

MAKING SOCIAL ACCOUNTABILITY MONITORING WORK FOR ZIMBABWE

Final version

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SAPST & SAM in Zimbabwe: 4 Years of Partnership



**Southern African
Parliamentary Support
Trust**

Provides technical and financial support to the parliaments of Southern Africa to execute their core functions of executive and budget oversight, law making & representation. SAPST also promotes civic engagement of Parliament



In 2013 SAPST signed a MoU with the Public Service Accountability Monitor to include PSAM's social accountability monitoring method as a way to deepen and broaden the content of capacity building programmes offered to SADC Parliamentary budget committees. Since 2014, the partnership also includes training the local version of SAM and capacitating Zimbabwe CSOs in social accountability.

To find out more about SAPST visit www.sapst.org

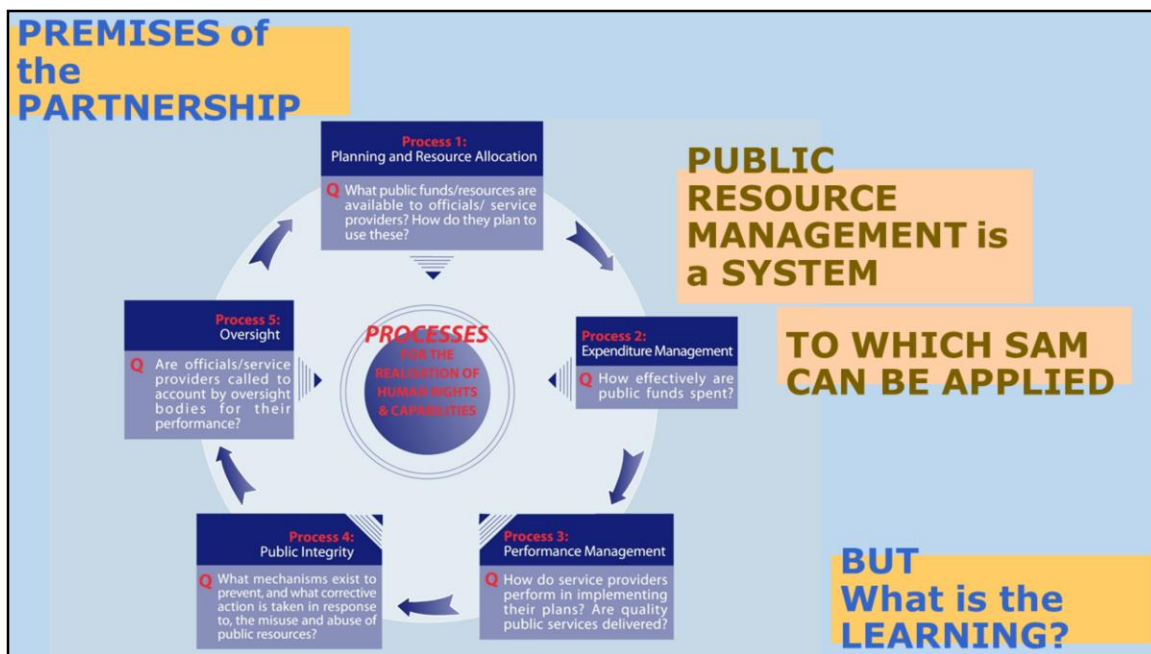
SAPST's Strategic objectives are as follows:

The Strategic Objectives that will guide SAPST operations between 2014 and 2018 are:

- To capacitate Parliaments to effectively carry out law making, representation and oversight functions
- To facilitate civil society and the general public to engage Parliament
- To strengthen media coverage of Parliament business
- To provide a platform for local, regional and international legislators to share experiences
- To enhance the organisation's financial, human resources and technical capacity
- To enhance gender mainstreaming in the parliamentary support programme
- To develop and implement a clear and effective communication strategy

Main activities are:

- Training of Committees and the Secretariat of Parliament in legislative, policy and budget analysis and reporting.
- Supporting a University Student Internship Programme with Parliament.
- Support for the conduct of public hearings by parliament committees.
- Technical support in the review of parliament rules and procedures.
- Support for the conduct of constituency meetings and report-back sessions by MPs.
- Facilitating civil society engagement with parliament through capacity building and joint advocacy where there is need.



The Social Accountability Monitoring (SAM) methodology allows public resources to be effectively and accountably managed through citizen participation and monitoring of government's public resource management (PRM) system. According to SAM, in order for government to convert public resources into services that meet people's most pressing needs, the state needs to implement five processes that form the basis of a system managing public resources (PRM system):

Process 1: Resource Allocation and Strategic Planning;

Process 2: Expenditure Management;

Process 3: Performance Management;

Process 4: Public Integrity

Process 5: Oversight.

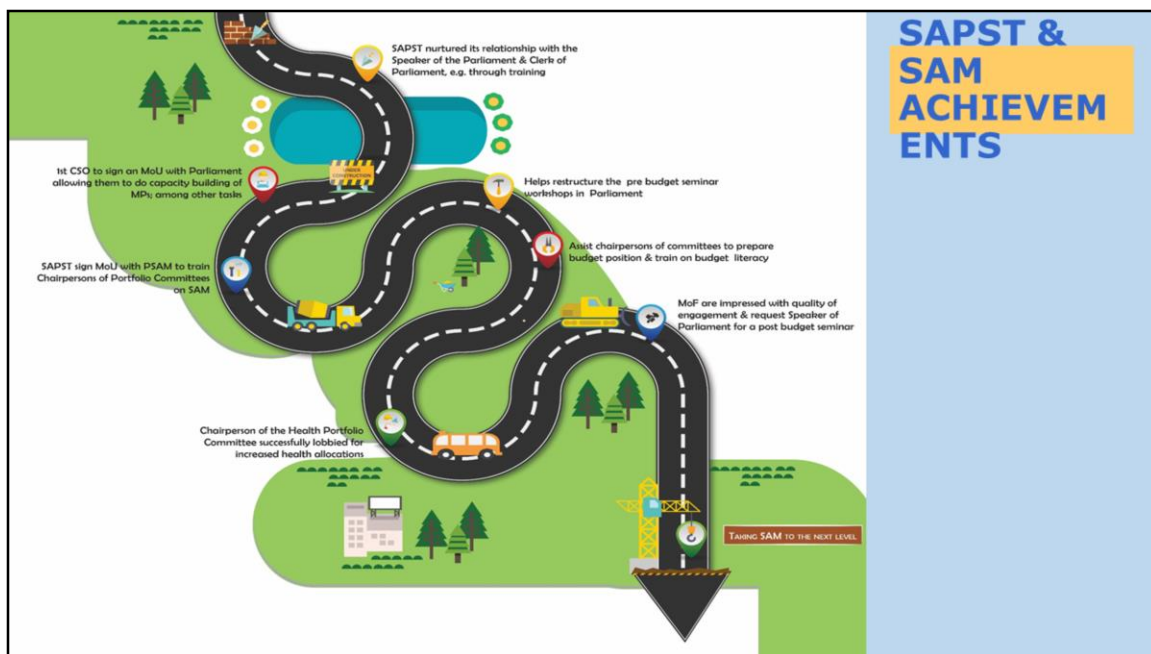
The approach assumes that by applying SAM to the PRM system, demand side actors (civic actors & oversight members) will be able to hold the executive accountable for the use of public funds for service delivery and human rights outcomes.

This exercise sought to answer why and how SAPST took on the PSAM approach and what it has accomplished.



Through SAPST we are learning from tracing SAPST's journey that in a context such as Zimbabwe with i) legislative gaps, ii) political tensions iii) limited public resources and an inconsistent & at times unpredictable aid environment, social accountability monitoring is still possible and promising. SAPST has made it possible and promising:

- i) Through strategically adapting (through linking and prioritizing entry points in the PRM system) in response to changes in the context
- ii) Course correction and revising strategies based on learning from doing
- iii) By being embedded in relationships for politically savvy to obtain necessary changes in context and to achieve results
- iv) By being patient with gradual change as well as highs and lows as part of the social accountability journey.



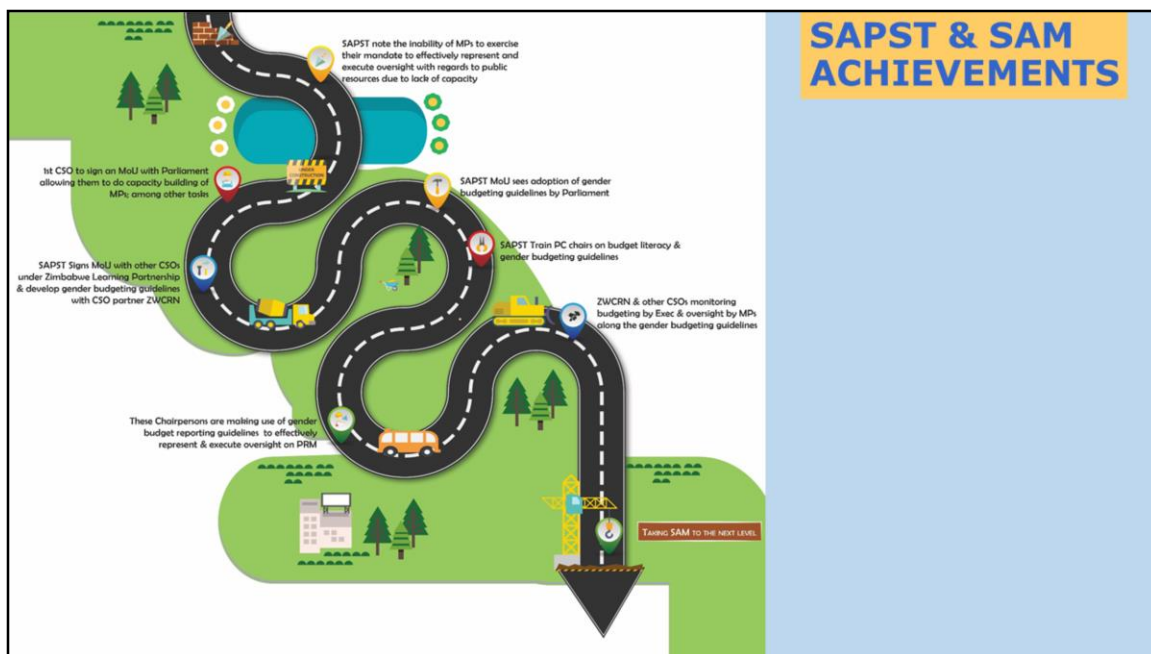
SAPST Executive Director developed a professional relationship with the Speaker and Clerk of Parliament. This relationship which spans 15 years has established trust & paved the way for a MoU, the first of its kind with a CSO. The MoU has in turn paved the way for SAPST to create a supportive context in Parliament for SAM work.

For example, over the years supporting Parliament's budget oversight function, SAPST observed and learnt that Parliament's pre budget seminars deliberating on the budget proposal between Parliament and the Executive were held a little late in the budget calendar. Parliament's budget oversight function was not yielding intended results due to the manner it was being implemented. Recommendations for changes to the budget calendar did not find favor with the administration that was there before 2015. A change in parliament administration presents an opportunity for SAPST to course correct by working with the Speaker to reschedule the timing of the pre-budget seminar so that they take place before MoF presentation/tabling of the budget giving MPs a real opportunity to influence budget formulation. SAPST learn that despite the strategic timing, MPs influence continues to be minimal due to lack of capacity. SAPST once again course correct by sharpening the engagement at budget seminars by training committee chairpersons on budget literacy & SAM. In 2016, The chairperson of the Health committee Hon. Labode who was trained on

SAM successfully lobbies for increased health allocation at a pre-budget seminar. MoF is impressed by the quality of input and engagement from Chairpersons and request the Speaker of Parliament to arrange follow up sessions with chairpersons of portfolio committees to deepen the engagement.



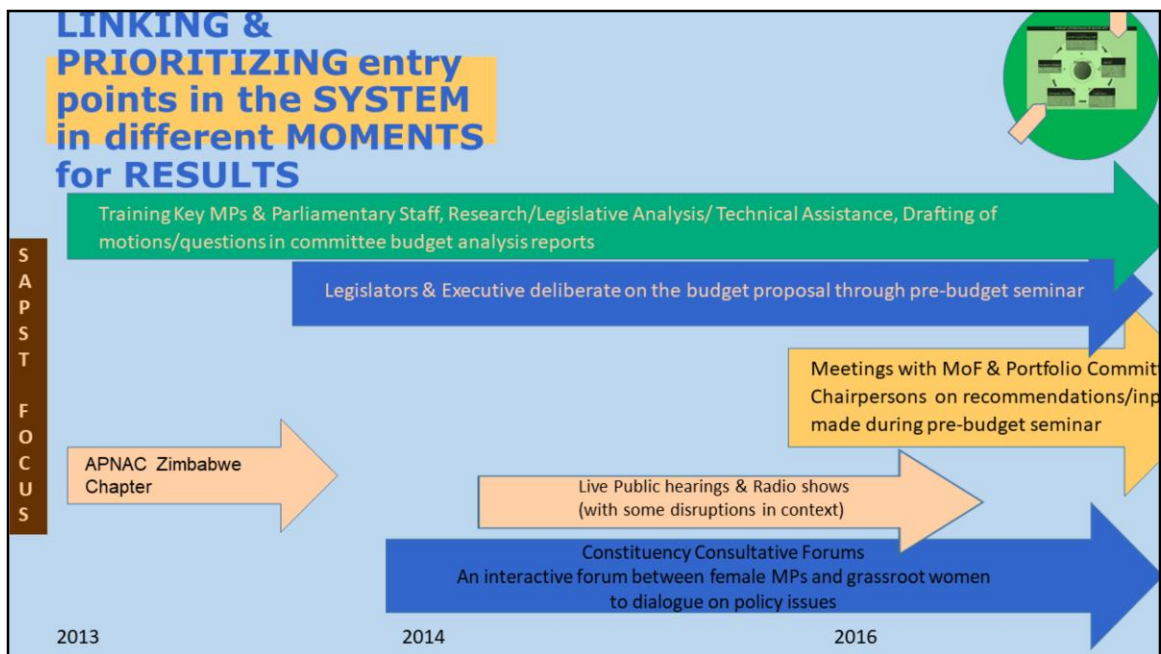
The PFM Act mandates monthly, quarterly and annual reporting by government departments to parliamentary committees on Budget performance. SAPST assisted the Budget and Finance Portfolio Committee to draft PFM regulations which were never adopted by the 7th Parliament due to political tensions of the Government of National Unity. Post GNU, SAPST noted that the absence of PFM regulations were impeding on the quality & consistency of reporting by the Executive. SAPST strategy is to position themselves strategically by establishing a formal relationship by renewing its MoU with the 8th Parliament. SAPST assist Parliament to align its Standing rules and Orders with the New Zimbabwe Constitution passed in 2013. Because the new Constitution gave Parliament extensive oversight powers and functions over PRM, Parliament found itself requiring an effective framework for its budget oversight role. This presented a strategic opportunity to SAPST to come up with Quarterly Budget Performance Reporting Guidelines modeled on the PSAM SAM approach. The *Quarterly Budget Performance Reporting Guidelines* were successfully adopted by Zimbabwe's 8th Parliament. The combination of SAPST modeling the budget reporting guidelines on the PSAM approach and SAPST sponsoring Chairpersons of Parliamentary committees to attend PSAM's SAM training course has enabled chairpersons with the requisite skills to make use of the budget guidelines.



The above is an illustration of how SAPST made links with both demand side actors (civil society & oversight) –“we support civic engagement with civil society. We do direct work with Parliament but we also support and promote CSO engagement in parliamentary processes” –Executive Director of SAPST. SAPST MoUs with Parliament and CSOs in Zimbabwe doing budget advocacy work is creating and strengthening an enabling environment for both demand actors to do SAM work. SAPST MoU with Parliament has paved the way for ZLP partner Zimbabwe Women’s Resource Centre Network (ZWCRN’s) to successfully conduct training, advocacy and dissemination of a number of gender related tools, information products such as research, policy briefs and national budget fact sheets as a way of mainstreaming gender into public policies, programmes and budgets. “The adoption of the gender guidelines has helped us a lot. Our fact sheets have been developed for use by Members of Parliament as a tool for budget monitoring and expenditure tracking.” – Director of ZWCRN

To-date SAPST has used activities aimed at either improving the environment/context in Zim to engage in SAM or applying or doing SAM activities

But HOW do we understand ACHIEVEMENTS?



SAPST were able to do SAM related interventions in response to changes (limitations and opportunities) in context.

- Since SAPST's renewal of its MoU with Zimbabwe's 8th Parliament in 2013-14 enabled them to provide technical assistance (ie drafting of motions) and training to MPs; Portfolio Committee Chairpersons and Parliamentary staff.
- The appointment of a new Speaker of Parliament in 2014 with a working relationship with SAPST created opportunity for SAPST to strengthen budget oversight by introducing improvements in pre budget seminars with the support of the Speaker. In 2016, the Ministry of Finance impressed by the inputs and quality of engagement at pre-budget seminars, has since requested the Speaker to arrange meetings post the budget seminar with chairpersons of Portfolio Committees.
- APNAC provides a platform and network of Zimbabwean parliamentarians with other parliamentarians in the region to learn from and work together to combat corruption. It is a non-partisan and voluntary membership

organisation, whose main objective is to build the capacity of its members and raise awareness among other parliamentarians and the public on the fight against corruption. Southern African Parliamentary Support Trust is currently hosting the APNAC Zimbabwe Secretariat. The chapter was started by the 7th Parliament during the Government of National Unity. Since the 2014 elections, the chapter was discontinued by the 8th Parliament.

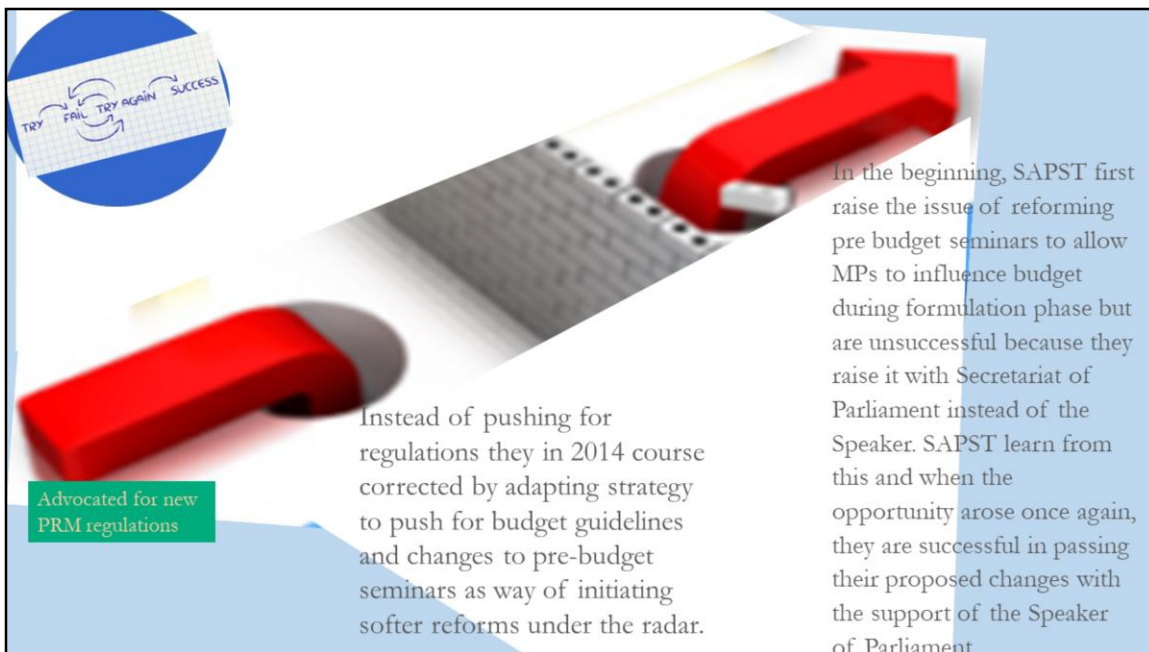
Subsequent attempts to revive the APNAC Chapter in Zimbabwe in the period 2013-2016 proved difficult as some of its members lost seats in the 2013 elections and some were promoted into Cabinet with some being recalled by their respective political parties. However, efforts in 2017 by Parliament and SAPST have managed to revive Zimbabwe's APNAC Chapter.

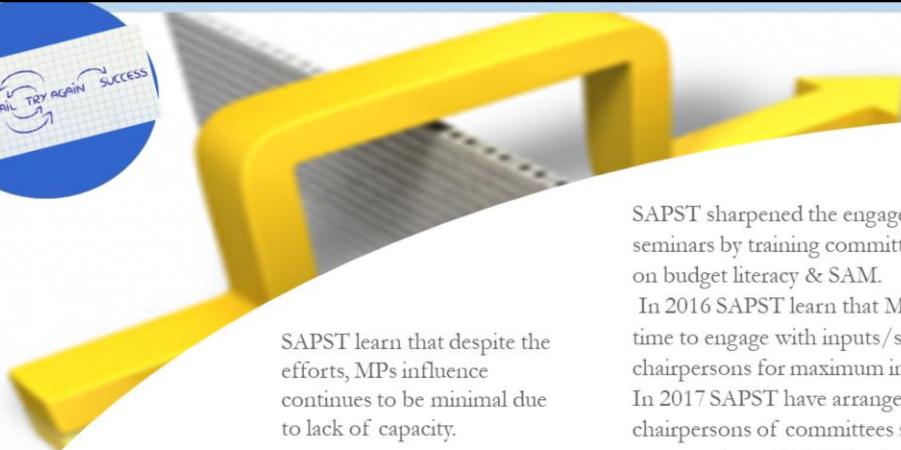
- The GNU period coupled with the new Constitution (2013) resulted in the liberalization of the airwaves by government. This culminated in the granting of radio licenses to a number of independent and commercial radios which paved the way for SAPST to conduct live public hearings on the budget as well as radio shows on SAM related topics. However at the height of political tensions and protests in 2016, live public hearings encountered some challenges with some radio stations refusing to air the hearings live and ordinary public hearings were often disrupted.

**ACHIEVEMENTS
& APPROACHES**
are the produce
of



**LEARN BY DOING &
COURSE-CORRECTION**





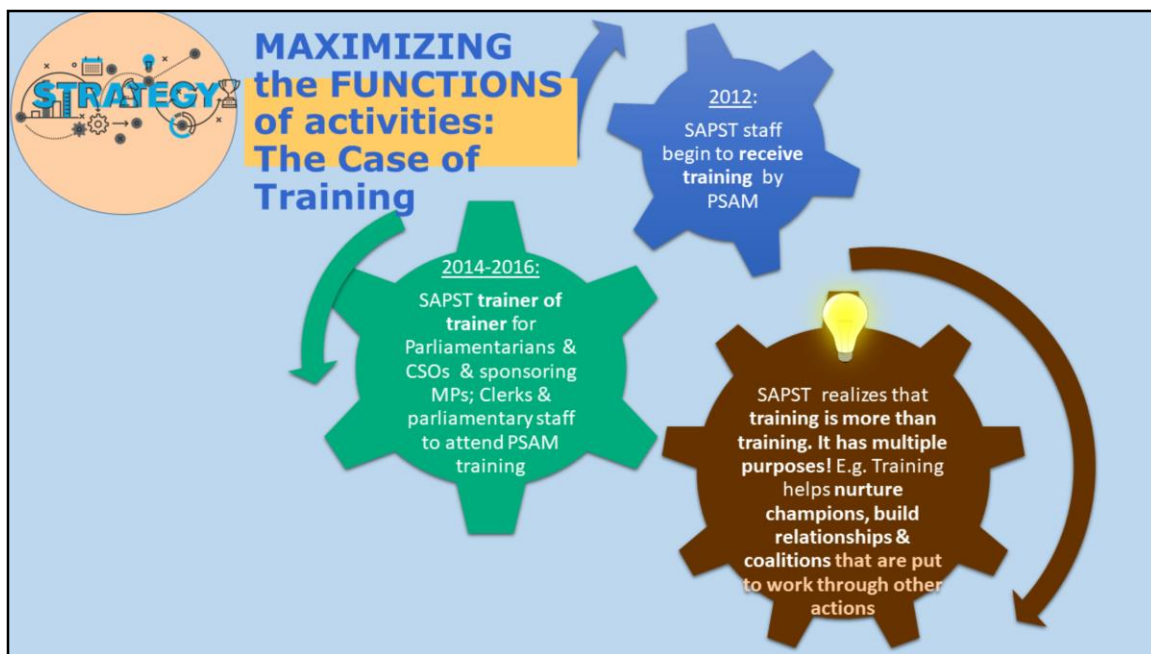
SAPST learn that despite the efforts, MPs influence continues to be minimal due to lack of capacity.

SAPST had put much stock in advocating and contributing for the improvement of the pre-budget seminar to increase the influence of MPs over the allocation of public resources.

SAPST sharpened the engagement at budget seminars by training committee chairpersons on budget literacy & SAM.

In 2016 SAPST learn that MoF require more time to engage with inputs/submissions from chairpersons for maximum impact.

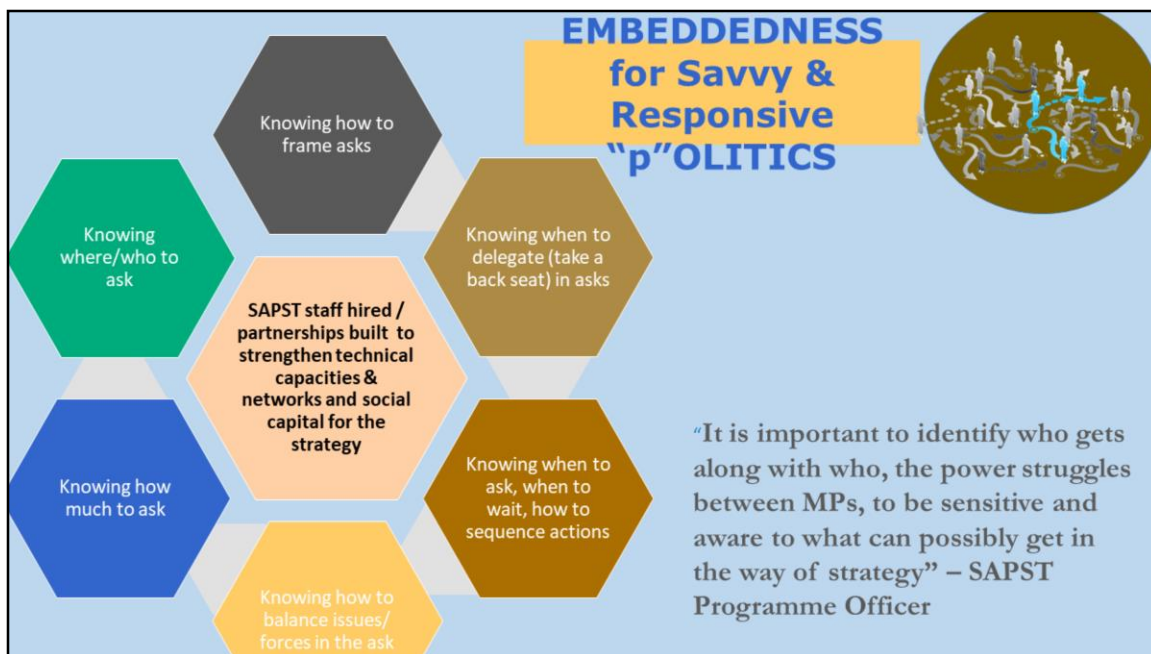
In 2017 SAPST have arranged that chairpersons of committees share their presentations with MoF prior to the pre-budget seminar. SAPST have adapted their strategy and have started to arrange follow up sessions between chairpersons of portfolio committee with the MoF & Executive as a post budget seminar



SAPST became a trainer of trainers on SAM in 2012 (Rhodes University Fundamentals of Social Accountability Monitoring course) and 2014 (Localized Zimbabwe SAM course) respectively. Since then, SAPST funding for training and capacity building is very specific and targeted for building relationships with powerful & strategic stakeholders that will advance SAM. SAPST sponsored very influential persons Parliamentary Clerk and Speaker to attend a short oversight course at NYU as part of capacity building key persons.

According to, SAPST Programme Officer, “The Speaker appreciates the quality of our technical support to Parliament and its committees. So our strategy as SAPST, is to strengthen the oversight function of portfolio committees”. The new Clerk of Parliament and Speaker are open minded and have become enablers of reforms and reformers in Parliament (see above).

In this context, SAPST trains MPs and sponsors Chairpersons of Portfolio Committees, Clerks & Parliamentary researchers to attend Fundamentals of SAM in Grahamstown. Training helps further nurture skills and relationships with allies in Parliament, and in turn, achieve results. Training performs many functions for advancing SAM and many of them are not technical in nature, but political.



SAPST milestones have been achieved by their capacity to engage in small 'p' which refers to their ability to be strategic or savvy in making their demands.

SAPST were unsuccessful for pushing for PRM regulations due to the political context. During the GNU era, the MoF was headed by a Minister from the main opposition party in Parliament. This Minister was reform minded and is the one who initiated a lot of reforms in the MoF. However, the tenure of the GNU came to an end before the PFM Regulations could be adopted by Cabinet and promulgated into law. After 2013 Elections, the MoF was assigned to a ruling party Minister, who had different reform agenda priorities.

SAPST revised strategy included waiting for an opportune time when they had powerful champions in Parliament in the form of the Speaker and new Clerk of Parliament and changing the terminology and target of the ask from "PRM regulations" to "quarterly budget guidelines."

Similar reforms to the SAM environment include tactically reforming pre budget seminar reforms with an MoU and champion in place.

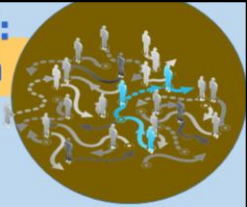
SAPST have also been willing and strategic about the Speaker being the voice and face of their reforms in order for them to be successfully adopted.

SAPST strategy also includes not only creating champions in Parliament but also strategically applying 'small p' or political savvy to these relationships with and

between champions. They do this by considering when and with whom to make demands.

SAPST started out as 'The Institutional Strengthening of the Zimbabwe Parliament Project' under SUNY/CID based in NYU and funded by USAID. When the Government of Zimbabwe had a fall-out with development partners, SAPST found itself without funding. When SAPST reinvented itself as an independent organization, they purposefully introduced a regional focus as a strategy to mitigate and manage their relationships with key partners. "When SUNY ended in 2007, it was an acrimonious end. The Government decided to end the project abruptly. When we established SAPST we made a strategic decision to work in the region so that if things get hard in country A, we should still be able to work in country B." - SAPST Programme Officer.

EMBEDDEDNESS: Bridges through Relationships



Furthermore by building a regional programme, SAPST were able to position themselves, build relationships & win the trust of key players in Zimbabwe by pushing the social accountability agenda as a regional agenda and a best practice model. It has also allowed for peer to peer mentoring between clerks and chairpersons of committees.

The approach may seem APOLITICAL. SAPST strategy is to ensure that their input is technical, objective & evidence based. "As SAPST our strategy is to take a position on issues and not power struggles".... "The regional programme helped us with our players in Zim to see social accountability as a regional agenda and not a personal or political one." – SAPST Executive Director But Zim is deeply political (small "p") when it comes to building bridges through relationships that open doors for SAM – the kinds of doors that enable SAPST's results. It can help to open doors in order to change a rule in Parliament as well as to ensure that MPs put the rule to work. "The political context is such that MPs are rewarded & acknowledged by their political parties for demonstrating use of research and skill. As a result parliamentarians want to be more engaged. SAPST have managed to use orientation & mentoring of MPs on skills to leverage friendly competition and desire in the context for technical expertise to their advantage".

EMBEDDEDNESS: Bridges through Relationships



Within civil society, relationships play a growing role on SAPST's approach to SAM.

SAPST has contributed to changes in MPs' behavior and, in some instances, service delivery budget allocations. Yet that on its own is not sufficient to let SAPST achieve, see and show impact in the expenditure and the quality of services.

An issue SAPST is beginning to explore is how to leverage relationships with the Civil Society Groups trained in SAM whose focus are specific service delivery areas, such as health

ZLP LOCAL SOCIAL
ACCOUNTABILITY
TRAINING OF
RESIDENTS
ASSOCIATIONS &
CSOs (PACT
ZIMBABWE
GRANTEES & TRACE
Consortium)

TRACE CONSORTIUM

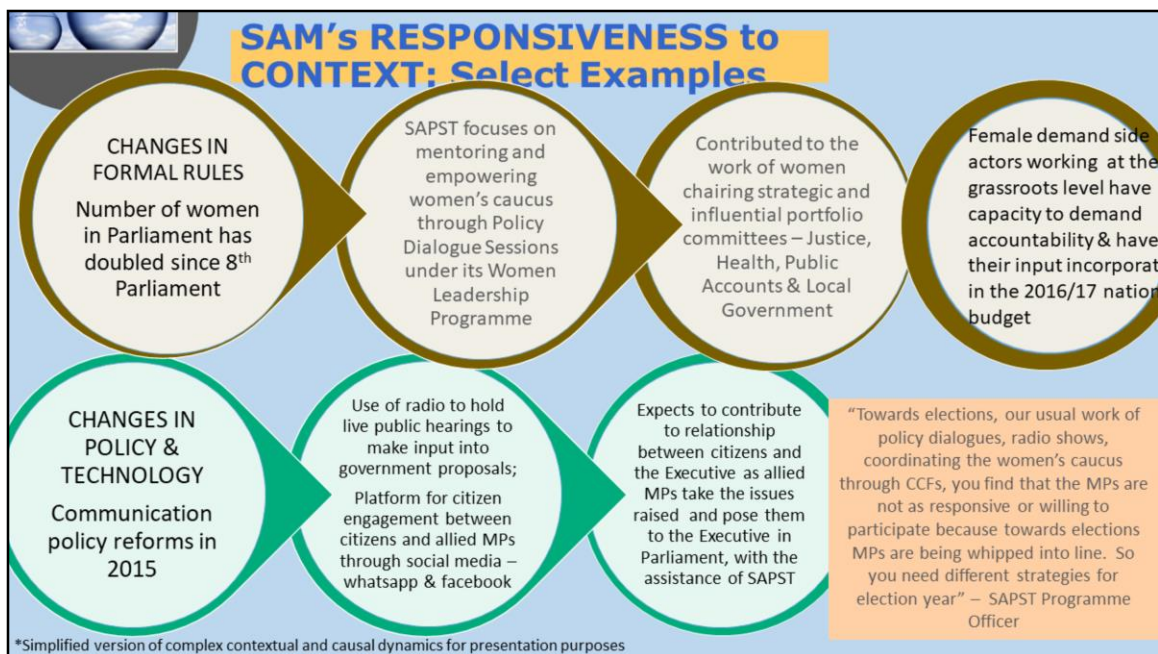
Basket funding of no.
of CSOs trained on
social accountability
to impact service
delivery (health,
water, sanitation &
basic services)

However more recently a number of CSOs trained by ZLP on SAM have recently obtained basket funding to implement service delivery advocacy projects using SAM as an approach under the TRACE consortium. The ability for civic organizations to work together towards a common goal would not have been possible without the relationships and civic capacities enabled by the SAM training delivered by ZLP of which SAPST was a part. SAM training in Zimbabwe has also created a network of civic capacities, skills, resources which organizations can potentially draw from to both measure and achieve outcomes.

**SAPST's SAM
JOURNEY
HAS NOT
BEEN EASY**



**REALISTIC
EXPECTATIONS
for the
CONTEXT are
critical**

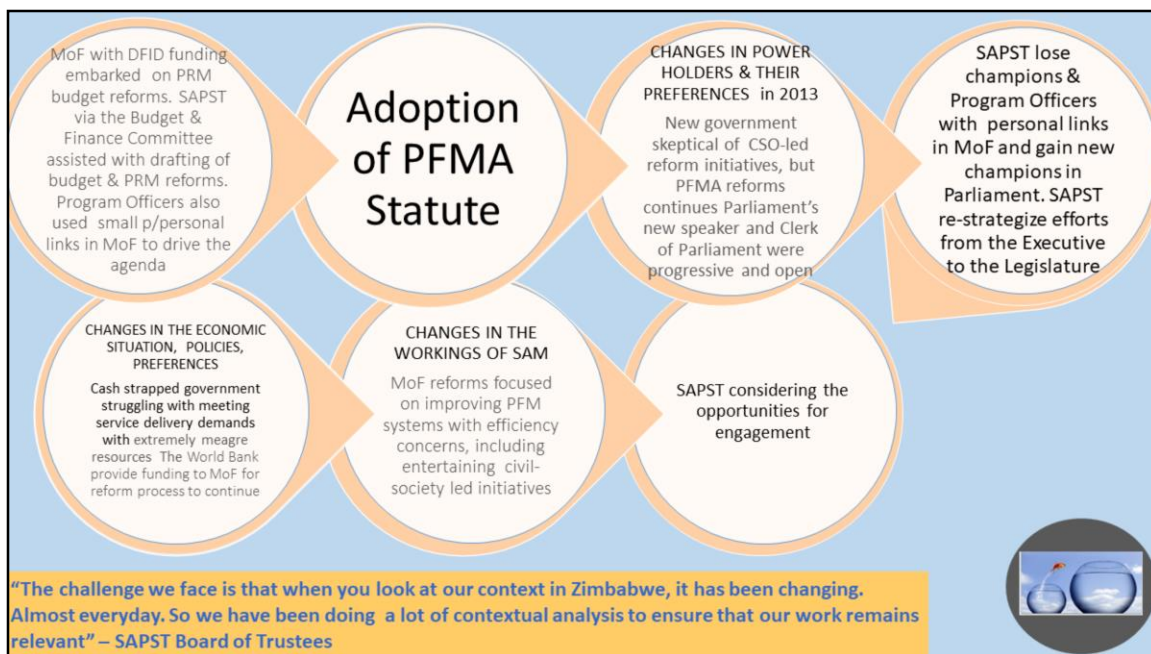


This slide contains examples of SAPST's responsiveness to contextual shifts, which are described in detail below:

SAPST identified that MPs don't give feedback to electorate and that there is no funding available to portfolio committees as well as a culture of accounting to constituents regarding budget policy, plans, service delivery performance and the like. Constituency Consultative Forums (CCFs) are unique platforms used by SAPST as way of supporting & mentoring women MPs. In addition to holding constituency meetings, the CCFs ensure constant communication between women MPs and key members of their constituencies who raise topical issues including (but not limited to) PRM & service delivery.

CCFs bridge the relationship between citizens, Oversight and the Executive. MPs with the assistance of SAPST take the issues raised in the CCFs in the form of motions and questions. In some instances SAPST and the CCF have empowered and capacitated members of the community to make oral and written submissions in Parliament. Via Constituency meetings, CCFs, have managed to develop close, strategic and valuable relationships with MPs; citizens and chairpersons of portfolio committees from various political parties who have championed and supported SAM.

In 2015, Government liberalized the airwaves. This resulted in the issuing of radio licenses giving way to the emergence of new and independent commercial radio stations. SAPST responded to this change in context by incorporating radio as a big part of their strategy. SAPST began to facilitate live public hearings via radio as well as to hold various radio programs which discussed topical issues pertaining to PRM & service delivery with key stakeholders – MPs, CSOs, Members of the Executive. Through the use of radio, SAPST has been able to advance SAM activities.

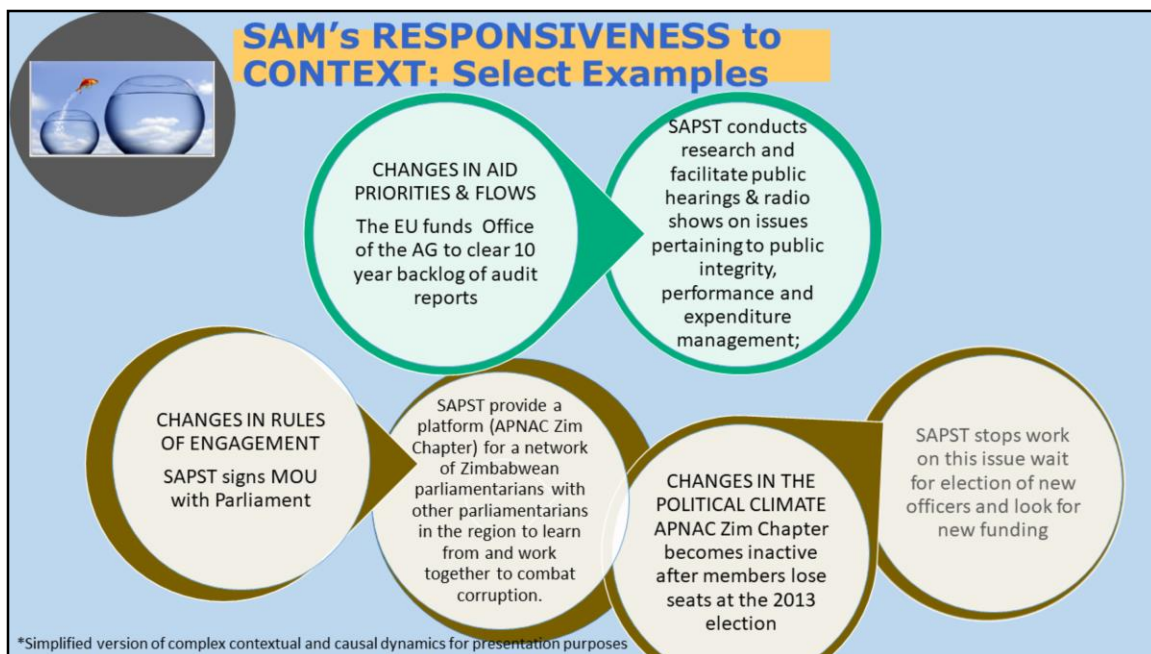


Since 2009, the Zimbabwean government with the funding support from development partners has been rebuilding and reforming the PRM system and budget processes. This was during the Government of National Unity (GNU) when political tensions were high thus SAPST were unable to push for major changes regarding the PRM reforms such as the Regulations, Programme Based Budgeting and a Parliamentary Budget Office (PBO). During the GNU, Parliament became extremely political and partisan thus efforts to do SAM in Parliament was a challenge. SAPST strategy was in addition to working with the Budget and Finance Committee in Parliament to take advantage of their personal links with MoF to still push the reform agenda. In the aftermath of GNU, the new ruling party MoF were suspicious of changes pushed by previous MoF and became a very political and closed space. On the other hand Parliament's new Speaker and new Clerk of Parliament were progressive and open. Furthermore, SAPST had a long term pre-existing relationship with the new Clerk of Parliament which they used to their advantage.

In an interview, the MoF Budget Director highlighted that PFMA reform agenda although it began in 2009, it has been ongoing. Passing PFMA law was only one facet of the reform process forming the basis of a broader long term reform process. As of 2016, MoF reforms are now focused on improving PFM systems, strengthening

strategic & budget planning, macro forecasting and general transparency and reporting. The introduction of programme based budgeting & a simplified version of a budget statement in the form of a booklet is one such initiative.

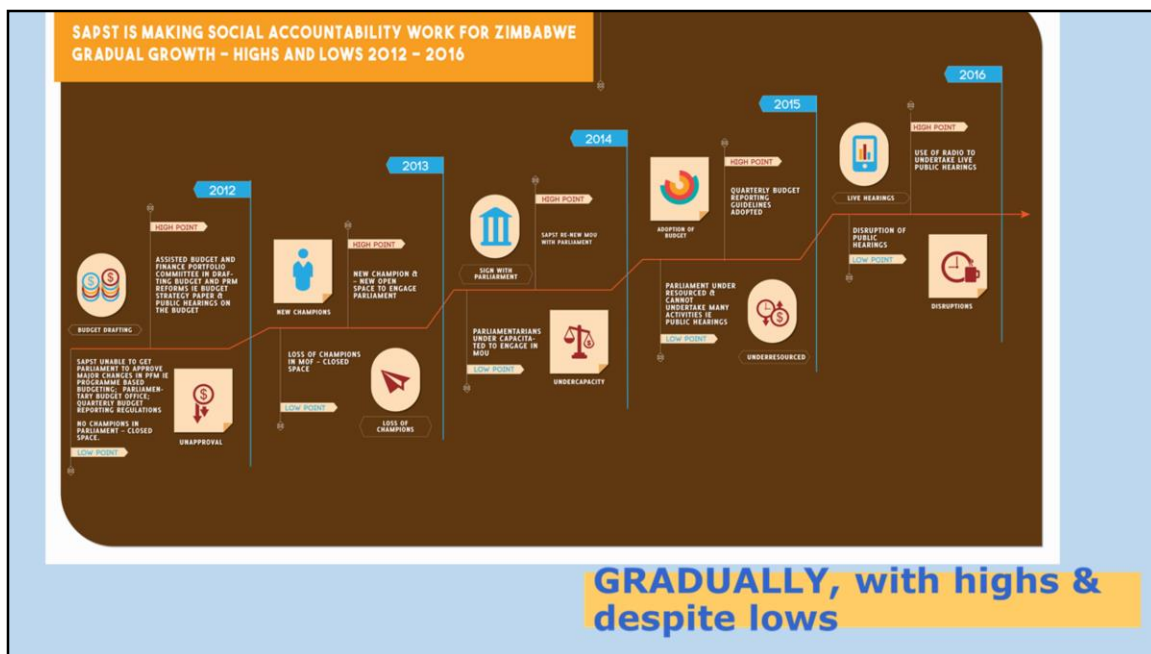
When asked why MoF was prioritizing these reforms, he said “All these initiatives are meant to ensure greater efficiency. As you are aware, the Government of Zimbabwe is cash strapped, struggling with limited resources. We need to improve resource efficiency and be able to show results. Any initiatives that help us achieve resource efficiency are welcome. We are open to partnering with CSOs to help us do this” –
MoF Budget Director



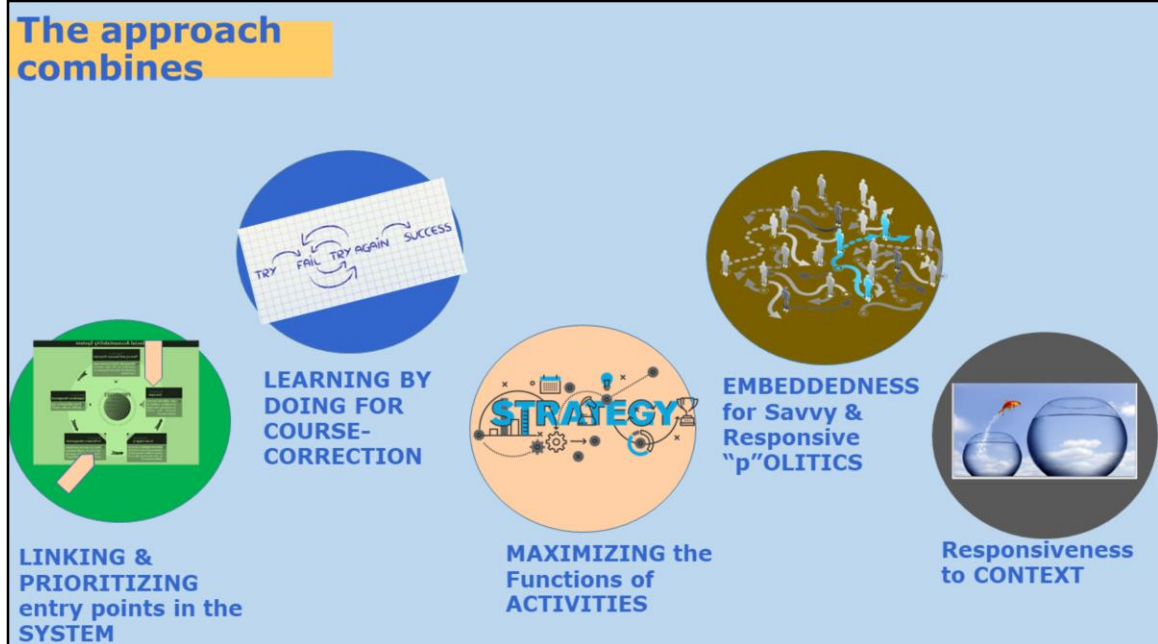
Due to resource constraints the Auditor General Office in Zimbabwe was unable to produce and keep to date with audit reports which are important for doing SAM activities such as Expenditure management, Public Integrity and Oversight. SAPST's ability to do activities in relation to the PRM processes was limited. In 2015, the AG office received EU funding which enabled the AG office to clear audit backlog. In 2016, SAPST were able to produce research and analysis on the latest audit reports for the Public Accounts Committee. SAPST also sponsored radio shows and public hearings on the findings and recommendations of the AG reports.

SAPST provided a platform and network of Zimbabwean parliamentarians with other parliamentarians in the region (APNAC) to learn from and work together to combat corruption. The APNAC Zimbabwe Chapter began during the Government of National Unity (GNU) and with Zimbabwe's 7th Parliament. After the 2013 General Elections the APNAC Zimbabwe Chapter became inactive mainly due to the fact that the Chairperson, who was championing the programme lost his parliamentary seat through expulsion as he had crossed the floor. Other members of the Chapter lost their seats at the general elections and some had been appointed into the Executive. The other factor was that the Grant which was supporting this programme came to an end.

**SAPST IS MAKING
SOCIAL
ACCOUNTABILITY
MONITORING
WORK FOR
ZIMBABWE**



SAPST's SAM journey in a context such as Zimbabwe has been filled with highs and lows. SAPST's story demonstrates patience for gradual change as well as highs and lows as part of the social accountability journey.



SAPST's Social Accountability Monitoring (SAM) journey is possible in the Zimbabwe context through

- i) Strategically adapting (through linking and prioritizing entry points in the PRM system) in response to changes in the context
- ii) Course correction and revising strategies based on learning from doing
- iii) By being embedded in relationships for politically savvy to obtain necessary changes in context and to achieve results
- i) Having patience for gradual change as well as highs and lows as part of the social accountability journey

ANNEXURES

SAPST Learning Pilot focus

- SAPST participated in the PSAM learning Pilot from the 13th -17th of February 2017. In the case of SAPST, this pilot aims to capture, analyze and reflect on why and how SAPST took on the PSAM approach and what it has accomplished.
- The pilot narrowed the focus on two strands of SAPST programs which have integrated the social accountability approach: a) The Support to Zimbabwe Budget Process Programme which strengthens the capacity of the Zimbabwean Budget Committee, and, b) The Strengthening Regional Parliamentary Budget Oversight Programme which strengthens both parliamentarians & civil society to engage in public finance management. This learning pilot case study puts an organizational and strategic issue front and center.

Methodology

- For this project we used an inductive-deductive methodology adjusted to the resources available for data collection and analysis.
- We traced and documented processes over time highlighting SAPST's application, iteration, and adaptation of the PSAM framework, highlighting the interactions and effects of key variables in a context, taking into account a theoretical framework that we improved over time. We also conducted quick but extensive political economy analysis of areas and organizational relationships of interest.
- The lessons emerged from capturing, analyzing SAPST's reflections on why and how they took on the PSAM approach and what it has accomplished and triangulating information from other stakeholders and documentation .
- Pilot activities consisted of in-depth interviews over a week with various key SAPST stakeholders including:
 - SAPST staff
 - Members of Parliament
 - Residence Associations
 - Civil Society
 - Parliamentary Staff