



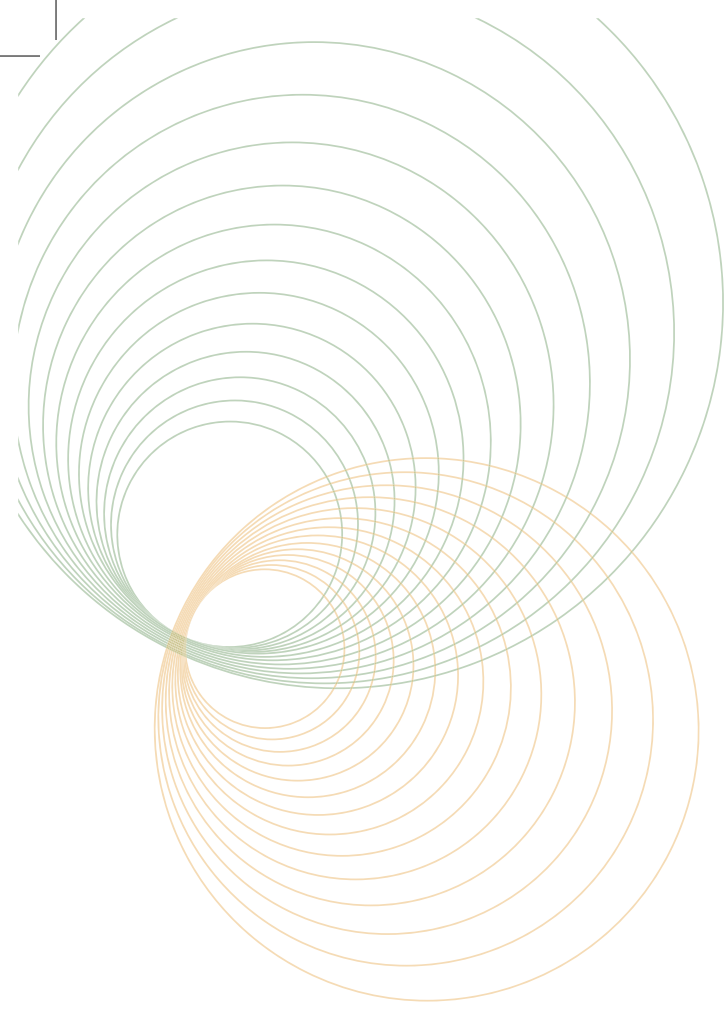
**MINDS HIGH LEVEL DIALOGUE SERIES
REPORT**

REIGNITING HOPE FOR DEMOCRACY BEYOND ELECTIONS IN ZIMBABWE

**8 – 9 NOVEMBER 2018
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MINDS
MANDELA INSTITUTE FOR DEVELOPMENT STUDIES



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As a leading Africa-wide think tank MINDS seeks to address this challenge by providing a platform for dialogue, information dissemination and networking underpinned by rigorous research on the different elements of 'Africanness', in order to shape policy and practice on governance, economic development and the evolution of African institutions for quality service delivery.





ABOUT MINDS

The Mandela Institute for Development Studies (MINDS) is a continental think tank that seeks to address the development challenges in Africa in a holistic and comprehensive manner. MINDS emerged out of the observation that development efforts in Africa have largely failed to meet expectations with respect to social, institutional and economic outcomes in comparison to other regions of the world such as Asia.

The central hypothesis in setting up MINDS, is that effective and sustainable development can only be achieved if development policies and practices are founded on the cultural heritage, value and knowledge systems and institutions of the people who are the subjects or beneficiaries of the development interventions.

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MINDS CURRENTLY RUNS FOUR PROGRAMMES



**African Heritage
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**Youth Programme
on Elections and
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Elections**




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for Leadership
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BACKGROUND

The Mandela Institute for Development Studies (MINDS) in collaboration with the Southern Africa Trust, the Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa (OSISA) and the University of Witwatersrand, School of Governance (WSG), hosted a two-day High Level Dialogue (HLD) titled, "Reigniting hope for democracy beyond elections in Zimbabwe" on the 8th and 9th November 2018, at WSG Donald Gordon auditorium in Johannesburg, South Africa.

Bringing together over 100 delegates, the dialogue was convened as a platform for collective reflection and consensus building among citizens, politicians, media specialists, academics, scholars, government representatives and select key stakeholders on the emerging character of democracy in Zimbabwe.



This dialogue has managed to keep the ball of Zimbabwean democracy rolling and it is not ending here, many more will come and will actually help us to shape the future of Zimbabwe and Africa as a whole.

Charles Tamuka Chirimambowa



DIALOGUE OBJECTIVES

The objectives for the High Level Dialogue include:

- to support movements for dialogue and reflection on forging a deeply rooted democracy beyond elections;
- unpack the challenges in translating electoral outcomes into societally owned political, social and economic outcomes;
- explore the relationship between democracy and the securitocratic State in building an inclusive and participatory political governance environment; and
- to understanding state capture in order to proffer innovative economic and development approaches for revitalising and sustaining the Zimbabwe fledgling democracy.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY



HIGH LEVEL DIALOGUE KEY OUTCOME

The dialogue focused on enhancing the understanding of and promoting solutions to Zimbabwe's governance crises. Following the July 2018 harmonised elections, as had been hoped for, neither democratic rule nor economic revitalisation has occurred. The State continues in a repressive and autocratic mode, dashing hopes and expectations for a revitalised socio-political and economic environment, and embellishing conditions that feed Zimbabwe's historic and deeply rooted polarisation.

The dialogue resolved that the quest for a democratic developmental state be anchored on a collective national vision, credible electoral democracy, and ongoing citizen participation across political, economic and social realms.



It is important for Africans to craft their own solutions, rather than looking for external contributions. This calls for good governance and meaningful policies to be implemented.

Prof. David Everatt, Head of School, Wits School of Governance

OPENING ADDRESS

The dialogue was jointly opened by co-convenors, Mr. Ian Mashingaidze, Programme Director, Mandela Institute for Development Studies (MINDS) and Prof. David Everatt, Head of School, Wits School of Governance. Both acknowledged the exciting partnership between MINDS and WSG, with Prof. David Everatt giving special recognition to the global development advocacy role played by MINDS Executive Chair, Mrs. Graça Machel. He went on to discuss the need for a holistic approach in tackling governance issues, citing the example of the Wits School of Governance Taxi Drivers Programme. He emphasised the effectiveness of integrating the taxi association and Rea Vaya bus service to deliver a successful world class transport system. He further stated that, the issue of governance should not entirely revolve around questioning leaders, but rather ensuring that citizens fully understand governance in all its facets and implications as has been evidenced in the "brain drain" in the case of Zimbabwe. He went on to discuss how current world politics is evolving with "strong men", such as Donald Trump and Emmerson Dambudzo Mnangangwa in Zimbabwe. Within the local South African context, he highlighted the issue of state capture that the country is trying to recover from, linking this to relevance and importance of Africans crafting their own solutions to similar problems, rather than looking for external contributions – this calls for good governance and meaningful foreign policies. He closed by stating that, "if you do not have strong independent institutions, good government is a pipe dream."

TOWARDS BUILDING A NATION

**MRS. GRAÇA MACHEL,
EXECUTIVE CHAIR, MINDS**

NATION BUILDING IS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF EVERYONE

In her keynote address titled, "Towards building a nation", Mrs. Machel emphasised the importance of collaborative efforts as an essential ingredient in nation building, sharing that it was this understanding that motivated MINDS to convene a dialogue on Zimbabwe, post elections. MINDS was established to create spaces for dialogues on a broad range of issues affecting the continent, in order to harness the knowledge, experience and expertise of its people in different sectors and sections of society and create a sense of belonging for all Africans. The building of a nation is a collective effort requiring every one's (i.e. civil society organisations, academia, businesses, citizens) energies and passion.

Mrs. Machel stated that, "Nation building is the responsibility of everyone. This dialogue should produce tangible lessons that can be adopted by other nations in particular lessons centred on election processes, institution progression and role of military."



Furthermore, she encouraged everyone to be careful and ensure that the end result did not reproduce systems which do not reflect the diversity and wealth of the social groups of Africa. Mrs. Machel to efforts by the government of Zimbabwe toward educating its citizens immediately after the liberation struggle, but shared her concerns on the underrepresentation of women and rural population in the leadership of Zimbabwe, stating that there is a huge deficit of meaningful participation by the government. She encouraged everyone to use their different strengths, knowledge, contributions towards attaining the common goal of nation building. Mrs. Machel emphasised the need for an inclusive space to be created to encourage everyone to participate (social pact) in the process and closed her welcoming remarks by reiterating that it is everyone's responsibility towards building the society we want.

SUMMARY OF PROCEEDINGS

PLENARY SESSION ONE:

REFLECTION ON HOW THE PREVAILING SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONTEXT CREATED THE 2018 ELECTORAL OUTCOME

PANELLISTS:

Andrew Makoni, Zimbabwe Election Support Network

Prof. Rudo Gaidzanwa, Department of Sociology, University of Zimbabwe

Rev. Passmore, Harvest International Church

MODERATOR:

Ms. Ruvheneko Parirenyatwa, Media Expert

The session highlighted several issues and challenges such as cash shortages, service delivery, state militarisation, unfulfilled promises, alienation, sub-national identities prolonging the reign of ZANU PF leadership in Zimbabwe, diaspora vote and repatriation of Zimbabweans overseas as prevailing socio-economic realities that created the 2018 electoral outcome.

The cash shortage that permeated the society immediately after the elections was characterised by inefficiency of bond notes, and the subsequent adoption of American Dollar and the South African Rand forming part of mechanism to revitalise the economic activities. Worst still, is the regression in essential social services delivery, a situation which the politicians exploited to influence the outcome of elections by to coercing voters into voting for the ruling party in order to sustain their livelihoods.

Militarisation of the State has its root in the liberation struggle of strong man's politics, which cumulated in the removal of President Robert Mugabe under the leadership of his deputy, and now President Emmerson Dambudzo Mnangagwa, a military man. Also, it was debated whether Zimbabwe qualifies to be categorised as a democratic state given the lack of transparency within the political system. The secrecy surrounding voters roll continues to delegitimise the electoral outcomes by opposition political parties and other civil society formations.

Zimbabwe's socio-political and economic landscape is characterised by alienation of numerous population groups based on ethnicity, class and gender.

This alienation of its citizens has resulted in voter apathy, brain drain and migration of youth into neighbouring countries. While sub-national identities manipulation (i.e. by race, ethnicity and religion), lack of diaspora voting, have contributed to prolonging the domination of Zimbabwe's polity by ZANU-PF.

SESSION RECOMMENDATIONS:

- Mechanisms of state resource accountability and good governance be created to ensure that funds are used to promote service delivery and not for self-enrichment.
- The role of the military as that of strictly protecting the populace and not meddling in politics be clearly defined.
- Government officials to be questioned through parliamentary enquiries, wherein civil society and related institutions can question government officials, as a means to create accountability and a culture of good governance.
- An inclusive socio-economic policy be promoted, such that the populace is not marginalised on the basis of ethnicity, class and gender, as is currently experienced in Zimbabwe, which will be achieved through collective actions from civil society, academia and business.
- Zimbabweans in the diaspora can vote in embassies. As this mechanism is already in place.
- The Nehemiah Biblical Approach to nation building, wherein the prophet gathered information about the problems his home country was experiencing. He then mobilised men to be skilled in different professions and resources to rebuild the country to make it viable and functional again.
- Need to unify and confront eroded and corrupt institutions in a bold radical manner.

LESSONS IDENTIFIED

- Process tracing as a mechanism to reflect on Zimbabwe post-1980 to date, to see where the country went wrong based on the issues and challenges canvased during the dialogue.
- The importance of independent and impartial judiciaries and institutions to advance democracy and do away with corruption and with it the erosion of state-affiliated institutions that function according to the will of governing parties across the continent. The case study of Kenya was highlighted, wherein impartiality within the judiciary ruled that election be rerun because of rigging with President Uhuru Kenyatta subsequently winning the elections with 98% of the vote making it somewhat impossible for a Supreme Court to be partial based on evidence, a rare phenomenon in Africa. One could argue that this drove Kenyatta and Odinga to reconcile in March 2018 to take their nation forward as a unified government of unity.
- Need to find ways in which citizens can contribute for society to be viable, caring and inclusive so that they are not marginalised or afforded the opportunity to participate meaningfully in politics.
- Governance should not solely revolve around employment and other key socio-economic factors as African government currently do not have the capacity to fully address the employment issue, however, they have the capacity to ensure that no one in Africa suffers of hunger by promoting agriculture particularly subsistence farming to end hunger and ensure food security as a basic human right.
- Patriarchal governance and the underrepresentation of women in positions of power.

One way of approaching this could be by creating a synergy of business, academia and civil society engagement with states to make nations work by approaching the issue of good governance holistically by promoting incorporating the key aforementioned players in politics.

Graça Machel, Executive Chair, MINDS





Young people are the majority population group in Africa and they must interrogate governance to make sure that it is just, fair and inclusive.

- Rural, women, youth, academic, unions, and religious groups: How do they contribute to the democratic agenda in a meaningful way? Civil society has to organise itself to have a space in which they engage government, business and related institutions to advance African development because they have the knowledge and capacity to bring about tangible change.
- Governance is a question of power that should be addressed with a 360 approach and should not entirely revolve around questioning the leaders but ensuring that the populace/citizens as a whole understand governance.
- Africa is on its own and experiencing a global support deficit and as such solutions must come from within the continent not external of it and in order for this to happen good governance, transparency and accountability must be prioritised and follow-up mechanisms that act as "watch-dogs" must be in place to coerce performance and successful nation-building in a proactive manner.
- If African states crumble Africa may experience an intra-migration crisis.

PLENARY SESSION TWO:

DEMOCRACY IN ZIMBABWE

PANELLISTS:

Mr. Siphosami Malunga, Executive Director, Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa
Mr. Tamuka Charles Chirimabowa, Democracy Works Foundation/Political Analyst
Ms. Judith Kamutepfa, Director for Operations at Centre for Peace Initiatives in Africa
Mr. Deprose Muchena, Southern Africa Regional Director, Amnesty International

MODERATOR:

Mr. Andrew Makoni, Board Chairperson for the Zimbabwe Election Support Network

This session highlighted several issues challenging issues confronting democratisation in Zimbabwe like the question of leadership, emerging trend in elections administration and management, state capture and inclusiveness political participation.

LEADERSHIP — ZIMBABWE'S GREATEST CHALLENGE

On the question of leadership, the moderator asked the speakers to address the audience on "strong men" vs strong institutions against the background that the Attorney General of the Republic of Zimbabwe revelation that in high profile prosecutions, he takes advice from the executive contrary to Section 26 of the Zimbabwean Constitution, which gives the office independence. Where is the missing link since there is a constitutional provision for separation of powers between the three arms of government - the executive, judiciary and legislature?

In response, the speakers agreed that there appeared to be no sense of the meaning of patriotism in Zimbabwe. Because patriotism is the love of your country and of your government, when the government deserve it. It is possible to have love for the country but still be able to criticise the government when necessary. The two ideas have failed to mutually co-exist in Zimbabwe. When Zimbabwe is compared to a natural person, at the age of 38 years, the country should have come of age in terms of its viability, dependability and good leadership. However, the necessary attributes of maturity is lacking in Zimbabwe political governance. There is a crisis of leadership in the country broadly. The book by Chinua Achebe titled, "The trouble with Nigeria", highlighted that the trouble with Nigeria is a failure by leadership. The Nigerian problem being the willingness or inability of its leaders to rise to the responsibility which is the hallmark of leadership. This can be applied to Zimbabwe and others. The speakers concurred that it is not possible to fix the decades of economic rot in a few months.

Leadership is the greatest challenge confronting Zimbabwe. The deficit has been created by the absence of imaginative leadership that is capable of imagining a new society - one that is equal, inclusive and restorative.

The impact of leadership is clearly visible among other places in the province of Matebeleland where school going children have no birth certificates and the question of justice and reparation arising from the *Gukurahundi*, where thousands of Ndebele people were killed looms large.

STATE CAPTURE - LITTLE OR NO ECONOMIC CHANGE

On the question of state capture, it is canvassed that most post-independent countries, known as "democracies" transform into tokoloshes (a Bantu folklore meaning invisible). Democracy in most post-independent Africa is merely spoken off, with its supposed benefits remaining largely invisible. The effect is exhausted nationalism, which goes into the mouth of neoliberalism. There is little or no change in economic structures on the continent. The prevailing economic development narrative is placated by foreign direct investment without real interest in domestic investment. The Zimbabwe state is dominated by a primitive accumulation of power. Thus, the focus is outward instead of inward looking. It is dominated by a parasitic group of quack-revolutionaries, vampire elites and political hyenas while the institutional framework used by these group of people has largely remained intact, meaning that effectively the state has become heavily militarised.

A FAILED STATE

Zimbabwe is a society built around the needs of the ZANU PF being a liberation movement.

The final threat is the failure to build an inclusive society. The party that has mastered the art of winning elections. It believes that it has the right to rule Zimbabwe into perpetuity, with little attention paid to the plight of its citizens. Presently, over 50% of maternal deaths are occurring between 15 to 19-year-old girls because of the pervasive deprivation of sexual reproductive rights. Furthermore, about 40% of all unsafe

abortions in Zimbabwe, are between 15 and 19-year-old girls because they are denied basic access to information about sexual reproductive rights, as the age of consent is above 18 years.

The delegates were concerned about the perception of Zimbabwe as a failed or a predatory state in which the wealth is accumulated by the political power and elite extraction of political power for person wealth creation at the expense of popular economic transformation. The failure of the state is mainly due to its inability or the unwillingness to deliver basic key services, human rights and the rule of law to its people. It is believed that this inability of the state is so severe that hospitals and schools were shut down. The irony of the Zimbabwe failed state capacity is its ability to organise and rig elections and sustain itself to stay in power for decades. The argument should move passed a failed state capacity. There is need to find a new concept beyond failed state to describing Zimbabwe's socio-economic and political realities.

Zimbabwean citizens need a capable state; capable of providing birth certificates to those who need them, capable of providing social protection mechanisms for women and girls in societies that are going through major crisis. Zimbabweans want a state that is capable formulating and implementing a macro-economic recovery plan that is developmental and democratic state.

While the challenges around the prevailing political culture is rooted in the colonial political culture which successfully created the political leadership like that of former President Robert Mugabe. The citizens must accept a level of responsibility for the cadre of leadership that current exist in the country. For example, during the November 2017 military takeover, the citizens did not take strides to decide on their leadership. The citizens left the military and ZANU-PF to decide on the nature of leadership that emerged. A counter argument was offered to this claim. It was argued that there is a two-sided relationship between the citizens and the military. Firstly, the military following the disposition of former President Robert Mugabe was considered heroes and given the blanket right to decide on the leadership that subsequently emerged. The citizens did not have the privilege of determining their leadership because the military "were everywhere and ran everything". Secondly, the military and other security apparatus allegedly perpetrated gross human rights violations against the citizens.

The intention of the dialogue is not to come up with solutions. This dialogue aims to identify issues and then engage constructively on how to solve the issues. People do have power. People must take back their power instead of giving it to someone else. While the way you use the power is to fix all the issues been talked about at this dialogue.

When people went to street to demand for the removal of former President Robert Mugabe, people did not say what kind of a leader they want. Zimbabweans has another four years to decide on what it wants. When you know what you want, you can say to any candidate, whether it is an opposition party or an independent candidate, this is what we want, and we will vote only if you adopt our aspirations. Similarly, it is important to have a governance system that keeps government functionaries accountable and ensures that academics and intellectuals who have the knowledge of governance and human rights are informing the discourse on a call for renewed leadership that is cognisance of modern day economic and political challenges.

SESSION RECOMMENDATIONS

- Zimbabweans must appreciate the power they hold and chart the next step forward for its political development.
 - The agenda for defending democracy must also include rights; you cannot develop the economy without rights development. The most vulnerable members of a society must be considered when building an economy project. An inclusive society must be built if the crisis is not to extend into the future especial the future of women, young girls and young men.
 - Defending democracy must also include human rights; you cannot develop the economy without respect for human rights. The most vulnerable members of our society must be considered when building an economic project. We have an inclusive society ideal that we need to build because if we do not do that the crisis will extend to our future especial the future of women, young girls and young men.
 - Educating communities to desist from talking negatively about the country, "we must also educate our parents and our children." All citizens have a part to play and to educate communities about what went wrong and how it can be corrected.
 - Zimbabweans must take on the responsibility of rebuilding the nation. The most important thing that the people must do is to ensure that there is a correct narrative of where Zimbabwe has come from, and how the challenges can be corrected.
- There is need for a national healing. It important to restore hope to the people of Zimbabwe to counter the desperate hopelessness because people are dejected.

PLENARY SESSION THREE:

DEMOCRACY AND INSTITUTION BUILDING

PANELLISTS:

Prof. Annie Chikwanha, Department of Political Studies, University of Johannesburg

Mr. Patrick Ayuk, Executive Director Sam Smith, Executive Director Sam Soya Centre for Democracy and Human Rights

Ms. Maureen Kademunga, Founder and Director, Women for Women Zimbabwe and "She Votes" Campaign

Pastor Cynthia Vuyiswa Qongo, Evangelical Fellowship Zimbabwe; Daniel Mususa, Social Activist

MODERATOR:

Mr. Marlon Zakeyo, Executive Manager, Policy and Programmes, Southern Africa Trust

This session highlighted several issues and challenges confronting democracy and institutional building such as abuse of misuse of institutions of governance in the form of systematic corruption, lack of technical skills, and 'zanurisation' of government institutions.

On the question of Zimbabwe's political institutions, the view was expressed that Zimbabwe has strong political institutions which are used to sustain ZANU-PF politico-administrative regime through legitimatisation, repression and co-option. For example, the legitimisation of the November 2017 coup happened through the parliamentary processes of impeachment, the repression of dissenting voices and popular activism by the military while co-option within the system takes place when the court system is employed to protect Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC) in its constitutional obligation failures. Although there is existence of a strong constitution, the provisions of the constitution is often flouted. How to transition the state from an authoritarian to a more open, and inclusive regime where there is respect for rule of law and integrity of political institutions integrity remains a major challenge facing the Zimbabwe political system. Political Institutions are allegedly systematic corrupt and lawless. Political institutions must be reformed if the realisation of democratic dividends is to be achieved. Zimbabwe does not need creation of new institutions but political institutions that are not subjected to dictates of 'strong men'.

RESTORING THE LEGITIMACY OF ELECTORAL PROCESS

The past elections have not been regarded as free and fair by political oppositions. There are concerns that the electoral administration and management processes are designed to favour to incumbent party. The challenge is how to restore the legitimacy of electoral process, the rule of law and credibility of political institutions. Opposition political parties and religious bodies have the responsibility to ensure fairness of the political systems and ensure that rights of minorities are protected. The role of the church and other religious institutions is critical in building strong political institutions and in holding politicians accountable to support the strengthening of democratic institutions. The repressive capacity of the state must be transformed into a capable developmental state that is transparent and accountable to its citizens. The present model of nation building premised on transplanting foreign ideas is destroying locally generated innovative solutions driven by young people across different regions in Zimbabwe.



Through this high level dialogue we seek to interrogate the status quo and proffer innovative economic and development approaches that will revitalize Zimbabwe's fledgling democracy.

*Ian Mashingaidze,
Programme Director, MINDS*

PLENARY SESSION FOUR:

PARTICIPATION OF YOUTH IN ELECTIONS AND DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE

PANELLISTS:

Ms. Rosewita Katsande, Director, Youth Empowerment and Transformation Trust;
Mr. Zenzele Ndebele, Director Centre for Innovation and Technology, Zimbabwe;
Mr. Douglas Tigere, Students' Christian Movement of Zimbabwe;
Ms. Cecilia Chimbiri, Founder and Chairperson, Young Women Network.

MODERATOR:

Ms. Caroline Makumbe, Graça Machel Trust (GMT)

This session highlighted several issues and challenges confronting the democratic governance project in Zimbabwe as young unemployment and work opportunities; accountability and transparency; and apathy around mobilising for change.

SHIFTING PARADIGM ON YOUTH PARTICIPATION

The session underscored a common theme that young people have been left behind by government in the process of nation building only to be engaged during elections, which has effectively created a sense of hopelessness among young people.

It is important for young people to actively participate in electoral processes and nation building for many reasons:

- 1 Young people are the majority in the Zimbabwe. Even though young people are often regarded as a homogeneous group, young people are a diverse group;
- 2 Young people are the largest non-voters population group who are apathetic about election and care little about politics;
- 3 Young people are the most stable partisan voters across all political parties with high propensity towards violence; and
- 4 Young people also have a disproportionately high percentage of unstable voters who do not know have party allegiance, and are easily influenced by free political party merchandise like T-shirts, caps, alcohol etc.

YOUNG PEOPLE ARE BEGINNING TO MOBILISE AROUND ISSUES OF NATIONAL INTEREST

Groups like Tajamuka are beginning to mobilise youth participation in electoral and governance processes, especially to demand accountability from elected officials. The example of Zambia, where young people are holding elected politicians accountable was also cited because there is a realisation now that their votes count.

Young people need the necessary support to actively participate in electoral process. If they are the majority of the citizens of Zimbabwe - then this should be reflected in the leadership positions.

Youth organisations must intensive efforts at encouraging peer-to-peer mobilisation as witness during the harmonised elections to wrestle power away from seasoned old guard politicians with huge amount of financial resources.

Young people must support each other and push for the implementation of quotas in political parties to be reserved for young people as is happening for women. It is time for young people to achieve a quota system in politics.

During the elections, the opposition party fielded more young people as contestant for the position of counsellors and members of parliament. Young people should take hold of the opportunity presented by the introduction of technologies in elections to become involved in elections. Furthermore, the young need to advocate for the ratification and investigation of regional instruments, for example the African Charter on Democracy Electoral and Governance, which President Mnangagwa has signed but not yet ratified. As young people look forward to the 2023 elections, they must push for the ratification of the charter, as it helps in building democracy and ensuring that the incumbent does not change the Constitution, as has happened in the past.

REIGNITING HOPE FOR DEMOCRACY BEYOND ELECTIONS IN ZIMBABWE

Post-independence youth need to reflect on where they have gone wrong if they are to realise the power inherent within them. The power of the youth has often been harvested by older people, which contributed to why the former President Robert Mugabe prevailed over youth fears and successfully enrolled them as instruments of political disruption, violence and intimidation - by offering them various incentives like money, paraphernalia, posts in government etc.

Even though the emergence of social movement like Tajamuka and #shevotes2018 have contributed greatly to mobilising and increasing youth voter turnout in the 2018 elections, the challenge confronting democratisation following the elections, there is still a sense of hopelessness, in the face of the worsening socio-economic crisis, state sponsored violence, and disproportionate representation of young people among elected political representatives.

There is a need for a paradigm shift on how to increase youth representation, and participation in democratisation beyond elections to include work around how to make government and elected representatives transparent and accountable to the electorates.

Of the
210
elected
representatives,
only
6
are youth.

Young people must converge to building a national agenda and arise above fragmentation, and work extra hard for the future, if not, it is going to be another missed opportunity.

SOCIAL COHESION

A PSYCHOLOGICALLY FRAGILE NATION

On issues of social cohesion, it is observed that the Mugabe regime badly affected the psychology of the average Zimbabwean.

It is not only poverty that has damaged the people, but emotional torture inflicted on the country's citizens that has created a psychologically fragile nation.

Young people must find a mechanism to overcome the fear of government that was created in the minds of the people, as well as dominant effects of patriarchy. The belief that political sphere is an arena for men only, without the conscious inclusion of females, is a missed opportunity in building a nation that embraces its diversity.

SESSION RECOMMENDATIONS

The recommendations from this session are grouped into three categories:

- Politically, need to build on the 2018 successes to sustain youth interest in elections and other public engagement processes, through continuous electoral education campaigns in preparation of the 2023 elections
- Economically, need to address the economic challenges being faced by youth and to come up with practical and sustainable solutions
- Socially, as the primary institution for socialization, the family must begin by creating an enabling environment for children to be included in decision making processes, from an early age.



PLENARY SESSION FIVE:

FORGING A RESILIENT AND INCLUSIVE SOCIAL CONTRACT IN ZIMBABWE AND BEYOND: DIFFERENT PERSPECTIVES

PANELLISTS:

Prof. Erin McCandless, Associate Professor at WSG and, Director, Forging Resilient Social Contracts

Dr. Showers Mawowa, Deputy Director, Southern Africa, Liason Office

Dr. Godfrey Kanyenze, Founding Director of the Labour and Economic Development Research Institute of Zimbabwe

Prof. Frederick Sadomba, University of Zimbabwe

MODERATOR:

Mr. Glen Mpani, Managing Partner, Shikam

The session identified three drivers of a resilient social contract, other cross-cutting issues and how such contracts can facilitate attaining and sustaining peace namely political settlements, institutions and social cohesion.

During the session it was argued that the political settlements and social contract-making spheres and mechanisms are increasingly inclusive and responsive to core conflict issues. The early stages of political settlements (and notably the peace agreement) or political transitions offer possibilities for redefining parameters for inclusion and exclusion, and positioning of different groups and issues - often with long-term effects both negative and positive presenting a paradox as seen with the case of Zimbabwe. Inclusion/exclusion and the positioning of groups and issues in Zimbabwe occurs through exclusion - which sometimes transforms groups into spoilers, and the propensity for informal agreements to undermine official agreements/processes.

POWER-SHARING AND TRANSITIONAL MECHANISMS

Some power-sharing and transition-monitoring mechanisms have brought new parties into national governance. In Zimbabwe, where power-sharing arrangements were negotiated, these reflected entrenched elite political settlements and ultimately failed. Power sharing produced a promising new and more inclusive constitution, but policy efforts were stymied by the end to the power-sharing in 2013 after the elections wherein ZANU PF rigged the elections. This aforementioned was illustrated with the Global Political Agreement (GPA) that fostered the government of unity.

The GPA offered hope for a more inclusive path to addressing Zimbabwe's historic grievances and for transcending the 'political contracts'. The agreement, however, ultimately manifested as 'an agreement to disagree,' reflecting ZANU-PF positions on land, the liberation struggle and sovereignty, and MDC positions on constitutional reforms, human rights, rule of law, the impartiality of chiefs and state organs, and free political activity. This means that Zimbabwe has ineffective transitional mechanisms.

Institutions (formal, customary and informal) are increasingly effective and inclusive and have broadly shared outcomes that meet societal expectations and enhance state legitimacy. State institutions, which are the hardware for implementing formal agreements (including peace agreements, political covenants, power-sharing agreements, etc.) and fostering more inclusive political settlements, are often not sufficiently or effectively engaged in core conflict issues (CCIs), including at subnational levels. In Zimbabwe, this occurs through corruption and poor institutions. With respect to the political question CCI, devolution, a Zimbabwe Human Rights Commission (ZHRC), a National Peace and Reconciliation Commission (NPRC) and an independent judiciary among others have been achieved on paper, but are yet to be fully realised in practice as revealed in with the partiality of the Zimbabwe judiciary with regards to prospective rigging by ZANU-PF.

Additionally, customary, informal and other non-state structures and systems play an important role, though at times contested, institutional functions, particularly at sub-national levels, yet, for the most part, they are neither officially nor systematically integrated into an inclusive political settlement, resulting in overlapping – and at times competing – social contracts. Despite the commonly shared strong sense of national identity, subnational contracts can be identified in Zimbabwe, namely political contracts between political parties and societal groups, and those related to ethnic/tribal and traditional authorities (chiefs).

SOCIAL COHESION IMPACTED BY HISTORICAL NARRATIVES

Social cohesion is broadening and deepening, with formal and informal ties and interactions binding society horizontally (across citizens and between groups) and vertically (in the relations between citizens/ groups, state). The legacies of state formation and poor progress in achieving inclusive political settlements and providing fair service delivery can weaken vertical cohesion. State-formation processes, including colonisation and decolonisation, and the historical narratives that persist and develop around them, that have enduring effects on state-society relations and that shape vertical and horizontal relationships in ways that are difficult to change. This is particularly the case if historical political settlements continue to privilege elites and to entrench ethnic divisions and inequalities and generally do not address the asymmetries that underpin grievances and become core conflict issues. Horizontal inter-group social cohesion holds promise at the level of daily interactions, i.e. between neighbours, but tends to be negatively affected by the polarising political dynamics and non-inclusive governance practices that can weaken vertical social cohesion.

In the case of Zimbabwe, this is illustrated by communication between groups, such as neighbourly relations and as fostered by diaspora. These are often not a problem until political issues provoke, catalyse and/or enhance group divisions, whether by design or chance. This is the case especially where there are perceptions that the state favours some groups over others. Polarisation processes are driven by elites, such as mobilising identity, fear, and prejudice for political purposes.

The Zimbabwean populace has little trust in the government and would rather put their trust in religious leaders. While the major challenges facing Zimbabwe are embedded in three historical mistakes – the Lancaster Agreement, Unity Accord and the Global Political Agreement (GPA). The mistakes in these processes is that they are elite drive political settlement; one that fails to address co-conflict methods. If you look at the data from mass public opinion points to the fact that the majority of Zimbabweans prefer a government of national unity but the government does not address because those who stage the coup assumed that they know what Zimbabweans want so there was no dialogue with the people on what they want and these are driven by the lack of institutional mechanisms to support agreed reforms. An example is the 2013 constitution and its failure to be implemented is embedded in the lack of proper institutional mechanisms but there is also an issue of informal agreements such as those that transpired at the Lancaster house where secret agreements were made and this is vivid now because it is not certain what the coup plotters planned themselves and the country is stuck in reforms that could have possibly been orchestrated by the coup plotters themselves.

The political institution post-Mugabe is in crisis due to the failure to transform colonial institutions. Additionally, internationally actors have played a role in undermining resilience in social contracts as they support exclusive and elitist social contracts and they do not address co-conflict issues in desperation to ignore the past which in itself does not build social cohesion.

THE MILITARISATION OF THE ZIMBABWEAN STATE

The militarisation of the state started immediately after demobilisation of freedom fighters in 1980. However, the demobilisation was a physical exercise and did not address the psychological effects of liberation. When some of the freedom fighters went back to the rural areas, they could afford food or pay school fees for their children. While the ex-combatants were kept very close to politics by the nationalists and the politicians and were used as instruments for campaigns and harassment of people in the rural areas for the purposes of survival. The ruling political party (ZANU-PF) following the struggle organised themselves into popular committees that govern the rural areas. The rural areas have no district commissioners, meaning that essential services workers depend on permissions from the popular committees for service delivery.

These structures are highly hierarchical, centrally controlled and dominated by the military and have contributed to undermining the traditional civil service structure.

SESSION RECOMMENDATIONS

- Look to countries that have gone through similar situations and utilize a bottom-up approach that promotes state-citizen engagement to address the present alienation and restore social contracts that are pro-citizens and seek to advance development and do away with the militarisation of the state that is present in Zimbabwe.
- Address open-wounds not just simply ignoring the past as that exacerbates ethnic divisions as witnessed with the Gukurahundi that has resulted in strong ethnic divisions between the Amashona and the Amandebeles.
- Strengthen stronger civil society engagement and inclusivity of all citizens be promoted in addressing national grievances.

PLENARY SESSION SIX:

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CRISIS AND DEMOCRATIC SOLUTIONS

PANELLISTS:

Farai Munashe Nkomo, Coordinator SIVIO Institute

Dr. Toendepi Shonhe, University of South Africa

Prof. David Sanders Emeritus Professor of School of Public Health, University of the Western Cape

Nigel Mugamu, CEO and Founder of 263Chat

MODERATOR:

Prof. Patrick Bond, Distinguished Professor of Political Economy, Wits School of Governance

This session discussed issues around lack of financial resources from government to kick start the economy; government over reliance on taxes as the only revenue source; limited economic activities within the economy; lack external support for the economy; linkages between related socio-economic challenges within the economy; health; and information and media related challenges.

The greatest challenge currently faced by the Zimbabwean economy is that the government's pockets are not "deep enough" to finance development programs and this leads to a host of other problems. For example, the policies instituted by the government are increasingly becoming unsustainable; as a result, the government continues to borrow money to finance programs like Command Agriculture. The government is increasingly relying on local commercial banks for debt, therefore the debt levels are also unsustainable. The Zimbabwean people could hardly afford taxes required for the use of electronic forms of payment and now the 2% tax increase has worsened the situation, particularly for the "poor of the poorest at the bottom of the pyramid."

Another major economic problem is the limited economic activities. With an economy that is agro-based, the agricultural system of Zimbabwe has the potential to be a vehicle for the country's development, but the challenge is that the current class of farmers have no access to free tenure. This creates further problems in accessing finances to improve agricultural productivity.

RESOURCE MOBILISATION

Another major challenge faced by Zimbabwe is that the President and his Finance Minister seek solutions outside of the country, while not enough effort is being made to foster domestic resource mobilisation. As a result, there are no financiers from Zimbabwe that can contribute to the development of the country. "Is our private sector so dead that it cannot afford to make investments in critical and strategic centres for our economy?" The National Social Security "is sitting" on a lot of money" which is kept in commercial banks. This money could instead be issued to the Ministry of Health so that these funds are used to refurbish hospitals and to benefit the pensioners and workers. The Minister has expressed his intention to privatise state-owned enterprises, namely, NetOne, TelOne, and the People's Bank. These entities will be tendered to global corporations. However, this offer does not extend to domestic companies; in any case, if bidding is done at a global level, there is no way smaller domestic companies would be able to compete given the high transactional costs of competitive bidding. This gives rise to the final issue which is the uncertainty regarding how the new business and finance models that are going to underpin these privatised enterprises are going to include the interests of communities and how the community benefits will be realised.

ZIMBABWE'S FARMING COMMUNITY - A KEY CONSTITUENT

If we link socio-economic issues to democratic outcomes, this results in a perception that due to the lack of democracy, there is a negative impact on the economy and as a result people vote for the opposition party. Furthermore, there is a perception that the lack of legitimacy will lead to economic challenges. In the agricultural sector, there's a new set of farmers, 300,000 households, that have been resettled and a further 22,000 middle-scale farmers who have also been resettled; these farmers are actually producing on the ground. They add to an existing 1 300,000 farmers, therefore about 1.6 million households are involved in agriculture. If you give an average of 4 voters to each of these households, the result is more 4 million voters and yet the opposition is not linked these people and does not understand the circumstances and issues around these people. As a result, these votes go to the Zanu-PF. The Command Agriculture is targeting the middle scale farmers (22,000 farmers) out of 1.6 million farmers and only the elites are benefitting from the process. Therefore, the new administration is creating a new class of elites that are connected to Zanu-PF politics. The intention is to reverse what has been happening with contract farming which is currently sponsoring 70% of tobacco produced in the country; tobacco is also the second in exports in Zimbabwe. This means due to tobacco exports, there is money going directly to rural

communities. In 2015, they received \$16 million which is used to shape local developments. This income is divorced from the Zanu-PF and the opposition parties.

However, the economics are being shaped by fear as the major driving force. The Zimbabwean power structure is shaped in such a way that the military, better known as the Joint Operations Command (JOC) is at the top. Everyone, including the Zanu-PF, cabinet and the judiciary reports to the JOC. After the JOC, Zanu-PF, cabinet ministers and the parliament, the next power level constitutes of the administrators, chiefs and village heads who are commandeered to suppress the people on the ground. Therefore, the infusion of democracy in such a structure is a huge task. Zanu-PF took advantage of the violence that it has already perpetrated on the people and simply reminds them of this violence. The ignorance of the people is reflected in their lack of knowledge regarding the contents of the new Constitution and that half of this Constitution has not been implemented. People in the rural areas do not know their rights and if you combine this with fear and poverty, it results in easy state capture. As a result, citizens are passive and unable to participate meaningfully in any system. They either support the Zanu-PF, in order to receive some benefits or they leave the country.

A GROWING HEALTH CRISIS

In relation to the health challenges, the outbreak of cholera which led to 30 deaths in September 2018 was predicated against the deep effect of structural adjustments on the health system. The key risk factors are the deterioration of sanitary and health infrastructure, increased rural-urban migration and the contamination of water sources from boreholes and shallow wells. The epidemic caused a death of 50 people while approximately 10,000 people were infected. The public health response to dealing with the emergency has been the establishment of 4 cholera treatments centres, community engagement to raise awareness about cholera and the involvement of volunteers to spread the word. Regulations for food have also been enforced. Despite interventions, the root causes of the problem remain un-addressed because this is a repeated case of the 2008 outbreak of cholera. By the end of that year, they had been almost 30,000 cases and over 1,500 deaths. The major causes of the 2008 outbreak are similar to those of the current epidemic namely, the collapse of infrastructure serving the high density areas in Harare in particular; because of water cut-offs, people have been forced to dig shallow wells and because the sewage infrastructure has not been repaired, the sewages leak into the shallow wells from which people drink and contract cholera as a result. The question is why has the infrastructure not been repaired? This is due to the capturing of the Zimbabwean water authority by the Zanu-PF over the last

15 years to be used as a source of finance for the ruling party. It is interesting to note that there was no indigenous cases of cholera in Bulawayo because the water authority in Bulawayo remained under the control of the city council, not the party.

The health crisis in Zimbabwe is not just related to the cholera epidemic; that is just the tip of the iceberg. There is crisis in the area of child mortality, infant mortality (the death of children under 1 year), the deaths of mothers, and maternal mortality which are all significantly high. This is all due to the collapse of the health system and people cannot afford emergency transport. There are huge problems with nutrition in children and women. Surprisingly, the prevalence of HIV is currently low; this could be due to either a drop in the acquisition of HIV or people dying because they cannot get their treatment.

A further challenge is that women have problems in terms of accessing health care and there is a financing crisis in the health sector; only 20% of the contribution to health expenditure in the public sector of Zimbabwe is from Zimbabwe, all the rest relies on donor assistance. This leads to stock out of medicines and low occupancy in hospitals because people cannot get treatment.

SESSION RECOMMENDATIONS

- Zimbabwean state and citizens must deal with ignorance by educating citizens about their rights, for instance, the UN Declaration, UN charter and even section 13 of the Zimbabwean Constitution provided citizens with socio-economic rights that they are not aware of. The speaker conducted research in Bindura and was shocked to learn that in order for one to obtain a job at the TM Supermarket, it is necessary to obtain approval from the Zanu PF chairperson in Bindura. Similarly, in the town of Mutoko, the Zanu PF chairperson's approval is needed for one to sublet their own property. This is the extent of the intrusion perpetrated by the system.
- Social movements should try to speak to the people's language and make suggestions that do reflect people's reality. Solutions must be provided for the challenges faced by the people on a day-to-day basis. Information must be provided to ordinary citizens in a way that is easy to understand and such information must be made available for free.
- We need to find a way to educate others on all the information that we are sharing and discussing at these dialogues and we must demystify all these big words for normal citizens to understand.
- In order to deal with ignorance, funds are needed for civil society and political players and the challenge is that there has been a change in direction by the donor community in Zimbabwe. As mentioned before, donors have shifted their focus; they want to be part of the patronage where there are resources. These donors are large global corporations and countries that are condoning the current structure which is "open for business but closed for citizens." The reason why the Zimbabwe has a government with such a structure, is because of the disarticulated economy that is designed in such a way as to help the developed wealth. Therefore, government is not accountable to the people.
- Short-term necessary interventions are needed to strengthen emergency management of cholera outbreak and urgently make necessary repairs to water, and sanitation infrastructure.
- Medium-term necessary interventions to extend external funds to undertake renewal of water/sanitation infrastructure and to rebuild the health sector.
- Long-term necessary interventions be directed at re-establishing representative governance structures in health and other social sectors as well as revitalising the economy by promoting services led by employment and economic growth with investment in social sectors.



PLENARY SESSION SEVEN:

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND ACTIVISM

PANELLISTS:

Elinor Sisulu, Executive Director, Puku Childrens Literature Foundation

Munjodzi Mutandiri, Zimbabwe Solidarity Forum

Promise Mukwanazi, Tajamuka, and ex-President of the Zimbabwe National Student Union

Minnlee Tagwirei, Zimbabwe National Student Union

MODERATOR:

Ms. Ruvheneko Parirenyatwa, Media Expert

The session addressed the status of social movement activism in Zimbabwe and the need to talk about social media and its applications in the case of Zimbabwe.

A report published in Zimbabwe in 2017, highlighted that there were over 13 million subscribers across all mobile networks. With the population of Zimbabwe sitting at about 13 million citizens, using the subscription numbers from the report, it could be reasonably taken that there is a 100% mobile penetration in Zimbabwe. Thus, the critical importance of the session to highlight the impact of the social movement which has been created by this form of communication.

Everyone seems to have mobile phone- even grandmothers who live in rural areas

The moderator shared an example of her grandmother who has a mobile smartphone with access WhatsApp and Facebook that she uses to talk with her, but also to watch her on her shows. This indicates that there are many more ways in which people are communicating nowadays. However, the price of data is still too high. Although, some attempts have been made more recently to increase access and connectivity across the country, by the lowering of data prices by 4% and increasing the number of cell base stations.

IMPROVING THE SOCIAL MOVEMENT IN ZIMBABWE

Some of the social movements that have been used effectively to highlight causes and mobilise citizens include:

- 1) #This is Zimbabwe Movement**, which started a few years ago and has been key in turning around Zimbabwean politics
- 2) The Tajamuka Movement**, that was started by one of the panellists, Promise Mukwanazi
- 3) The No Bond Notes Movement** which was successful in sparking a massive conversation on social media platforms, from the likes of Pastor Evan Mawarire, Fadzai Mahere, Baba Jukwa, as well as others like Magayise on Twitter.

The dialogue enabled those present to gain a deeper understanding of the characterisation of Zimbabweans in relation to other Zimbabweans. It was disturbing to note that when Zimbabweans stand up to speak, they seem to revel in taking subtle jabs towards other Zimbabweans, even those within the pro-democracy movement. This raises serious questions, leading the moderator to ask, “if we are unable to find common ground as a pro-democracy movement, how is it possible to engage at international dialogues?”

At some point Zimbabweans need to reflect on who they are and at an individual level because we cannot build the Zimbabwe we want when we cannot relate to each other properly.

Zimbabweans must realise that they have the power to use their work in organisations or as working individuals as a connecting force, to join people together rather than to separate them. People must begin to identify the issues that can ignite in a positive way. The fact that someone in the previous day's session said that Zimbabweans are mad and crazy was hurtful to hear and an affront to the open platform that the dialogue offered. It is problematic when fellow Africans believe that the challenges and issues faced by Zimbabwe can be brushed that easily. Zimbabweans are mobilising with the resources that they have at hand and rather than arguing on whether a strategy has been successful or not, the first step is rather to realise the power and potential of people; and how this sense of togetherness and diversity as a nation can be harnessed to move the country forward. This is more than a social movement, but rather a focus on a

solidarity movement. Since November 2018 the environment in which the social movement has been operating has been quite difficult, as all indications to the outside world by the government indicates that the country is now functioning properly and they are focused on getting the economy on track. The problem arises in that by doing so the Zimbabwe government's duty is to only deal with issues of the economy, which immobilises the human rights and democracy discourse, that appear to have lesser importance. Thus when activists and movements like Tajamuka try to raise issues of democracy they appear out of tune with what the government is focusing on. The birth of community-based organisations in Zimbabwe has been encouraging to see, as these organisations understand the need to mobilise at a local level.

When we talk about solidarity we focus so much on what divides us and not what unites us

Much work been done over the past 10 to 20 years where people have tried to mobilise the international community and regional solidarity movements, however there is no coherent voice coming out of Zimbabwe from civil society as they have different views and opinions on the type of solidarity being offered. The Zimbabwe Solidarity Forum has defined what they call "the people to people solidarity". This is aimed at connecting individuals within their respective groupings, for example linking labour with labour, students with students around issues that they resonate with; and then connecting these groups within the larger sub sectors. Evidence of the success of this approach led to the Zimbabwe Solidarity Forum sending a delegation of 25 people from across sectors and movements to undertake a pre electoral assessment. As part of the lived experience approach, the delegation were accommodation in private homes in order to do a proper assessment of what was happening on the ground. The report on the findings was launched before the elections. Some of the issues highlighted were also picked by other observer missions, indicating that solidarity itself can be a vehicle to transform society as we can relate with one another. Therefore, Zimbabwe and its challenges should not be viewed in isolation. SADC needs to identify issues that people and movements can rally behind o build, in this way using issues to unite and form alliances and work together.

Within the Zimbabwe diaspora there is a large and strong solidarity movement. In order to move the country forward, the different groups of Zimbabweans, those within the country, those in the region and citizens living abroad need to link up with the solidarity movement and start working together in a cohesive way. The cross-border associations made up of Zimbabweans who have moved into South Africa are a massive community and have money and power to raise issues and define what needs to be done for Zimbabwe to move forward. To take advantage of these power, Zimbabweans must be sufficiently organised and mobilised to put pressure on the government of Zimbabwe. It is not about raising placards but building relationships with regional bodies and institutions and political parties outside of Zimbabwe.

A STUDENT'S PERSPECTIVE - MINNLEE TAGWIREI

The military deployment in all state institutions including in the education sector was seen as a measure by the government to curb and control student movement and monitor student behaviour. This led to students realising their power in society.

Moving onto the issue of firing of nurses; one may say they are not part of students, but as students they are our parents, and therefore what affects our parents affects us as students. The firing of nurses impacted students as their parents were left jobless, leading to some students having to drop out of school, because of this military state. The reason why nurses were fired was because they wanted to show their grievances through a peaceful demonstration, but in return they were fired from work. Then on 11 November 2018, the ZCTU leaders were taken by the military.

The new 2% tax removed the voice of people in policy-making as it was introduced without any engagement with the people. This shows a government becoming inhuman, as they no longer consider the feelings of the people, or that they are a government of the people but they think they are a government of the elite. This tax has had a significant impact on students and citizens. It has led to high prices on basic commodities and services and has led to scarcity of basic goods. There are almost daily changes in the prices of goods, whilst some goods are charged only in US dollars. However, civil servants earn bond notes which is not enough to cater for basic needs; these civil servants happen to be our parents. Our government is a diabolic government because it ignores its citizens; it is a confrontational state that does not engage in dialogues with its citizens offering policies that do not favour the citizens.

As part of the push back by students to the military state they held a Great Zimbabwe demonstration; but within an hour the military arrived and dispersed the students with teargas. This led to students re-strategising and taking on a "wake up and go" demonstration approach. A strong solidarity network in the region, the continent and internationally was formed as a means to overcome and find ways to work through the challenges faced by students who were becoming traumatised and depressed by the actions of the state. The suspension and expulsion of many students has led to a big decrease in the number of student activists, as they have lost their zeal to continue in activism as they feel that it only results in suspension or expulsion, and no other institution in Zimbabwe would want to enrol them. A programme to help students in these solidarity networks to continue to go to school and continue with the student movement needs to be established.

TAJAMUKA - CREATING POSITIVE CHANGE FOR YOUNG ZIMBABWEANS

Tajamuka in short it means that we as the young people of Zimbabwe are outraged. We wanted to find a way to channel that anger towards something positive for our country. It is a non-violent and peaceful movement. Tajamuka fights for social justice political reform and economic freedom for the young people in the country.

Tajamuka was established out of the realisation that for a longtime young people looked up to MDC and ZANU-PF and that polarised our society. But beyond polarising our society it also politicised the space which should otherwise be a social space where people can safely express themselves as citizens. It was easy for the regime to deflect everything, calling it "political".

Through this movement we created space to articulate the day-to-day issues of people by depoliticising issues of social justice. Looking at the sanctions debate ZANU PF is the greatest benefactor sanctions because they explained there every failure to be because of sanctions. Therefore, we need to sit down and think of issues that can counter the sophisticated regime in Zimbabwe.

After the 2013 elections there was no voice for citizens and civil society and the MDC were caught up in their own space which was the time we saw the likes of Evan Mawarire, Tajamuka and other social movements coming up to express the needs of the people.

It is very important to sustain citizens the beauty of the citizens movement that it is a space that was politically limitless therefore you did not need to be a member of a political party and no one would ask which party you belong to, therefore it was a space for every citizen who believed in the cause of social justice to participate.

There are a few methodologies we believe in; such as non-violence, however when we say that we are non-violent, it does not mean that we are defenceless, it does not mean that we are weak or that we are radical; but rather we use non-violent methods as we believe that the constitution gives us the right to do what we are doing. We stand firm in defence of the rights that are enshrined in the constitution because

there has been a belief that the actualisation on the constitution is the responsibility of the state which it is to a certain extent, but it is also the responsibility of citizens to assert themselves in terms of their rights afforded to them by the Constitution by reclaiming their agency and to exercise those rights.

The relationship between social movements and social media is very important. It is a mistake to say social movement is only about social media. It is true that social media is central to our strategy because we can reach out a large number of people which we would not be able to do so physically. We are mobilising young people and educating them about these issues telling them to use social media to amplify what we already creating on the ground.

CREATING A CULTURE OF TOLERANCE

One of the stressing things about Zimbabwe is that people see issues from a party-political lens which leads to a culture of intolerance; such as in ZANU-PF which is legendary but also in the opposition. The level of intolerance within the opposition as witnessed on social media and the hatred expressed for women candidates has left some quarters shaken. Whether or not you agree with someone does not give a person the right to engage in the kinds of vicious masochistic attacks that has become commonplace.

The political opposition should look at itself because it is replicating the culture of ZANU-PF. Greater emphasis needs to be placed on the political culture within the country. We need to demand from the organisations and solidarity movements, as much as we demand the state that we can enjoy an environment that ensures the freedom of expression. As citizens we can demand that State organs are not violent towards its citizens and express and show an attitude of tolerance. This practice must extend to all institutions and social movements.

Solidarity goes both ways and although Zimbabwe is often accused of 'exceptionalism', we should be conscious about what is happening in the rest of Africa, such as in Cameroon, in Burundi, in Uganda, etc. The regional networks are hugely important and there is need for a greater regional approach where action can be taken when we see our struggles being replicated in other parts of the region.

We need to focus more on institutions and less on personalities. Greater focus needs to be placed on ethical leadership and we need to hold all our leaders to account, regardless of who they. Lastly, we need to apply these rules to ourselves as organisations, to ensure that what we demand of ourselves we can then demand of the State.

SESSION RECOMMENDATIONS

- **Movement building:** which does not tally with the donors as they require a report that can prolong but we want to create a movement over a considerable amount of time but a movement that can stand such that the government will realize that it is to engage its people and as young people we have the potential and energy to do this but as it is a protracted process It cannot fall in line with the donor timeline therefore we need sacrifice by young people and a long-term vision of what needs to be done therefore we need to build that movement and go back to our localities, citizens need to be able to summon their MP to discuss their issues
- **Solidarity movement:** these are there across Africa and hence we should share these experiences on the how and where and we need social movements to be able to network and to be able to give Solidarity to one another such that if it happens somewhere people can come out and say in Tajamuka we do not accept that.

LESSONS IDENTIFIED:

- A great need for regional, continental and international solidarity;
- Need for a united social movement;
- The role of students is important, and they had support from churches and private hospitals;
- Students fear suspension and expulsion, therefore, we need a regional approach that can step in to protect their rights;
- Zimbabweans are outraged and continue in the fight for social justice;
- We need to be peaceful and non-violent as one more death is one too many;
- We need to demand freedom of expression from the state as provided in the Constitution;
- We should also protect and fight against gender-based violence, not only at state level but in institutions as well;
- As Africans we should take a stance that: a fight for one is a fight for all and support each other against atrocities from the state.

SESSION RECOMMENDATIONS

We should argue on whether the strategy has been successful, but the first step is to realize the power and potential we have as a people; and how we can harness our togetherness, our diversity to be able to move ourselves forward as a country.



PLENARY SESSION EIGHT:

LOOKING FORWARD: ACTIONS FOR CHANGE

PANELLISTS:

Dr. Godfrey Kanyenze, Founding Director of the Labour and Economic Development Research Institute of Zimbabwe;

Mrs. Elinor Sisulu: Executive Director, Puku Childr.en's Literature Foundation;

Mr. Siphosami Malunga, Executive Director, Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa (OSISA);

Ms. Maureen Kademaunga: Founder and Director, Women for Women, Zimbabwe and "She votes campaign";

Ms. Cecilia Chimhiri: Founder and Chairperson, Young Women Network.

MODERATOR:

Prof. Erin McCandless, Wits School of Governance

Supporting what are the fundamental components that are required to enable us to reignite hope in zimbabwe given the volatile political climate?

CATALYTIC ACTIONS

So much has been said about the unfortunate challenges in Zimbabwe and the roles the various political actors responsible have played in exacerbating the situation. However, what are the catalytic actions we can promulgate moving forward, what particular aspects can Zimbabweans unit on to create a better Zimbabwe?

There is a need for active and not passive youth participation and this is a pivotal catalytic action that is needed to move Zimbabweans forward. It has been noted that in Zimbabwe that political participation of the youth is very low. The same political actors who were involved after independence are the same ones that are still holding on to power. Furthermore, in the last elections young political activists suggested that the quarter system be introduced. This would enable youth participation and involvement in politics. However, it was noted that this attempt failed and in certain circumstances the male youths would attempt to elbow out the female youths so that they themselves become a part of this quarter system.

The convergence of youth leaders should be spearheaded. These are youth leaders from both, urban and rural communities as well as the youth that are within the civil societies. The function of this all-inclusive task force is to address the skeletons that exist within Zimbabwean politics and to also provide a united front until the needs of Zimbabwean youths are met.

INSTITUTIONAL REFORM

What are the particular entry forms we can use to transform the institutions in Zimbabwe given that the fundamental entry point is institutional reform and to restore the integrity of Zimbabwean Institutions based on essential principles and the need to efficiently serve the Zimbabwean Population?

Leaders of Zimbabwe have abused institutions from time immemorial. There is a need to consistently put pressure on these leaders to ensure sufficient institutional reforms are put into practice. Furthermore, in an attempt to reform Zimbabwean institutions the following principles should be implemented; demilitarization, devolution of power and the independence of chapter 12 institutions. A formal structure has to be created to reach out to political actors as well as create platforms of engagement between political actors and the youth. The intergenerational platforms will allow discussion of issues such as constitutional institutionalization and the implementation of the full separation of power. Moreover, it should be borne in mind that institutional reform will result in progress for Zimbabweans.

REVITALISING HOPE AMONGST CITIZENS

Most Zimbabweans have lost hope. How can individuals then reignite hope within themselves and what roles do civil societies in Zimbabwe play to assist in reigniting this hope?

During the colonial era in Zimbabwe, in 1975 as a means to end the liberation struggle, Pat- Bashbab suggested that all political parties sit down and have a round table and discuss their political differences. The Rhodesian government in power at that time did not listen to this advice and various acts of violence broke out. It was however noted that this same advice was useful in 1980 during the Lancaster house conference and when Zimbabwe got its independence. Had the Rhodesian government listened

to Pat-Bashab most of the bloodshed would have been prevented. The hope for Zimbabwe is in institutionalisation. Let us move from religion and accept that our government has failed us and also look at the various steps that can be taken to ensure that reforms are done. An example of where institutions are not politicised is South Africa where president Jacob Zuma was removed by institutions that knew and understood their mandate.

ECONOMIC REFORM

What are the precise economic reforms that can be implemented in Zimbabwe and what part do the international actors play to ensure that these economic roles are fulfilled?

The international community plays a fundamental role in assisting in economic reforms. Zimbabwe is not the only country that went through economic and political problems. International communities should therefore play a pivotal role and provide concrete economic advice. For economic reform there is the need to engage the various stakeholders that play a role within the economy. In addition, government accountability is critical. As Zimbabweans we need to do a mapping of the nature of the social movements that exist and harness these social movements. Zimbabweans should also learn from good economic practices, for example in Bulawayo in 2005 Bulawayo handled operation "Murambatsvina" better than the rest of the cities in Zimbabwe. Furthermore, the Bulawayo city council has created spaces within Bulawayo CBD that allows street vendors who are in the informal sector to operate. Zimbabwean politicians should also draw good lessons from other countries such as Tunisia. In an attempt to have economic reforms in Zimbabwe a tripartite conversation is already taking place and it allows Zimbabweans to move from fragmented conversations and more towards institutional conversation that is organised.

MILITARISATION

How can citizens play a role in changing a military captured state?

The military is entrenched in Zimbabwe but military power is not sustainable. The problem now is that people do not know how to rule for example a military man who works in the barracks cannot be entrusted with the politics of a country given that all they know is military rule. On one occasion nurses were protesting for higher wages and the vice president of Zimbabwe, who is a military man, fired them all not taking into consideration labour law rules and the use of diplomacy. On another occasion people took to the streets to protest the election results and were fought by the military resulting in the death of some. Without the use of military force there should be a conversation between politicians and the citizens to ask the people how they want to be governed. The country is wounded because of the use of military power during the Gukurahundi. There was no truth and reconciliation and proper dialogues were not initiated to take about this atrocity.

Elections will not yield the results that Zimbabweans need but consistent active engagement with the various stakeholders will do so.

LESSONS LEARNT

- Change in Zimbabwe will come through institutional reform
- Youth participation is pivotal to the change that is needed in Zimbabwe
- The use of military power should stop in Zimbabwe.

DIALOGUE REMARKS

REIMAGINING THE NATIONS WE WANT

DR. NKOSANA MOYO

In the process of reimagining the nations we want, we have to acknowledge that we progressed from somewhere which is very dictatorial and accepts very minimal changes. This calls everyone to think critically of the appropriate framework to use in this process, a framework that speaks and resonates with the people on the ground. The challenge with most of us African is our strong link to corruption (on governmental level and on societal level) despite verbal confessions that we hate being corrupt. For instance during my presidential campaign trails, I was constantly receiving demands that I should bribe people to win their vote. This case reflects a displacement of understanding that voting for your country is a nation interest and not a favour to the candidate. Some of the reason to incline to corruption can be linked to our extended socialisation which inclines one to look after their relative. He stressed that a systematic recognition of how we are socialised and what it is likely to lead to is important to engage, admit, that we want to change this as we build a different society, so our extended family socialisation is problematic.

There is need to reorganise ourselves for us to be able build the modern states we envision despite class or tribal differences. Dr. Moyo encouraged all delegates to have agency of the individual in order to play a part in realising the nations we want to live in. This individual agency emanates from as simple as us the "educated and knowledgeable" educating parents on how they should vote and how their vote impacts nation building, otherwise all efforts of investing in our education is a waste. Another challenge that is being experienced in Zimbabwe is the normalisation of the abnormal, when the majority resonates with the incorrect rather than aspiring to do well. Zimbabwe is a polarised state and its notion of democracy is distorted. He aired his view



of the need for a natural platform to change the nation of Zimbabwe and not a political part and the need to revisit the concept of democracy and have a clear understanding of how we ought to choose capable leaders of our nations. The choice should be merit based and not corruption based.

Again, he spoke to the misalignment of the citizens on what needs to be done and the people we are putting in place to do the work. Further he discussed the weakness of institutions and the need to adamantly do the right thing when in a position of power as a way of strengthening these weak institutions as they evolve over time. He emphasised that it is not an excuse to maintain cultural practices that are retrogressive. As Africans, we need to move away from living in mimicry and start to rebuild our nations accordingly.

CLOSING REMARKS

MRS. GRAÇA MACHEL

Mrs. Machel closed the dialogue with a vibrant and motivational closure. She called on all delegates, especially young people, to aspire to be active in building their nations and to change the world for the better, encouraging them to do better than their elders. She challenged young people to develop and use their value systems as a guiding principle, to do good for their country's development and for the continent at large. She acknowledged that delegates are supremely aware of the struggles in their countries, stating that, "it is upon each one of us to contribute towards building our nations." Mrs. Machel noted that this dialogue had opened eyes of many on how much damage has been done to citizens and she also scrutinised the nature of leadership in African countries, again emphasising the need to transform the face of society for common good.

She boldly stated, "the purpose of the two-day meeting is to reignite hope for democracy in Zimbabwe beyond elections, all hope is not lost for Zimbabwe to rise to its glory again."

There was a sense of renewed optimism that the youth and those with the knowledge, skills and talent were responsible for creating a new society. Mrs. Machel acknowledged that the path might at present not be clear, but she was confident that the dialogue had demonstrated that young people are aware of the challenges and needed to come together to help rebuild new institutions rather than trying to change the existing ones. She extended this call to action to all present – to think about how they were going to organise themselves to rebuild the Africa they want.

She closed by thanking all delegates for their enthusiastic participation, adding that it was important that the unique lessons of the dialogue was captured in order to map out the next steps, not only for Zimbabwe, but as lessons for other nations to use these guiding points to strengthen their capacity in nation building. She expressed her hope that the lessons from Zimbabwe will help to inspire other nations on how they can begin to reimagine the societies they wish to see.



AUDIENCE RESPONSES



There is fear from civil society to engage institutions on institutional reform because of funding challenges. We need to look the way civil society is funded in order to promote independence and agency.

Nhlanhla

Do not mistake Zimbabwean silence as though they are not doing anything. Zimbabweans are described the world over as being docile and agreeable. Yet we should ask ourselves if this strategy is working. Other people say Zimbabweans are "too educated to protest" so no one will take a bullet, as they feel there are other ways to protest, but is it time to question this strategy as something is going wrong. Why is it that all these social movements always end up blocked, people are arrested and countless harassed by the police? Something has to change. I am not saying let's get violent but is time to change our strategy and consider what should we do to really make these social movements work?

Munyodzi Mutandandiri

In every revolution you can expect people to die. We have to change our strategies, we need the kind of solidarity that supports the voices back in Zimbabwe who want to take over because we are not going to undo what has been done for the past 38 years. That system is so toxic and so brutal it needs people who are prepared to die for them to liberate that country. Now is the time to have the real tjamukas not the docile tjamukas; that's the revolution that we need in Zimbabwe. We know how to liberate ourselves if the people would liberated the country in 1980 could do it then why can't we do that now?

Giyani Dube

Zimbabwe has a broken society and we need to understand the causes that led to this brokenness.

Thandinkosi





Social media has changed the political landscape that is why I am excited about the Tajamuka emerging through social media, as this allows people to participate in whichever way they feel comfortable, even if it is from the side-lines. I am encouraged by what others are saying about depoliticising the struggle for social just, as this means that people do not need to be party political.

Elinor Sisulu

With the issue of violence how do we provide a regulatory framework that allows people to mobilise and exercise their freedom of speech that is allowed within the constitution but without inciting violence, because if we were to speak of violence and the importance of social media and how social media has been used to mobilize people? For example, let's look at what happened in the Arab Spring, what happened in Yemen and Egypt and what is still going on in Syria people were mobilised through social media, but they still did not use the right mechanism. That is why there is consistent violence. So as Zimbabweans we need to have a proper regulatory framework that allows you to exercise your right but in a peaceful and pragmatic manner

Sandra Chauke

AUDIENCE RESPONSES



I just want to address one issue on why Zimbabweans are not rebelling: I have made a few observations which may be provocative but I do not think that Zimbabweans has suffered enough yet, during the war there was an expression 'kusiri kufa ndekupi' where you get to a point that either way you are going to die therefore it's not an issue therefore the Ticking point has not yet been reached because no one is going to go out and be killed.

Secondly, which may sound strange is that Zimbabweans are not yet fighting to change the system Zimbabweans are fighting to be included in the system so there is a point where they would push without wanting to alienate themselves from the system because they want to be included so you do not create total enemies with someone you want to include you.

Thirdly, the government over the past almost 40 years has created a mental attitude where government is a benefactor and not a party with obligations to citizens but a benefactor so you do not kill the hand that feeds you, so to speak. You push but in order to get support the government does things for people, it does not create an environment where people do things for themselves it keeps reinforcing that message that we are your benefactor so you push and fight for them to be nicer to you, and all these things play into a situation where we are still far from the ticking point. There should be as in a contract where we pay our taxes and our government is under an obligation to deliver not as though they are doing us a favour."

Dr. Nkosana Moyo

On the issue of regional and continental solidarity, we find that most of the issues are the same that we must unite behind; but I feel that there are other issues and subtle tensions that are dividing us. Take South Africa for example, it is difficult for Zimbabwe and South Africans to unite even though there is a common purpose and common goal, due to underlying issues such as xenophobia. So the question is how do we unite behind issues and create solidarity?

Prince Chikwanha

We need a rapid response mechanism not from the student body but from SADC that if we have a problem in any country within the SADC, they can decide what should actually be done as soon as possible to help student because students are citizens as well and our rights should be respected and our choices.

Minnlee Tagwirei

We must take social media discussions offline and begin to initiate dialogues at a family level.

Nigel Mugamu



MINDS HIGH LEVEL DIALOGUE ATTENDEES

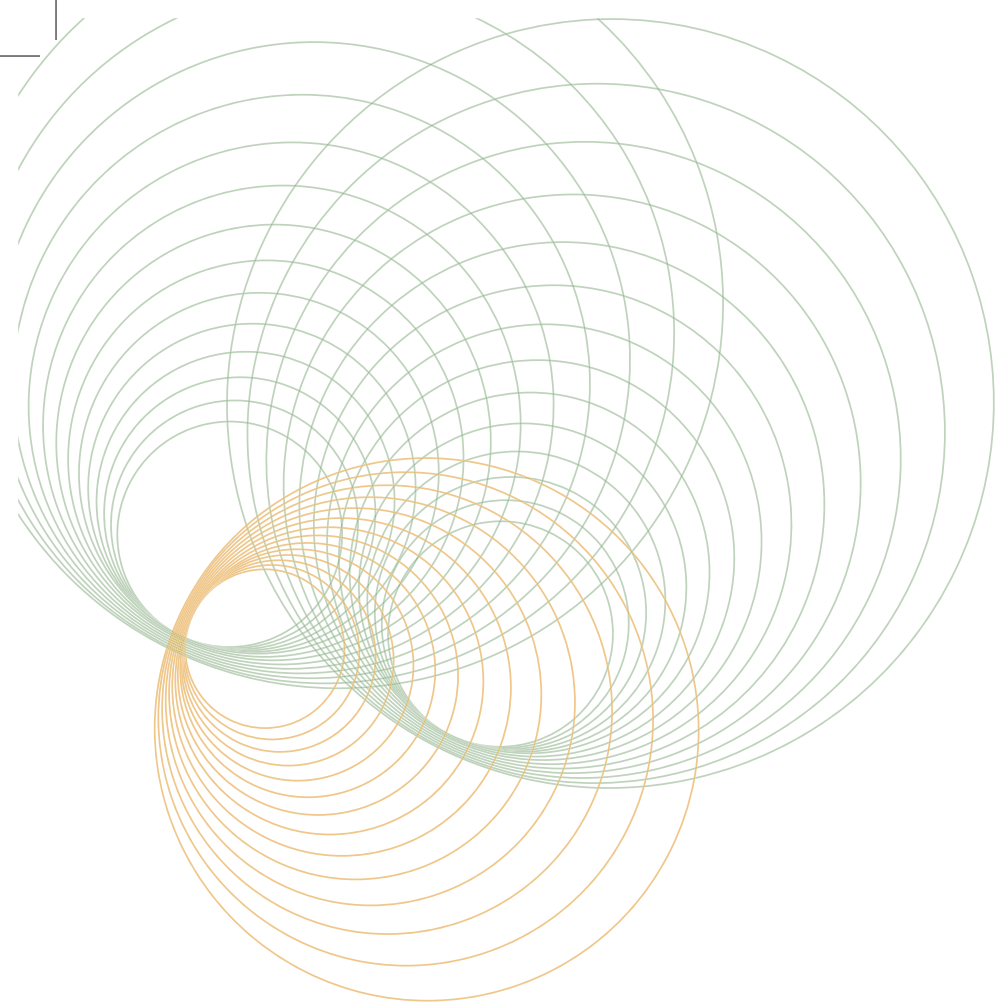
NO.	NAME	ORGANISATION
1.	Ian Mashingaidze	Programme Director, Mandela Institute for Development Studies (MINDS)
2.	Choice Mharidzo-Ndoro	PhD student of Roger Southall and was Great Zimbabwe Scenarios manager
3.	Sakhile Sifelani	Director, Women in politics support unit (WIPSU)
4.	Nkosana Moyo,	Co-Founder of MINDS and Presidential Candidate of APA
5.	Depros Muchena	Southern Africa Regional Director, Amnesty International
6.	Glen Mpani	Managing Partner, Shikamo
7.	Patrick Bond	Wits School of Governance
8.	Erin McCandless	Wits School of Governance
9.	Elinor Sisulu	The African Gender Institute/Gender Studies, University of Cape Town
10.	Andrew Makoni	Director, Zimbabwe Electoral Support Network, SADC Electoral Support Network
11.	Siphosami Malunga	Executive Director, Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa (OSISA)
12.	Annie Barbara Chikwanha	Department of Politics and International Relations, University of Johannesburg
13.	Patrick Ayuk	Executive director Sam Soya Center for democracy and human rights
14.	Zenzele Ndebele	Director Centre for Innovation and Technology Zimbabwe
15.	Mr. Douglas Tigere	Students' Christians Movement of Zimbabwe (SCMZ)
16.	Candice Chirwa	Founder/Director of Qrate
17.	Gabriel Shumba	Chairperson of Zimbabwe Exiles Forum (ZEF)
18.	Showers Mawowa	Southern Africa Liason Office -SALO
19.	Blessing Gorejena	Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum - Female
20.	Rudo Gaidzanwa	Department of Sociology, University of Zimbabwe
21.	Munjodzi Mutandiri	Zimbabwe Solidarity Forum
22.	Toendepi Shonhe	Rural and political analyst, UNISA
23.	Victor Chimhutu	Zimbabwe Yadzoka
24.	Graça Machel	Executive Chair, MINDS
25.	Nigel Patience Tinashe Mugamu	Blogger/Media entrepreneur/ MINDS Alumni
26.	Stanford Ndlovu	University of Pretoria SRC (organisation)
27.	Anita Black	Activist & Scholar
28.	Bambi Audrey Dibu	UJ Student and writer
29.	Yeeshu Rastogi	Product Manager
30.	Shungu Gwarinda	Acting CEO, Graça Machel Trust
31.	Kennedy Manduna	Ph.D Candidate (Political Economy and Governance) University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. Wits School of Governance
32.	Mlungisi Mama	Market Research Analyst I Group Public Sector Division I FINANCIAL SERVICES
33.	Caroline Makumbe	Graça Machel Trust
34.	Tariro Bure	Graça Machel Trust
35.	Tamuka Chirimambowa	Independent Youth

36.	Zenzo Moyo	Department of Development Studies, University of Johannesburg (UJ)
37.	David Sanders	Health policy analyst (CT-based)
38.	Melody Siangombe	Programme Officer, African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD)
39.	Tshepiso Makwetla	SABC
40.	Lerato Mooya	Wits School of Governance
41.	David Everett	Head of School of Governance, Wits School of Governance (WSG)
42.	Veronica Phikani	Mandela Institute for Development Studies (MINDS)
43.	Chelete Monyane	Wits School of Governance
44.	Ichumile Gqada	Open Society Institute for Southern Africa (OSISA)
45.	Wole Olaleye	Mandela Institute for Development Studies (MINDS)
46.	Betty Chiyangwa	Mandela Institute for Development Studies (MINDS)
47.	Carine Seke	Mandela Institute for Development Studies (MINDS)
48.	Katlego Kgasoane	Mandela Institute for Development Studies (MINDS)
49.	Mr. Patrick Ayuk	Sam Soya Centre for Democracy and Human Rights
50.	Noah M Benadam	COO,RAMP Ltd
51.	Martha Nyalam Chatim	Graça Machel Trust
52.	Cecillia R. Chimbiri	Young Women Alliance
53.	Nikiwe Fonyelwa	Independent
54.	Bessie Jibiliza	Liaison and Protocol Consultants
55.	Shingai-Harry Jijita	University of Johannesburg
56.	Maureen Kademaunga	SheVotes
57.	Judith Kamutepfa	Centre for Peace and Development Initiatives
58.	Rosewita Katsande	Youth Empowerment and Transformation Trust
59.	Linda S. Khumalo	Wits School of Governance
60.	Darlene Miller	Wits School of Governance
61.	Promise Mkuanazi	Tajamuka Movement
62.	Nthabiseng Mofokeng	Liaison and Protocol Consultants
63.	William Mpofu	University of Witwatersrand
64.	Prince Mudau	MINDS Alumni & Rapporteur
65.	Faraimunashe Nkomo	Sivio Institute
66.	Bibi Khali Nsuku	MINDS Staff
67.	Anthoni Van Nieuwkerk	Wits School of Governance
68.	Marlon Zakeyo	Policy and Programmes, SAT
69.	Cynthia Vutiswa Qongo	Church Society
70.	Mr. Passmore Rukanda	Church
71.	Minnice Tagwirei	Ziwasu
72.	Ompile Sehlabi	MINDS

REIGNITING HOPE
FOR DEMOCRACY
BEYOND ELECTIONS
IN ZIMBABWE

73.	Tiyani Chauke	MINDS
74.	Palesa Lepule	YLED
75.	Kamo Mokhele	MINDS Alumni
76.	Vladimi Emmer	RJM
77.	Frederick Badomba	MINDS and Rapporteur
78.	Shamiso Muvirimi	MINDS and Rapporteur
79.	Cain Abraham	Wits School of Governance
80.	S. Nonkala	SANDF
81.	R. Mazhesa	MINDS and Rapporteur
82.	Blessing Vava	CRISIS
83.	Cwengile Dlepli	M. Skeem SA Youth
84.	Walsh Shawna	SRI
85.	Susan Waweni	SRI
86.	Muncts Tinth	Zim
87.	Nhzamhza Nkomo	Opar Advisory
88.	Korth Marcel	Wits School of Governance
89.	Gerald Mandisodza	Wits School of Governance
90.	Giyani Dube	Wits School of Governance
91.	Trust Ndzau	ZEF
92.	Dewa Mavhinsa	HRW
93.	Malusi Mncube	University of Johannesburg
94.	Truth Ndlovu	Zim EX. Forum
95.	Bernard Lunga	Wits
96.	Samkelo Namgaoutae	Wits
97.	Kgotlelele Bulla	UJ
98.	Innocent Gwaza	CJC
99.	Tshepo Mothlasedi	Wits
100.	Naphtal Makondelela	Wits & UNISA
101.	Prince Solomon Sox Chikwanha	Global Zimbabwe Forum SA
102.	Godfrey Kanyenza	LED12
103.	Marcel Korth	Wits School of Governance
104.	Zenzo Moyo	University of Johannesburg
105.	L.M Letsele	SALO & UJ
106.	Felicia Ncube	Photographer
107.	Tincy Munestsi	CCA Zim
108.	Shumba Jotham	Zinash

109.	Kushal Cherry	Independent
110.	Maphuti Mabona	The Southern African Liaison Office (SALO)
111.	Sikungo Jebe	Right2Know Campaign
112.	Tsele Moloi	Wits Business School (WBS)
113.	Michael Otineno	Wits School of Governance (WSG)
114.	Molly Dlamini	The Southern African Liaison Office (SALO)
115.	Pfuye Alistar	SASU
116.	Zandamela	Horacio
117.	Oupa Lekoloane	Wits GOS
118.	Maboth Matlole	African National Congress
119.	Sandile Moloi	University of Johannesburg
120.	Ian Magenga	Wits
121.	Shiviti Tsakani	SASU
122.	Robert Van Niekerk	Wits School of Governance (WSG)
123.	John Ringson	University of Johannesburg
124.	Maphosa Rapo	MINDS Alumni
125.	Lusako Munyenyembe	Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa (OSISA)



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