



STORY OF CHANGE: SUPPORTING ADVOCACY TO ABOLISH DEATH PENALTY: A MALAWI STORY OF CHANGE





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## **ACRONYMS**

**ACHPR** African Court on Human and People's Rights

APAM Association of Persons with Albinism in Malawi

ARTGLO Art and Global Health Center of Africa (Malawi)

CHREAA Centre for Human Rights, Education, Advice and Assistance (Malawi)

CSO/s Civil Society Organisation/s

**DPP** Director of Public Prosecutions (Malawi)

**EALS** East African Law Society

ICDP International Chid Development Programme

MHRC Malawi Human Rights' Commission

MLAB Malawi Legal Aid Bureau

MOJ Ministry of Justice (Malawi)

MP Member of Parliament

NHRI National Human Rights' Institution

NLAB National Legal Aid Bureaux

PLAC Parliamentary Legal Affairs Committee of Malawi

S-G Solicitor General (Malawi)

UN United Nations

### **EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

The first Story of Change on the work in Malawi, published in May 2022, described how the work supported by A4ID's ROLE UK Programme, in partnership with Reprieve, Legal Aid Bureau, and Akin Gump contributed positively towards the abolition and mitigation of the death penalty in Malawi. The Story of Change focused on how this partnership combined the strategies of advocating to various stakeholders for abolition and working flexibly to mitigate a resurgence of public support for the death penalty by supporting and training legal aid lawyers in representing prisoners on death row. Since the publication of the last Story of Change, the Programme has extended it support to Reprieve in four other jurisdictions, including Kenya, Tanzania, Indonesia, and Pakistan.

This second Story of Change once again focuses on the continued work of Reprieve in Malawi and the tailored approach adopted towards the abolition of the death penalty in Malawi. This Story of Change describes Reprieve's work to effectively advocate and change public opinion on the abolition of the death penalty, with the result that an Abolition Bill is expected to be passed. Moreover, it explains how the process

in Malawi can be used as a reference point in the discourse and processes of death penalty abolition within other parts of Eastern and Southern Africa.

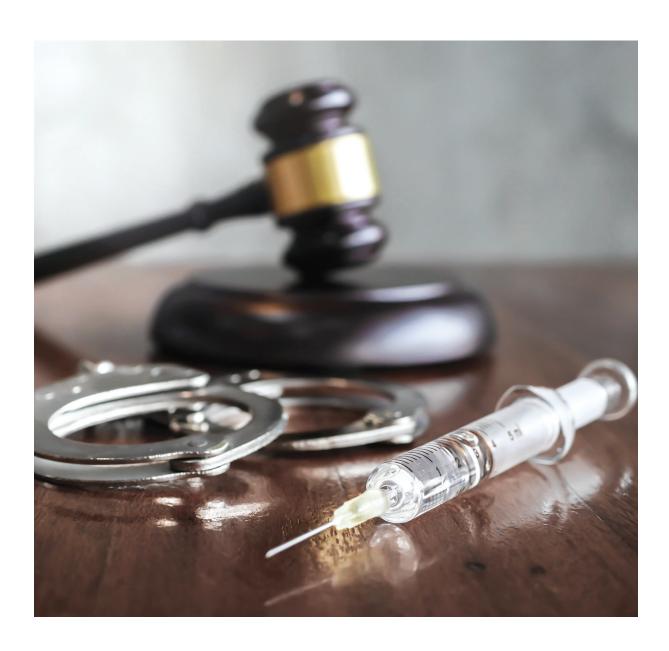
Using a qualitative approach of Key Informants Interviews (KII), semi-structured interviews were conducted with Reprieve and other stakeholders involved in the abolition advocacy. A document analysis was also carried out using the OECD criteria. The Story of Change highlights that the Programme's partnership with Reprieve-supported activities has created awareness amongst key stakeholders such as the Ministry of Justice, Education, Advice and Assistance (Malawi), Parliamentary Legal Affairs Committee of Malawi, and the Solicitor General of Malawi, amongst others. Such awareness has led to positive change in public opinion towards the death penalty, which resulted in President Lazarus Chakwera granting clemency to 22 death row inmates in Zomba Prison in August 2022.

The Malawian process of abolishing the death penalty through the legislative process has made the country a champion in the discourse and processes of death penalty abolition within

Southern Africa. It acts as a strategic reference point for countries such as Kenya and Tanzania that are in the process of death penalty abolition through shared experiences.

Finally, while the Parliamentary process of passing a death penalty abolition bill has been delayed due to the failure to draft

and table the bill before the House, the Story of Change indicates that the positive attitudinal change for the abolition of the death penalty across political party lines will lead to the bill being passed into law when it is eventually presented, as the 'democratic mandate' is too strong to be ignored.



### PART ONE: THE BACKGROUND

# A PATHFINDER IN THE REGION

In 2007, Malawi became one of the first countries in the region to abolish the mandatory death penalty and declare that those who were sentenced to death should have access to a resentencing hearing. Over the course of the next decade Malawi become an international leader in best practice in mitigation and developed a robust body of jurisprudence on mitigation in capital cases. People who were resentenced during this time were, by and large, released, having served decades in prison, and returned to their communities. Their successful reintegration and the careful way that this was handled by civil society became a model for this type of work. These successes laid a foundation for Malawian human rights activists to take up the cause of total abolition.

In 2021-2022, despite good progress there were setbacks with major challenges to abolition efforts. For example, in April 2021, the Supreme Court of Malawi briefly declared the death penalty to be unconstitutional. However, four months later, in August 2021, this judgment was

overturned through a procedural mechanism. At this point, it became clear to Malawians who championed abolition that a legislative process was needed to secure abolition once and for all. To do this, Parliament would need to gauge public support to move toward abolition. Reprieve UK, in partnership with CHREAA and a coalition of CSO allies, set out to help provide this democratic base through a series of public consultations, workshops, and conferences that gave a platform to the public, interested organisations, and key leaders on justice issues in Malawi.

This situation represented a unique opportunity for A4ID through its ROLE UK Programme to support (through its ongoing work with Reprieve) Malawian stakeholders with needed additional resources and technical capacity. The utilisation of Reprieve's international advocacy knowledge and skills, in conjunction with its national partner CHREAA's local contextual knowledge, combined well in the context of the political and social dynamics of Malawi, moving toward abolition. This partnership fulfilled the need for skills and expertise as well working towards a successful outcome. This study looks

at the work in Malawi specifically between the 2021 volte face on death penalty abolition by the Supreme Court to the evaluation point (March 2023) and will refer to this period as the "Malawi Process". However, it should be known that this is, in fact, part of a continuum of longterm work, briefly summarised below. Reprieve UK and its partners, notably the MHRC, CHREAA, Paralegals Advisory Services Institute (PASI), Chancellor College, the Prison Services, MLAB, the DPP, PLAC, APAM, ARTGLO, and the ICDP, have worked together for the past nine years in Malawi and as such are key in the institutional and organisational environment that is ready to bring about the abolition of the death penalty. This Story of Change is based on the Malawi Process as a discrete intervention in the interests of finding whether a similar pathway can be found to suit other national contexts.

THE MALAWI PROCESS BETWEEN 2021 AND 2022

The Malawi Process represents a wide variety of activities undertaken by and with key stakeholders of death penalty abolition. These activities include engagement with traditional leaders, justice sector actors (judges, lawyers, paralegals), high-level government officials, faith

leaders, people with lived experience (specifically people currently on death row or those who have been released from death row, and their families and communities), victims' groups, and many others. Reprieve and CHREAA worked with local NGOs to produce media accessible across the country, including a radio drama, newspaper articles, TV segments, and social media posts. Engagement with the public was essential to ensure that voices not often given a platform were heard on this issue. Reprieve and CHREAA worked with partners to host workshops in villages across the country and produced a report summarising the outcomes of those listening exercises. Most activities took place in Malawi and were led by Malawian lawyers and human rights activists. However, support was also received in the form of visits, letters of encouragement, technical support and resources from the UN and other state actors.

Amongst the activities, the one that was the ultimate goal, and a distillation of all the work outlined above, was a series of public hearings (also known as public consultations) organised by PLAC with support from Reprieve and CHREAA. The purpose of these hearings was to provide a public democratic basis for the abolition movement, giving a platform for submissions from all individuals and organisations who wished to input to PLAC.

There were three hearings in each of the three main regional capitals. On 10 May 2022, the first hearing took place in Malawi's capital Lilongwe (central region), followed by Mzuzu (northern region) on 13 May, and Blantyre (southern and eastern regions) on 20 May. These three public consultations provided an opportunity for the Malawi Parliament to assess the public's perception of the death penalty prior to undertaking the necessary steps toward legislative change on the issue of death penalty abolition.

The results of the consultations fed into a report to Parliament (June 2022), which, in turn, instigated an independent report on the necessity for an Abolition Bill. The Abolition Bill, not in fact drafted at the time of the evaluation, is expected to be presented to Parliament in the near future and possibly passed into law.

The consultation in Lilongwe was preceded and reinforced by advocacy events, which comprised of: a series of bi-lateral key stakeholder meetings (MOJ, S-G, DPP, APAM, survivors and traditional leaders); community workshops to facilitate discussion for community figures and members to present their perspectives and experiences of the death penalty; and a public consultation launch dinner held the day before the consultation itself, which set the tone for the engagement and established key positions from participants in the process.

A strategy was developed to accompany the public consultations, which utilised the full human experience of the death penalty by showing its impact on individuals on death row and their families.

Advocacy opportunities presented after, and as a result of the three public hearings were:

- Use of World Day Against the Death Penalty for media coverage
- An MP exchange event to discuss abolition efforts including MPs from the UK, Ghana, Tanzania, Kenya, Sierra Leone, and Zambia
- A visit by an ICDP delegation to the President of Malawi and to meet other key Government figures including the MOJ, Parliamentarians

   leader and opposition, Speaker of the
   House, and the Bishop of Lilongwe (KII ICDP)
- The encouragement of positive interrelations between the MOJs of Malawi and Zambia (which has recently achieved abolition).

The expected outcome of the Malawi Process is the abolition of the death penalty.

## **PART TWO: THE CHANGES**

The findings reveal a story of a partnership, between A4ID, through the ROLE UK Programme and Reprieve UK, which has steered an effective pathway in the Malawi context toward abolition of the death penalty. They also reveal, as the Malawi Process progressed, significant changes in a number of social and political milieus that are instrumental in bringing about the abolition of the death penalty in Malawi. Additionally, they reveal the potential for influencing political and social debate on the abolition issue, and therefore in environs external to Malawi.

The change pathway established at the outset, leading to the Parliamentary process which will eventually abolish the death penalty, essentially comprised the following results chain - advocacy events > public consultations > mandate for abolition > report to parliament > strategic advocacy > parliamentary report > Abolition Bill passes through parliamentary process. The elements of this results chain achieved significant change at several levels of the social and political landscape, which helped the process move toward abolition nationally, and contributed to the debate across Malawi's borders. Changes can most usefully be seen

in three separate stages of the process: the advocacy events and public consultations; the strategic advocacy; and the final process through Parliament.

# THE ADVOCACY EVENTS AND THE PUBLIC CONSULTATIONS

The three advocacy events feeding into the public consultations, namely the training workshops with communities, the bi-lateral meetings with stakeholders, and the pre-consultation dinner, usefully brought together the stakeholders involved in and impacted by the death penalty issue.

In advance of the public consultations, there were two workshops conducted with advocates for the abolition of the death penalty. The workshops prepared advocates to effectively communicate with various stakeholders – which, it can be reasonably assumed, was significant in garnering public support for abolition. For example, during the workshops, ARTGLO, a national NGO experienced in issue-based community awareness raising and skills building, worked with individuals

from surviving families, traditional chiefs, and religious leaders of communities who had been impacted by the imposition of the death penalty. ARTGLO supported these individuals by sharing storytelling and advocacy tips so they could feel confident in presenting their experiences to high-level stakeholders.

The workshops led to a radio play and fortified general debate through radio phone-ins.

These activities spear-headed the survivor-led strategy of Reprieve UK and CHREAA, which was key throughout the Malawi Process. During the public consultations, 90-95% of the total community supported abolition, which is significant when compared to the previous impression that Malawi was a divided nation on the issue of the use of the death penalty, as noted by CHREAA and ARTGLO personnel.

The bi-lateral meetings were organised to bring together stakeholders from the communities, and governmental and non-governmental organisations in advance of the public consultations. MPs, Ministry representatives, PLAC and MLAB figures were able to meet the communities, their religious and traditional leaders, and the NGOs working on the death penalty abolition issue prior to the formal consultations. Information sharing was instrumental in raising the issue of the human impact of the death penalty and revealing how

the justice system fails vulnerable groups, such as those impacted by albinism, women and children, and the poor generally. These elements were not – at the point of the bilateral meetings – generally understood by the key government groups that could influence and make change at the parliamentary level.

Moreover, the launch dinner provided an opportunity for building trust and connection between the key players who were about to meet formally in the public consultations. It was also an opportunity for a keynote presentation by MLAB. Further, one former death row prisoner and his wife shared their stories of the harmful impact on a family when the main income for the family has gone and when stigma excludes them from society.

The ensuing public consultations on 10, 13, and 20 May 2022 in Lilongwe (central), Mzuzu (north), and Blantyre (south) successfully reflected the advocacy work. The result was a clear mandate for abolition as represented by the almost total support for Malawi to go forward and legislate to remove the death penalty from statute. This represents a considerable change at the community, individual, and government levels as MPs and other government figures realised that the public wanted a fair system of justice, which excluded the use of the death penalty as a sentence.

### **CHANGING PERCEPTIONS**

"Now people can see a broader perspective... prisoners can go to prison, serve time, change, and return to society." - ARTGLO personnel

"... the impact on families is the most powerful story to impact people. MPs who were not convinced of arguments against the death penalty saw the human face of it through Francisco and Mary James story for instance and did move crucial steps in the debate."

#### Reprieve UK Fellow

"In three major public consultations, 90-95% of those involved in training were for abolition." **ARTGLO personnel** 

"The public is divided on the death penalty but in the public consultations almost all were in support of abolition." **CHREAA personnel** 

"Individuals and families can now speak for themselves, they are 'change-makers', and this will go a long way to influence others. MPs' perspectives often follow public opinion and so this will have impact." **ARTGLO personnel** 

"The grassroots approach is very key to success... the consultation process taking place in 3 places was key..." ICDP personnel

"Given all the information, people support abolition of the death penalty. The consultations were comprehensive – unlike in Zambia – and the interactions of the Partners such that they were believed by people, unlike MPs and donors. This was because they treated as the main stakeholder needing support and hence an environment to support abolition was built." Reprieve Malawi Fellow

"The death penalty was not chosen; it was constitutional from the British. Umunthu (being human) is what Africans are. The death penalty hurts families most, and Africa is human." ARTGLO personnel

### STRATEGIC ADVOCACY

Following the Reprieve UK report to Parliament at the end of May 2022, delivering a clear mandate for abolition, strategic advocacy plans were implemented to reinforce the key messages from the public consultations, and to continue building momentum for support of abolition.

Strategic advocacy involved a number of initiatives with survivor-led information taking a prominent role, so that the full human facets of the death penalty were understood and sustained in the public arena. Each contributed to change within Malawi and across the wider African social and political environment as follows:

• Advocacy and media actions around World Day Against the Death Penalty The continual publicity making a case for abolition was sustained in Malawi radio and TV, as well as the BBC World Service and other Africa-wide media during 2022. This provided a background of reference for each of the following advocacy activities while driving attention to the abolition issue at a critical time, as Reprieve UK and partners were seeking to influence decision-makers. The prevailing narrative in support of abolition could have been instrumental in influencing the actions of the current President of Malawi, Lazarus Chakwera, in August 2022, when he granted clemency to 22 death row inmates in Zomba Prison. This itself represented a significant change in the lives of those individuals and their families, and in the pathway leading toward abolition. Prisoners now face a different kind of sentence which allows and respects their life, and removes the key stressor to often deteriorating mental health due to trauma and fear of what may happen to them. Through his actions, the President clearly indicated a continuing lack of intention to inflict execution on Malawian citizens – a reasonable forerunner to supporting abolition through Parliament.

An ICDP delegation visit to the Malawi President and other governmental and institutional actors in justice, coinciding with World Day Against the Death Penalty At Reprieve UK's request, the ICDP delegation wrote to the President of Malawi and a visit was arranged. Since ICDP itself was focused on Zambia at the time (which was in the process of abolishing the death penalty), it was useful to look at the abolition process in Malawi which appeared to take a more legalistic and institutional approach.

The meeting led to useful results which could help pave the way toward abolition, including the opposition leader's pledge of support for a bill when it came to Parliament, and the MOJs of Zambia and Malawi being encouraged to form interrelations on the abolition issue.

Opposition support for the bill is key to its smooth passage when presented. In addition, the sharing of the Malawi Process between

Zambia and Malawi MOJs may lead to a replication of democratic processes being adopted in Zambia, to strengthen its recently passed legislation – see more detail in the next point.

"We wrote to the President in mid-2022 as Reprieve UK and requested and eventually met with the President, Parliamentarians including the Opposition, the Speaker of the House, and the Bishop of Lilongwe. The ICDP delegation raised the political momentum considerably." ICDP personnel

 A linkage was created between the MOJs of Malawi and Zambia for the purposes of experience sharing

This 'neighbourly' connection was instigated by the ICDP delegation with Reprieve UK support, and it has led to a difference in thinking in Zambia around their own Presidential decree to abolish the death penalty in December 2022. After considering the Malawi process of public consultations, stakeholders have recognised the fragility of the abolition in Zambia due to a lack of public involvement, which may influence future actions as they instigate abolition.

"Zambia with no particular push for the death penalty, just abolished it. The President just abolished the death penalty without public consultation and parlimentary process... Zambia is looking at the Malawi process for help." Reprieve UK Personnel

"I like the neighbourly connection that we see between MOJ Zambia and MOJ Malawi, which was brought about by the abolition work." ICDP personnel

 The contribution of the Malawi process to the World Congress Against the Death Penalty by the MOJ and Reprieve Fellow (Advocacy)

The contribution, by one of the Reprieve Malawi Fellows and the Malawi MOJ, to proceedings at the 8th World Congress Against the Death Penalty in November 2022, has served to advance the Malawi Process as a case study internationally. This could form a significant change factor at international and regional levels since the World Congress impacts state and religious leaders, as well as other decision-makers. The Congress reached over 1000 delegates worldwide and was endorsed by the United Nations High Commissioner of Human Rights.

An MPs exchange involving the UK, Ghana, Zambia, Sierra Leone, Tanzania, Kenya and Malawi in connection to the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association The roundtable event under the auspices of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association UK, was organised by Reprieve UK to accompany World Day Against the Death Penalty. The roundtable was an online event held in November 2022 between MPs from the UK, and those from Malawi, Kenya, Tanzania, Sierra Leone, Ghana, and Zambia. Discussions concerning challenges to abolition

and the Malawi Process fed into the debate. It can be reasonably assumed that the roundtable discussions had an impact on the discussions held in-country by participating MPs after the meeting, which would place Malawi as a leader in establishing the democratic base for the process toward abolition through Parliamentary legislation.

 A workshop in Arusha, Tanzania, for Tanzanian Judges, lawyers and CSOs during an East African Law Society annual event in late November 2022

This event was timely and converged with the Malawi Process. The Director of Malawi's Legal Aid Bureau delivered an address to the meeting on Malawi's longer-term route toward abolition, i.e. the process leading up to the events and advocacy outlined in this study. This address represented a significant contribution to Tanzania's own discussions on a possible move to comply with the ACPHR Directive of November 2019, to abolish Tanzania's mandatory death penalty (Project documents). In addition, the cultural links acknowledged by stakeholders between South and East African countries (in particular Malawi and Tanzania) indicate that the Malawi Process will create opportunities for the participants to continue their learning.

"Malawi has influence on Tanzania .... but could learn more from the Zambia experience. Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe are like brothers" KII CHREAA personnel

### PARLIAMENTARY PROCESS

The final stages of the Malawi Process include the debate within the Malawian Parliament on the Parliament report on abolition. This report was drafted following the submission of the Reprieve UK report on the public consultations which indicated a clear public mandate for abolition. Following this, Parliamentarians requested further consultations to be undertaken with religious leaders, traditional chiefs, and MPs, which together form the Parliament report. All stakeholders are clear that the next step is for a bill to be drafted and tabled in Parliament.

The passing of a Death Penalty Abolition Bill will be the clearest indicator of the change story of the Malawi Process. When this happens, the ROLE UK Programme funding and critical support will have been instrumental in bringing this about. Such a bill will remove the death penalty from law and, hence, no sentencing judge in Malawi will be able to order the death penalty sentence. While the bill was not drafted by March 2023, when it was first scheduled to be tabled in Parliament, all stakeholders – even those with doubts – concede that the bill, even if

delayed, will still eventually pass into law since the democratic mandate is too strong to be ignored.

Whether this is the case or not, the partnership between A4ID via the ROLE UK Programme and Reprieve UK in the Malawi Process has proven that such partnerships can lead to improved Rule of Law and to changes in law, policy, and practice.

In respect of the Malawi work, the partnership hypothesis is borne out by at least two of the impacts contained in the findings in Part Two of the report, which have led to improvements in the Rule of Law environment. One impact has been the clemency afforded by Malawi's President to death row prisoners. This adheres to commonly accepted standards of Rule of Law principles in the governance sphere as it is in keeping with democratic values and human rights values and has benefited the 'average citizen'. Another is the building of community support for abolition, which has led to a changing climate of opinion on the death penalty which, in turn, has influenced MPs to consider their position on abolition. This benefits the average citizen through inclusion in the national death penalty debate and increases

"It is a big win for the metering of justice... the institute is pro-life and the Right to Life is respected. Innocence does not die, and we no longer have a brutal justice system where the poor bear the brunt." Former Chair PLAC

"We formed a movement of Parliament against the Death Penalty, drawing members from various committees." Former Chair PLAC

"In Malawi, it looks very good, once abolition goes through it will be very difficult for any new regimes to bring back the death penalty." **ICDP personnel** 

"Without the ROLE UK Programme funding, this work would not be as strong. Our interactions – Reprieve UK, Fellows, CHREAA and PLAC – were very smooth.....we can help other nations as we have impacted on decision-makers." Reprieve Malawi Fellow

the democratic value of the partnership.

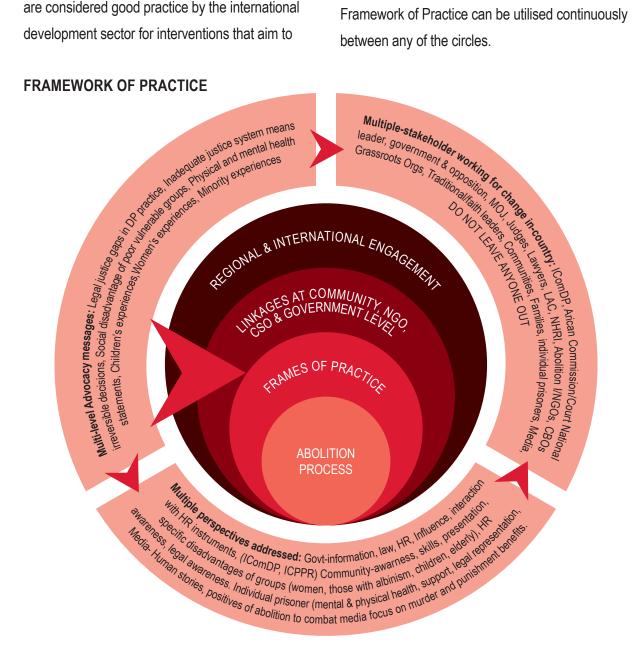
Regarding the partnership leading to changed law, policy, and practice, the hypothesis has been tested in this respect. Even if the Abolition Bill is not presented to Malawi's Parliament or is presented and it fails against all expectations, the partnership has proven itself capable of bringing the issue through the necessary process, to then be put before Parliament.

In addition, the partnership work focusing on the death penalty abolition did forge a genuine pathway of change, as evidenced through the advocacy events, the public consultations, and the strategic advocacy which all had impact. This led to opportunities and other initiatives that were well managed by both Reprieve UK and its partners, combining and amplifying an already existing institutional Kairos for death penalty abolition in the political and social environment of Malawi. The pathway, however, does not form a roadmap for abolition in other African country contexts since the Malawi Process was designed for the specific context in Malawi at the time. Nonetheless, the Malawi experience could form a framework of principles and strategies, in a Framework of Practice, which may be beneficial in countries moving toward the abolition of the death penalty (See diagrammatic framework of the Malawi Process on the next page).

# FRAMEWORK OF PRACTICE EXPLAINED

The three squares with conjoining arrows form the Framework of Practice that Reprieve UK adopted (almost entirely) in the background of the Malawi process. It represents the multi-stakeholder, multi-layered and multi-perspective strategies that are considered good practice by the international development sector for interventions that aim to

make change. In this respect, to move people (in any capacity) toward understanding the benefits, and becoming supportive, of DP abolition. The downward arrows within the circles show a final process that applied, and still could apply, to a route to a Parliamentary process to draft and pass an Abolition Bill into law. This is only effective at the point it is requested by a Parliament. The Framework of Practice can be utilised continuously between any of the circles.



## **PART THREE: CONCLUSION**

A4ID, through its Rule of Law expertise, has supported work by Reprieve UK towards abolition of the death penalty in Malawi that has been effective in creating and raising awareness of death penalty and the plights of inmates on death row. Such awareness and public consultations with different key stakeholders such as the Ministry of Justice, Centre for Human Rights, Education, Advice and Assistance (Malawi), Parliamentary Legal Affairs Committee of Malawi, and the Solicitor General (Malawi), amongst others has led to a positive change in public opinion towards the death penalty that resulted in President Lazarus Chakwera granting clemency to 22 death row inmates in Zomba Prison in August 2022.

The Malawian process of abolishing the death penalty through the legislative process following extensive public consultation and participation has made the country a champion and strategic reference point in the discourse and processes of death penalty abolition to Eastern and Southern Africa countries, such as Tanzania, who are in the process of death penalty abolition through shared experiences. This forms good practice, which will enable countries

that are in the process of moving towards death penalty abolishment to follow and adhere to the framework of principles and practices in planning activities in other African countries, thus strengthening South-South partnerships.

The study concluded that while the "Malawi Process" has been effective, the delays in tabling the death penalty abolition bill before parliament, due to events such as the corruption scandal and cyclone devastation, can result in a loss of connection or momentum with key stakeholders. Therefore, the recommendation from Malawi's experience is that the draft bill should presented as soon as possible to capitalise on the advocacy and momentum to see the bill through parliament and become law.





