



The Country that Cannot Collapse

Fragility Analysis of Zimbabwe: Policy Recommendations for USAID

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Table of Contents

About the Authors.....	3
Executive Summary.....	4
Methods.....	4
Background.....	4
End User.....	5
Internal Stakeholder.....	5
External Stakeholder.....	6
Fragility Risk Assessment.....	6
Primary Drivers of Fragility.....	7
Secondary Drivers of Fragility.....	9
ALC Analysis.....	12
Scenarios.....	13
Policy Options.....	14
Annexes.....	18

List of annexes:

1. Historical timeline of major political events in Zimbabwe
2. Additional information on end user: USAID
3. Additional information on presence of community service organizations in Zimbabwe
4. Additional information on external stakeholders
5. United Nations agencies present in Zimbabwe
6. Comparison of Zimbabwe's ranking across fragility indices
7. Full data on indicators under CIFP clusters to assess primary drivers of fragility
8. Full data on indicators under CIFP clusters to assess secondary drivers of fragility
9. Additional information on urgency of water scarcity
10. Additional information on education in Zimbabwe (HDI indicators)
11. Additional information on gender equality in Zimbabwe (HDI indicators)
12. USAID spending by sector
13. Population pyramid of Zimbabwe
14. Additional information on the 2013 Constitution of Zimbabwe

List of Acronyms:

ALC: Authority – Legitimacy - Capacity
 CIFP: Country Indicators for Foreign Policy
 CPIA: Country Policy and Institutional Assessment
 CSO: Community Service Organization
 EU-EOM: European Union Electoral Observation Mission
 FAO: Food and Agricultural Organization
 FDI: Foreign Direct Investment
 GDP: Gross Domestic Product
 IFAD: International Fund for Agricultural Development
 IMF: International Monetary Fund
 MDC-A: Movement for Democratic Change Alliance
 SADC: South African Development Community
 TSP: Transitional Stabilisation Programme
 UN: United Nations
 UNICEF: United Nations Children's Fund
 USAID: United States Aid for International Development
 WFP: World Food Programme
 WHO: World Health Organization
 WOZA: Women for Zimbabwe Arise
 ZANU-PF: Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front
 ZEC: Zimbabwean Electoral Commission

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Executive Summary

In this policy brief we assert that Zimbabwe is mired in a fragility trap driven by weak legitimacy which, in turn, leads to capacity failures in a feedback loop that prevents the development of state resilience. Our analysis of the core CIFP indicator clusters concludes that, while state capacity is low and deteriorating in the country, ultimately political will and governance and economic structural and dynamic factors create a perverse incentive structure for Zimbabwean political elites to pursue policies that lead to personal or political benefit over the amelioration of deteriorating conditions on the ground for the country's broader population. Our analysis aligns with the stated policy goals of our end user, USAID, and aims to provide evidence-based analysis of the fundamental drivers of fragility in Zimbabwe and propose a range of policy options for the mitigation of state fragility in the country. In addition to the identification of governance and economic issues as the primary drivers of weakness, we discuss the impact of the environment, demography, and human development factors in the country as second order drivers that exacerbate the effects of our primary cluster groups. To address this "problem from hell" the authors acknowledge that traditional state-building options alone are unlikely to create lasting change in Zimbabwe; we thus propose a range of policy options for the end user that are aimed at building the legitimacy and capacity of the state concurrently in order to address the immediate needs of the country and build the resilience of the state in the long term.

Methods

Mirroring the theoretical framework utilized by Carleton University's CIFP project, we define fragile states as those which exhibit substantial deficits in three key areas: Authority, Legitimacy, and Capacity. Fragile states are those that fail to provide effective representation of their citizens at home or abroad (Legitimacy), basic social services for their entire population (Capacity), or basic security within their borders (Authority). These areas outline specific aspects of modern "stateness" and are inherently interrelated but also provide a useful framework for policy makers as they narrow the key sources of weakness to more effectively structure interventions. We assume that weaknesses in one or more of these areas will negatively affect the resilience of the state but these weaknesses pose discrete challenges for policy makers and emphasize the importance of sequencing in the allocation of aid; short term vulnerabilities experienced by these states often prevent the achievement of broader goals such as democratic entrenchment and economic development.

The authors employed both quantitative and qualitative data to provide an analysis that is both dynamic and nuanced. Quantitative data from 75 indicators is grouped into six core clusters (Governance and Political Stability, Economic Development, Security, Human Development, Demography and the Environment) from 2008-2019 to provide foundational structural analysis and is supplemented with available primary and secondary source qualitative and quantitative data in the form of news reports, academic scholarship, and individual and household polling data with particular attention paid to recent events and trendline data.

Analyses of indicators, intensity, and trends in each of the above clusters indicated that Governance and Political Stability and Economic Development were primary drivers of fragility in Zimbabwe, while the clusters of Human Development, Demography and the Environment were secondary drivers. Stakeholder, cluster, and ALC analyses were used to develop various scenarios for the next six months. These considerations influenced the development of three evidence-based policy recommendations, designed to address key drivers of fragility and prevent further erosion of state resilience.

Background

Located in southern Africa, the Republic of Zimbabwe won its independence from Britain in April 1980 with revolutionary leader Robert Mugabe and new head of the dominant party Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU- subsequently ZANU-PF) as its Prime Minister¹. Mugabe remained in power until November 2017, when his own party, ZANU-PF, working with the military, removed Mugabe as party leader, replacing him with Emmerson Mnangagwa, the former Vice President². Mnangagwa was re-elected in 2018 in a relatively free and fair elections, but has since continued the tradition, initiated by Mugabe, of targeting opposition forces and civil society members to prevent dissent, including dispatching the military to dispel protests leading to deaths in January of 2019 and the reimposition of US sanctions³. Zimbabwe shares its borders with South Africa, Mozambique, Zambia, and Botswana and, without access to the sea, is dependent on regional trading partners for access to imports and the world market. The region has been severely affected by climate change and suffered from intensified and more frequent droughts, affecting sanitation and access to food; as migrants flock to neighboring states in search of economic prospects currently unavailable domestically



tensions at the border have intensified⁴. A long history of economic crises, caused in large part by corruption and poor economic policies that have evaporated foreign investment and domestic savings through record high inflation from persistent currency and price manipulation have exacerbated these tensions⁵. *Photo credit : Encyclopaedia Britannica.*⁶

Unlike other African nations ranking in the top 20 of most fragile state indexes, Zimbabwe's key cleavages are not ethnic, but organized around urban and rural residents. ZANU-PF's power base has traditionally been in rural areas, strengthened by widespread white owned land appropriation in the 1990s and strong patronage networks that distributed the land and state resources to black small farmers⁷. Despite the unusual development of state capacity and infrastructure under the white-governed Rhodesia from which the ruling party benefitted in urban administration, two decades of systematic disinvestment and a lack of foreign capital investment has seen a crumbling of state capacity and political will to provide public services in both the urban and rural sectors. As a consequence, space for opposition parties to contest the elections and mobilize urban residents against the government has opened⁸. While the rural population overwhelmingly remains loyal to ZANU-PF, the drastic increase in the informal economy of Zimbabwe⁹ and dependence on remittances from an expansive diaspora is signaling reduced confidence in the ruling regime and growing tensions across the country. (See *Annex 1 for Historical Timelines*)

End User

This brief and the policy recommendations to follow are geared towards USAID, the American international development and humanitarian organization that has had a presence in Zimbabwe since their independence in 1980. Over these last 30 years the organization has contributed over 3 billion dollars to different development projects in Zimbabwe. In 2018, USAID contributed \$197 million, with a peak contribution in 2009 of \$271 million. The focus of these projects ranges over health systems, democratic development, and food security. USAID's strong presence in Zimbabwe, across 13 different sectors and with 138 projects currently funded¹⁰, allows it an unique opportunity to aid Zimbabwe in righting the ship of state at this moment. The United States has imposed sanctions on Zimbabwe in some form for the last 20 years and has cited an abysmal democratic and human rights record as the impetus for continuation¹¹. Offering a reduction and eventual end to these sanctions provides Zimbabwe a path to re-engage with the international community. (See *Annex 2 for additional information on the End User*)

Internal Stakeholders

Presidential power: the president of Zimbabwe and leader of the dominant party of Zimbabwe ZANU-PF is **Emmerson Mnangagwa**. After being vice-president to **Robert Mugabe**, Mnangagwa came into power through a military backed coup in 2017¹². Known as "the crocodile" for his role in the war of liberation and subsequently his shrewd nature in politics, he has held a number of positions in government before taking power¹³. As the mastermind behind the post electoral violence of 2008, he is perceived by the public as willing to use violence to punish dissent within the party and in the population. A contentious general election was held eight months after the coup where the results were withheld by the **Zimbabwe Electoral Commission**, casting the outcome in doubt¹⁴. Since the election Mnangagwa has publicly advocated for economic reforms in Zimbabwe but has been implicated in multiple scandals involving the appropriation of state resources. ZANU-PF, a "well institutionalized ruling party and a major force in Zimbabwean politics since independence"¹⁵ has used intimidation and patronage to consolidate power¹⁶

Opposition Party: The opposition party is the Movement for Democratic Change Alliance (**MDC-A**), led by **Nelson Chamisa**¹⁷. The party was formed in 1999 by labour, church, student and civic activists, led by **Morgan Tsvangirai**, who died in February 2018¹⁸ causing a fracturing of the party and preventing a consolidation of support in elections. The party has expanded its base in urban populations and Chamisa has been vocal in Zimbabwean politics in criticizing the regime and calling for democratic reforms and a new election. Over the past decade, MDC-A supporters have been targeted by police, from the violence after the contested 2008 election, to a crackdown on demonstrators gathered to hear Chamisa speak in Harare this month^{19,20} but Chamisa has promised to expand protests and demonstrations against the regime if Mnangagwa refuses to negotiate a transitional authority.

Military: Traditionally the military has played a prominent role in Zimbabwe's politics and has enforced the one party dominance of ZANU-PF²¹. Since the 1980s, land and resource concessions were granted to upper level military officials to generate personal revenue, and as a result increased their economic and political influence. The country's state-owned economic enterprises are largely under military control. These enterprises generate undisclosed revenues that bypass government treasuries but resources like diamonds have appeared on the international market from military linked intermediaries²². Further the military has been implicated in serious human rights violations and effectively eliminated the ethnic divisions in the country by committing genocide in the late 1980s. Recently, Mnangagwa's political ascension was also orchestrated by the military, though they tried to camouflage the coup to preserve the appearance of normal order front of the international community and to protect Zimbabwe's financial and diplomatic interests²³. After Mnangagwa was installed, himself a former security agent, senior military officers colonized the civilian state apparatus. Constantine Chiwenga and at least two other ministers of state are former military who have taken over the highest profile and most lucrative positions in government²⁴. While the military has always been involved in Zimbabwe's politics this invasion of military leadership into the cabinet has broadened the scope of military appropriations and increased the scope and intensity of repression in the country

Civil society stakeholders: Historically civil society organizations in Zimbabwe have been marginalized by the increasingly repressive tactics of the Mugabe government. Following the 2013 elections, hope of an opening for these organizations in the public forum emerged and civil society organizations (CSOs) prioritized the harmonization of laws with the new Constitution,

which included laws governing CSOs regulation and association, assembly and expression rights²⁵. With ZANU PF's dominance in parliament, however, campaigns for the amendment of restrictive laws and regulations aimed at marginalizing citizen organized groups were derailed. Government restrictions reached a peak with the total blackout of social media at the beginning of 2019 in response to CSOs organizing anti-government protests²⁶. The regime targets activists and regularly asserts that they, in conspiracy with the opposition, are attempting to overthrow the democratically elected government, an effective method of prosecuting activists and disrupting civil action²⁷. Some notable organizations in Zimbabwe include **Women for Zimbabwe Arise (WOZA)** with over 75,000 members focused on the promotion of political and human rights and the **Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum** which has grown to 21 member organizations and is focused on the legal protection of human rights in the country. Uniquely in Zimbabwe, a strong collection of residents' associations operate in the urban areas and advocate for government reforms at the local level. (See *Annex 3 for additional information on CSO's in Zimbabwe*)

External stakeholders

United States: Currently, both the US and the European Union have instituted sanctions because of human rights violations and the undermining of the democratic process²⁸ on 141 entities and individuals in Zimbabwe, including Mnangagwa and the Mugabe family²⁹. Targeted sanctions and a ban on US arms sales to Zimbabwe were imposed in 2002, while allowing US businesses to operate and invest in the country outside of the sanctions. (See *Annex 4 for list of enterprise subject to U.S. targeted sanctions*)

China: The China-Zimbabwe relationship goes back to the liberation movement when Beijing provided arms and training to the guerrillas of the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army, financial and diplomatic support that continues to the present day. In addition to direct aid of US\$136 million³⁰ and loans worth more than US\$2.2 billion, China has financed infrastructure projects for Zimbabwe between 2000 and 2017³¹, such as the airport, hospitals, and the parliament building. China is also supporting Zimbabwe's request to the US and the EU to remove their sanctions; China is Zimbabwe's largest source of investment and one of this most important trading partners³². Mining activities by Chinese companies are also taking place in various parts of the country but promises of development and community-centred investments are not being upheld³³. Some argue that Beijing sees Zimbabwe as a financial investment and aid is rooted the desire to gain access to Zimbabwe's resources³⁴.

South African Development Community (SADC): SADC is a Regional Economic Community comprising 16 Member States. SADC has asked the international community to lift sanctions imposed on Zimbabwe³⁵. Sanctions have reduced the contribution of state-owned enterprises to the country's Gross Domestic Product from 40 percent to 14 percent. However, the counterargument is that SADC is supporting Zimbabwe, not to help their economic expansion, but to whitewash ZANU-PF's policy failure, public sector corruption and inefficiency³⁶. SADC has been widely criticized for its silence on the political and human rights situation in Zimbabwe³⁷. SADC while publically committed to human rights and democracy promotion, is said to espouse a "brotherly" relationship³⁸ amongst member states that precludes the criticism of individual member governments for political failures and while committed to a strong regional market they have notably remained silent after the crisis in January. (See *Annex 4 for additional information on SADC and list of member state*)

International Monetary Fund (IMF): Zimbabwe has not been able to borrow from international lenders since 1999, when it started defaulting on its debt³⁹. The country currently owes \$8.8 billion to foreign lenders, \$2.6 billion of those in arrears to the World Bank, the African Development Bank and the European Investment Bank⁴⁰. In recent months, Zimbabwe has reached an agreement with the IMF on a program of economic policies and structural reforms that could help Zimbabwe re-engage with international financial institution. In exchange, IMF has demanded that Zimbabwe intensify its reform effort to tackle the root causes of economic instability and enable private-sector led growth, as well as improve its transparency⁴¹.

United Nations Agencies present in Zimbabwe: There are 25 different UN entities present in Zimbabwe, with focuses on health, food security, and development. In the current context of extreme food shortages, a few notable examples of organizations working to mitigate the crisis are the World Food Programme (**WFP**), the International Fund for Agricultural Development (**IFAD**), the Food and Agriculture Organization (**FAO**), United Nations Children's Fund (**UNICEF**), and the World Health Organization (**WHO**). (See *Annex 5 for full list of UN agencies present in Zimbabwe*)

Fragility Risk Assessment (See *Annex 6 for a comparison of fragility index ratings*)

We present trends for the past ten years (since 2008) where available. Analysis of indicators, trends, and events highlight governance and political stability and the economy as primary drivers of fragility in Zimbabwe. The legend below shows the classifications of clusters by current impact on fragility, which is determined by our assessment of intensity and reach of the given cluster on the country. Primary drivers comprise clusters with a high current impact on fragility while secondary drivers comprise clusters with a moderate current impact on fragility and stable or improving trend or with a low current impact on fragility. This analysis seeks to isolate the core drivers of fragility in the country and identify key challenges to the end user.

Legend			
Current impact on fragility	Low	Moderate	High
Trend of data over the past ten years	Increase ↑	Stable →	Decrease ↓

Primary Drivers of Fragility (See Annex 7 for data and trends on all indicators for our primary driver clusters)

Governance and Political Stability ↓			
Indicator	Trend	Indicator	Trend
Freedom of the Press ⁴² <i>0 is most free 100 least free</i>	↓	Rule of Law ⁴³ <i>Higher percentage corresponds to better outcome</i>	↑
Government Effectiveness ⁴⁴ <i>-2.5 (weak) to 2.5 (strong) performance.</i>	↑	Voice and Accountability ⁴⁵ <i>Higher percentage corresponds to better outcome</i>	↑
Level of Corruption ⁴⁶ <i>A score of 0 is highly corrupt, 100 very clean</i>	↑	Political Stability ⁴⁷ <i>0 is least stable and 100 is most stable</i>	→
Restrictions on Civil Liberties ⁴⁸ <i>A score of 1 most free with 7 being least free</i>	→	Partisan Trust Gap ⁴⁹ <i>0 is non-partisan 100 is completely polarized</i>	↑
Restrictions of Political Rights ⁵⁰ <i>A score of 1 most free with 7 being least free</i>	→	Homicide Rate <i>Per 100,000 people</i>	↓

Despite the enthusiasm generated by the departure of the former authoritarian president Robert Mugabe, Zimbabwe's political and security situation has deteriorated over the last 10 years from an already weak position. The country ranks poorly across all governance indicators, but political violence and crime, while present, remain low level and largely epiphenomenal.^{51,52} Control of state institutions is completely at the discretion of ZANU-PF, the ruling party, and the wheels of the state turn almost exclusively at the direction of the President Emmerson Mnangagwa despite the amendment of the constitution in 2013 meant to begin a process of decentralization of a highly unitary state⁵³. (See Annex 14 for additional information on the 2013 constitution) Party line control in the Parliament reifies this relationship and recent changes to the appointment power of the President has further leashed the judiciary, which is theoretically an independent system, to the whims of the President and party⁵⁴. Because of a systemic lack of investment in infrastructure and rampant corruption in the administration of allocated funds⁵⁵ public service provision has slowly but consistently deteriorated from what was a comparatively strong system of public utilities, especially in urban areas that once enjoyed common access to services. Access to public services is highly contingent on a citizen's ability to access private service providers and the country would require extraordinary investment to bring the network back in line with the level seen in 1999⁵⁶. Additionally, the country's medical system is in a state of crisis with widespread hospital and clinic closures and citizens in urban areas having to resort to social media to find medical treatment for emergencies^{57,58}. The cascading failure of the government to provide fundamental services is particularly stark in light of the corruption that is rampant in the country. Regardless of party affiliation citizens struggle to access services while party officials continue to "eat" from state troughs with near impunity⁵⁹. Estimates put Zimbabwe's losses from corruption at approximately \$1B USD per year⁶⁰; most recently reports indicated that immediately after the 2017 coup, the President and state officials took a \$5B USD loan without the consent of Parliament for which two years later they cannot account⁶¹. In June 2019 another scandal rocked the country when it came to light that \$3B dollars had disappeared from a farm subsidy program, "Command Agriculture", during a drought and lean harvest year⁶². Officials up to the President were implicated in the scandal, though no one has been charged with embezzlement. The existing regulatory framework for the prosecution of corruption and fraud is strong in Zimbabwe but the absolute control of state institutions by ZANU-PF has resulted in a situation where the machinery of justice functions to target opposition leadership and party dissenters rather than as an impartial arbiter of the rule of law⁶³. This appropriation of state funds by the ruling party couples with the uneven application of democratic institutions to exacerbate the scale of the democratic deficit⁶⁴ in Zimbabwe.

While macro-level indices of democracy have marked small improvements in voice and accountability and political rights, gains are largely driven by the successful election of Mnangagwa in 2018. This was a relatively free election, the post-electoral repression by the military⁶⁵, persecution of journalists using draconian "public order laws"⁶⁶, and kidnapping of community organizers by police and secret service has illustrated that Zimbabwe's commitment to democracy is only surface level⁶⁷. Zimbabwe remains a "partly free" hybrid regime with pervasive rent seeking at all levels of government with state resources seen as a "lootable resource" for ZANU-PF and military elites, undermining both the legitimacy and capacity of the state⁶⁸. These

exclusionary politics are reflected not just in the actions of the state but of the population. Social trust among citizens has eroded in the country and Zimbabwe has the second largest informal economy in the world, marking citizen distrust in impartial government and representing a coping mechanism of a society alienated from its leadership^{69, 70}. Local government was created as an independent governing body, this decentralization from the 2013 Constitution provided a space for local mobilization but this space has been closed given the uneven application of Constitutional reforms. A fundamental break down of the social contract between citizens and state officials has led to an increase in partisanship and contentious politics as those excluded from the benefits of the state have either exited the public political forum or adhered to the ruling party in hopes of a return to the well funded patronage alliances of the 1990s. With the increase of the young, educated, urban population, inflated by economic collapse in rural areas the MDC-A has expanded its voter base for the first time, presenting true challenge to the administration, and is likely to lead to increased repression by a regime under siege with no obvious resources to buy off discontented urban constituencies⁷¹. While Zimbabwe is unlikely to fail, the crisis of legitimacy in the country has led to a capacity trap which will continue to force citizens into the informal sector of the economy and political spheres mirroring Zimbabwe in a fragility trap with no accountability mechanism with which to improve their situation.

Economics ↓			
Indicator	Trend	Indicator	Trend
GDP ⁷² <i>GDP (constant 2010 US\$)</i>	↑	Trade Balance ⁷³ : <i>% of GDP</i>	↑
External debt stocks ⁷⁴ <i>% of GNI</i>	↓	Trade Openness ⁷⁵ <i>% of GDP</i>	↓
FDI ⁷⁶ <i>% of GDP</i>	→	Infrastructure (Electrical Supply) ⁷⁷ <i>% of output</i>	↑
Foreign Aid ⁷⁸ <i>% of government expenditures</i>	↓	Remittances Received - % of GDP ⁷⁹ <i>% of GDP</i>	↓
Inflation ⁸⁰ <i>Consumer prices, annual %</i> <i>*Data does not include most recent UN estimates.</i>	↓	Women in the Labour Force ⁸¹ <i>% of total labour force</i>	→

The economic situation in Zimbabwe is notable for its near persistent state of crisis without the attendant collapse we have seen in comparable states. From 2000 to 2010, the country's GDP contracted by almost 20%⁸² and in 2008, Zimbabwe's economy plummeted, recording the second highest inflation in world history⁸³. In the last decade however, many economic indicators in some part improved, but only to recover from the low they reached in 2008. This could lead to the assumption that Zimbabwe's economy has stabilized, yet, many of these indicators have only risen to levels they had in the 1990s. While much of the region has seen an expansion in economic opportunity, Zimbabwe's troubles persist. The country has had a negative trade balance⁸⁴, is struggling to service its debt obligation, has limited access to credit⁸⁵, and has reintroduced a non-stable currency that has plummeted in value since its introduction in February 2019 and is expected to see its GDP contract by 7.5% at the end of 2019⁸⁶. Poor fiscal management and manipulation of economic policies to advantage business interests associated with the regime have had a devastating effect on Zimbabwe's economic trajectory⁸⁷ and have been the key drivers of continued volatility despite the regime's repeated calls for removal of US sanctions⁸⁸. The perverse relationship between the regimes economic policy and elites in Zimbabwe is most clearly demonstrated when in September of 2019, Sakunda, a business linked to Emmerson Mnangagwa received over \$350 million in government bonds and an exchange rate that immediately decreased the value of the new Zimbabwe currency and led to a contraction of the national economy⁸⁹.

Zimbabwe's economic position is exacerbated by its relationship with the international community. Though heavily dependent on foreign humanitarian and development aid, the regime has taken a consistently adversarial stance against the West and international financial institutions where the international community has attempted to tie the hands of political elites and curtail their ability to employ the mechanisms of state for neo-patrimonial ends. External debt, US sanctions, lack of access to IMF loans since 1999, its reliance on regional neighbors for electric supply all suggest a fundamental weakness on the part of the regime to negotiate an economic recovery but Zimbabwe has remained resistant to the economic and political reforms required by donors and lenders as these changes would greatly impact the ability of the regime to find its footing politically in the post-Mugabe era.

Since his rise to power, Mnangagwa has been promising radical reforms to restructure the economy via his Transitional Stabilisation Programme (TSP) for economic turnaround⁹⁰ that includes the restoration of fiscal balance, stimulation of production and exports, and structural reforms to mitigate the challenges and risks faced by the Zimbabwean economy. Mnangagwa has committed to this reform despite the hardship it will bring in an effort to tackle external debt, attract FDI, reduce

poverty, and renew its relationships with the international community. Despite the promising rhetoric of the president and his advisors, however, there has been little evidence that there is any significant deviation from the Mugabe authoritarian command economics that drove the economic turmoil of the 2000s.

Helping to mitigate the shortage of foreign investment and liquid capital in the country, diaspora remittances have accounted for one of Zimbabwe's most important income streams in recent years, reaching levels that surpass Foreign Direct Investment and most exports⁹¹. Remittances, however, are now on the decline. In-country remittances for their part will remain low and below normal as diaspora members search for alternative methods of transmitting funds to families and avoiding the government's attempts to tax inflows while providing access to foreign currency. Simultaneously, remittances from outside the country, specifically from South Africa, are likely to also be below average due to fewer labour opportunities, and recent xenophobic attacks in that country.

The economic promises of the current administration have not been met, and the negative impact of these failures is most acutely observable in the government's provision of its services. Inflation is back on the rise with annual inflation in Zimbabwe at 490 percent as of November 2019, making Zimbabwe a country with one of the highest inflation rates in the world⁹². Inflation rates coupled with the recent overnight increases in fuel costs have caused shortages country wide and have negatively affected harvests and private sector productivity. According to international humanitarian organizations active in the country these distortionary economic policies will result in basic commodity shortages and an increase in the number of food insecure populations across rural and urban areas. Meanwhile ZANU-PF elites have capitalized on the situation by manipulating currency fluctuations to profit on the ailing currency market while at the local level black market trading of the volatile local currency is exhausting household level savings and forcing more and more to rely on humanitarian intervention for stable products.

Secondary Drivers of Fragility (See Annex 8 for data and trends on all indicators for our secondary driver clusters)

Human Development Index ↓			
Indicator	Trend	Indicator	Trend
Human Development Index ⁹³ <i>1 is good, 0 is bad</i>	→	Education: Primary Enrolment <i>% of population</i>	
Access to Sanitation ⁹⁴ <i>% of Population</i>	↓	HIV/AIDS ⁹⁵ <i>Proportion of adult population infected</i>	↓
Access to Improved Water ⁹⁶ <i>% of Population</i>	↓	Literacy Rate ⁹⁷ <i>Proportion of people 15 years and older</i>	↑
Food Security ⁹⁸ <i>Prevalence of undernourishment, % of population</i>	↑		

Low and deteriorating levels of public service provision in Zimbabwe can be directly linked to its eroded state capacity driven by the twin processes of economic decline and state mismanagement of funds. The government is unable/unwilling to develop and maintain infrastructure to ensure basic access to water and adequate sanitation facilities, but has demonstrated itself capable of administering those programs that face high levels of donor scrutiny or that contribute to the stability of the regime⁹⁹. In sectors where donor scrutiny is high, Mnangagwa and Mugabe before him, have shown clear ability to curtail predatory practices and meet the agreed upon targets (example education and HIV). In areas that have been the traditional purview of the state, there has been widespread misappropriation and graft. Citizens, both urban and rural have severely limited access to potable water. Water availability is complicated by three principal issues of droughts/insufficient rainfall, contamination, and declining infrastructure for household delivery¹⁰⁰. For more information on the rising urgency of water scarcity in Zimbabwe, please refer to **Annex 9**. Image source: *The Irish Times*¹⁰¹



At independence, there was a well established urban infrastructure for water and sanitation; ZANU-PF has since pursued a strategy of political consolidation in largely black rural areas, resulting in a significant decline in municipal provision, which was an effective political strategy but was ineffective in governance and furthered horizontal inequality. Rural areas saw moderate improvements before the economic collapse and a transition back to an emphasis on urban areas¹⁰². Since this transition, the situation in rural areas has deteriorated. This has led to a decrease in coverage for both rural and urban sectors, (see **Annex 8** for data on the disparities between rural and urban areas.) Another urgent area is food security; in 2019 a third of the population, roughly 5 million people in Zimbabwe require food aid¹⁰³. The UN is calling for additional support, as the WFP says that the population of Zimbabwe is “marching

towards starvation”¹⁰⁴. The food insecurity situation is attributed to droughts, and rising food costs linked to financial policies leading to hyperinflation and was exacerbated by the recent Cyclone Idai¹⁰⁵. Individual households have seen a 500% increase in cost in the last year of staple food products¹⁰⁶. Poor irrigation and water scarcity also impact communities ability to produce food.¹⁰⁷

Indicators that are improving indicate resilience within the community and demonstrate the capacity of the regime to administer basic services. Primary enrollment is high, with equal numbers across both genders and 77.9% of primary students go on to secondary education¹⁰⁸. The literacy rate between men and women is also nearly equal and leads the sub-continent (*see Annex 10 for more information on the educational attainment, equality in education across genders, and regional comparisons*)¹⁰⁹. Near gender parity in education and employment and the decrease in gender based violence makes Zimbabwe unique among its neighbors, although with the overall economic decline, these indicators remain low across genders¹¹⁰ (*see Annex 1 for regional comparison of gender equality in Africa*). Despite the decline in the state medical system overall, HIV/AIDS has been a steep decline in the percentage of the population affected, from 16.4% in 2008 to 12.7% in 2018¹¹¹. Gender equality and health are major priorities with USAID and the international donor community more broadly. This evidence suggests that the money invested has helped to build the resiliency seen in Zimbabwe in these sectors¹¹² (*see Annex 12 for spending on health and population from USAID for 2018, as well as how Zimbabwe compares in the region*). The data available on public service provision suggests that where donor attention, measurement and accountability are focused, Zimbabwe has the capacity to deliver positive outcomes; where donors are not coordinated, the regime has the ability to manipulate party supporters and repress dissent to facilitate the expropriation of public resources. The population has limited opportunity to influence the distribution of government funds, which creates frustration in the country but the seemingly unshakeable alliance between the military and the regime prevents meaningful change even as the country careens from one crisis to the next. The core front of fragility in the country flows from a devastating shortfall in transparent and accountable governance practices that are endemic in Zimbabwe.

Demographics			
Indicator	Trend	Indicator	Trend
Urban Growth Rate ¹¹³ <i>Annual percentage</i>	↓	Population Density ¹¹⁴ <i>People per square km</i>	↓
Slum Population ¹¹⁵ <i>% of urban population</i>	↓	Migration: Estimated Net ¹¹⁶ <i>Net total</i>	↓
Youth Bulge ¹¹⁷ <i>Population aged 0-14, % total of the population</i>	↓		
Population Diversity: Ethnic ¹¹⁸ <i>% of population</i>	Shona: 70% Ndebele: 20% White zimbabweans: less than 1% Other: enda, Tonga, Shangaan Nambya and Kalanga		
Population Diversity: Religious ¹¹⁹ <i>% of population</i>	Protestant: 69.2% Catholicism: 8.0% Nondenominational Christian: 6.9% Atheist or agnostic: 10.2% Muslim or traditional african religion: 5.7%		

The demographics in Zimbabwe are important to note as a secondary driver of fragility, as these indicators include elements that both drive fragility and sustain resilience in the country. Relative homogeneity and the absence of traditional authority structures based off ethnic identity has denied the opposition a strong or reliable base for mobilization and has centred political instability around unequal distribution of patronage in urban and rural area. While this has left space for ZANU-PF to consolidate power at the national level, it has also deterred effective revolutionary organization despite many high values on indicators that traditionally predicate the onset of civil conflict. Instability based in political or socioeconomic reasons has forced movement out of the country. Since 2000, approximately 3 million people, many professionals, have left; Zimbabwe ranks “in 10th position out of 157 countries that experience migration at this level of ‘brain drain’”¹²⁰. While this population has provided remittances, to have a constant outflow of citizens over the past decade does not bode well for the stability of Zimbabwe.

Both the urban growth rate, as well as the percentage of those in urban areas who live in slums have consistently been on the rise in the last decade^{121, 122}. About 1.25 million, or one in four urban residents lives in slums, homes without water, electricity, or sewage¹²³. A housing shortage plagues the whole country, with Harare alone needing an additional half a million homes to cope with the rising population. This data, coupled with the rise in contaminated water, and inadequate sanitation facilities leaves a

significant portion of the population at risk of a health crisis like in 2008¹²⁴. The youth bulge is a population to watch, as this is a population “born free” who are not tied to the liberation movement, and are not motivated by the rhetoric that comes with Mugabe, Mnangagwa and ZANU-PF¹²⁵. With significant proportions of the population being young, moving to the cities, and unable to find adequate housing, tensions will rise as citizens demand that the government secure the capacity to provide basic necessities (see *Annex 13* for population pyramid of Zimbabwe).

Environment ↓			
Indicator	Trend	Indicator	Trend
Arable/Fertile Land Availability ¹²⁶ <i>Hectares per person</i>	↓	Environmental Performance ¹²⁷ <i>Ranking</i>	
Electricity Consumption ¹²⁸ <i>Per capita</i>	↓	Pollution – CO ₂ Emissions ¹²⁹ <i>Per capita</i>	↑
Consumption – Energy Use ¹³⁰ <i>Energy use per capita (kt of oil equivalent)</i>	↑	Disaster Risk ¹³¹ <i>Ranking</i>	

Extreme weather events such as droughts, flooding and cyclones are a constant threat to Zimbabwe. Events related to climate have already had severe impacts on access to water, agriculture, health and food security. With climate change related natural disasters being on the rise, we can undoubtedly guarantee that Zimbabwe will suffer from these again. Rationing programs for water have started in some cities and food insecurity is on the rise across the country, leaving millions reliant on food aid¹³². In addition, cyclone Idai has destroyed infrastructures essential to the functioning of a state, such as hospitals, schools, police station and more. An increasing number of deadly floods and cyclones have hit Zimbabwe in the past decades, the latest being cyclone Idai that affected mostly rural areas. The indicators for the arable land, have been on the decline for the past decade. The past natural disasters have shown that the country is not prepared to handle disaster and assist victims. A study from the Civil Protection Unit (CPU) revealed that close to 2% of Zimbabwe’s rural homesteads, accounting for close to 30 000 homesteads, are in extreme to high flood hazard area¹³³. El Nino, a phenomenon that happens every seven to eight years, and has been responsible for droughts in Zimbabwe in the past. With growing scarcity of essential goods such as water and food, it is likely that tension will grow between the population and the government or between urban and rural communities. Currently it is 70% of the population that relies on Agriculture¹³⁴. The failure to bring robust climate change adaptation programs is likely to undermine the current government and the Ministry of Environment, Water and Climate, responsible for climate change adaptation.

Another event that could fragment social cohesion would be a cholera epidemic that mirrors the devastation of the 2008 outbreak. With the drought, disease outbreak is important to consider, as it has to do with the access to basic services such as potable water and sanitation services, as well as the demographics of the country. Between September 6, 2018, and October 3, 2018, there were 8535 cases, with 98% in the capital of Harare. Dense populations, as well as service infrastructure breakdown, combine to put the country at risk of a devastating disease outbreak. The country is not resilient when facing those issues. The country is reliant on rain-fed agriculture; with the absence of natural lakes, frequent droughts and a growing population, Zimbabwe could suffer even more severely with water shortages than it does now, with devastating consequences. So far, Zimbabwe has been heavily reliant on food imports and food aid to feed its population. A large rural population is an additional hurdle to the logistics of the distribution of water. In addition, the consumer price index is dramatically on the rise in Zimbabwe, reaching an all time high in August 2019 and potentially pushing the economy to contract in 2019. Economic indicators are pointing to the same type of chaos Zimbabwe went through in 2008. The sectors projected to slow down include electricity, water, agriculture and mining, sectors that are already in a precarious situation and that could contribute to the emergence of conflict.

ALC Analysis

To identify the dimensions contributing to fragility in Zimbabwe, we have applied an analysis of the Country Indicators for Foreign Policy (CIFP), looking at authority, legitimacy and capacity (ALC). We tracked ALC trends over the past decade, examining data from 2008, 2013, and 2018 where possible.

	Authority	Legitimacy	Capacity
Definition	The extent to which a state possesses the ability to enact binding legislation over a population, to exercise coercive force over its sovereign territory... and to provide a stable and secure environment to its citizens” ¹³⁵	An expression of the ideational rather than instrumental loyalty the regime commands which captures the ability of the state to marshal the loyalty of its population but inversely measures the willingness of the state to listen and respond to the needs of its population to earn its loyalty ¹³⁶ .	“The potential for a state to mobilize and employ resources towards productive ends.” ¹³⁷
Examples of indicators	Political stability Rule of Law Black Market	Corruption Freedom of the Press Voice and Accountability	Inflation Access to Improved Water Access to Education

Authority: While Zimbabwe is an obviously weak developmental state, the country scores comparatively highly across indicators of security and authority. Government effectiveness and rule of law remain weak but as demonstrated by the near complete absence of armed rebellion and atypically low and declining murder and physical integrity crime rate, (for a state experiencing near constant crisis for over a decade) the state has a near complete monopoly on violence within its borders. Though the last year has seen numerous civilian demonstrations turn violent, given recent economic and political shocks the violence has almost universally emanated from the police and military rather than civilian groups. The country has significant natural resource deposits, but they are historically mismanaged and under utilized in the strengthening of the ability of the state to provide for its citizens. Corruption and a crumbling infrastructure mean that Zimbabwe has weak ability to fulfill the core components of the social contract which has obliged a wide segment of the population to turn to the black market for basic goods and services¹³⁸. This coping mechanism is a strong indicator that while the state has a monopoly on violence, its ability to enact legislation that binds its population is being eroded by the capacity and legitimacy shortfalls in the country and it is withdrawing from the formal state.

Legitimacy: Zimbabwe appears to be mired in a legitimacy trap¹³⁹. Engagement with the regime through formal channels is minimal and citizen perceptions of the regime are nearly entirely dependent on party identification¹⁴⁰. Corruption in Zimbabwe is endemic and a majority of Zimbabweans perceive bribery of public officials as one of the only avenues to accessing state utilities¹⁴¹ and view government, not as an advocate for citizen needs, but as a predatory institution in which they have no real voice¹⁴². Meager improvement in indicators of voice and accountability and restrictions on political rights are largely driven by the 2018 election, conferring some legitimacy on the Mnangagwa administration after the forced resignation of Mugabe in 2017¹⁴³. This cabinet holds the highest proportion of military official in Zimbabwe’s history. The current regime commands the loyalties of rural constituents and military elites through patronage networks and the purchase of allegiance through resource rents,¹⁴⁴ which has historically been sufficient to cement ZANU-PF control of government¹⁴⁵. After years of economic marginalization in the international market and decline of public services and infrastructure, the regime is increasingly failing to mobilize the resources necessary to purchase citizen loyalty. Urban centers are experiencing significant expansion stressing already overburdened service networks, and the lack of economic opportunity is increasing the share of the population that is willing to consider opposition parties¹⁴⁶. This shift in political allegiance has precipitated an increased use of military and police intervention in peaceful civilian protests, increased detentions for criticism of the regime, and harassment of civilian leaders, effectively circumventing democratic avenues of accountability and oversight. The regime has used its ability to prosecute civil society leaders including religious and opposition party leaders as a method of delegitimizing their appeals for democratic change. Historically this has been enormously effective and led to citizen disillusionment with society as a whole, demonstrated by the highest level of social distrust on continent¹⁴⁷. The constant fever pitch of the crisis in the country has led citizens to once again search for leadership that provides a plausible counterpoint to the regime. This is demonstrated by increased voter and popular mobilization of MDC-A in recent months. For these reasons, citizen-state relations are likely to remain contentious with growing frustration especially in urban centers, demonstrations, and the potential for state perpetrated violence increasing as scarcities in food and water grow¹⁴⁸.

Capacity: Historically the comparative strength of the bureaucratic state made Zimbabwe capable if not legitimate but with the systemic and widespread disinvestment in service provision combined with misappropriation of state resources there has been a serious erosion in the capacity of the state leaving the country in a feedback loop where failures of legitimacy are driving the inability of the state to provide for its citizens basic needs. Citizens are now experiencing extreme scarcity of water and food due

to drought with 18 hour/day blackouts and deteriorating access to modern plumbing which has led to the privatization of public services for those that can afford it. For those living in the expanding slum population of the country, this abdication of responsibility on the part of the government has produced cholera outbreaks twice in the last 10 years¹⁴⁹¹⁵⁰ the cost of which was high given the widespread hospital and clinic deficiencies. To address these issues, Zimbabwe is heavily dependent on foreign aid and this year emergency food aid will be delivered to over a third of its population¹⁵¹. The impact of these weaknesses has been magnified in the country by economic crisis driven by irresponsible fiscal policy and the reintroduction of a national currency which the regime has used to benefit elites by allowing inflation rates to rise to the highest in the world undermining the capacity of Zimbabwe's population to adequately cope with the impacts of drought and poor crop yields this year¹⁵². Analysis of the indicator clusters suggests that a lack of foreign investment and economic stagnation has exacerbated this trend but limited economic flexibility is not the sole culprit behind Zimbabwe's crumbling service sector. The regime has demonstrated a reluctance to mobilize all the revenue of the state to address these problems with its co-optation of state resources by party and military elites. Corruption scandals are pervasive, but prosecution and reform efforts have been weak and slow in coming. Where the international community has invested heavily and provided clear targets and effective monitoring though, Zimbabwe has demonstrated a clear ability to produce results. Though much of the service sector under performs, the country has atypically high literacy rates and has effectively combat the spread of HIV/AIDS after a crisis in the 1990s. These successes underscore the key role that political will plays in the provision of services in Zimbabwe leading us to conclude that reform of the democratic process would greatly ameliorate the overall capacity of the state.

Scenarios over the next six months (December 2019 - May 2020)

Baseline scenario (most likely): The most likely scenario for Zimbabwe as it enters the dry season is system wide food shortages driven by depleted household level food stocks and reduced access to market produce given the reduced availability and atypically high prices particularly in rural areas¹⁵³. Serious shortages in foreign currency in the formal sector will continue to drive prices of basic goods and services. The interbank market currency (RTGS or ZWL) continues to depreciate and is now worth just 14% of its value on introduction in February causing already diminished household savings to dry up and further reliance on diasporic remittance contribution. Relatedly, reduced rainfall during the year and the coming dry season will likely exacerbate the already persistent electricity blackouts in urban areas which will impact both household electricity consumption and access to water and sanitation. Much of the urban population relies on electrical water pumps to access UN boreholes and an increase in both price and wait times will, in turn, increase the likelihood of vector-borne disease outbreaks in urban centers where access to health services has been strained with the months of doctor and nurse strikes.

Despite the severity of the food shortages we do not predict widespread violence given the atypically high food aid response but the declining economic conditions coupled with a fragile health care sector has opened space for opposition party rallies and, given the previous response to protest, we anticipate an uptick in police violence and repression of public dissent focused largely in urban areas. The president, Emmerson Mnangagwa will undoubtedly retain power, despite calls for a transitional authority, by heavily utilizing police and military repression against opposition parties and CSOs.

Economically, Zimbabwe has opportunities requiring minimal additional investment to realize medium-term growth targets driven by potential mining contracts and Chinese investment deals but we anticipate that without principled governance reforms to address corruption and liberalize foreign exchange markets new revenue will be marginal. While the economy is expected to expand the widespread fiscal challenges posed by the wavering currency, widespread corruption, and debt to GDP ratio will likely continue to constrict any avenues of economic growth or recovery¹⁵⁴.

Worst-case scenario: Given the ongoing dry season and previous year's drought combined with the restricted access to public services, most specifically water and sanitation services, an outbreak of a water borne disease such as cholera or dysentery occurs in the suburbs of Harare. This sets off a cascade of failure as health care workers, dismissed from their jobs, are not available to treat cases, resulting in an epidemic requiring international humanitarian intervention. This situation, combined with severe food scarcity in rural areas, leads to a retrenchment of public support for the regime in rural strongholds. MDC-A leader Nelson Chamisa makes good on his promise to scale up opposition rallies and protests leading to police or military repressive action against peaceful protestors in an effort to dispel the resistance. Protests spread to smaller towns and the military, directed by the Vice President Constantine Chiwenga, responds with force, killing protesters. The public use of the military against citizens leads to the re-imposition of the sanctions from European trading partners and reduces corporate interest in investment, cutting the regime off from new revenue streams. Government inability to respond to the crisis and lack of administrative capacity will be magnified, and this will further erode the people's waning trust in the ZANU-PF government and galvanize the opposition, seriously testing state legitimacy.

Best-case scenario: With initiation by Mnangagwa of proposed reforms, the US offers to temporarily lift US sanctions in February of 2020, which signals to the international community that Zimbabwe is committed to a more systematic fiscal policy and sparks interest in the international community for investment in Zimbabwe in the form of loans and foreign assistance¹⁵⁵. With additional loan guarantees the government is free to purchase electricity from neighboring states to prop up failing domestic infrastructure, which increases legitimacy and tempers the frustration in urban centers over blackouts, and provides increased access to basic services¹⁵⁶. Mnangagwa comes to the negotiating table with doctors and nurses to reopen hospitals and clinics to

stem the collapse of the medical system. ZANU-PF and MDC-A agree to a mediation to discuss governance reform with a neutral arbiter to increase popular trust in the political system, accompanying a decrease in political prosecutions of opposition supporters and regime critics¹⁵⁷. Rumors of food spoilages in government stores are overblown and the government covers the initially projected 50% shortfall, leading to a reduction in the anticipated food shortages and a decrease in overall prices. All these measures increase the people's faith in the government's effectiveness and boost legitimacy. In a best-case scenario, the government can more effectively address its capacity deficit with healthy political and economic activity, signalling to the West its commitment to democratic reform and leading to the removal of all or some of the Western sanctions, providing greater access to the international market.

Potential Shocks

Violence at the borders: Rising anger in neighboring countries at Zimbabwean diaspora precipitates the expulsion of those living or commuting back and forth, most specifically to South Africa, given the existing tension in border areas. This would sharply curtail the remittances upon which many Zimbabweans depend and increase the number of households dependent on international food aid and reduce the already limited stock of foreign currency available domestically. The return of these workers would increase the unemployment rate and likely increase the population residing in urban slums, straining to breaking access to clean water and public utilities.

Global Market: Prices of basic commodities increase in a global downturn severely limiting the ability of households to procure basic supplies. This downturn could increase inflation to near 2008 highs and precipitate a collapse of the Zimbabwean currency effectively bankrupting much of the country.

Policy options

The following policy options were developed in consideration of the initiatives that USAID is already working towards, as well as the priorities that this organization has identified for their projects and programs in Zimbabwe. These options aim to address key weaknesses identified in this analysis and improve chances at achieving the best-case scenario.

Option 1: *Focus on legislative reform to match 2013 Constitution*

Policy: USAID has a multitude of initiatives in Zimbabwe, organized under the themes of democracy, rights and governance, economic growth and trade, food security and global health. For this policy, we are focusing on emphasizing already stated intentions to advance legal reforms to fit with the 2013 Constitution. By emphasizing this project to advance Constitutional alignment of laws, improve education around rights and responsibilities, and supporting dialogue on the topic, USAID will be in line with its efforts to strengthen accountability systems and bolster civil society (*see Annex 14 for additional information on the 2013 Constitution*).

Since USAID is already working towards these ends, we suggest that your organization work in step with the EU recommendations from their electoral observation mission after the 2018 election. Their final report from this mission includes their findings on the electoral process and has 23 recommendations for future elections. The recommendations fall under the four key themes: strengthening the independence of the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC); improving the legal framework for citizen participation; supporting inclusiveness; and removing the barriers to political action. These address the shortfalls of the 2018 election and prevent human and political rights abuses in the next election. The goal to reform laws to align with the 2013 Constitution is also already an initiative that groups in Zimbabwe have been promoting. The Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights (ZLHR) association has worked with the Zimbabwe Election Support Network (ZESN) to develop an analysis on the current state of the Electoral Act, and to demand greater independence from the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission, and an alignment of laws to the constitution. The Constitution of Zimbabwe sets out the fundamental civil and political rights required for free and fair elections, but legislation requires amendments to harmonize the Constitution with existing law (*See Annex 14 for more detail*).

Cluster/ALC targets: Governance: Level of democracy, restrictions on civil liberties, restrictions on political rights.
Security & Crime: human rights - empowerment, political stability.

Relevance: Governance and the promotion of democratic practice in Zimbabwe is already a key initiative of USAID, and the increased frequency in protests around the country is a growing concern. An example is the violent crackdown on demonstrators who came to hear a speech by Chamisa on November 20th in Harare. Batons, tear gas and arbitrary arrests are not an appropriate response to political gathering. Existing laws to align with the 2013 Constitution include legislation on freedom of assembly, the right to human dignity and personal security.

Access points: USAID already focuses on government and civil society, social protection, legal and judicial development, and public sector policy. Our recommendation to focus these efforts on the targets set by the EU Election Observation around reforming laws to the 2013 Constitution provides an entry point for action around issues that are of rising concern to constituents in Zimbabwe. While the report by the EU Election Observation focuses on a range of recommendations specific to elections, the

rising number of protests and the history of repression around elections, demand reform on the Electoral Act as a much needed step in the right direction to strengthen democratic systems in Zimbabwe. Working in cocert with the European Union Election Observation Mission provides a targeted approach to common goals, and makes use of complementary work to improve the political climate. Actors on the ground in Zimbabwe to assist in this reform include the ZESN, and the ZLHR¹⁵⁸, two groups who also advocate for the alignment of the Electoral Act with the 2013 Constitution¹⁵⁹.

Risks: This recommendation relies on the participation and willingness of parliament and the government. Since ZANU-PF has capitalized on the current undemocratic practices and violent repression of opposition supporters, these actors may not support a more robust legislative approach to elections.

Desired Outcome	Measurement	Impact	Method of Verification
Improved accountability around constitutional rights	World Governance Indicators	All citizens of Zimbabwe who are old enough to participate in the electoral process would be impacted by a strengthened accountability, especially in the time leading up to, and during the next election.	Surveillance of legislative reform Monitoring of legal amendments
Improve public trust in the election process and viability of social contract between state and citizens	Freedom House Index: - Restrictions on Civil Liberties - Restrictions on Political Rights	This outcome would have a significant impact on the tensions between urban and rural citizens, and the current practice of unequal distribution and lack of capacity to provide basic goods is what hampers the social contract.	EU Electoral Commission to review 2023 election process News monitoring leading up to the 2023 election Semi annual meeting between EU Electoral Commission and USAID in preparation for the next presidential election
Relieve tension between political divide	Afrobarometer - Partisan Trust Gap	This outcome would have the most significant impact on supporters of MDC-A, as they are who is presently targeted in many of the violent government crackdowns.	Annual data collection Surveys to constituents

Option 2: *Promote transparency and accountability in local governments and improve access to water and sanitation in urban areas in partnership with residents' associations.*

Policy: USAID could pursue a strategy of improving local governance transparency and accountability to residents and expanding access to water and sanitation in urban centers by engaging local residents' associations, specifically the Combined Harare Residents' Association (CHRA). Policy should focus on two primary objectives: support residents' association attempts to influence local government spending on water and sanitation through technical training and administrative support and support the expansion of water services to urban residents through existing public and private infrastructure. Serving as a neutral mediator USAID policy could assist residents' associations in negotiating a more transparent decision-making process by achieving commitments from local governments for a set policy on the publication of meeting times, budgets, and voting records.

Cluster/ALC targets: Governance, Human Development/ Legitimacy, Capacity

Relevance: A lack of transparency and systemwide corruption are serious impediments to democracy and the delivery of basic public services across the country but especially in urban areas where there is some existing infrastructure but political will impedes improvement of services. President Mnangagwa's public statements¹⁶⁰ and the creation of the Zimbabwe Anti-Corruption Commission¹⁶¹ highlight the driving need for greater accountability in governance. Mnangagwa and Zimbabwe more broadly is committed to the reversal of US/EU sanctions that Mnangagwa asserts are the fundamental source of economic strain in Zimbabwe¹⁶². The US has said that sanctions will not be lifted until Zimbabwe increases their commitment to human rights and democracy, and with the next decision on the extension of sanctions in the US in February of 2020, this program would provide concrete evidence of a re-engagement with democratic practice without threatening national elites and already strained patronage networks¹⁶³.

Access points, partners, and stakeholders: We recommend that USAID engage with stakeholders at all levels to enhance existing programs and increase complementarity of programming. At the local level this would require engagement with the CHRA and Harare City Council as direct beneficiaries. At the national level the Ministry of Local Government has identified transparency and accountability as two of their top priorities and could be engaged to build support at the local level for counsellor buy in and managing review and assessment. Finally, internationally, we recommend USAID engage other donor consortiums to increase coordination in programming such as the Zimbabwe Water Forum organized by Ministry of Water Resources Development and Management, the Multi-Donor Trust Fund and the World Bank to increase water service provision nationally.

Risks: The relationship between the national government and CSOs of all kinds is fraught in Zimbabwe with the central government asserting that these organizations are a threat to national stability. A key concern would be the targeting of the CHRA (Combined Harare Residents' Association) and associated CSOs for legal prosecution, kidnapping, and harassment. USAID working as a neutral intermediary could mitigate this by conducting interviews with both local government officials and CHRA leadership to encourage open dialogue between the parties and prevent the exacerbation of political tensions into stalemate or disengagement by the population

Desired Outcome	Measurement	Impact	Method of Verification
Greater integration of all constituents, especially low-income residents in decision making at the local level	Publication of all city council meeting times and places Publication of policy in publicly available media	Residents of Harare, most specifically those living in low income areas that have been historically excluded from urban planning processes	Baseline data collection on citizen participation, with structured interviews with residents and councillors annually final evaluation conducted at the end of programming
Improve trust and confidence of local populations in the local government as impartial and fair	Publication of city council budgets Appointment of a special advisor to the city council Use of public expenditure tracking surveys for local level funding to track trust and perceptions of government ¹⁶⁴	Residents of Harare across all economic sectors	Regular monitoring of compliance with policy on budget publication and public expenditure Semi annual consultation with stakeholders to evaluate policy progress supplemented data from Zimbabwe's Citizen Report Card ¹⁶⁵
Improve efficiency of CHRA efforts to ensure water distribution to all citizens	Rate of access to water by household, disaggregated by household income and party preferences Individual time spent queuing for access to water.	Members of the CHRA which represent 250,000 residents of Harare.	Initial data collection with monitoring data collected annually and final evaluation conducted at the end of programming

Option 3: Strengthening local food system to address food security

Policy: USAID is already providing extensive humanitarian relief to Zimbabwe; due to poor macroeconomic policy, and droughts spoiling harvests, however, an atypically high need for humanitarian assistance in the country is essential¹⁶⁶. The total U.S. contribution to emergency aid in Zimbabwe is \$109.8 million in 2019; of this amount US\$41.9 million were provided in funding to respond to the critical food security situation in Zimbabwe between October 2019 and April 2020¹⁶⁷.

This policy focuses on strengthening local food system and making it more resilient to weather related shocks in two distinct parts. First, USAID should allocate resources to develop an early-warning system that would collect data and anticipate food-security shocks. This would be a disaster management strategy that would allow exchange of information, further develop local capacity, and coordinate emergency operations and directives to local organizations. In addition, a stronger assessment and monitoring surveillance system would also build capacity at the community level, especially in terms of disaster preparation, by coordinating the network of NGOs involved in disaster relief¹⁶⁸.

Second, in order to reduce long-term vulnerability to climate change, natural disasters, and frequent droughts, USAID should invest in physical infrastructures such as increasing fertilizer use, improved seeds and agricultural extensions to foster increase in

production¹⁶⁹ Also, aid should be directed toward building transportation networks resilient to cyclones, that can move food from more abundant regions to regions that are suffering from a food deficit.

Cluster/ALC targets : Capacity: Inability to provide access to food

Relevance: Although humanitarian aid is essential to address the immediate crisis in Zimbabwe, a long term, more sustainable strategy must be put in place. NGOs on the ground rely on rainfalls to address the drought and its impact on food production, instead of doing the work needed to avert or mitigate the next famine threat. Thus, low food system productivity, weak markets, poorly governed institutions, the lack of basic infrastructure, have exacerbated droughts into famines¹⁷⁰. The country is currently moving into the dry season, and already 5 million people, or 1/3 of the country is in need of food aid¹⁷¹. The World Food Program projects that between January and March 2020, this number will increase by half a million, and 59% of rural homes will be food insecure. Currently, it is 2.2 million people that are suffering from food security in urban areas¹⁷². Zimbabwe's 2018/19 national maize production (officially estimated at 777,000 MT) was 54 percent below last year and 41 percent below the five year average¹⁷³. With the alarming rate of increase in food shortages, and the decline in access to sanitation and water services, the population in Zimbabwe could be motivated to mobilize within the next year.

Access points, partner, and stakeholders: The localized nature of many food systems and the fact that shocks rarely hit an entire country at once implies that capacity for resilience must be fostered at local levels. We recommend USAID apply this policy incoordination with the Ministry of Agriculture in rural communities affected by droughts or predisposed to suffer from a natural disaster. Furthermore USAID should work with the World Food Program as it already has capacity on the ground.

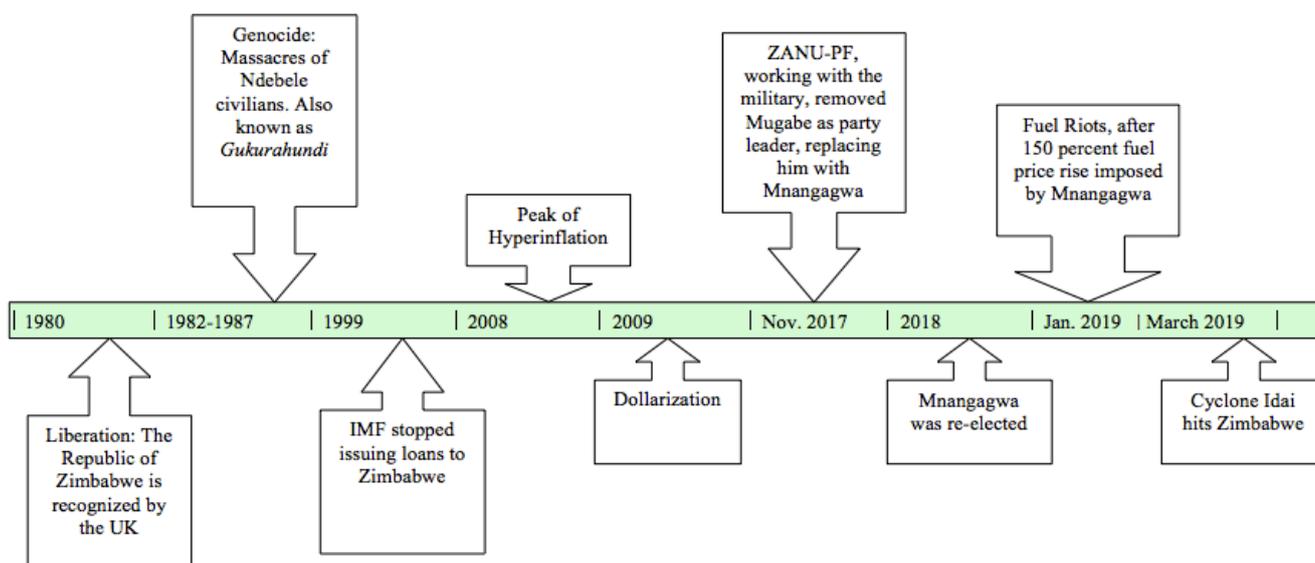
Risks: This recommendation indirectly relies on sound economic policy as a core element in preventing food insecurity; in this situation the risk is that the federal government does not stabilize the inflation and that food, even if accessible, remains too expensive to purchase.

Desired Outcome	Measurement	Impact	Method of Verification
Diminished the amount of people that are undernourished	The Spectator Index	All citizen of Zimbabwe, with a particular attention to children under 5 as they are more likely to suffer and die from severe acute malnutrition ¹⁷⁴ .	Annual data collection
Improve access to food	World Food Program	On the million of people across rural and urban area that are food insecure.	Annual data collection
Improve resilience to weather related shocks	Amounts of food production post shock Amounts of roads built	On agricultors. Mostly in rural areas, but in any area affect by whater related shocks.	Annual data collection combined with data collection post shocks

Annexes

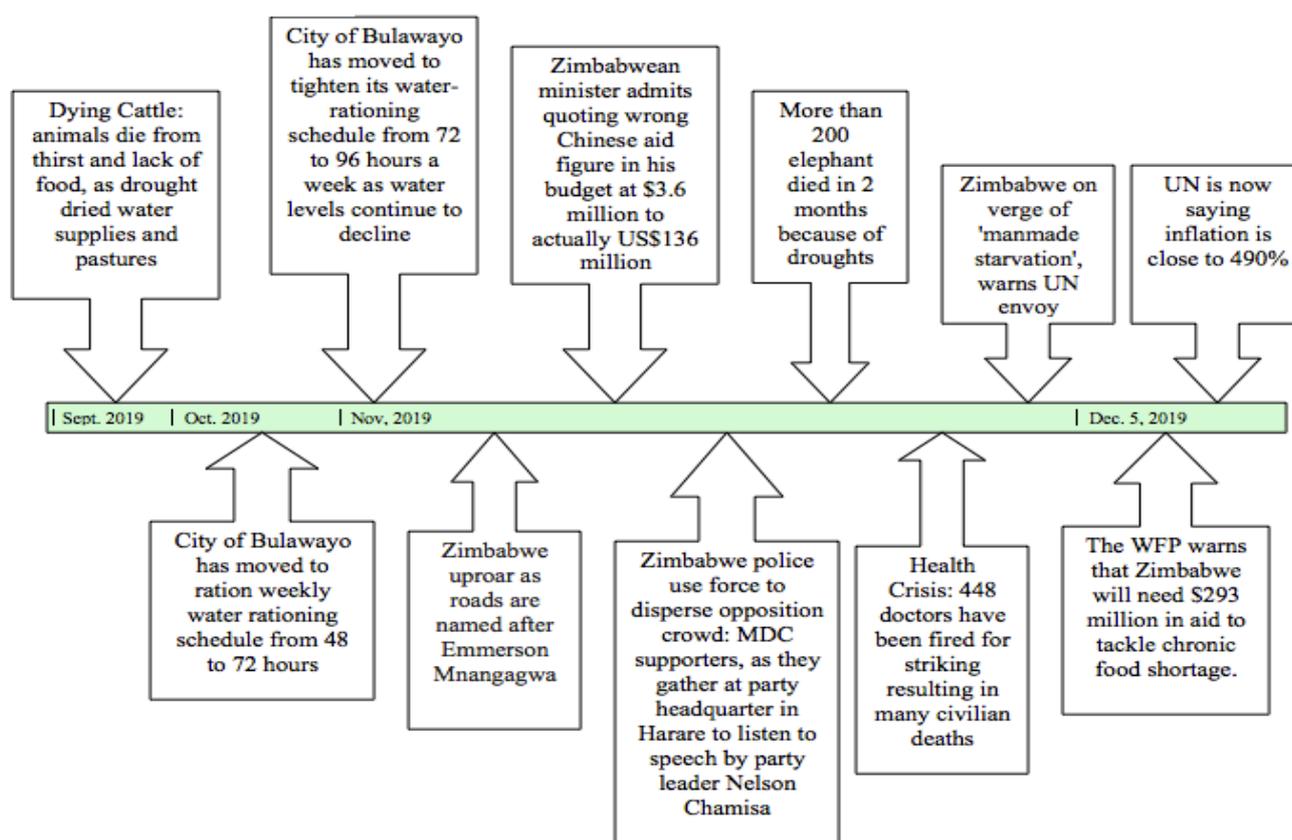
Annex 1 – Historical Timeline of major political events in Zimbabwe

Historical Timeline



Recent Events Timeline

Last Six Months

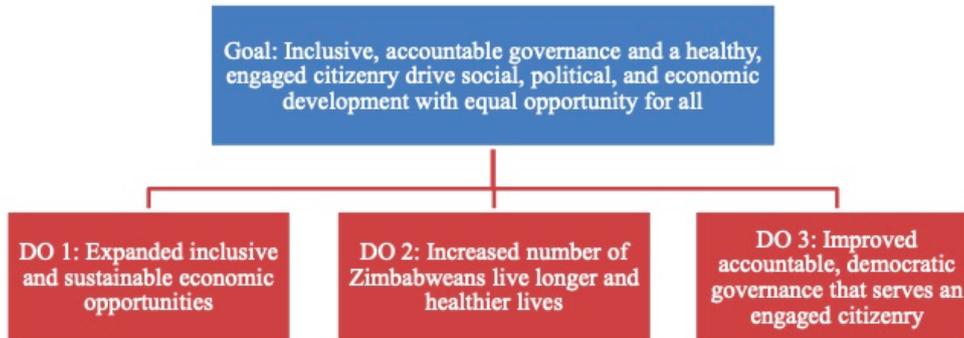


Information collected through news, monitoring of recent events both national and international sources aggregated by Google News

Annex 2 – Additional information on our end user

USAID guides their presence in Zimbabwe with the goal of developing “inclusive, accountable governance and a healthy, engaged citizenry drive social, political, and economic development with equal opportunity for all”¹⁷⁵. USAID is our chosen end user because of their robust presence in the country, and their positive influence in the education and health sectors. The allotted funding for governance is quite small, and with this analysis illustrates that governance is a key driver of fragility, the intention is to encourage USAID to allot greater spending to the governance sector. Current funding for governance from the USAID is \$16 million, out of the total \$197 million for 2018¹⁷⁶. An increase in funding for governance would be in line with the institutions stated goal, and would address key weaknesses in the country.

Please see below, a graph from the Zimbabwe country development strategy, outlining the goal of USAID within the country, and the approach to attain this goal through three developmental objectives (DO).

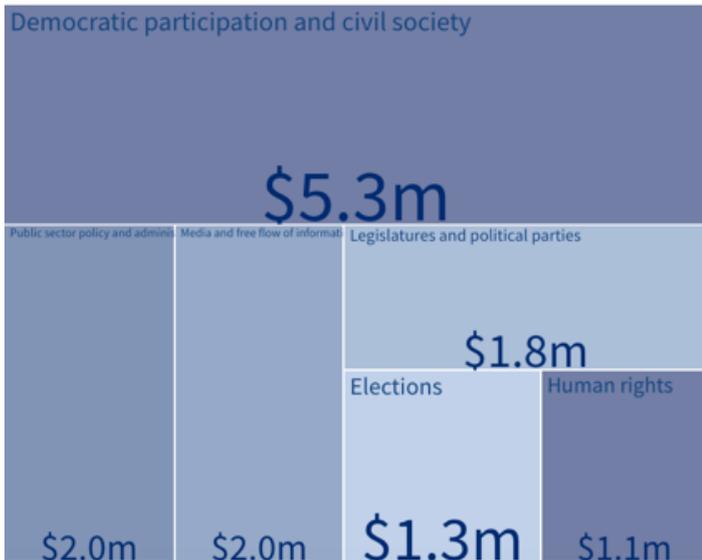


Graph: USAID¹⁷⁷

The current sectors that USAID is assisting Zimbabwe with are: democracy, human rights and governance, economic growth and trade, food security, global health. The work accomplished in the global health area displays the potential of USAID in addressing issues in Zimbabwe. Looking at the spending from 2018, the top sector was “The Strengthening Private Sector Support for Health” with \$25 million focusing on increasing coverage of malaria prevention to reduce mortality, and developing treatment interventions¹⁷⁸. Another health focused investment was their third largest contribution, \$12 million to “Families and Communities for Elimination of Pediatric HIV” which is a five year program to work on mother-to-child transmission of HIV in Zimbabwe. Overall, \$70 million is focused on HIV/AIDS initiatives¹⁷⁹. There has been a notable decline in HIV rates in Zimbabwe, from a peak of 55.7 per 1000, to 4.8 in 2018¹⁸⁰.

A major initiative for USAID at the moment is the food shortage. In 2018, USAID devoted \$16 million towards a project with the World Food Programme (WFP) aimed at food security during the lean season (dry season). With the food security situation worsening, 2019 brought significant contributions, first with \$45 million to the WFP for their initiatives in Zimbabwe¹⁸¹. An additional \$41.9 was announced at the end of September to prepare 2019/2020 lean season, bringing their total contribution to \$86.9 million, in addition to the \$7.9 million in response to Cyclone Idai in spring of 2019¹⁸². In our policy options we also address the key need to address access to food. Since food security is already a priority and developmental objective of USAID, this analysis offers suggestions towards more sustainable food production (see policy 3).

Please see below for the current breakdown of spending from USAID for governance in Zimbabwe. As displayed by the example of health, sectors that USAID prioritize fair well and real positive change can occur. USAID is already present in the areas our policies aim to address, and has a developmental goal to improve accountable, democratic governance (as seen above). With this in mind, this analysis seeks to encourage a greater focus across these areas to address governance as a key driver of fragility (see policy 1 and 2).



Graph :USAID¹⁸³

Annex 3 – Additional information on the presence of community service organizations in Zimbabwe

Residents Associations: These have a long history and represent some of the earliest organized black Zimbabwean citizen action groups in the country's history. These organizations have fought for an expansion of public services successfully in the past and have deep community roots. The largest of the residents' associations in Zimbabwe is the Combined Harare Residents' Association which represents 6 neighborhoods and approximately 250,000 residents in Harare and the Harare Residents' Trust which is a non-partisan institution whose main objective is to empower Harare citizens to lobby and advocate for accountability, offering of quality and affordable services through engaging the council and city fathers in continuous dialogue.

Among CHRA's local governance-related objectives are:

- To represent and support residents of Harare by advocating for effective, transparent and affordable municipal and other services and quality facilities.
- To represent the views and needs of its residents to the Harare City Council, City Councillors, Central Government or any of its ministries, departments or other public institutions
- To organize and encourage participation by residents in local governance issues.
- To provide, where possible, services to the residents of Harare, particularly those who have no alternative access to government services.

Through such platforms the CHRA has encouraged residents and other stakeholders to debate about service delivery challenges confronting municipalities and serve as an independent but well-established partner for international partners. The CSO has also advocated for changes in urban planning laws such as the Urban Council Act and the Regional, Town and Country Planning Act so that these pieces of legislation reflect changes that have occurred since independence in as far as urban affairs are concerned.

The Harare Residents' Trust (HRT) is a non-partisan institution whose main objective is to empower Harare citizens to lobby and advocate for accountability, offering of quality and affordable services through engaging the council and in dialogue. The organization continues to lobby for improved urban governance and local government management in Harare. It is the watchdog for urban planning and service delivery in Harare. Together with the CHRA, they continue to lobby for the review of urban planning legislation within the Urban Councils Act and the Regional, Town and Country Planning Act framework.

The advocacy organizations have championed the interests of the most marginalized in urban centers and recognizing that the urban poor are particularly affected by problems such as shortage of housing land, poor infrastructure and inadequate services, these CSOs have advocated a policy of "inclusive urban planning" which seeks to provide a voice for those typically excluded from planning and service delivery conversations.

The CSOs have brought voice to a population that has typically been silent at the local level and pressure local governments to think creatively about issues of service delivery, housing and infrastructure, and development. In this context, CSOs and NGOs can play a central role in bridging the gap between the poor and city authorities to give the excluded and marginalized a voice by providing autonomous authority and control over their government outcomes. Further organizations like these two in concert with

others like the Zimbabwe Homeless Alliance have advocated heavily for the development of clearer lines of communication about expenditure and land use decisions. Historically the Harare city council and other bureaucratic arms of the local government have been closed to citizens by administrative and legal strategies to limit citizens involvement. These organizations provide organic political mobilization networks for increasing transparency and accountability at the local level. The groups have advocated for the clear and wide publication of meeting times, publication of government employee's salaries, and appropriate consultation periods for new urban policy. The 2013 constitution, in creating local government as a constitutionally independent layer of government, provides an avenue for change for these groups as city counselors could be mobilized to use the power of the local office now afforded them to strengthen the local government. Traditionally, all political and economic power has emanated exclusively from the central government but if incentivized, local representatives of the government could solidify an independent power base built on legitimate citizen participation which could insulate them from the demands of the party and central government there by creating a positive feedback loop in the strengthening of both capacity and legitimacy at the local level.

Annex 4 – Additional information on external stakeholders

United States

The entities listed below are subject to U.S. targeted sanctions related to Zimbabwe. U.S. nationals may not do business with these designated entities or with other entities they control.¹⁸⁴

State-Owned Enterprises

AGRIBANK
 INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION OF ZIMBABWE LTD
 INFRASTRUCTURE DEVELOPMENT BANK OF ZIMBABWE
 MINERALS MARKETING CORPORATION OF ZIMBABWE
 ZB FINANCIAL HOLDINGS LIMITED
 INTERMARKET HOLDINGS LIMITED
 SCOTFIN LIMITED
 ZIMBABWE IRON AND STEEL COMPANY
 ZIMBABWE MINING DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION
 ZIMRE HOLDINGS LIMITED
 OSLEG (PVT) LTD
 ORYX DIAMONDS (PTY) LTD
 ZIMBABWE DEFENCE INDUSTRIES (PVT) LTD

ZANU-PF Enterprises

JONGWE PRINTING & PUBLISHING COMPANY (PVT) LTD
 M & S SYNDICATE (PVT) LTD
 ZIDCO HOLDINGS (PVT) LTD

Other Enterprises

ALPHA INTERNATIONAL (PRIVATE) LTD	ECHO DELTA HOLDINGS LTD
BRECO (ASIA PACIFIC) LTD	FAMBA SAFARIS
BRECO (EASTERN EUROPE) LTD	KABABANKOLA MINING COMPANY
BRECO (SOUTH AFRICA) LTD	MASTERS INTERNATIONAL LTD
BRECO (U.K.) LTD	MASTERS INTERNATIONAL, INC
BRECO GROUP	NDLOVU MOTORWAYS
BRECO INTERNATIONAL	PIEDMONT (UK) LIMITED
BRECO NOMINEES LTD	RACEVIEW ENTERPRISES
BRECO SERVICES LTD	RIDGEPOINT OVERSEAS DEVELOPMENTS LTD
COLD COMFORT FARM TRUST CO-OPERATIVE	SCOTTLEE HOLDINGS (PVT) LTD
COMOIL (PVT) LTD	SCOTTLEE RESORTS LIMITED
CORYBANTES LTD	TIMPANI EXPORT LTD
DIVINE HOMES (PVT) LTD	TREMALT LTD

Annex 7 – Full data on indicators under CIFP clusters to assess primary drivers of fragility

Governance and Political Stability ↓		
Indicator	Trend	Value
Freedom of the Press ¹⁹⁰ <i>Freedom of the Press Index 2018</i> <i>0 is most free 100 least free</i>	↓	2017: 74 2013: 73 2008: 88
Government Effectiveness ¹⁹¹ <i>World Bank WGI 2018</i> <i>Estimate of governance, ranging from 2.5 (weak) to 2.5 (strong) performance</i>	↑	2018: -1.2 2013: -1.28 2008: -1.53
Level of Corruption ¹⁹² <i>Corruption Perceptions Index 2018</i> <i>A score of 0 is highly corrupt, 100 very clean</i>	↑	Current 160/180 2018: 21 2013: 21 2008: 18
Restrictions on Civil Liberties ¹⁹³ <i>Freedom House Civil Liberties Index</i> <i>A score of 1 most free with 7 being least free</i>	→	2018: 5 2013: 6 2008: 6
Restrictions of Political Rights ¹⁹⁴ <i>Freedom House Political Rights Index</i> <i>A score of 1 most free with 7 being least free</i>	→	2018: 6 2013: 6 2008: 7
Rule of Law ¹⁹⁵ <i>World Governance Indicators</i> <i>Higher % corresponds to better outcome</i>	↑	2018: 8.17 2013: 2.35 2008: 0.96
Voice and Accountability ¹⁹⁶ <i>World Governance Indicators</i> <i>Higher % corresponds to better outcome</i>	↑	2018: 16.75 2013: 9.86 2008: 7.69
Political Stability ¹⁹⁷ <i>Rank of country among all countries in the world.</i> <i>0 corresponds to least stable and 100 corresponds to most stable.</i>	→	2018: 20.48 2013: 24.17 2008: 12.98
Partisan Trust Gap ¹⁹⁸ <i>Afrobarometer</i> <i>0 being completely non-partisan 100 being completely polarized</i>	↑	2018: 64 2013: n/a 2008: 46
Homicide Rate <i>Index Mundi</i> <i>Per 100,000 people</i>	↓	2018: n/a 2012: 6.7 2006: 8.2

Economics ↓		
Indicator	Trend	Value
GDP ¹⁹⁹ <i>World Development Indicators</i> <i>GDP (constant 2010 US\$)</i>	↑	2018: 19.093 billion 2013: 16.362 billion 2008: 8.982 billion

External debt stocks ²⁰⁰ <i>World Development Indicators</i> % of GNI	↓	2018: 39.8% 2013: 49.05% 2008: 147.04%
FDI ²⁰¹ <i>World Development Indicators</i> % of GDP	→	2018: 2.402% 2013: 1.954% 2008: 1.169%
Foreign Aid ²⁰² <i>World Development Indicators</i> % of government expenditures	↓	2017: 11.963% (most recent data) 2013: n/a 2009: 80.5% 2008: n/a
Inflation ²⁰³ <i>World Development Indicators</i> consumer prices, annual %	↓	2017: 0.91 (most recent data) 2013: 1.632 2010: 3.034 2008: n/a
Informal Economy - Black Market ²⁰⁴ <i>Heritage Foundation</i> Ranking		Current rank : 175/180
Trade Balance ²⁰⁵ <i>World Development Indicators</i> % of GDP	↑	2017: -1.349 (most recent data) 2013: -13.23 2009: -9.734 2008: n/a
Trade Openness ²⁰⁶ <i>World Development Indicators</i> % of GDP	↓	2018: 48.437% 2013: 58.656% 2008: 109.522%
Infrastructure (Electrical Supply) ²⁰⁷ <i>World Development Indicators</i> % of output	↑	2018: n/a 2013: 17.785 2008: 12.682
Remittances Received ²⁰⁸ <i>World Development Indicators</i> % of GDP	↓	2018: 5.987 2013: 9.901 2008: 12.473
Women in the Labour Force ²⁰⁹ <i>World Development Indicators</i> % of total labour force	→	2018 : 50.98% 2013 : 50.89% 2008 : 50.49%

Annex 8 – Full data on indicators under CIFP clusters to assess secondary drivers of fragility

Human Development Index ↓		
Indicator	Trend	Value
Human Development Index ²¹⁰ <i>UNDP, Human Development Report</i> <i>1 is good, 0 is not good</i>	→	2018: 0.535, rank: 156 2013: 0.516 2008: 0.439
Access to Sanitation ²¹¹ <i>World Bank Development Indicators</i> % of population	↓	Total: 2017: 36.221% (most recent data) 2013: 38.943%

		2008: 42.48% Urban: ²¹² 2017: 46.26% (most recent data) 2013: 51.686% 2008: 58.463% Rural: ²¹³ 2017: 31.467% (most recent data) 2013: 32.746% 2008: 34.407%
Access to Improved Water ²¹⁴ <i>World Bank Development Indicators</i> <i>% of population</i>	↓	Total: 2017: 64.05% (most recent data) 2013: 65.974% 2008: 68.537% Urban: ²¹⁵ 2017: 96.407% 2013: 94.243% 2008: 94.549% Rural: ²¹⁶ 2017: 49.805% 2013: 52.267% 2008: 55.398%
Food Security ²¹⁷ <i>World Bank Development Indicators</i> <i>Prevalence of undernourishment, % of population</i>	↓	2017: 51.3% (most recent data) 2013: 44.1% 2007: 43%
Education: Primary Enrolment <i>World Bank Development Indicators</i> <i>% of population</i>	→	2018: n/a 2013: 98.694% 2008: n/a
HIV/AIDS ²¹⁸ <i>World Bank Development Indicators</i> <i>% of adult population infected</i>	↓	2018: 12.7% 2013: 14.4% 2008: 16.4%
Literacy Rate ²¹⁹ <i>World Bank Development Indicators</i> <i>% of people 15 years and older</i>	↑	2014: 88.69% (most recent data) 2011: 83.58% 2008: n/a

Human Development Index →		
Indicator	Trend	Value
Life Expectancy: Female ²²⁰ <i>World Development Indicators</i> <i>Years</i>	↑	2017: 62.22 2013: 58.412 2008: 48.14
Life Expectancy: Total ²²¹ <i>World Development Indicators</i> <i>Years</i>	↑	2017: 60.812 2013: 56.897 2008: 46.504

Migration: Estimated Net ²²² <i>United Nations Population Division</i> <i>Net migration</i>	↓	2017: -584,288 2013: n/a 2012: -622,997 2008: n/a
Population Density ²²³ <i>Food and Agricultural Organization</i> <i>People per square kilometer</i>	↑	2017: 37.325 2013: 34.51 2008: 32.001
Population Growth ²²⁴ <i>United Nations Population Division</i> <i>Annual %</i>	→	Total: 2018: 1.411% 2013: 1.778% 2008: 1.004% Urban: ²²⁵ 2018: 1.324% 2013: 1.228% 2008: 0.46% Rural: ²²⁶ 2018: 1.452% 2013: 2.045% 2008: 1.279% Rural population (% of total pop): ²²⁷ 2018: 67.791% 2013: 67.346% 2008: 66.44%
Slum Population: ²²⁸ <i>UN Habitat</i> <i>% of urban population</i>	→	2018: n/a 2014: 25.1% 2013: n/a 2009: 24.1% 2008: n/a
Urban Growth Rate ²²⁹ <i>United Nations Population Division</i> <i>Annual %</i>	↑	2018: 1.324% 2013: 1.228% 2008: 0.46%
Youth Bulge ²³⁰ <i>United Nations Population Division</i> <i>% aged 0 -14</i>	→	2018: 42.401% 2013: 42.231% 2008: 41.265%
Population Diversity: Ethnic ²³¹ <i>World Population Review</i>		Shona: 70% Ndebele: 20% White zimbabweans: less than 1% Other: Enda, Tonga, Shangaan Nambya and Kalanga
Population Diversity: Religious ²³² <i>World Population Review</i>		Protestant: 69.2% Catholicism: 8.0% Nondenominational Christian: 6.9% Atheist or agnostic: 10.2% Muslim or traditional african religion: 5.7%

Environment		
Indicator	Trend	Value
Arable/Fertile Land Availability ²³³ <i>World Development Indicators</i> <i>Hectares per person</i>	↓	2016 : 0.285 2013 : 0.3 2008 : 0.343
Electricity Consumption ²³⁴ <i>IEA Energy Balances reports</i> <i>Per capita</i>	↓	2017 : 0.49MWh 2013 : 0.56MWh 2008 : 0.57MWh
Consumption – Energy Use ²³⁵ <i>World Development Indicators</i> <i>Energy use per capita (kt of oil equivalent)</i>	→	2018 : Not available 2013 : 845.361 2008 : 724.293
Environmental Performance ²³⁶ <i>Environmental Performance Index</i> <i>Ranking</i>	↓	Current rank : 149/ 180
Pollution – CO ₂ Emissions ²³⁷ <i>World Development Indicators</i> <i>per capita</i>	↑	2018 : Not available 2013 : 0.875 2008 : 0.628
Disaster Risk ²³⁸ <i>United Nations University</i> <i>World Risk Index Heritage Foundation</i>	↓	Current rank : 38/171

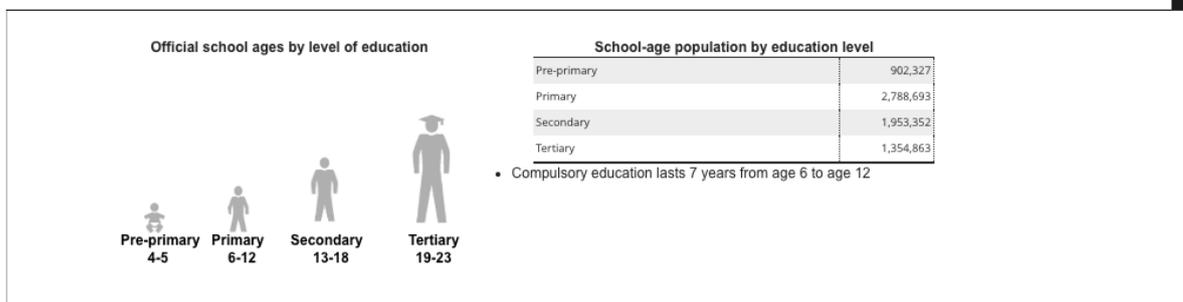
Annex 9 – Additional information on the urgency of water scarcity in Zimbabwe.

This year, President Mnangagwa declared that the drought was a national disaster²³⁹, and rationing schedules in the city of Bulawayo have tightened from 48 hours a week in October to 95 hours a week in November, illustrating the increasing intensity of this crisis²⁴⁰. Those that do not have municipal access in their homes rely on boreholes²⁴¹, including hundreds which were drilled during the 2008 Cholera crisis. Due to poor maintenance and sanitation, however, approximately 30% are contaminated²⁴². As for access to sanitation systems, the lack of infrastructure has led to an increase in open defecation practice, worsening the levels of contamination of existing sources and the spread of vector borne diseases²⁴³. Approximately 36% of people in rural areas resorted to open defecation practices in 2017²⁴⁴. The cholera outbreak in 2008 claimed 4300 lives and a smaller outbreak in 2018 caused widespread panic and required international humanitarian response^{245,246}.

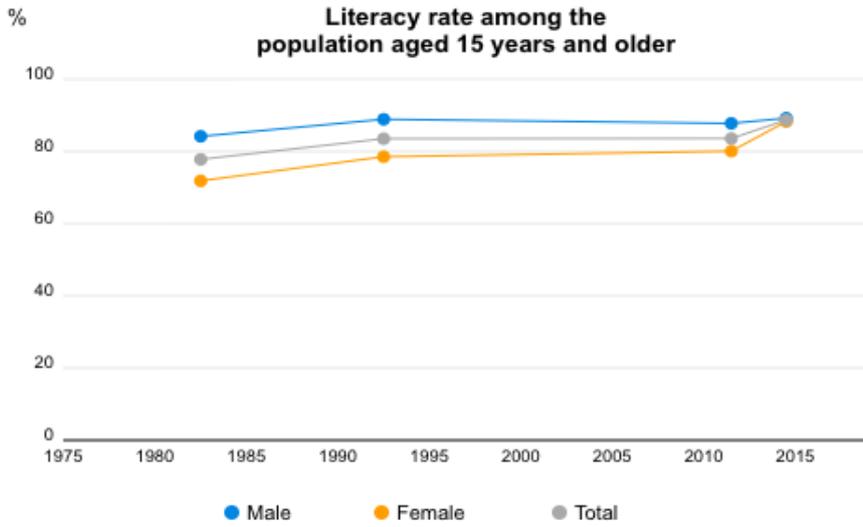
Annex 10 – Additional information on education in Zimbabwe (HDI indicator):

Levels of education attained in Zimbabwe: ²⁴⁷

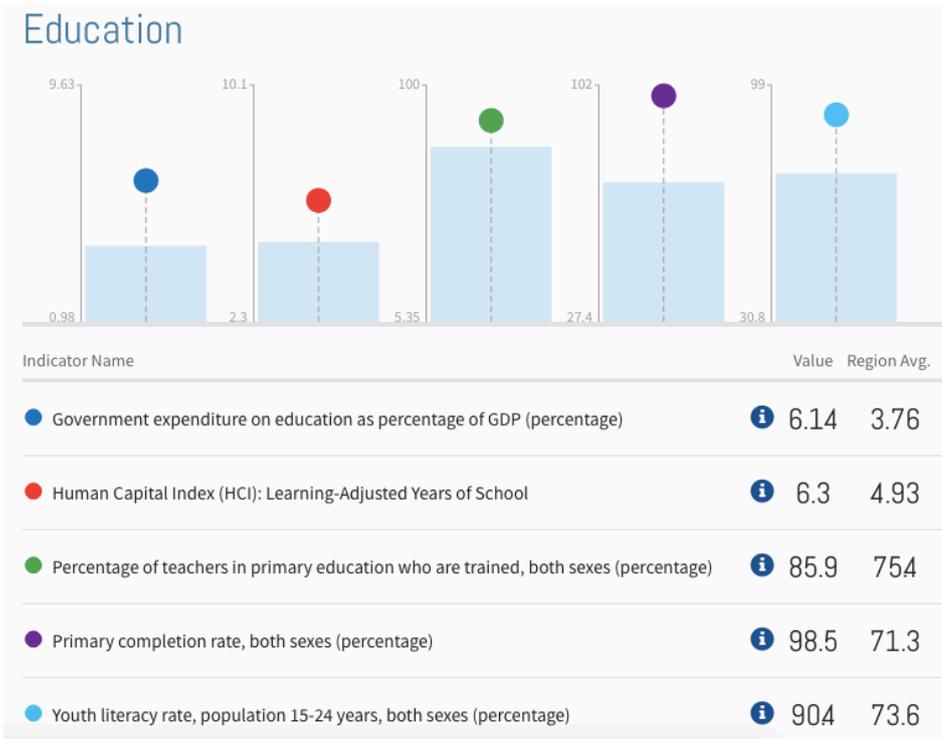
Education System



Comparison of literacy rate across gender: ²⁴⁸



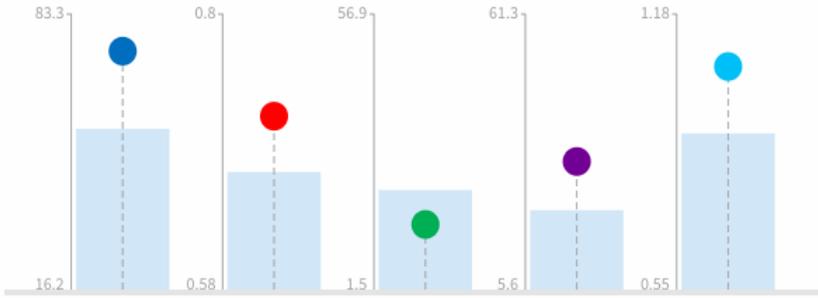
Education in Zimbabwe in comparison to regional averages²⁴⁹ (USAID) :



Annex 11 – Additional information on gender equality in Zimbabwe (HDI indicator)

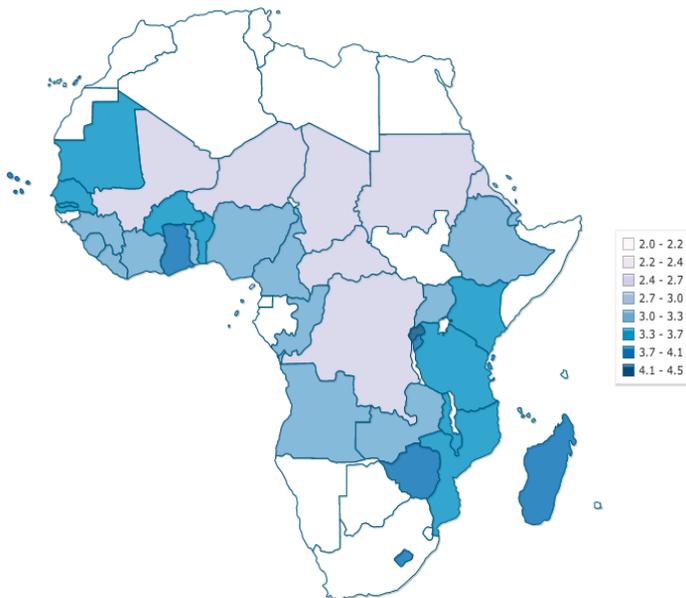
Gender Equality in Zimbabwe in comparison to regional averages²⁵⁰ (USAID)

Gender



Indicator Name	Value	Region Avg.
● Employment to population ratio, 15+, female (percentage) (modeled ILO estimate)	74.3	554
● Global Gender Gap: Index score (0 to 1, higher is better)	0.72	0.68
● Percentage of Individuals using the Internet, female	14.6	21.5
● Proportion of seats held by women in national parliaments (percentage)	31.5	21.6
● Youth literacy rate, population 15-24 years, gender parity index (GPI)	1.06	0.91

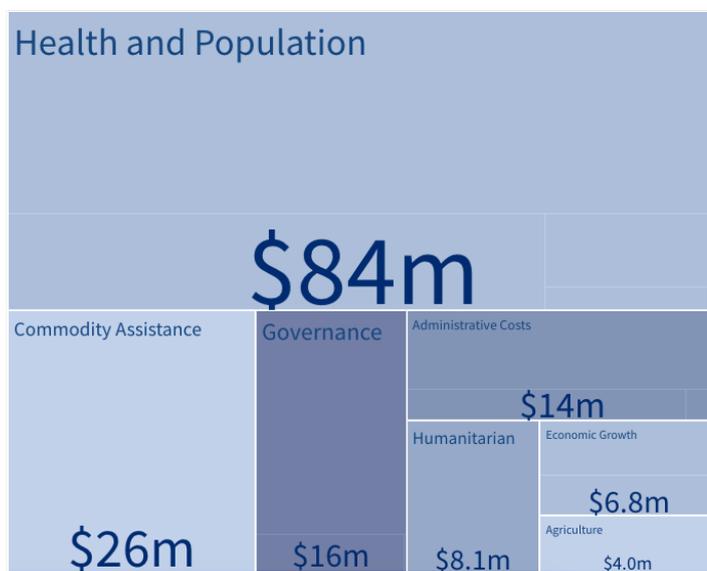
Map on gender equality across Africa²⁵¹ (CPIA)



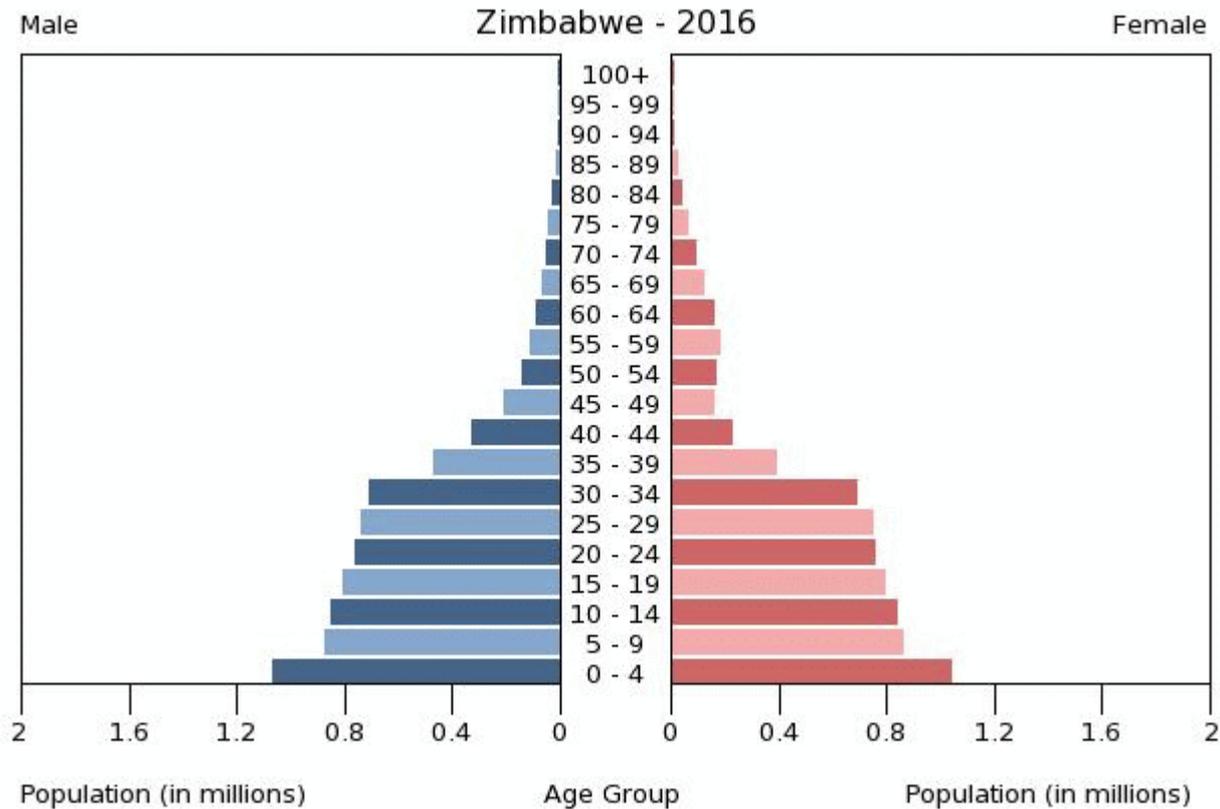
The Country Policy and Institutional Assessment (CPIA) ranks countries based off “the extent to which the country has installed institutions and programs to enforce laws and policies that promote equal access for men and women in education, health, the economy, and protection under law”²⁵². Zimbabwe currently ranks at a 4 (with 1 being low, 6 being high), which is up from 2.5 in 2008.

Annex 12: USAID spending by sector, and additional information on health spending²⁵³

SPENDING BY SECTOR



Annex 13 – Population pyramid of Zimbabwe



Graph: *Index Mundi*²⁵⁴

Annex 14 – Additional information on the 2013 Constitution

The Lancaster House Agreement was signed between the British Government and representatives of the independence movement in December 1979, and independence was granted the next year. There was a 1980 constitution set up in the Westminster style, where the parliament rules over the executive system²⁵⁵. Despite the goal to lay groundwork for ending autocratic rule, this constitution maintained two problematic tenets from the colonial period: unequal distribution of land between white and black citizens, and the preservation of white dominance. By 1999, pressure from reformist movements had influenced the government to initiate a Constitutional Commission of Inquiry, to begin developing a new Constitution, since beliefs held that the initial constitution was too in line with the British past. This process was driven by government and restricted input from other sources, and opposition argued that the consultation process was not inclusive. In 2007, the pressures for a more democratic process had not waned, so representatives from ZANU-PF, and MDC met to develop what's known as the Kariba Draft Constitution. Unfortunately, this process also faced criticism for not being led by citizens, and lacked transparency. The violent 2008 elections led to SADC involvement, and MDC and ZANU-PF agreed that a new condition would be developed, which came in 2013²⁵⁶.

This 2013 constitution calls for power sharing between the state and citizens, and includes a Bill of Rights²⁵⁷. Including a Bill of Rights, and the recognition of socio-economic rights is a noteworthy shift from previous Constitutions²⁵⁸. There are also presidential term limits and the establishment of a constitutional court. More power was distributed to local officials and issues of land and property rights were clarified, after being a major point of tension in the country²⁵⁹. This constitution also addresses power distribution between the The draft passed with an “overwhelming approval rate” and was put into law in May 2013²⁶⁰.

In terms of **policy option 1**, Chapter 7 of the Constitution includes information on elections, on issues of timing, electoral boundaries, number of constituencies, and more. The constitution grants the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission the responsibility to manage elections, and away from regular court systems. However, many of these initiatives present in the Constitution have not been formalized in other national legislation. While the constitution lays out an approach to elections to promote fairness and transparency, the Electoral Act has yet to be reformed to match these endeavours. The report from the European Union's Electoral Observation Mission (EU-EOM) places an emphasis on reforms to the Electoral Act to align with the 2013 Constitution and to bolster the independence of the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC). Please see below the recommendation from the EU-EOM on this topic.²⁶¹

XVII Recommendations

NO	CONTEXT	RECOMMENDATION	SUGGESTED CHANGE	RESPONSIBLE INSTITUTION	RELEVANT INTERNATIONAL/REGIONAL PRINCIPLE / COMMITMENT
LEGAL FRAMEWORK (Incl. Constituency Delimitation)					
1	The Electoral Act is not fully aligned with the 2013 Constitution, which is the supreme law of the country therefore no subsidiary legislation should be inconsistent with it. (p. 7)	The Electoral Act should be aligned with the 2013 Constitution, in particular those provisions related to the constitutional right to vote (including postal voting for homebound voters and those in hospitals and penitential institutions), reinforcement of the independence of ZEC in relation to responsibility for its own regulations, voter registration, and accreditation of observers, as well as the required approval of regulations.	Electoral Act: s.18, s.23 s.9(5), s.12(1)(e), s.56(1) as read with s.72, s.40H, s.192(4)	Parliament	<p>Universal suffrage "elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage" - ICCPR, art. 25</p> <p>"States must take effective measures to ensure that all persons entitled to vote are able to exercise that right. Where registration of voters is required, it should be facilitated and obstacles to such registration should not be imposed" - ICCPR GC 25, para.11</p> <p>"Every citizen shall have the right to participate freely in the government of his country, either directly or through freely chosen representatives in accordance with the provisions of the law." - ACHPR, art. 13(1)</p> <p>"State Parties shall recognize popular participation through universal suffrage as the inalienable right of the people" - African Charter on Democracy, Elections & Governance, art. 4(2)</p> <p>"Every citizen shall have the right to participate freely in the government of his or her country, either directly or through freely elected representatives in accordance with the provisions of the law." – OAU/AU Declaration on the Principles Governing Democratic Elections in Africa, IV (1)</p> <p>Independent electoral authority "An independent electoral authority should be established to supervise the electoral process and to ensure that it is conducted fairly, impartially and in accordance with established laws which are compatible with the Covenant."</p>

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