual figures were unavailable and thus were allocated from the unknown user name.

Just over half (56.13%) of the respondents were aged between 18-35 (youth), constituting 57% of face to face respondents and 65.49% of the online respondents (see Figure 3-2). The second largest group (37%) was in the 36-64 age group and only 7% were 65 years and above. Figure 3-1 below provides a summary distribution of the age-groups that were interviewed.

Figure 3-1a

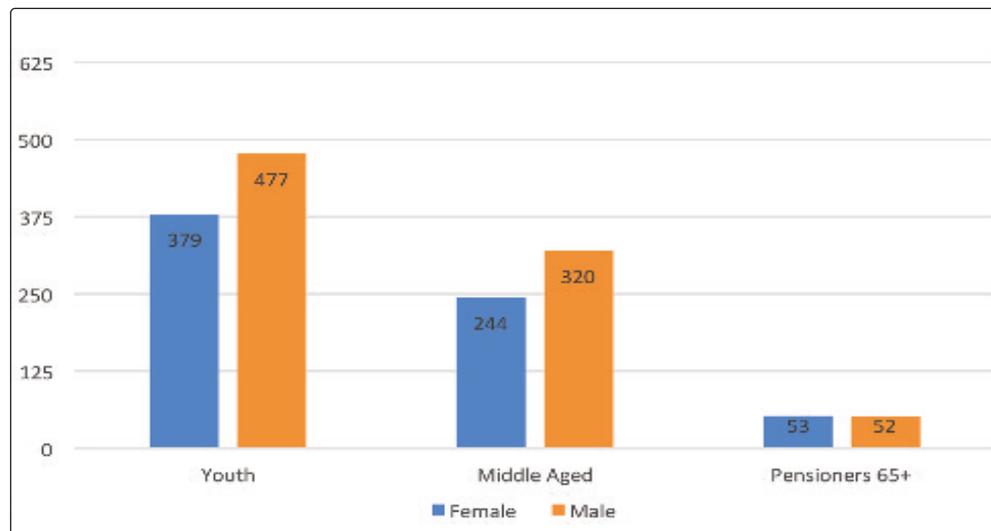
### Age Distribution of Respondents



There were more males who responded to the survey than females. Amongst the 856 youths (18-35) that responded to the survey 477 (55.72%) were males and 379 (44.28%) were female. There were 564 middle aged respondents and of these 320 (56.74%) were male and the females were 244 (43.26%). We had 105 respondents who are 65 and above and of these 53 (50.48) were female and the males were 52 (49.52%). In total we had 849 (55.67%) males and 676 (44.33%) females responding to the survey.

Figure 3-1b

### Distribution by Gender and Age Group

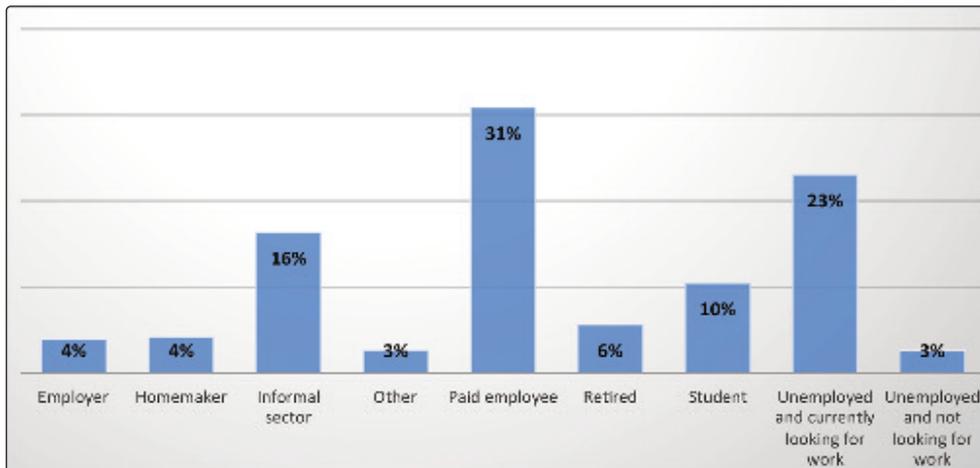


### Occupation of Respondents

A third of (31%) of the respondents are in formal sector jobs followed by those who are unemployed (23%) and the third largest cohort are those active within the informal sector (16%) as per Figure 3-2 below. The remainder are either students (10%), retired (6%), homemakers (4%) or employers (4%).

Figure 3-2

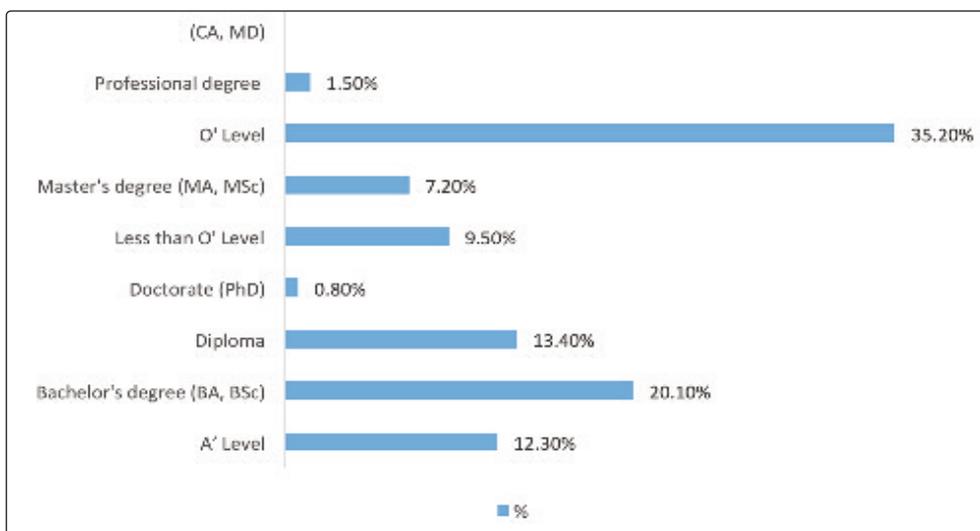
### Occupation



Just over a third of the respondents (35.2%) have been educated up to Ordinary level qualifications followed by those with a Bachelors' degree (see Figure 3-3). There is a significant number of respondents with Advanced level qualifications (12.3%) and those with Diplomas (13.4%). Only 9.5% do not have Ordinary Level qualifications. The above descriptions suggest the dominance of an urban based youthful population, with modest education levels and economically active.

Figure 3-3

### Level of Education



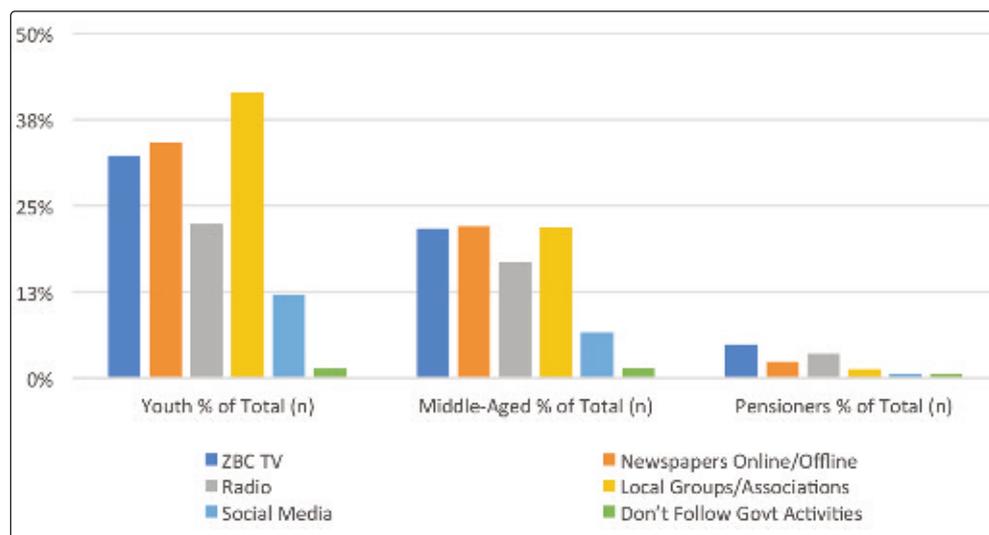
### Socio-Political Descriptions

Beyond the education and economic activities, we were interested in understanding how the respondents engaged with public processes. To do this, respondents were asked if they closely followed the Government’s actions and their media channel of choice. They were asked questions about their sources of news, associational life and previous electoral behaviours. The results indicated that the majority (41%) of youth aged between 18 and 35 receive their news from their own local groups and associations. These were mostly informal platforms such as WhatsApp groups. The second largest group (33.5%) of the youth access their news through online news sources such as newspapers, magazines and blog posts. The third largest sub-group (31.4%) amongst the youth follow news from the national broadcaster-ZBC TV.

There is an even distribution of how the middle-aged access news. The three most popular platforms are online newspapers, the national broadcaster and local groups and associations. Only a small percentage (6%) access news from social media platforms.

Figure 3-4

### Sources of News

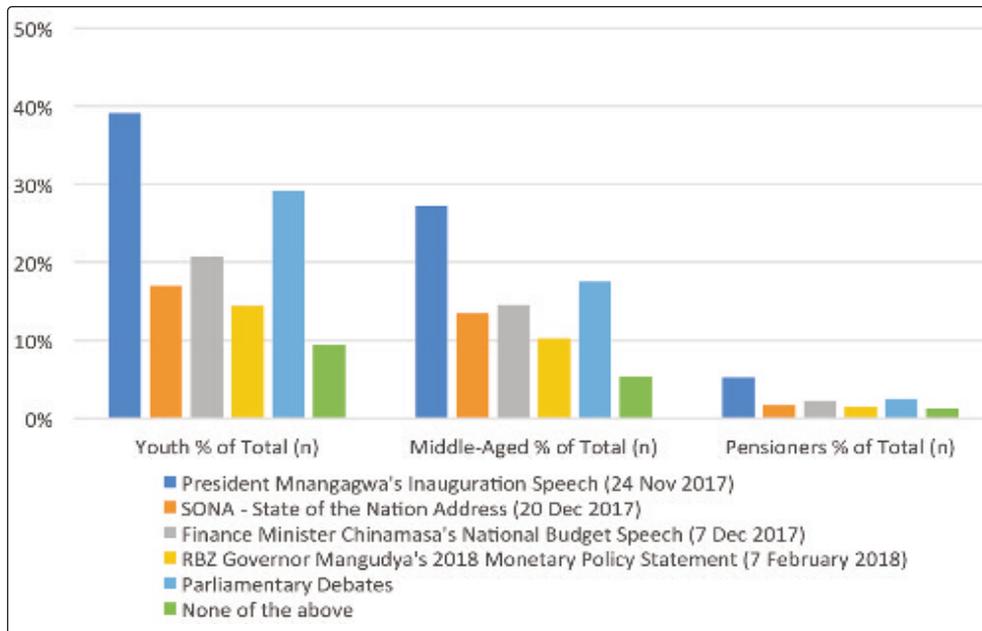


Respondents were asked to list any of the major policy announcements from Government that they had followed closely. Many of the youths (38%) confirmed they had heard the President’s inauguration speech and 28% have been following parliamentary debates closely. Approximately 20% of the youth’s respondents mentioned they listened to the budget speech. There are also some levels of apathy—close to 9% responding that they had not followed any of the major presentations that were listed.

Similarly, the President’s speech was the most listened to public speech amongst the middle-aged followed by parliamentary debates. Only 14% followed the budget speech presented by the Finance Minister and 10% listened to the governor of the central bank present the Monetary Policy Statement. Close to 5% did not listen of the major presentations. The president’s speech was also the most listened to amongst the 65+ age group.

Figure 3-5

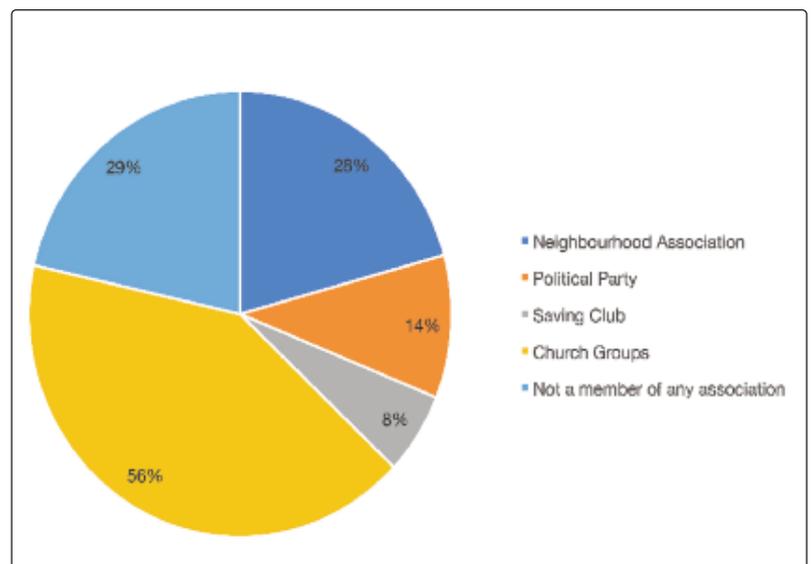
### Major Public Policy Pronouncements



In terms of associational life, a large portion of respondents (56%) belong to church related groups. The second largest cohort (29%) was made up of those who do not belong to any association followed by those who belong to community group and residents' associations (28%). Approximately a 14% of the sample belong to political parties. Measuring engagement through associations served as a proxy to determine the extent to which citizens are actively engaged in the public space beyond reading newspapers. The fact that only 14% belong to a political party does not necessarily suggest that citizens are shunning politics. The different associations that they belong to engage with public issues initially from a self-interest perspective. Citizens have issues that are dear to them; for some its being in church, for others the safety of their neighbourhoods, service provision from local authorities and others belonging to groups such as savings and burial associations seek to achieve their well-being. The associational platforms (see Figure 3-6 below) that were identified provide the most immediate avenue for addressing grievances. They are also spaces where local and national politics are discussed, choices are made on what matters and even on who to vote for.

Figure 3-6

### Associational Life



# Scope of The Current Zimbabwean Crises: International RELATIONS

# 1



## SANCTIONS AND DIPLOMATIC OSTRACISM

on the pretext of the 2002 election and the break of the rule of law. Measures taken by EU: freezing of personal assets of senior members of government and other high-ranking officials, the prohibition of the same to travel to EU Member States.

# 2



## SANCTIONS AND DIPLOMATIC OSTRACISM

In 2003, the United States introduced targeted sanctions under Executive Order 13288 against individuals and entities undermining the democratic processes or institutions in Zimbabwe. The sanctions were recently renewed on individuals including the president.

# 3

## DEFENCE RELATIONS:

arms embargo that came into force on the 19th of Feb 2002. Imposed in response to Zimbabwe's intervention in the Democratic Republic of Congo.

# 4

## ECONOMIC RELATIONS:

Suspension of certain financial and development cooperation programmes. This is because of the failure to comply with the provisions of the pertinent bilateral agreements and lack of a conducive environment required for development cooperation with government structures.

# 5

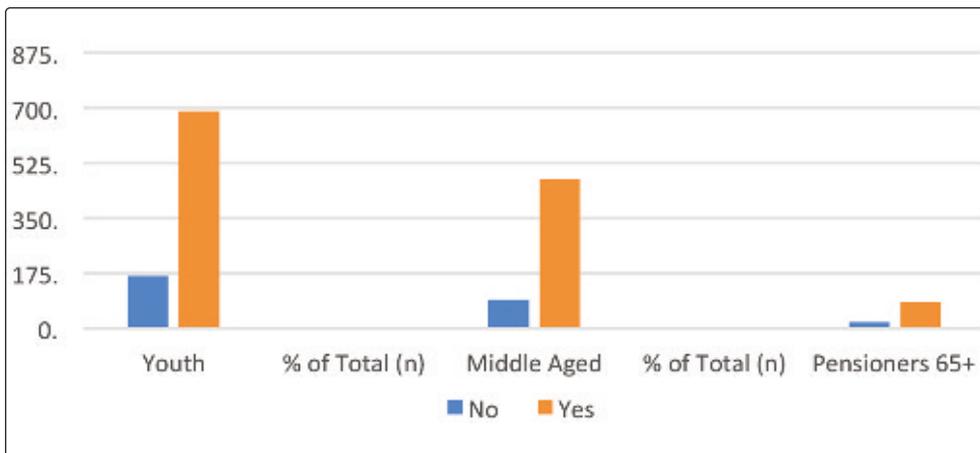
## FUNDING:

EU wants Mnangagwa's government to match its positive messages with action, particularly on the implementation of critical political and economic reforms before committing significant funding to the cash-strapped government.

Just less than half of the respondents (45.2%) of the youths surveyed have registered to vote and 31.08% of the sample who are adults have registered to vote. Approximately 5.57% within the elderly cohort (65+) have registered to vote. This suggests that 81.85% of the sample are registered to vote. If the figures are representative of a countrywide trend, then there is a possibility of the largest voter turn-out in the forthcoming elections. The predominant group will be those aged 18 to 35 years.

Figure 3-7

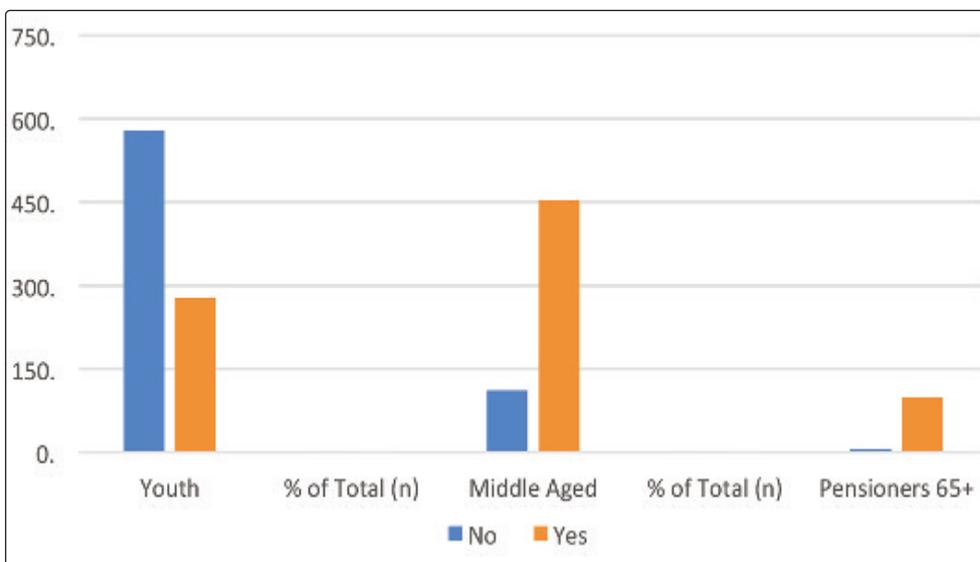
### Voter Registration



The survey highlighted more (37.90%) youth respondents had never voted before compared to those who have cast the ballot. These findings combined with the preceding discussion (see Figure 3-7) suggest that there will be a high number of first time votes in the forthcoming elections. Furthermore, most of these new voters do not yet belong to a political party.

Figure 3-8

### Voting in Previous Elections

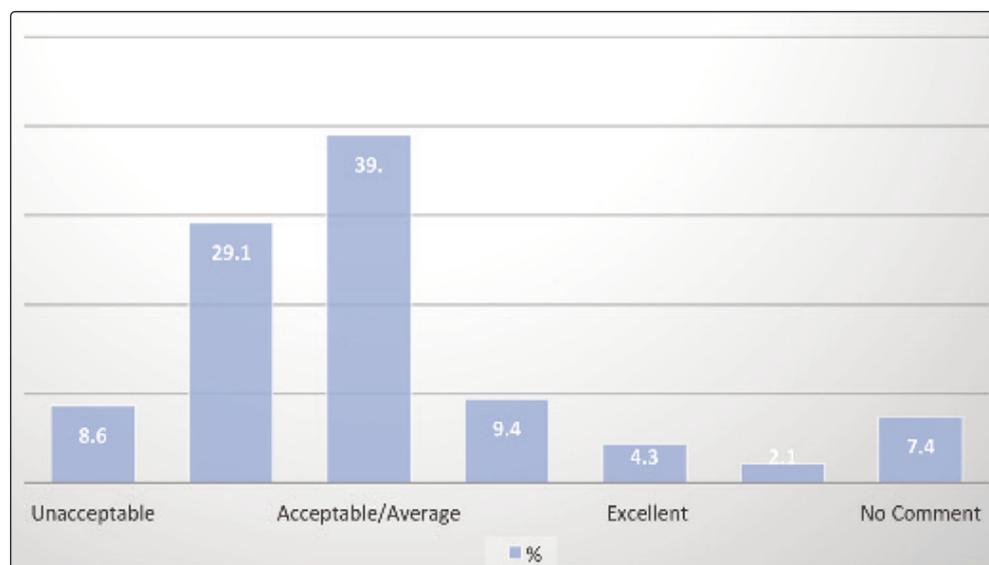


### Overall Government Performance

Respondents were asked to rate the performance of the government based on what they have seen as its achievements. More than a third of the respondents (39%) believed that the Government's performance has been acceptable. The second largest (29.1%) cohort felt that the Government's performance has been below average. Only 4.3% felt that the performance of Government has been perfect. There is a significant part of respondents (7.4%) that preferred not to comment on the Government's overall performance and did not indicate why they were not willing to share this opinion.

Figure 3-9

### Overall Performance



### Government Performance on Specific Issues

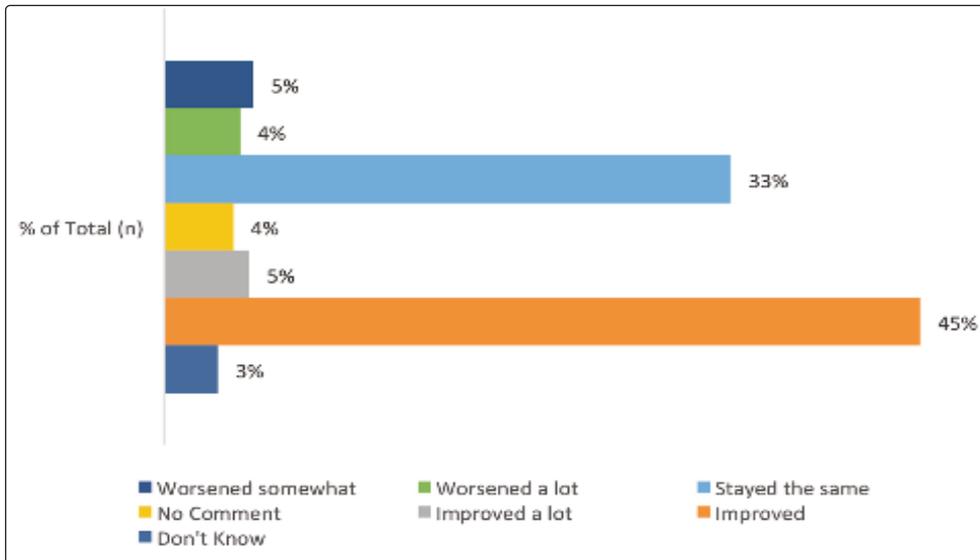
We then asked respondents about their perceptions around issues which we had picked up as of interest to the new government such as corruption, the cash crisis, health delivery, education, the price of goods and creation of employment.

#### On Corruption

Just under a majority of respondents (44.7%) felt that government had taken sufficient measures to address the problem of corruption (see Figure 3-10). However, the second largest group (33.44%) within the sample feel the challenge of corruption has remained the same and unattended. By combining those who feel that the challenge of corruption has remained the same, with those who think it has worsened a lot and worsened somewhat we get 43.4% which is just one percentage point less than those who think it has improved. The closeness of the margins potentially suggests either inadequate information on what government's strategy is regarding eradication of corruption or the fact that attitudes have already been formed based on previous experiences.

Figure 3-10

Corruption

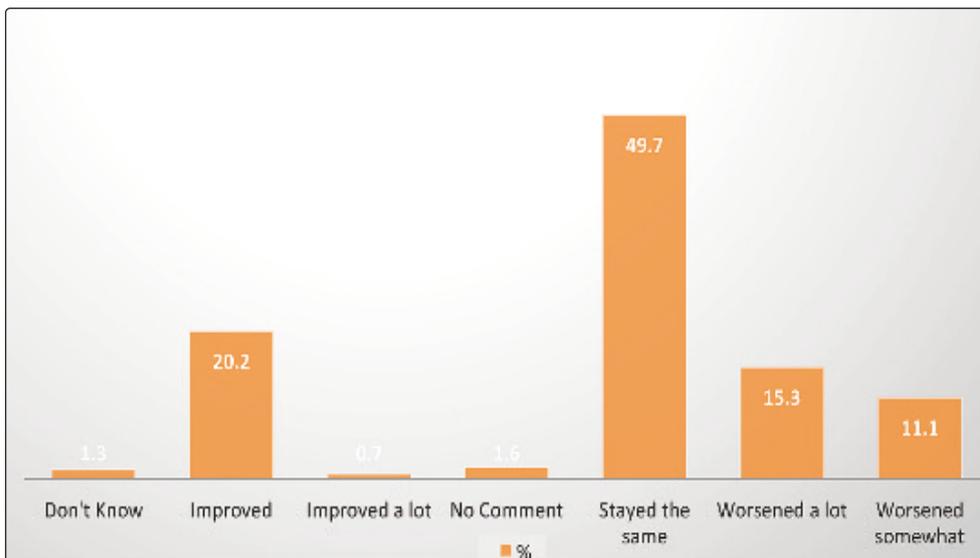


*On the Cash Crisis*

The majority (49.7%) of the respondents felt that little has been done to resolve the cash crisis<sup>2</sup> (see Table 3-7 below). The second largest group (20.2%) felt that the situation has improved slightly. However, there are more people who felt that either the situation has not changed (49.7%) or has worsened (26.4%).

Figure 3-11

Cash Crisis



<sup>2</sup> \*Where enumerators forgot their usernames or did not enter them prior to data entry the application unfortunately still allowed submission hence the Unknown username count of 216.

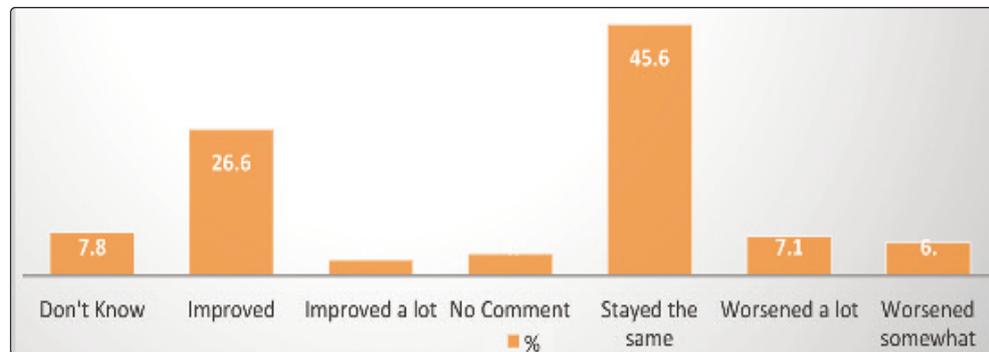
\* These enumerators did complete their required number of surveys and possibly more but actual figures were unavailable and thus were allocated from the unknown user name.

### On Health Delivery

Nearly a majority of respondents (45.6%) believed that the problems of access to treatment centres, drug availability and quality of care have remained the same. The second largest cohort believe that there have been some improvements. However, the overall picture is a combination of stayed the same (45.6%), worsened a lot (7.1%) and worsened somewhat (6.0%), which suggests that the majority are yet to see or be convinced about the measures taken by Government and in particular the relevant Ministry to address issues within health delivery.

Figure 3-12

### Health Delivery

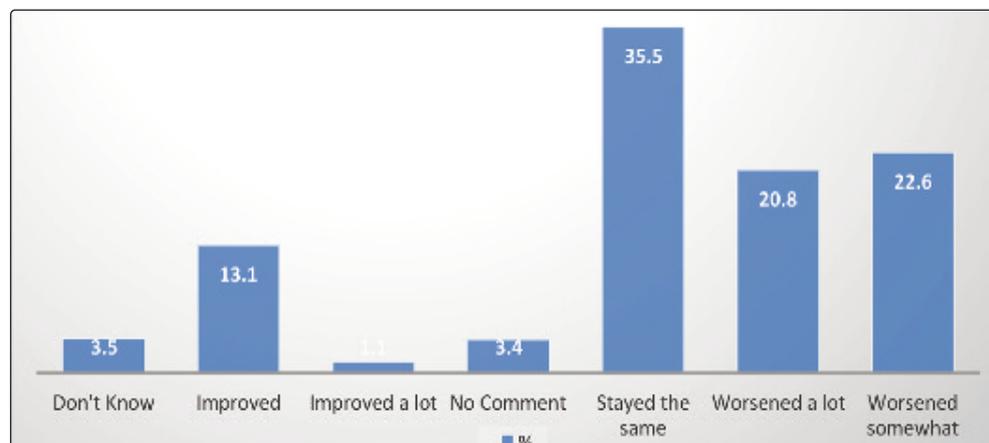


### On Education

Almost a third of the respondents (35.5%) felt that the problems besetting the education sector have remained the same whilst only 13.1% believe that things have improved (see Figure 3-13 below). However, the overall picture painted by the overall majority is that either nothing has changed (35.5%) or worsened a lot (20.8%) or worsened somewhat (22.6%). Perhaps the timing of the survey also provides to such a negative sentiment on education. The survey was carried out during the time when the Minister of Education had made a directive for ordinary level certificate students to rewrite the English examination. It was soon after schools had opened and a new curriculum was introduced by Government that appears to have added to the financial burden on the parents.

Figure 3-13

### Education

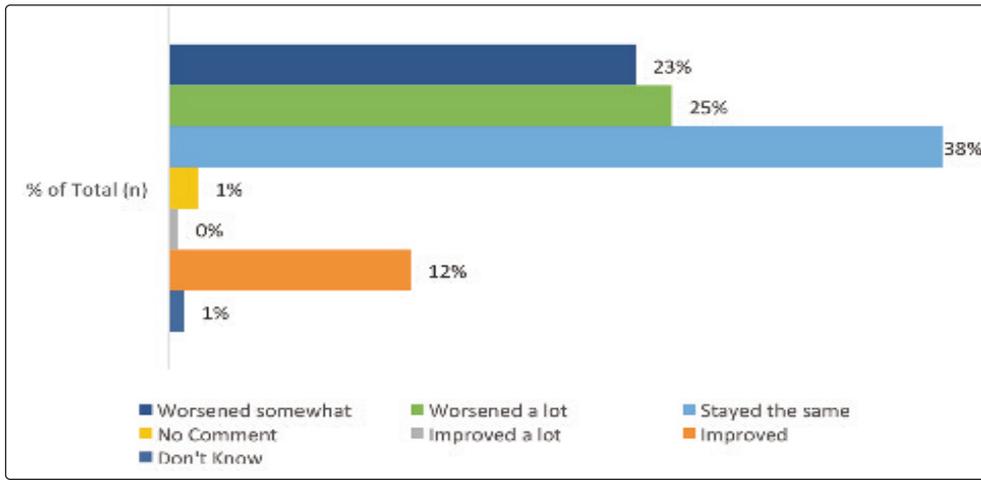


### On Prices of Goods

More than a third (38%) of the respondents felt that the problem of rising prices of goods had not been addressed and had stayed the same or worsened (see Table 3-10). The second (24.7%) and third largest (22.8%) sub-cohorts felt that the problem has either worsened a lot or worsened somewhat. These figures suggest that around 85.4% of the total sample are concerned about prices and feel that the issue remains unresolved. Only 11.9% of the respondents felt that the issue of prices had improved.

Figure 3-14

### Price of Goods

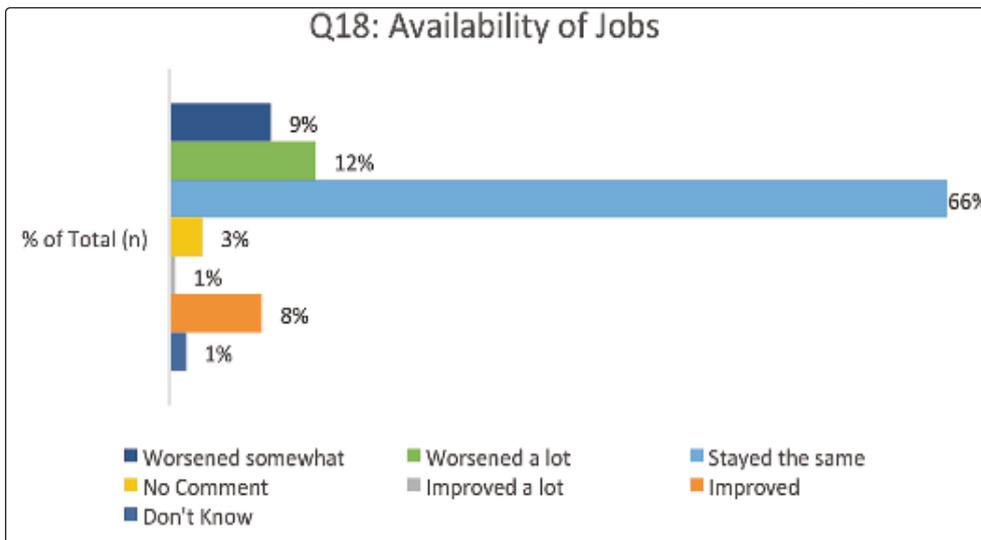


### On Creation of Employment

Most of the respondents (66%) felt that the issues of unemployment had not been resolved and that the problem has remained the same. Another 21% felt that the problem has worsened a lot (12.5%) or worsened somewhat (8.7). Taken together 87.5% of the respondents believe that little has been done to resolve the problems of unemployment. Only 7.7% believe that the matter has improved somewhat.

Figure 3-15

### Availability of Jobs

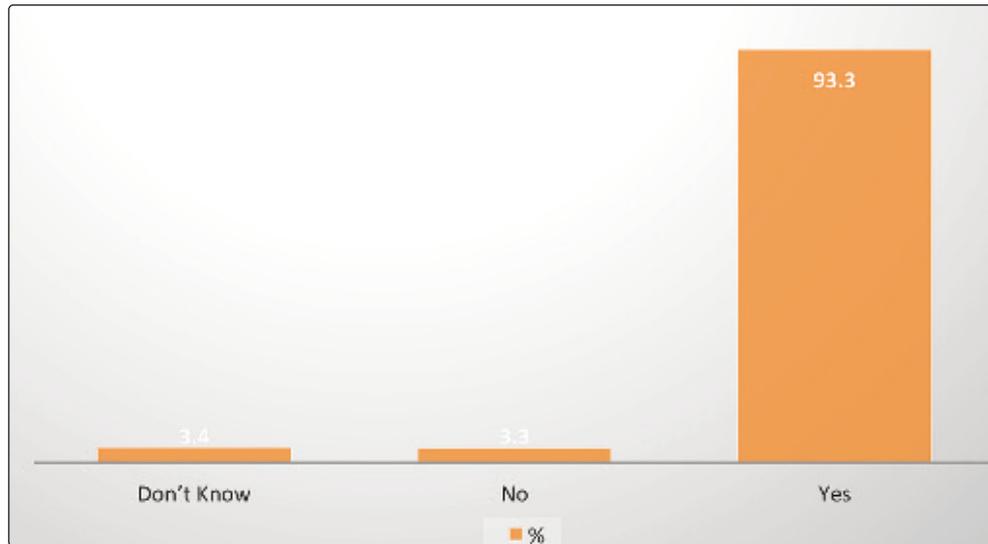


### Re-Engaging with the International Community

A majority of respondents (93.3%) are positive about how the Government is re-engaging the West and strengthening relations with other parts of the world. This was seen as a positive step.

Figure 3-16

### Re-engagement with the West/ International Community

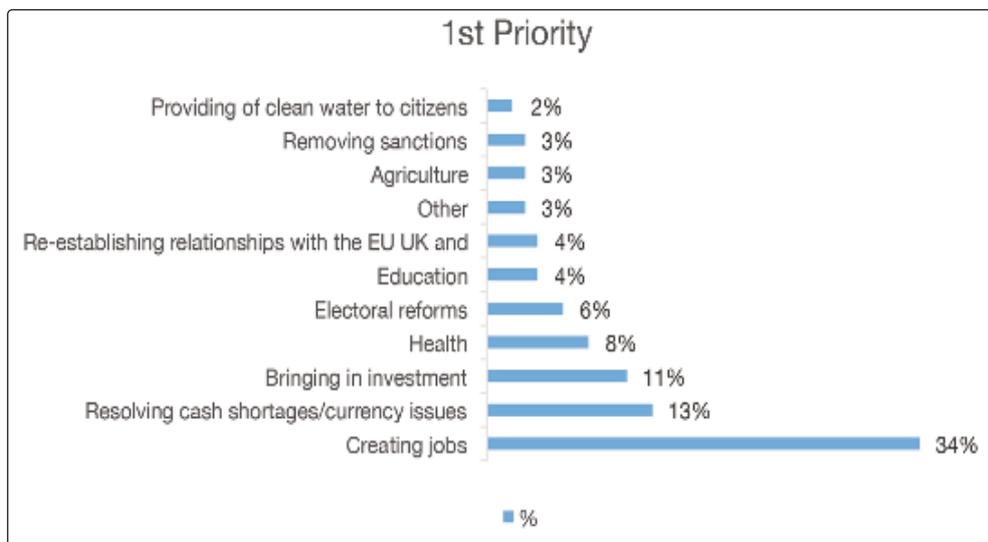


### Relevance of Government Actions against Citizens Expectations

A third of all respondents (34%) felt that government should focus on job creation followed by the resolution of the cash crises (13%) and bringing in investment (11%). Approximately 6% felt that the government should make electoral reforms their top priority.

Figure 3-17

### Prioritizing Government Actions

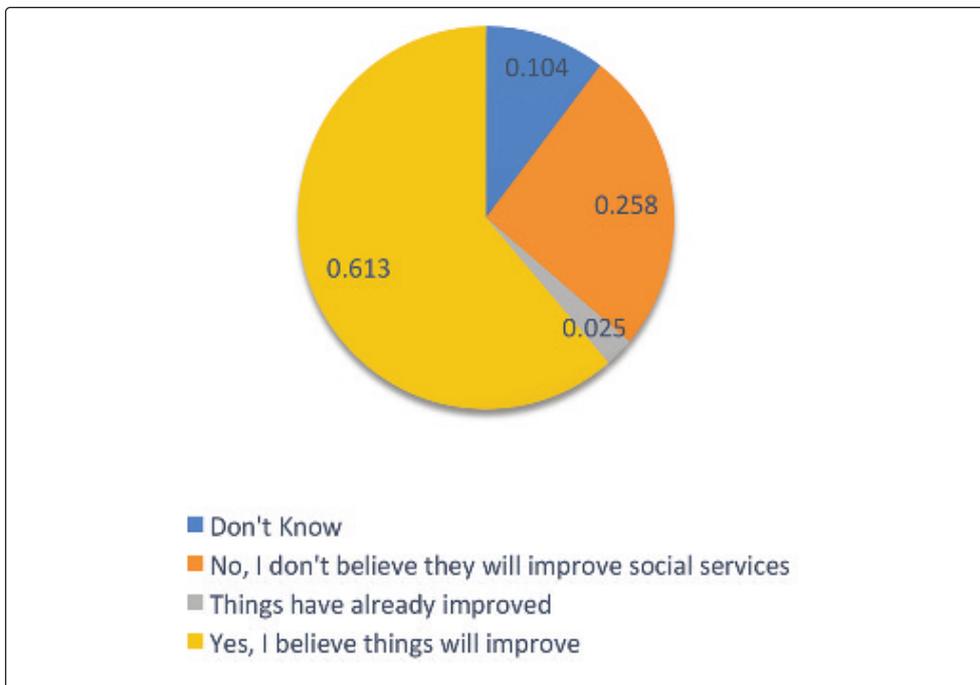


### Potential for Turn Around

While the new Government has only been in the office for 100 days, the survey sought out perceptions on how they think the government will act in the future. They were asked if they think that the government will be able to turn around some of the challenges currently affecting society. The majority (61.3%) confirmed that they think there will be turn around (see Table 3-14). About a quarter (25.8%) of the respondents do not think that there will be an improvement under the current government.

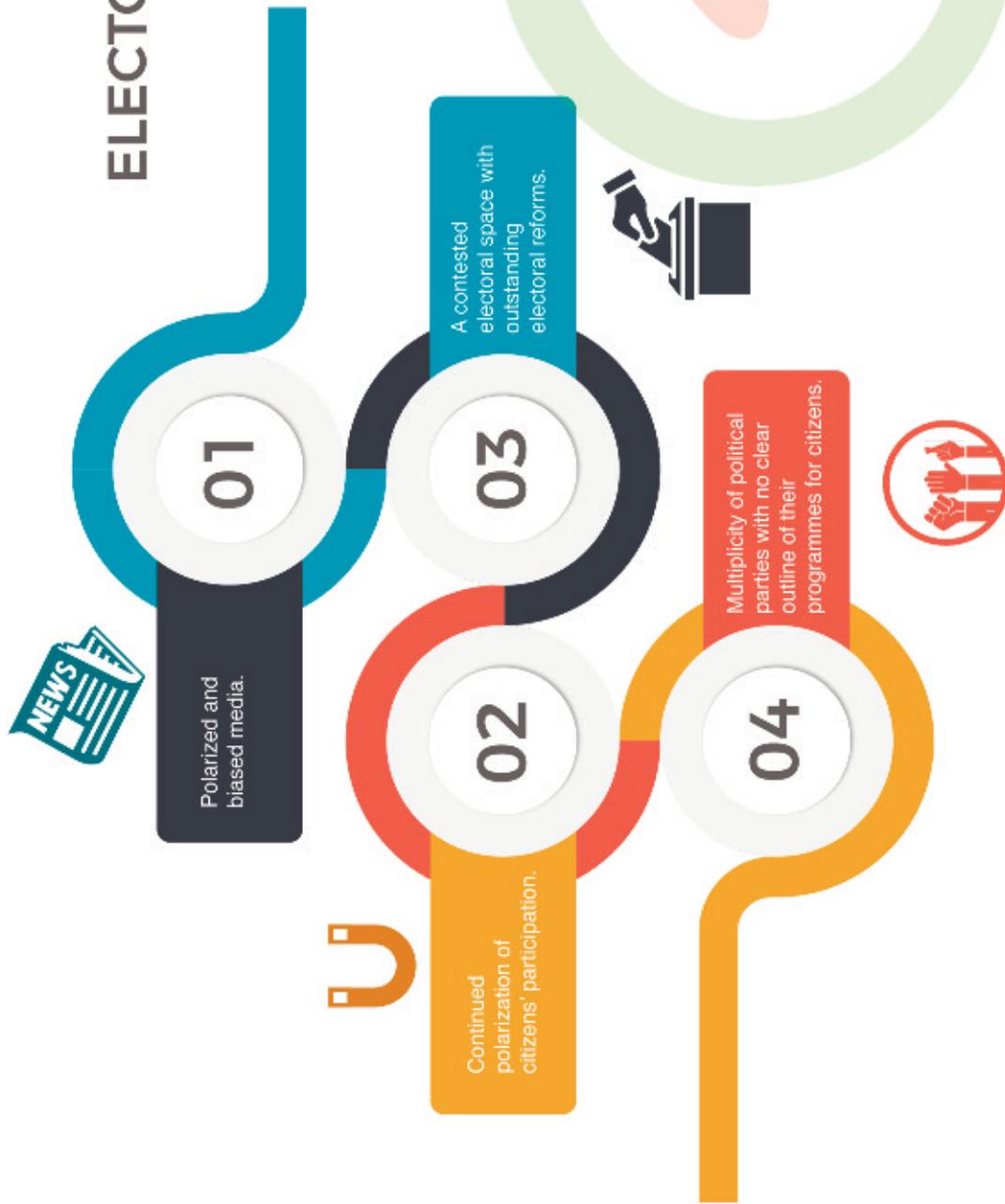
Figure 3-18

### Perceptions on Prospects for Improvement



# Scope of The Current Zimbabwean Crises:

## POLITICS AND ELECTORAL SPACE





# Conclusion

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President Mnangagwa's speeches, particularly during his inauguration and the State of the Nation Address (SONA), raised expectations of a quick turn-around. Some low hanging fruits especially around the charting of a new national vision, and creating a new sense of optimism, has been harvested. The President has foster a belief in the possibilities of transformation. He has also managed to resolve some outstanding issues, albeit on paper, around compensation of former white farmers, redefining the indigenization act and curbing budget expenditure.

However, many challenges remain including cash shortages, the increasing price of goods and corruption- that still have to be resolved. The Zimbabwe Anti-Corruption Commission (ZACC) has managed to make high level arrests but most of the matters remain pending at the courts. All Ministers have been directed to declare their assets but they do not need to show how they acquired them. There is need to increase the cost of corruption, as a deterrent against future acts of corruption. The wheels of justice seem to be moving at a very slow pace, especially for the public who associate many of the elites with corruption.

There is no evidence whatsoever that the current Government has done any consultations with regards to what citizens expect from them. As one of the major weaknesses facing this new Government is their continuation of top to bottom policy making. While this should not be surprising, as since the 1980 policies have been developed based on technocratic superiority rather than consensus building and consultative engagement. When consultations are held they have mostly been tokenistic. The survey results demonstrate the fact that citizens are craving to be heard and want to contribute to the policy process as they have their own set of priorities which they think government should focus on. While the Government is focused on retaining power, the quality of democracy isn't just measured only on the extent to which elections are free and fair elections but also on how much time government spends listening to citizens. To be fair some ministries have been carrying out consultations across the country but even then, processes need to allow for broader participation. The Table below provides our preliminary rating of government performance based

on official pronouncements and also the input made by citizens within the prioritized focus areas. The new Government has definitely set a new tone for a more results-oriented approach. The analysis presented below contributes towards widening the scope of ideation around available options for policy measures. We believe that Government is not adequately tapping into different sites of knowledge around the solutions required to address the current challenges that the country faces.

Table 4-1

### Analysis of Government Performance

Focus Areas	SIVIO ANALYSIS	What could be Done?
CASH SHORTAGES	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Minimal tangible actions to address cash shortages.</li> <li>No set targets for any actions.</li> <li>Incoherent confidence building message on bond notes and own currency.</li> </ul>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Citizen engagement forum to harness their participation given role of unbanked sector in liquidity.</li> <li>Sectoral engagement with set targets and monitoring system framework which recognises impact of informalisation of economy. Focus on: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Retail sector</li> <li>Financial services</li> <li>Public transport operators. Evidence of banking through CVR permit registration process.</li> </ul> </li> <li>Set and communicate targets for economic stabilisation indicating at which point own currency will be practical.</li> <li>Proactive communication of message on bond notes and own currency with regular briefings on progress on targets instead of fire-fighting approach responding to market rumours.</li> </ol>
CORRUPTION	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Some credible effort to make 'enough noise about corruption'.</li> <li>Government has ignored calls for extended coverage of corruption blitz to all political leaders in and out of government.</li> </ul>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Transparency in ensuring swift justice</li> <li>Address public perceptions of selective justice.</li> <li>Extend corruption investigation to private sector.</li> <li>Transparency in reporting returns from externalization.</li> <li>Transparency in asset declaration. Public register entry via Parliament.</li> </ol>
ECONOMIC REVIVAL	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Many intentions but limited actions to follow through.</li> <li>Lack of detail on plans beyond pronouncements.eg. the one on jobs.</li> <li>Weak contextual analysis of where prospects for employment lie.</li> </ul>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Frame economic revival strategies in line with the economic realities –the mantra around jobs without a coherent strategy is not feasible in the short to medium term.</li> <li>Enhance Pro-active and less bureaucratic approaches to enacting enforcement systems- for example as was the case in the NRZ case.</li> <li>Broad engagement of actors including citizens to develop short to medium term 5 point economic hit list of priorities and allocate targets and responsibilities.</li> </ol>

continued...

Focus Areas	SIVIO ANALYSIS	What could be Done?
AGRICULTURE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lack of detail on Command Agriculture framework.</li> <li>• Lack of detail on plans beyond pronouncements e.g. various intentions but limited action to follow through.</li> <li>• Lack of detail on white farmer compensation issue yet it is being outlined as a key 'outstanding issue' which could impact on re-engagement and re-inviting these farmers into agriculture.</li> </ul>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Be transparent on Command Agriculture plans and publish performance review from previous season.</li> <li>2. Finalise white farmers' compensation issue.</li> <li>3. Set targets and identify funding sources for various initiatives committed to.</li> </ol>
GOVERNANCE & ELECTORAL REFORMS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lack of detail on election date.</li> <li>• Lack of detail on plans beyond pronouncements, performance appraisal and 100 Day Ministerial plans.</li> <li>• Minimal focus on outlining actions on key issue of electoral reforms.</li> </ul>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Announce an election date to minimise the perception issues associated with uncertainty of election dates.</li> <li>2. Publicize the 100 Day ministerial plans</li> <li>3. Publish performance appraisals.</li> <li>4. Action outstanding electoral reform issues.</li> </ol>
SOCIAL SERVICES REFORMS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Some clear projects in education and health sector.</li> <li>• Yet to develop cohesive strategy to address recurring issues like poor and inefficient services at hospitals.</li> <li>• No clear state government water and sanitation strategy.</li> <li>• No clear urban housing strategy in view of expanded urbanization currently taking place.</li> </ul>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>2. Address education affordability issues.</li> <li>3. Outline energy infrastructure strategy</li> <li>4. Address road network rehabilitation, pot-holes.</li> </ol>
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Evidence of strategic regional and international relations approach.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Translate the international relations initiatives into tangible benefits e.g. FDI agreements.</li> </ul>

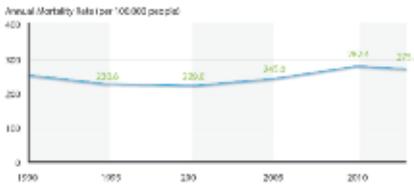
# HEALTH DELIVERY

# 1

Shortage or unavailability of essential drugs due to foreign currency limitations-\$400mil annual imports.



The annual mortality rate per 100,000 people from non-communicable diseases in Zimbabwe has increased by 7.2% since 1990, an average of 0.3% a year.



The revised \$520 million allocated to the Health and Child Care ministry for the 2018 fiscal year represents about 9.8% of the total budget, slightly more than what was allocated in 2017 and still remains below the Abuja target of 15%.

Prevalence of diseases such as cholera and typhoid.



Shortage of machines to carry out basic procedures.



Poor remuneration for Doctors and Nurses.



14% of Zimbabwean adults age 15-49 are HIV positive putting pressure on health system.

Poor Service Delivery

Poor service at healthcare centers, e.g. long waiting periods for surgical operations and long out-patient lines.



Almost 60% of women age 15-49 report experience problems in accessing health care.



**6.7%**  
1 in every 15 children in Zimbabwe does not survive until his or her fifth birthday.

# EDUCATION SECTOR

# 2

SALARIES AS A % OF BUDGET ALLOCATION

98%



US\$789 million of the US\$803 million 2017 budget allocation went towards salaries for the 122 756 strong education labour-force.

Dilapidated and inadequate school infrastructure and acute shortage of teaching and learning materials.

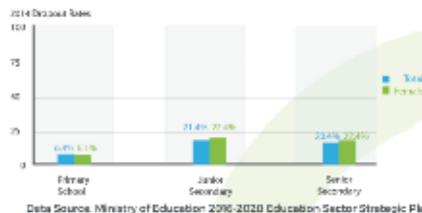


Unclear National Curriculum strategy for tertiary education which is aligned to the economy's needs.



Growth in population not matched by increase in education infrastructure. The deficit of schools currently stands at 2056 schools.

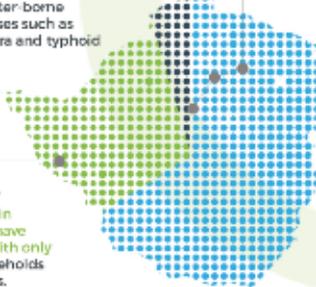
Increasing numbers of school drop outs in rural areas eg. Midlands and Matabeleland



# WATER, SANITATION & ENERGY

# 3

Increasing Incidents of water borne diseases such as cholera and typhoid



One-third of households in Zimbabwe have electricity with only 10% of households in rural areas.

# HOUSING

# 4



Weak or no supply of low priced housing stock.

Weak financing mechanisms to support supply of housing especially for Bottom of Pyramid based households.

Increases in prices of land.



Increasing No. of families on housing waiting lists.



Increasing number of people living in informal settlements.

**1.25** million housing backlog

The country has an estimated 1.25 million housing backlog which will take 15 - 20 years to clear up.

SCOPE OF THE CURRENT ZIMBABWEAN CRISES:

**SOCIAL SERVICES REFORM**





*'Working towards inclusive societies'*