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Exploring Citizenship

THE LIVED REALITIES AROUND ASSOCIATIONAL LIFE IN ZIMBABWE

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#TowardsAnInclusiveSociety

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Daniel Mususa is a post-modern researcher with a keen interest in Active Citizenship and Deliberative Democracy. He has ten years of experience working with communities to influence policies and ensuring that the citizens' voice is included in governance especially in the issues that affect their daily lives. He holds an MSc in Sociology and Social Anthropology and a BSc Honours degree in Sociology (University of Zimbabwe). Currently, he is the Coordinator for the Centre for Public Policy Analysis and Advocacy at SIVIO Institute. Prior he worked in various capacities in program formulation, research, advocacy, and program management for the Africa Community Publishing and Development Trust (ACPDT), the Research and Advocacy Unit (RAU), the Biomedical Research and Training Institute (BRTI) University of Zimbabwe and the Election Situation Room (ESR).

About The African Citizenship Index

Citizenship is a multi-faceted concept that is shaped by the political, economic, and social life within a place. The African Citizenship Index aims to understand the ways in which ordinary people interact with each other in economic, social-support focused and political networks across the continent. The inaugural survey was conducted by SIVIO Institute in March – April 2021 across 5 African cities: Harare, Zimbabwe and Lilongwe, Malawi in Southern Africa, Nairobi, Kenya in East Africa, Yaoundé, Cameroon in Central Africa and Accra, Ghana in West Africa.

For more information:

www.africacitizenshipindex.org

About SIVIO Institute

SIVIO Institute (SI) is an independent organisation focused on ensuring that citizens are at the centre of processes of socio-economic and policy change. It aims to contribute towards Africa's inclusive socio-economic transformation. It is borne out of a desire to enhance agency as a stimulus/catalyst for inclusive political and socio-economic transformation. SIVIO's work entails multi-disciplinary, cutting-edge policy research, nurturing citizens' agency to be part of the change that they want to see, workingwith communities to mobilize their assets to resolve some of the immediate problems they face.

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1. Introduction

Zimbabwe is a land-locked country of 399,757 square kilometres (Government of Zimbabwe, 2020) , a population of 13 572 560 people with an average household size of 4.2 persons/household, dominated by people of African ethnic origin who make up 99.7% of the population (Zimbabwe Inter-Censal Demographic Survey, 2017). The country gained independence from Britain in 1980 following the Second Chimurenga armed liberation war in which the African nationalist movement played a critical role of mobilising the black majority to take up arms and fight the colonial master. Mandaza (1986), Bhebhe and Ranger (1991), Kriger (1992) and Bhebhe (1999) highlight the role played by citizen-led formations and religious movements during the Chimurenga era. These were seminal citizen-led formations that were active in the liberation war, however, the Chimurenga era is not in the ambit of this current study. Rather, the study looks at more contemporary citizen-led formations, affiliations, groups and activities that citizens do with, and for each other.

The attainment of independence heralded the rulership of the Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU PF). ZANU PF took over the reins from the colonial government which exercised its control through racially exclusive institutions that repudiated the political and economic rights of Africans (Brett, 2006). The "euphoria and expectations of independence" (Murisa, 2015:2) and hopes for prosperity and equitable development were dulled by the violence caused by political differences between ZANU PF and Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) party that took place in the Matabeleland and Midlands provinces (Taundi, 2010) and dampened further by the Economic Structural Adjustment Programs (ESAP) (Mudimu and Kurima, 2018). ESAP was a 5–year market-based approach prescribed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to reform the public sector, liberalise trade, reduce trade deficits and create a favourable climate for economic growth (Sachikonye, 2003 as cited in Murisa, 2015:5). Following ESAP, the country experienced rising unemployment, rising poverty and an economic crisis that has been deepening since the early 2000s (Lee and Colvard, 2003; Sachikonye, 2007;

Taundi, 2010), political tensions (Murisa, 2015) and an unresolved political crisis which is recursively implicated in Zimbabwe's two decades-long socio-economic impasse (Karekwaivanane and Msonza, 2021). These and other factors, continue to shape the democracy and development landscape in Zimbabwe as well as how citizens interact with each other, the forms of groupings, associational formations and activities in which they participate.

2. Background to Citizen Led Formations in Zimbabwe

Citizen formations are manifestations of inspiration from and responses to different factors such as cultural modernisation and new forms of dispossession (Harvey, 2003), need for redress of poverty, lack of assets and inequitable socio-economic relationships (Bebbington, 2006), grievances around identity issues, and the emergence of new charismatic and visionary leaders (Bebbington, 2010:2). The next section (2.1) looks at citizen-led formations as responses to political factors. The subsequent section (2.2) looks at different forms of associations citizen take part in response to economic factors.

2.1 Citizen-led associational formations as responses to political factors

Citizen formations can also be driven by socio-economic issues such as cultural modernisation and new forms of politically-driven dispossession (Harvey, 2003), the need for redress of inequitable socio-economic relationships (Bebbington, 2006), grievances around identity issues, and the emergence of new charismatic and visionary leaders (Bebbington, 2010:2). They also emerge from the "shifting boundaries of community" due to transnational migration, local autonomy movements and claims of citizenship rights (Marston and Mitchell, 2004:93). Other factors include Zimbabwe's history of violence and trauma from the liberation war (Reeler et al, 2009; Machakanja, 2010; Sachikonye, 2011) the Gukurahundi (Rwodzi, 2018; and Mpofu, 2021), electoral violence (Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, 2009; Masunungure, 2011; and RAU, 2021) and citizens' fear of the State (Ngwenya and Harris, 2015), real and perceived attempts at creating a one-party state by the ZANU PF government (Gregory, 1986; Shaw, 1986; The Independent, 2021). Musarurwa

(2016) posits that youth-led activist formations are mainly borne out of Zimbabwe's complex web of socio-economic and political conflict which he terms the "causal loop of Zimbabwe's Conflict"

Figure 1: The causal loop in Zimbabwe's conflict
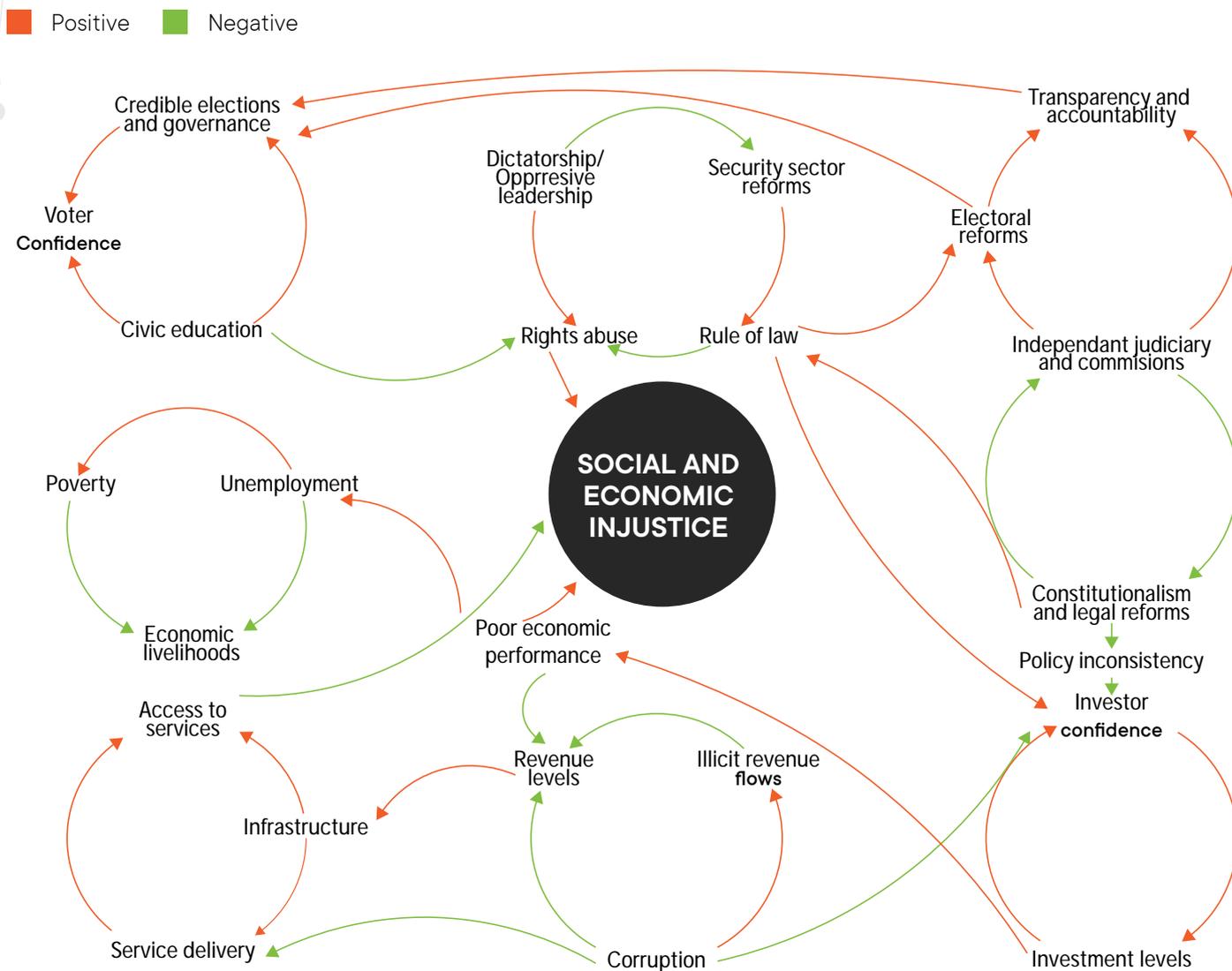
Source: Musarurwa, 2016:2

Karekwaivanane and Msonza (2021) argue that restrictive legislation, suppression of civic expression of dissent and persecution of human rights activists have resulted in the shrinking civil space in Zimbabwe and this has given rise to particular forms of citizen-led formations that seek to express the muted voices of the voiceless citizenry.

Table 1: A Broad timeline of events around the shrinking of civic space from the mid-1990s

Year	Shift	Implication
1997–99	Emergence of a civil society coalition under the National Constitutional Assembly	Opening of civic space and formation if the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC)
2000–08	All-out-effort by Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU-PF) to hold on to power	Rapid shrinking civic space and targeting of civil society and opposition activists
2008–13	Government of National Unity	Expansion of civic space and adoption of new constitution
2013–late2017	ZANU-PF's shock defeat of opposition MDC	Renewed shrinking of civic space and repression of citizen-led protest campaigns
November 2017 – July 2018	Following a military coup, a new government led by Emmerson Mnangagwa takes office	Broadening civic space and increased freedom of speech, assembly, and association
August 2018 – present	Post-election killings usher in a return to overt oppression	Closing of civic space, and carrot-and-stick approach towards opposition politicians, civil society activists and unionists

Source: Karekwaivanane and Msonza 2021:49 Zimbabwe Digital Rights Landscape Report

While Karekwaivanane and Msonza's timeline does not detail the changes in the laws, it brings to the fore some key epochs and their implications. These shifts and implications are central in how people express themselves in public and which associations and activities they participate in, especially when it comes to issues to do with democracy and participation in governance.

Women of Zimbabwe Arise (WOZA) was formed in 2003 as a non-violent feminist organisation comprising ordinary poor mothers who want to be "a litmus test proving that the power of love can conquer the love of power" (Taundi, 2010:9). WOZA views women's consciousness as that of collective beings rather than subjective ideas. WOZA has also reached out to men and formed Men of Zimbabwe Arise (MOZA), reflecting its quest to be non-sexist in approach and to be open to anyone sharing in its ideals of mobilising its members to fight for better governance and social justice including demanding space for women to participate in developmental political, economic and social issues affecting their lives (Mapuva, 2003). WOZA's principal objective is to impart knowledge and skills enabling women to make informed decisions, build the strength of character that demonstrates courage and leadership qualities, increase participation in governance,

> **As a result of increased access to the internet by the masses, digital spaces have become a viable arena for the expression of views that are contrary to hegemonic discourses.**

act as human rights defenders and facilitate the networking of expertise and skills between women towards elevating the standing of women in society (WOZA, 2008). The National Constitutional Assembly (NCA) was formed in December 1987 when the Zimbabwe Council of Churches (ZCC), labour, human rights groups, students, youth and women's groups came together to form a civic coalition with a mandate of campaigning for the drafting and adoption of a new people-driven constitution in Zimbabwe (Taundi, 2010; Murisa, 2015). It was envisaged that the new constitution would define issues such as presidential terms, land reform, human rights, the rule of law and other issues (Moyo, 2019) and would replace the 1979 Lancaster House Agreement. In the run-up to the February 2000 Constitutional referendum, the NCA mobilised against the Constitution Commission's Draft as being elite-driven, partisan, and repressive and further centralising power in the presidency by repealing private property rights. As such, the Constitution Commission Draft was rejected in a referendum in February 2000 (Dzinesa, 2012).

Mare (2014) highlights the emergence of social media as "protest drums" avenues and spaces for the expression of protest for the suppressed citizens' views on governance. As a result of increased access to the internet by the masses, digital spaces have become a viable arena for the expression of views that are contrary to hegemonic discourses. Musarurwa (2016) concurs with Mare's view on the importance of the internet and posits that increased citizen' access to the internet in the context of shrinking space for physical activism on the streets explains the boon in internet-based citizen-led youth formations such as Occupy Africa Unity Square (OAUS), #ThisFlag and Tajamuka/Sesjikile. OAUS was founded in 2014 by the activist Itai Dzamara and identifies itself as pursuing a non-violent and constitutional fight to liberate the country from corruption and mismanagement, carrying on with the same mandate that was started by those that fought the war of liberation. The movement uses the Africa Unity Square in the central business district of Harare just across the Parliament of Zimbabwe building, as their main space for protests (Musarurwa, 2016 and Chitanana, 2020). The #ThisFlag movement was founded by a local Pastor who posted online videos of himself expressing his concerns at what he viewed as the government's departure from the founding ideals of the nation. He then posed his questions, highlighting how he

was not sure if the country was still on the path of development and democratic government and values which the colours of the flag represent (Chitanana and Mutsvairo, 2019; Nenjerama, 2019, Dendere, 2020). These are mainly urban-based formations.

2.2 Citizen-led associational formations as responses to socio-economic and cultural factors

In the rural areas as Bratton (1986:358) cited by Murisa (2009:127) asserts, "Zimbabwe's countryside has historically been made up of a mosaic of associational forms including loose unstructured mutual networks such as faith-based groups, credit associations, women's groups, labour sharing groups, and the more structured peasant organisations which are either localised or national". We can therefore observe that citizen-led formations are modulated by a diverse set of issues including economic and livelihood factors, factors relating to political injustices, and others, by social considerations including Durkheim's organic and mechanical solidarity where people are joined together in their communities by a moralistic pull in the form of collective conscience, common beliefs and sentiments as well as functional/utilitarian need for each other. This is expressed in such formations as Zunde raMambo, for example. As citizens act in response to these different factors, they exercise agency and produce and reproduce and sustain citizen-led initiatives and associations. Shared ethnocultural identities and mutual concerns over food security are also pivotal in the concept and practice of Zunde raMambo/Isiphala senkosi among various ethnic groups in Zimbabwe (Mararike, 2001; Lunga and Musarurwa, 2016) and has been practiced "since the 1800s or earlier" (Sithole, 2020:117). Zunde raMambo is a critical social security system that provided informal safety nets against food shortages to vulnerable families and alleviated drought or flood-induced food insecurity (Stathers et al, 2000; Lunga and Musarurwa, 2016).

From its literal meaning, "Zunde" means a large gathering of people participating in a common activity and may also refer to the grain jointly stored for future use by people in a community (Mararike,

> **Zunde raMambo is an informal, in-built social, economic, and political mechanism where a chief designated a piece of land for cultivation by his subjects**

2001). In practicality, Zunde raMambo is an informal, in-built social, economic, and political mechanism where a chief designated a piece of land for cultivation by his subjects (Mararike, 2001), or by the village headmen for farming by the community (Stathers et. al, 2000) for the mutually beneficial purpose of harvesting and storing grain for use in times of hardships. The practice was not solely centred on crop production as it was also used as a social, economic and political rallying mechanism and an assertion of unity and oneness which also connoted social and moral obligations.

Cooperatives have been operational in Zimbabwe since the pre-independence period and have enjoyed state support for example, through the Co-operative Act (Chapter 193) of 1956. Under this Act any group of at least 10 adults sharing a common purpose and having specified their motivation for the inception of a co-operative and its activities were eligible for registration as a cooperative(UN-Habitat, 1989:174). Zimbabwe legally recognises housing cooperatives, fishing cooperatives, manufacturing, arts and crafts, agriculture, services, savings and credit co-operatives and mining cooperatives as the seven categories of cooperatives. Table 2 below shows a breakdown of the number of registered cooperatives in Zimbabwe in 2016 according to their sector of operation.

Table 2: Type of cooperatives in Zimbabwe

Type of cooperative	Number of cooperatives
Fishing	127
Manufacturing	–
Arts and Crafts	57
Transport	19
Agriculture	194
Mining	92
Savings and Credit Cooperatives (SACCOs)	254

Source: Ministerial Statement on the state of cooperatives in Zimbabwe, 2016

Mhembwe and Dube (2017) looked at the role played by six agricultural cooperatives in sustaining the livelihoods of rural communities and established that cooperatives helped to generate employment for people in the rural communities and boosted food production. Mhembwe and Dube assert that while cooperatives face constraints including financial support, lack of access to lucrative markets for their produce as well as poor management, they empowered the marginalised, especially women. As World Bank (1989) points out that through the Ministry of Community and Cooperative Development and Women's Affairs (MCCW), the government of Zimbabwe promoted collective cooperatives mainly in agriculture as part of the resettlement of ex-combatants and landless families in the early post-independence period (World Bank, 1989: 10). More recently, the government of Zimbabwe supports cooperatives by providing pre- registration and post registration training and support as well as observing the International Co-operative Day in July of each year (Ministerial Statement on the state of cooperatives in Zimbabwe, 2016)

In the period just after independence Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) also actively promoted these cooperatives as a vehicle for introducing new farming and marketing practices to rural farmers and providing them with more accessible and low-cost extension services (Mhembwe and Dube, 2017). Other imperatives that drive the formation of cooperatives include failure by the market to provide goods and services at affordable prices, acceptable quality (The National Cooperative Business Association, 2005, as cited by Mhembwe and Dube, 2017) as well as the need for better bargaining powers, creating and maintaining access to market opportunities (Barton, 2000 as cited by Mhembwe and Dube, 2017).

Housing cooperatives are a form of citizen-led association necessitated by the government's failure to provide housing, an increasing demand for low-cost housing and secure tenure in urban and peri-urban areas in Zimbabwe (Chirisa et al, 2014). As a consequence of the adoption of the Economic Structural Adjustment Program (ESAP) there was a sharp decline in the government's financial support for housing and this was exacerbated by the "stringent...cumbersome and bureaucratic" (Chirisa et al, 2014:39) formal channels and procedures for

> **As a consequence of the adoption of the Economic Structural Adjustment Program (ESAP) there was a sharp decline in the government's financial support for housing**

accessing public housing. The government of Zimbabwe's socialist approach to the provision of housing meant that the State was the provider of housing to the poor but this approach failed due to resource handicaps (Chirisa et al, 2014). Chirisa and Paradza (2017) indicate that Zimbabwe's National Housing Policy (NHP) of 2000 showed a growth in the housing stock deficit from 20 000 to 100 000 units between 1995 to 1999. In response, low-earning residents of peri-urban and urban areas resorted to housing cooperatives as a key tool for overcoming challenges with the traditional housing development model which required councils to provide full infrastructure and services such as roads, electricity and water before housing construction and habitation. In housing cooperatives, the members pool their resources together as a way of dealing with their individual financial challenges.

Some forms of citizen associations emerge as a response to "shifting boundaries of community" due to co-acting factors such as transnational migration, local autonomy movements and claims of citizenship rights (Marston and Mitchell, 2004:93). Following Marston and Mitchell's and Bebington's (2006)'s line

of ideas, burial societies can be seen as one form of citizen-led formations that arose out of transnational migration and the need to cope with inequitable socio-economic relationships. Kalima (2013) highlights the emergence of burial societies in Zimbabwe as citizen-led movements rooted in mutualism among foreign immigrant workers during the colonial era, and these served as safety nets for marginalised workers by providing economic and logistical support to members during times of bereavement. These burial societies were mainly located in high-density residential areas, farms, and mines during colonial times. The burial societies' membership was mainly drawn along ethnic lines and served as a coping strategy for the "detribalised" and "deculturalised" early working classes in the colonial times. Hall (1987) asserts that burial societies are local organisations that provide mutual help and assistance to members in the event of death and illness in "a strange hostile environment" (Hall,1987:49). Chigara and Mutesasira (2001) found that burial societies also assist members in accessing informal loans and savings with high flexibility, lower transaction costs and these services are more accessible than formalised ones due to low barriers of entry and being generally framed around mutuality and a socio-cultural framework of shared ethnocultural identities which stimulate reciprocity.

3. Description of Sample

Data was collected in Harare, Zimbabwe's capital city and is one of the country's 10 provinces. Harare is one of Zimbabwe's two metropolitan provinces and is made up of Harare City Council, Chitungwiza Municipal Authority, Epworth Local Board and Ruwa Town Council (Government of Zimbabwe Portal). Harare is perpetually experiencing high urbanisation due to the rural-urban migration and influx of people in search of employment and better economic opportunities (Tibaijuka, 2005, and Potts, 2011). According to the last national census for Zimbabwe held in 2012, Harare had a population of 2 123 132 with were 1 025 596 males and 1 097 536 females with 34.00% of the population below 15 years and 2.00% above 65 years of age (Zimbabwe 2012 Census Harare Provincial Report). In total 446 people responded to the survey.

3.1 Respondents Age and Gender

From the sample of 446 respondents male respondents constituted 60.00% of the sample while female respondents made up 40.00% as shown in Figure 2 below

Figure 2: Respondents by Gender

Male   60%   40%   Female
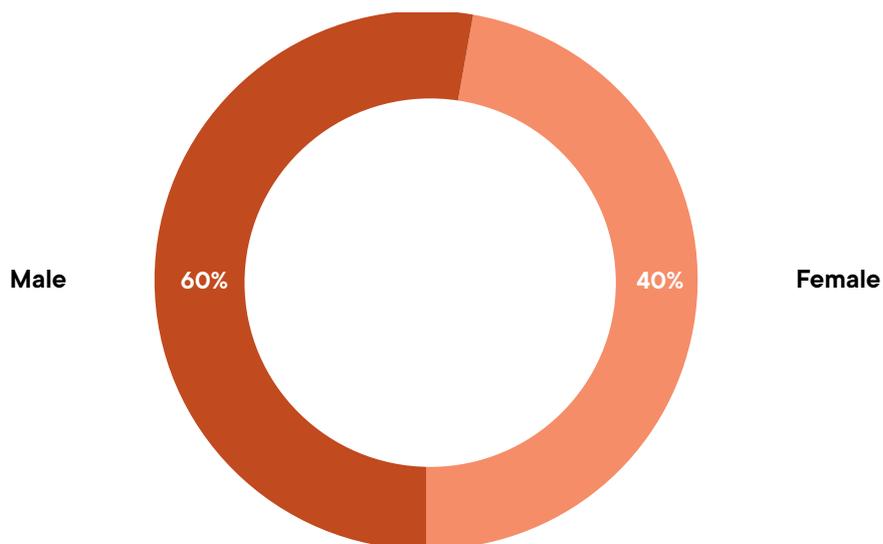
The 18–25 years age cohort had the highest contribution to the sample, making up 32.00% followed by the 26–35 age group (28.00%), the 36–45 (24.00%) and 46–55 (11.00%) while the 56–65 and 65+ contributed 3.00% and 2.00% respectively.

Figure 3: Respondents Gender and Age Distribution
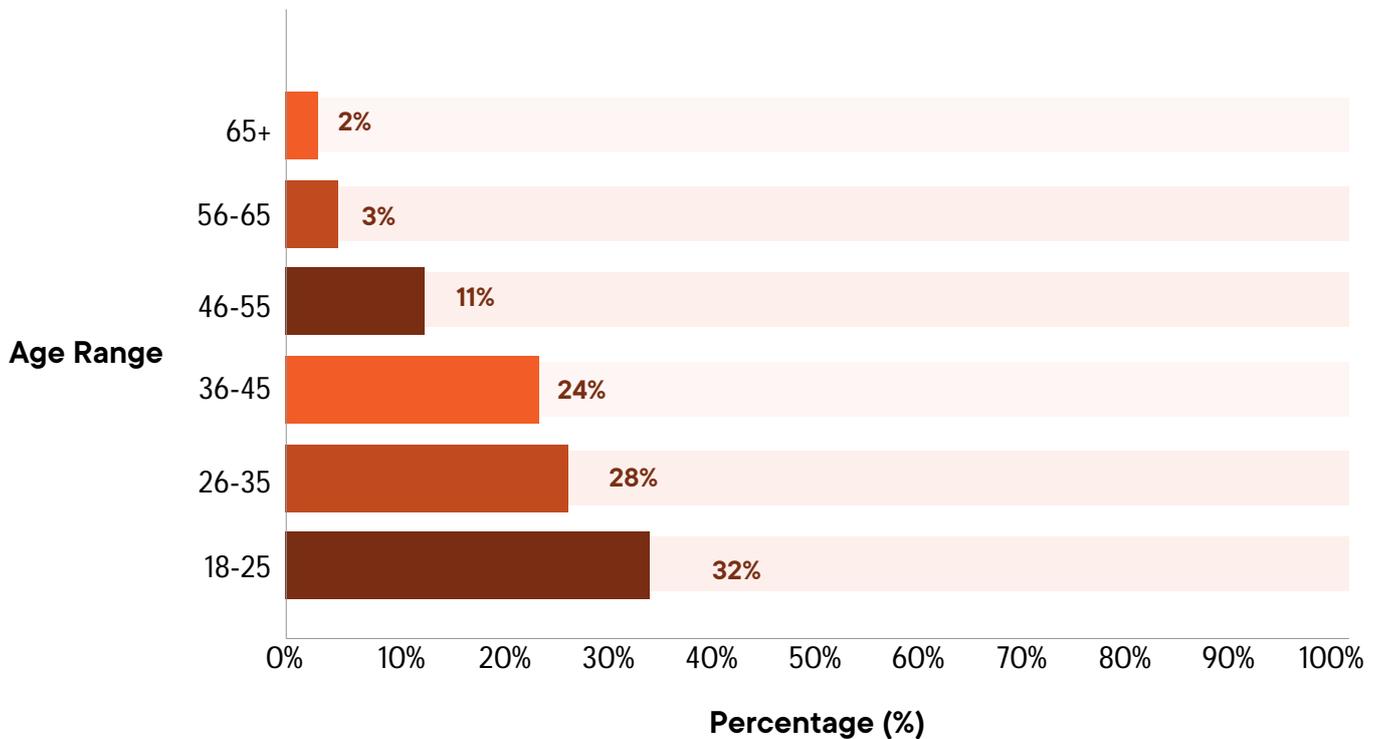
3.2 Literacy, Education and Monthly Income Levels

In terms of literacy, 98.88% of 'the study's 446 respondents indicated they could read and write whilst only 1.12% said they were not able to. In terms of level of education, there was an almost equal split in respondents who completed secondary school (48.21%) and those who completed tertiary education (47.53%). Figure 4 belows shows study participants' level of education.

Figure 4: Level of education

Primary school — 3.14%
Secondary school — 48.21%
Tetiary education — 47.53%
No formal education — 1.12%

0.0%
25.0%
50.0%
75.0%
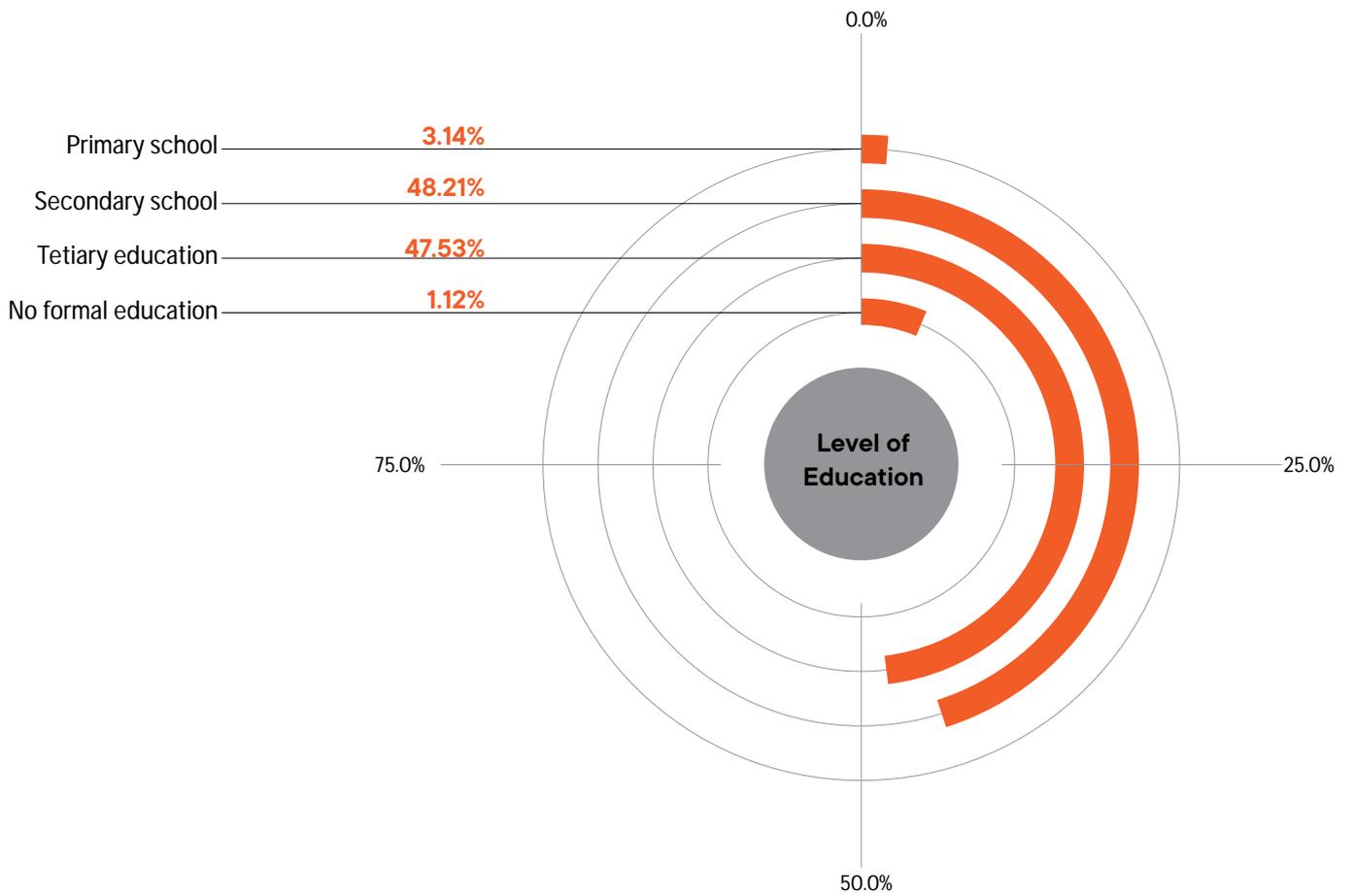
Level of Education

Just 3.14% indicated primary school as their highest level of education and 1.12% had not had any formal education. To further understand the socio-economic characteristics of the sample, the study explored the participants' average monthly income and these are shown in Figure 5 below.

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Figure 5: Monthly income ranges
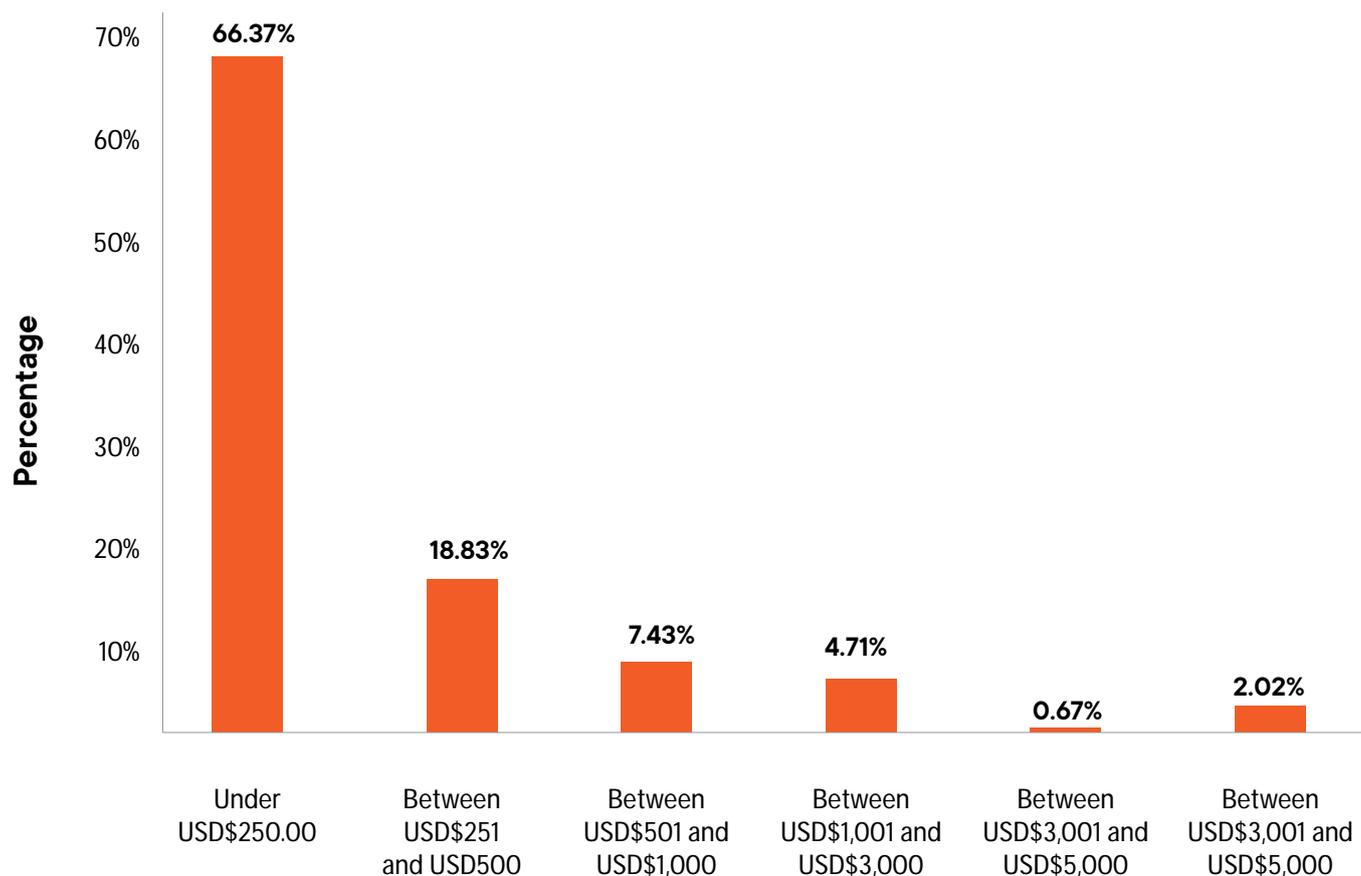
Monthly Income Ranges

Most participants (66.37%) had a monthly income of below USD 250.00 followed by 18.83% who earned between USD 251 and USD 500. The two highest income brackets of earners between USD 3001 and USD 5,000 and above USD 3001 had just 0.67% and 2.02% respectively.

3.3 Participation in Electoral Processes

Respondents were asked if they were registered voters and if they participated in electoral processes. Figure 6 below shows the responses.

Figure 6: Voting in presidential elections
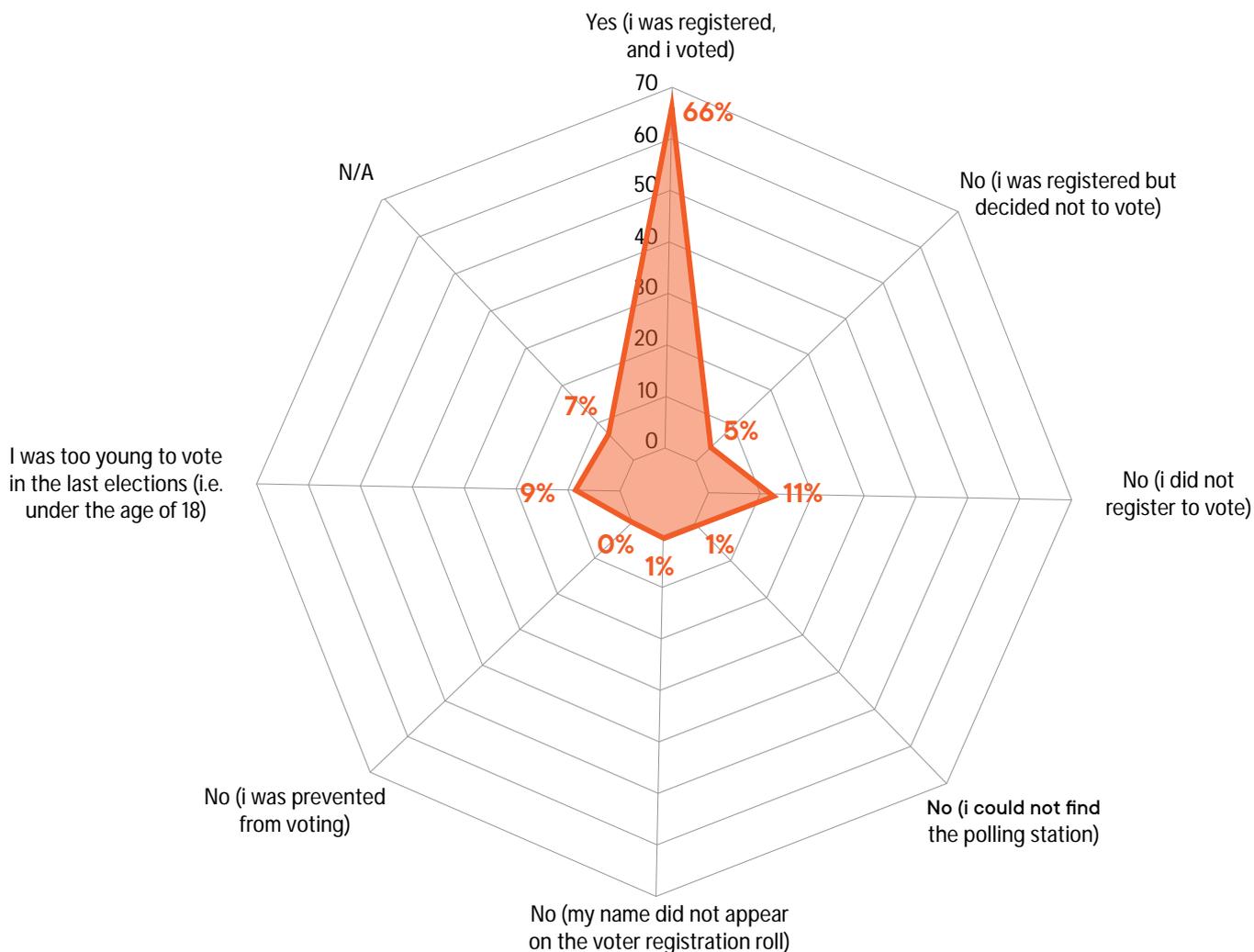
More than half of the respondents (66.00%) were registered voters and voted in the last presidential elections. A combined total of 34.00% did not because of various reasons with 11% just indicating they did not vote because they did not register to vote, 9.00% were under the age of 18 and therefore too young to vote in the last elections, 5.00% were registered voters but did not cast a vote on the day of the election. A smaller number 1.00% failed to vote because they could not find the polling station and another 1.00% also failed to vote because their names did not appear on the voter registration roll. None of the respondents was prevented from voting.

4. Mapping of Citizen's initiatives in Zimbabwe

The study focused on three broad categories of spheres where citizen initiatives can be scrutinised and there are: (i) citizens and the economy, (ii) citizens and politics, then (iii) citizens and social support. A total of 49.00% of respondents indicated that they were members of social support associations, 40.00% and 33.00% belonged to economic and political associations respectively. The formation, features and functions of the various initiatives as established by the study, are highlighted in the ensuing discussion.

4.1 Citizens and the Economy

4.1.1 Membership to economic associations

Study participants were asked to indicate the different forms of economic associations to which they belonged and when these associations were established. A total of 14.13% belonged to a Market Group/Platform. (a place or network where members sell goods/services to each other) and 11.11% of such market groups/platforms were established between 1990 and 2000. A total of 11.21% belonged to a Housing Cooperative with most (56.00%) indicating that the cooperative they were part of had been been established between 2001 and 2010. The next category of economic association with most members was Savings and Lending Group with 10.54% respondents indicating their membership to this category and 23.40% reporting that their group was established between 1990–2000.

Table 3 below summarises the main economic associations. On the lower end, 0.45% of study participants belonged to a Business Advocacy/Lobby and 50.00% of these groups were established between 1990 and 2000. A further 1.79% belonged to a Business Promotion Council and 37.50% of these were also established between 1990 and 2000. A lesser number (1.79%) also belonged to Common Property Group (natural resources) and another 1.79% belonged to an Asset Pooling Group with 62.50%

of these associations having been formed between 1990 and 2000. Most (41.67%) multi-level marketing schemes such as Avon, Table Charm and Tupperware and Business Promotion Councils (25.00%) were established recently between 2010 and 2000).

Table 3: Membership to economic associations

Economic association classification	Percentage of members	Year of establishment		
		1990 - 2000	2001 - 2010	2010 - 2020
Savings and Lending Group	10.54%	23.40%	8.51%	14.89%
Labour pooling group	2.47%	54.55%	9.09%	18.18%
Production Cooperative	4.71%	33.33%	23.81%	4.76%
Buying Clubs (e.g., collective group to buy groceries)	8.52%	13.16%	5.26%	5.26%
Marketing Cooperative (involved in jointly selling commodities)	2.69%	33.33%	16.67%	16.67%
Common Property Group (natural resources)	1.79%	62.50%	25.00%	12.50%
Asset Pooling Group	1.79%	62.50%	0.00%	12.50%
Market Group/Platform (a place or network where members sell goods/services to each other)	14.13%	11.11%	7.94%	7.94%
Business Promotion Council	1.79%	37.50%	12.50%	25.00%
Business Advocacy/Lobby Group	0.45%	50.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Business Mentorship/Training Group	2.02%	11.11%	0.00%	11.11%
Housing Cooperative	11.21%	18.00%	56.00%	4.00%
Multi-level marketing schemes (e.g. Avon, Tablecharm, Tupperware)	8.07%	22.22%	16.67%	41.67%

Savings and Lending Groups are informal citizen-organised associations where citizens raise capital through mutual funds generated from the weekly or monthly deposits/subscriptions by members/Members' pool money via these periodic payments to the group thereby creating a fund from which they borrow and repay at low-interest rates. These interests are ploughed back into the pooled money to generate return on those savings for the benefit of the members (Ncube, Undated). Labour pooling groups can also be referred to as nhimbe a practice traditionally used by the Shona people in Zimbabwe whereby an individual family invites fellow villagers to help the family, especially in their

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subsistence agriculture fields to perform specific tasks such as tilling, planting, weeding or harvesting and then later they commune over the traditional brew and a meal prepared by the family (Mararike, 2001; Tavuyanago et al, 2010:5–6; Chibango, 2017).

4.1.2 Establishment of economic associations

Central to membership in economic associations is the manner of their establishment which frequently has a bearing on the ease of joining specific associations. Table 4 below presents survey responses on how their economic associations were established.

Organisations with no formal registration dominate the economic associations with 73.68% of buying clubs, 67.19% of Market Groups/Platform and Savings and 57.45% of Lending Group not having any formal registration. Several respondents indicated they did not know how their economic associations were established and these included members of the Labour pooling group (54.55%), Multi-level marketing schemes (52.78%), Business Mentorship/Training Group (44.44%) and Business Promotion Council (37.50%).

Table 4: Methods of the establishment of economic associations

Association Classification	Methods of establishment of economic associations						
	Trust	Constitution	Company Limited by Guarantee	Association	No formal Registration	I do not know	Other (Specified)
Savings and Lending Group	10.64%	10.64%	4.26%	6.38%	57.45%	8.51%	2.13%
Labour pooling group	9.09%	0.00%	18.18%	0.00%	18.18%	54.55%	0.00%
Production Cooperative	19.05%	0.00%	9.52%	23.81%	28.57%	19.05%	0.00%
Buying Clubs	5.26%	2.63%	0.00%	10.53%	73.68%	2.63%	5.26%
Marketing Cooperative	25.00%	8.33%	8.33%	16.67%	25.00%	16.67%	0.00%
Common Property Group	37.50%	0.00%	25.00%	12.50%	0.00%	25.00%	0.00%
Asset Pooling Group	25.00%	0.00%	12.50%	25.00%	25.00%	12.50%	0.00%
Market Group/Platform	6.25%	0.00%	1.56%	6.25%	67.19%	15.63%	3.13%
Business Promotion Council	0.00%	0.00%	12.50%	25.00%	25.00%	37.50%	0.00%
Business Advocacy/Lobby Group	50.00%	0.00%	0.00%	50.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Business Mentorship/ Training Group	11.11%	0.00%	11.11%	0.00%	33.33%	44.44%	0.00%
Housing Cooperative	8.00%	64.00%	4.00%	4.00%	6.00%	14.00%	0.00%
Multi-level marketing schemes	11.11%	0.00%	33.33%	0.00%	2.78%	52.78%	0.00%

50.00% of Business Advocacy/Lobby Group and 37.50% of Common Property Groups were established by Trust as reported by study respondents. Establishment by Constitution is the least identified method of establishment among Labour pooling group, Production Cooperative, Common Property Group, Asset Pooling Group, Market Group/Platform, Business Promotion Council, Business Advocacy, /Lobby Group, Business Mentorship/ Training Group and Multi-level marketing schemes. None of the respondents indicated that the associations they were part of were being established in this manner.

4.1.3 Gender dynamics in economic associations

Issues of gender inclusivity and equity are vital in the different associational forms of interactions in which citizens participate. In exploring the gender dynamics in associations, respondents were asked to indicate the gender of office-holders in their associations. Table 5 below shows the summary of responses.

Among all the 13 economic associations Buying Clubs had the highest percentage of female leaders (78.92%) followed by Savings and Lendings Groups (67.23%) and Multi-level marketing schemes (62.77%). Business Promotion Council had 60.53% male leaders while Asset Pooling Group (65.96%), Housing Cooperative (62.31%). Business Advocacy/Lobby Group (56.25%) and Labour pooling group (57.53%) also had more male than female leaders.

Table 5: Distribution of office holders by Gender in economic associations

Association Classification	Gender of Office Holders	
	Male Office Holders	Female Office Holders
Savings and Lending Group	32.77%	67.23%
Labour pooling group	57.53%	42.47%
Production Cooperative	52.35%	47.65%
Buying Clubs	21.08%	78.92%
Marketing Cooperative	46.75%	53.25%
Common Property Group	56.90%	43.10%
Asset Pooling Group	65.96%	34.04%
Market Group/Platform	47.79%	52.21%
Business Promotion Council	60.53%	39.47%
Business Advocacy/Lobby Group	56.25%	43.75%
Business Mentorship/Training Group	36.36%	63.64%
Housing Cooperative	62.31%	37.69%
Multi-level marketing schemes	37.23%	62.77%

4.1.4 Democracy withing economic associations

Leadership is a core determinant of how associations function and respondents were asked to indicate how their associations organise themselves, their leadership structures, and the processes through which they select leaders. Survey data shows that in Housing Cooperatives leaders are elected (69.39%) and this was the highest among the economic associations, followed by Savings and Lending Group (38.30%), Production Cooperative (33.33%), Labour Pooling Group (27.27%), Asset Pooling Group (25.00%), Buying Clubs (18.42%), Marketing

Table 6: Democracy within economic associations

Association	Elections	Appointed	Hereditary	Voluntary	I do not know	Other (please specify)
Savings and Lending Group	38.30%	27.66%	6.38%	17.02%	2.13%	8.51%
Labour pooling group	27.27%	63.64%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	9.09%
Production Cooperative	33.33%	42.86%	4.76%	14.29%	4.76%	0.00%
Buying Clubs	18.42%	18.42%	0.00%	47.37%	13.16%	2.63%
Marketing Cooperative	16.67%	25.00%	8.33%	41.67%	8.33%	0.00%
Common Property Group	12.50%	87.50%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Asset Pooling Group	25.00%	37.50%	12.50%	25.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Market Group/Platform	4.76%	19.05%	0.00%	46.03%	15.87%	14.29%
Business Promotion Council	12.50%	37.50%	0.00%	12.50%	37.50%	0.00%
Business Advocacy/Lobby Group	0.00%	100.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Business Mentorship/Training Group	0.00%	55.56%	0.00%	11.11%	33.33%	0.00%
Housing Cooperative	69.39%	22.45%	0.00%	4.08%	2.04%	2.04%
Multi-level marketing schemes	13.89%	16.67%	5.56%	2.78%	61.11%	0.00%

Cooperative (16.67%), Common Property Group and Business Promotion Council (both tied at 12.50%) and Market Group/Platform (4.76%). Business Advocacy/Lobby Group and Business Mentorship/Training Group do not hold elections to select leaders. Table 6 above shows the full range of responses given by study participants.

Appointment was the next favoured method of ascension into leadership. In Business Advocacy /Lobby Groups 100.00% of the leaders were appointed, in Common Property Group 87.00% were appointed, 63.64% in Labour Pooliing group were appointed and 55.56% wer appointed in Business Promotion Council. A total of 47.37% in Buying Clubs and 46.03% of leaders in Market Group/ Platform were voluntary. The survey data thus, shows that elections and apointment are the dominant method of selection of leaders in economic associations among the surveyed population.

4.1.4 Modes and frequency of interaction in Economic Associations

The modes of interaction between members and the platforms/tools for interaction are important when it comes to the actual operations of the associations. Table 7 belows shows the modes and frequency of interaction within economic associations.

Table 7: Modes and frequency of interaction for Economic Associations

Association Classification	Frequency of interaction		Modes of interaction		
	Daily	Weekly	Face to Face Meetings	Digital Online Platforms	Combination of both face to face and digital online platforms
Savings and Lending Group	19%	17%	40%	21%	38%
Labour pooling group	9%	55%	45%	36%	18%
Production Cooperative	19%	38%	43%	29%	29%
Buying Clubs	0%	0%	37%	21%	42%
Marketing Cooperative	42%	17%	42%	25%	33%
Common Property Group	13%	50%	13%	63%	25%
Asset Pooling Group	25%	25%	13%	38%	50%
Market Group/Platform	73%	14%	8%	75%	17%
Business Promotion Council	25%	38%	25%	50%	25%
Business Advocacy/Lobby Group	50%	50%	0%	100%	0%
Business Mentorship/Training Group	0%	56%	11%	22%	67%
Housing Cooperative	4%	26%	58%	14%	28%
Multi-level marketing schemes	28%	44%	6%	56%	39%

A total of 50% of respondents who indicated that they were part of Business Advocacy/Lobby Group met daily and weekly, meeting exclusively on Digital Online Platforms (e.g. Zoom, Skype, WhatsApp, Telegram, Facebook. 73% of respondents who were part of a Market Group/Platform met daily and mostly (75%) met on Digital Online Platforms along with Multi-Level marketing schemes where 44% of the members indicated they met weekly and 56% reported that their interactions were also on Digital Online Platforms.

Regular face to face meetings are popular among Housing Cooperatives (58%) with 26% meeting weekly, Labour pooling group (45%) with 55% meeting weekly, Production Cooperative (43%) with 43% meeting weekly and Savings and Lending Group (40%) with 19% of the members interacting daily. Buying Clubs' meeting intervals were beyond the two categories of "Daily" and "Weekly" as no respondent chose either of these two options. The modes of interaction for Buying Clubs were varied with 37% using regular face to face meetings, 21% interacting over Digital Online Platforms and 42% combining face to face and Digital Online Platforms.

4.1.6 Benefits of membership in Economic Associations

Respondents were asked to identify the main benefits they derived from their economic associations. The data highlights that the two main benefits for members of the Savings and Lending Group were pooling together assets/savings (59.57%) and improved access to financing (55.32%). For members of a Labour Pooling Group, the two main benefits were improved access to financing (45.45%) and improved voice in engaging with officeholders (36.36%). For members of Production Cooperatives there was an equal split between 7 benefits namely, improved access to financing, pooling assets/savings, exchange information about market opportunities, exposure to new concepts or ideas, collective ownership of assets, skills exchange, and additional income (all at 42.86%). The main benefits highlighted by members of Marketing Cooperative were exchange information about market opportunities (75.00%) and Additional income (58.33%).

Most participants in Common Property Groups (natural resources) highlighted exchange information about market opportunities (62.50%) and Improved access to financing (50.00%) as the key benefits. The data shows that 73.02% of members in Market Group/Platform indicated Exchange information about market opportunities and Exposure to new concept or ideas (60.32%) as their main benefits. Among members of the Business Advocacy/Lobby Group Collective Security, Exchange information about market opportunities and Organising Welfare Support were selected by 100% of the respondents.

The main priority for joining Market Group/Platforms is to Exchange information about market opportunities (73.02%) and get Exposure to new concepts or ideas (60.32%). The Market Group/Platforms offered less in terms of Improved Voice in engaging with stakeholders (7.94%), Improved Access to financing (6.35%), Pooling together assets/savings (6.35%), Collective ownership of assets (4.76%), Collective security (3.17%) and Organising Welfare Support (3.17%). This is similar to the benefits derived from Business Mentorship/Training Groups where participants mainly sought and got ideas and information in the form of Exposure to new concepts or ideas (88.89%), room to Exchange information about market opportunities (77.78%) and Skills exchange (55.56%), and none (0.00%) seeking or getting Collective ownership of assets as a benefit and Pooling together assets/savings (11.11%). Table 8 below shows in full, the responses given.

Table 8: Benefits realised from economic associations

Economic Association Classification	Collective security	Improved access to financing	Pooling together assets / savings	Exchange information about market opportunities	Organising welfare support	Improved voice in engaging with officeholders	Exposure to new concept or ideas	Collective ownership of assets	Skills exchange	Additional Income	Other (please specify)
Savings and Lending Group	27.66%	55.32%	59.57%	21.28%	10.64%	8.51%	23.40%	8.51%	25.53%	51.06%	2.13%
Labour pooling group	9.09%	45.45%	27.27%	27.27%	27.27%	36.36%	36.36%	18.18%	27.27%	0.00%	0.00%
Production Cooperative	14.29%	42.86%	42.86%	42.86%	19.05%	19.05%	42.86%	42.86%	42.86%	42.86%	0.00%
Buying Clubs	21.05%	26.32%	65.79%	36.84%	28.95%	2.63%	31.58%	13.16%	26.32%	18.42%	0.00%
Marketing Cooperative	33.33%	33.33%	25.00%	75.00%	8.33%	16.67%	33.33%	41.67%	16.67%	58.33%	0.00%
Common Property Group	0.00%	50.00%	12.50%	62.50%	12.50%	25.00%	50.00%	0.00%	25.00%	12.50%	0.00%
Asset Pooling Group	25.00%	50.00%	50.00%	25.00%	12.50%	25.00%	25.00%	25.00%	12.50%	25.00%	0.00%
Market Group / Platform	3.17%	6.35%	6.35%	73.02%	3.17%	7.94%	60.32%	4.76%	28.57%	49.21%	1.59%
Business Promotion Council	0.00%	25.00%	25.00%	62.50%	12.50%	0.00%	50.00%	37.50%	25.00%	25.00%	0.00%
Business Advocacy /Lobby Group	100.00%	50.00%	50.00%	100.00%	100.00%	50.00%	50.00%	50.00%	50.00%	50.00%	0.00%
Business Mentorship / Training Group	33.33%	33.33%	11.11%	77.78%	11.11%	33.33%	88.89%	0.00%	55.56%	0.00%	0.00%
Housing Cooperative	14.00%	10.00%	54.00%	6.00%	14.00%	18.00%	14.00%	62.00%	12.00%	2.00%	0.00%
Multi-level marketing schemes	5.56%	19.44%	8.33%	58.33%	8.33%	5.56%	47.22%	19.44%	33.33%	77.78%	2.78%

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4.1.7 Types of problems that need to be addressed within economic associations

Closely linked to the notion of benefits realised is the reality of problems needing to be addressed in the economic associations. Business Advocacy/Lobby Group category faced four key problems in the form of Gender-Based discrimination , Low Levels of participation, Weak governance procedures and Leadership (all at 50.00%). Leadership was also identified as a key challenge by Housing Cooperatives (50.00%) and Labour pooling group (45.45%). The most pressing challenge faced by Business Promotion Council was Low Levels of participation (50.00%). Funding was the biggest challenge or joint biggest challenge for 6 economic association types namely Business mentorship/training group (55.56%), Savings and lending group (52.17%), Buying clubs (42.11%), Marketing cooperative (41.11%), Common property group (37.50%) and Production Cooperative (28.57%). Table 9 below highlights the survey evidence on problems faced within the economic associations.

Table 9: Types of problems faced by economic associations

Association Classification	Gender-based discrimination	Low levels of participation	Weak governance procedures	Leadership	Corruption	Formal registration	Meeting government regulatory requirements	Funding	Other (specified)
Savings and Lending Group	10.87%	17.39%	13.04%	23.91%	17.39%	26.09%	4.35%	52.17%	4.35%
Labour pooling group	27.27%	9.09%	18.18%	45.45%	36.36%	9.09%	18.18%	18.18%	0.00%
Production Cooperative	28.57%	14.29%	19.05%	9.52%	23.81%	23.81%	9.52%	28.57%	9.52%
Buying Clubs	13.16%	15.79%	10.53%	23.68%	18.42%	21.05%	7.89%	42.11%	5.26%
Marketing Cooperative	16.67%	25.00%	16.67%	25.00%	33.33%	33.33%	16.67%	41.67%	0.00%
Common Property Group	12.50%	25.00%	25.00%	37.50%	12.50%	25.00%	0.00%	37.50%	12.50%
Asset Pooling Group	37.50%	25.00%	50.00%	25.00%	12.50%	0.00%	25.00%	25.00%	0.00%
Market Group/Platform	1.61%	17.74%	12.90%	11.29%	3.23%	14.52%	12.90%	14.52%	40.32%
Business Promotion Council	12.50%	50.00%	12.50%	25.00%	0.00%	12.50%	0.00%	25.00%	25.00%
Business Advocacy/Lobby Group	50.00%	50.00%	50.00%	50.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Business Mentorship/ Training Group	22.22%	22.22%	11.11%	33.33%	0.00%	22.22%	0.00%	55.56%	0.00%
Housing Cooperative	6.00%	36.00%	36.00%	50.00%	42.00%	8.00%	6.00%	22.00%	0.00%
Multi-level marketing schemes	11.43%	22.86%	14.29%	11.43%	2.86%	5.71%	8.57%	17.14%	25.71%

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4.1.8 Discrimination and inclusion in economic associations

Different issues such as geographical location and focus of an association may act as barriers for entry and participation in specific associations. Being too young or too old was the basis of discrimination experienced in Multi-level marketing schemes (75.22%), Marketing Cooperative, Business Promotion Council, Business Advocacy/Lobby Group (all at 67.00%), in Asset pooling groups and Market group/platform (all 50.00%). The 18–25 years age group (32.00%) contributed the most number to the sample, followed by the 26–35 years group (28.00%). Prohibitive membership costs/fees were cited in Business Advocacy/Lobby Group 67%), Labour pooling group and Multi-level marketing schemes (50%). Table 10 summarises the key forms of discrimination experienced.

Table 10: Forms of discrimination in economic associations

Economic Association	Language Barriers	Prohibitive Membership Costs/Fees	Defined geographical boundaries	Membership defined by gender	Defined religious boundaries	Defined tribal/ethnic boundaries	Age	Disability	Legal	Other (please specify)
Savings and Lending Group	17%	25%	25%	0%	13%	29%	33%	0%	25%	4%
Labour pooling group	50%	50%	0%	0%	0%	50%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Production Cooperative	0%	33%	11%	11%	22%	44%	22%	0%	11%	0%
Buying Clubs	25%	25%	0%	50%	0%	25%	25%	0%	25%	0%
Marketing Cooperative	0%	33%	0%	0%	0%	33%	67%	0%	0%	33%
Common Property Group	17%	33%	17%	17%	0%	17%	17%	0%	17%	17%
Asset Pooling Group	0%	0%	0%	50%	0%	0%	50%	0%	0%	0%
Market Group/Platform	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	50%	0%	0%	50%
Business Promotion Council	33%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	67%	0%	0%	0%
Business Advocacy/Lobby Group	33%	67%	0%	0%	33%	0%	67%	0%	0%	0%
Business Mentorship/Training Group	0%	29%	0%	14%	14%	14%	29%	14%	0%	14%
Housing Cooperative	50%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	50%
Multi-level marketing schemes	0%	50%	0%	0%	0%	0%	75%	0%	25%	0%

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Disability was the least basis of discrimination by participants across all economic association types being highlighted only by 14% in Business Mentorship/Training Groups. Defined geographical boundaries were barriers in just three association types of Savings and Lending Group (25%) Common Property Group (17%) and Production Cooperative (11%). Defined religious boundaries were pointed out in 4 association groups namely Business Advocacy/ Lobby Group (33%), Production Cooperative (22%), Business Mentorship/Training Group (14%) and in Business Mentorship/ Training Group (14%). Legal issues such as not having national registration/ID documents were the basis for discrimination experienced by 25% of respondents in Savings and Lending Group, Buying Clubs and Multi-level marketing schemes, 17% in Common Property Groups and 11% in Production Cooperatives.

4.1.9 Assets within economic associations

Economic associations have assets in various forms and the survey established which ones were held by each association as shown in Table 11 below.

Table 11: Assets within economic associations

Economic Association	Land	Minerals	Water body (Dam)	Tourist Attraction	Grazing Lands	Buildings
Savings and Lending Group	83%	17%	17%	17%	8%	92%
Labour pooling group	75%	0%	13%	0%	0%	100%
Production Cooperative	79%	7%	21%	7%	0%	93%
Buying Clubs	83%	33%	50%	0%	17%	67%
Marketing Cooperative	88%	13%	25%	0%	0%	75%
Common Property Group	67%	17%	33%	17%	0%	33%
Asset Pooling Group	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Market Group/Platform	100%	17%	0%	0%	17%	83%
Business Promotion Council	75%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Business Advocacy/Lobby Group	50%	50%	0%	0%	50%	50%
Business Mentorship/Training Group	100%	0	0	0	0	0
Housing Cooperative	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	49%
Multi-level marketing schemes	56%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%

Land and buildings are the main assets held within economic associations. One hundred per cent of the members of Asset Pooling Groups, Market Group/Platform, Business Advocacy/Lobby Groups and Housing Cooperatives reported that their association owned land. Additionally, 100% of Labour Pooling Groups, Asset Pooling Groups, Business Promotion Council and Multi-level marketing schemes owned buildings. Tourist attractions were among the least owned assets among Savings and lending groups (17%). It is noteworthy that members of the Savings and Lending Groups also indicated that their associations owned buildings (92%) and land (83%). Common Property Groups had 67% members indicating the association owned land.

4.2 Citizens and Politics

4.2.1 Membership in political associations

As established earlier in the background, citizens participate in multiple spaces including in politics and they often do so with varying motivations. Perhaps reflecting Zimbabweans' general awareness and engagement with political issues and events, 20.24% of the respondents indicated they were members of a political party and these were formed between 1990 and 2000. Survey data also shows that Joint Public Petition (100%), Local Peace Committee (100%) were formed in this period. In terms of year of establishment there is a similar trend between Social Movements (30.77%) between 1990–2000, and 23.08% between 2001–2010), Online Based Civic Coalition (33.33%) between 1990–2000 and 33.33% between 2001 and 2010. Table 12 below shows the political associations and the associations' year of establishment.

Table 12: Membership to, and Year of establishment of political associations

Political Association	Percentage of members	Year of establishment of political association			
		1990 - 2000	2001– 2010	2011– 2020	Other (Unspecified)
Campaign Group	2.62%	63.64%	9.09%	27.27%	0.00%
Political Party	20.24%	55.29%	2.35%	0.00%	42.35%
Social Movement	3.10%	30.77%	23.08%	23.08%	23.08%
Joint Public Petition	0.95%	100.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Local Peace Committee	0.95%	100.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Residents Association	5.24%	18.18%	18.18%	40.91%	22.73%
Online Based Civic Coalition	0.71%	33.33%	33.33%	33.33%	0.00%
Women's Group	8.57%	19.44%	16.67%	52.78%	11.11%
Youth Group	7.62%	28.13%	15.63%	40.63%	15.63%

The period 2011–2020 also has a high number of political formations established in this time with Women's Group (52.78%), Youth Group (40.63%) and Residents' Association (40.91%).

4.2.2 Methods of establishment of political associations

Social Movements (38.46%) are the highest number of political associations that were established by means of Trust and the highest (23.08%) among those established by Association, while Political Parties (60.00%) have the most number among those established by means of a Constitution. Online based civic coalitions (33.37%) are the highest among associations established as a Company Limited by Guarantee. Residents Association (40.91%),

Table 13: Methods of establishment of political associations

Political Association	Manner of establishment						
	Trust	Constitution	Company Limited by Guarantee	Association	No formal registration	I do not know	Other (specified)
Campaign Group	33.33%	16.67%	16.67%	16.67%	8.33%	8.33%	0.00%
Political Party	3.53%	60.00%	1.18%	3.53%	2.35%	29.41%	0.00%
Social Movement	38.46%	15.38%	7.69%	23.08%	7.69%	7.69%	0.00%
Joint Public Petition	25.00%	25.00%	25.00%	0.00%	0.00%	25.00%	0.00%
Local Peace Committee	25.00%	0.00%	25.00%	0.00%	0.00%	50.00%	0.00%
Residents Association	9.09%	18.18%	0.00%	9.09%	40.91%	22.73%	0.00%
Online Based Civic Coalition	0.00%	33.33%	33.33%	0.00%	0.00%	33.33%	0.00%
Women's Group	8.57%	8.57%	5.71%	11.43%	42.86%	20.00%	2.86%
Youth Group	15.63%	18.75%	0.00%	21.88%	40.63%	3.13%	0.00%

Women's Group (42.86%) and Youth Group (40.63%) have no major differences among associations with no formal registration. Local Peace Committees (50.00%) dominate the organisations which have members that "Do not know" how they were established followed by Online Civic Coalitions (33.33%).These are shown in Table 13 above.

4.2.3 Gender dynamics within political associations

Political associations are arenas of internal and external contestations (Maiyo, 2008). Gender and power differences are central in political parties (see for example International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2013; Mlambo and Kapingura, 2019). Male office holders dominate in Political Parties (64.94%), Residents Associations (63.89%), Youth Groups (57.34%) and Campaign Group (57.14%) while women dominate in Women's Groups (90.87%), Online Based Civic Coalitions (70.83%), Local Peace Committee (61.76%) and Joint Public Petition (57.89%). Table 14 below shows the distribution of office holders by gender.

Table 14: Gender of Office Holders in Political Associations

Political Association	Gender of office holders	
	Male Office Holders	**Female Office Holders**
Campaign Group	57.14%	42.86%
Political Party	64.64%	35.36%
Social Movement	53.92%	46.08%
Joint Public Petition	42.11%	57.89%
Local Peace Committee	38.24%	61.76%
Residents Association	63.89%	36.11%
Online Based Civic Coalition	29.17%	70.83%
Women's Group	9.13%	90.87%
Youth Group	57.34%	42.66%

In terms of selection of leaders, all the categories of political associations covered in the survey used elections except Online Based Civic Coalitions

4.2.4 Modes and frequency of interaction within political associations

The survey also sought to establish the main modes of interaction between members of the political associations as well as the frequency of that interaction.

Table 15: Modes and frequency of interaction in political associations

Political Association	Frequency of meeting/interaction		Mode of interaction		
	Daily	Weekly	Regular Face to Face Meetings	Digital Online Platforms	Combination of both face to face and digital online platforms
Campaign Group	17%	50%	33%	25%	42%
Political Party	15%	4%	41%	15%	44%
Social Movement	15%	38%	31%	31%	38%
Joint Public Petition	25%	25%	50%	25%	25%
Local Peace Committee	0%	75%	25%	50%	25%
Residents Association	43%	10%	9%	50%	41%
Online Based Civic Coalition	0%	67%	33%	0%	67%
Women's Group	14%	25%	47%	17%	36%
Youth Group	13%	52%	22%	19%	59%

The data largely points to a balance between regular face to face meetings and digital online platforms. Weekly meetings are used more than daily meetings in terms of frequency of interaction. In terms of frequency of interaction, 75.00% of respondents indicated that were part of Local Peace Committees indicated that they met weekly, 67.00% of Online Based Civic Coalitions and 52.00% also meet weekly. Joint Public Petition has the highest value (50.00%) in terms of regular face to face meetings followed by Women's Group (47.00%), Political party (41.00%) and Campaign Group and Online Based Civic Coalition (all at 33.00%). Residents Association and Local Peace Committee are the joint highest (50.00%) in terms of interaction on digital online platforms. Online Based Civic Coalition is also highest (67.00%) in combining regular face to face meetings and combining digital online platforms, followed by Youth Group (59.00%), Political Party (44.00%), Campaign Group (42.00%) and Residents Association (41.00%). The choice of mode of interaction is also shaped by the nature of the association's focus, the legal framework, the State's response to political associations' activities and the space which they seek to influence.

4.2.5 Assets held within Political Associations

Political associations mainly owned land with Online Based Civic Coalition (100.00%), Residents Association (100.00%), Joint Public Petition (100.00%), Youth Group (83.00%), Political Party (68.00%), Local Peace Committee (67.00) owning land. The political associations also own buildings with Women's Group (100.00%), Political Party (93.00%), Social Movement (83.00%) and Campaign Group (80.00%) owning buildings. Table 16 below shows the summary of the assets held within political associations.

Table 16: Assets held within political association

Political Association	Assets held within political associations					
	Land	Minerals	Water body (Dam)	Tourist Attraction	Grazing Lands	Buildings
Campaign Group	40%	0%	20%	0%	0%	80%
Political Party	68%	25%	18%	18%	16%	93%
Social Movement	33%	17%	17%	0%	0%	83%
Joint Public Petition	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	67%
Local Peace Committee	67%	33%	0%	33%	0%	67%
Residents Association	100%	33%	33%	33%	0%	33%
Online Based Civic Coalition	100%	0%	0%	0%	33%	67%
Women's Group	44%	22%	11%	11%	0%	100%
Youth Group	83%	0%	33%	17%	33%	67%

4.2.6 Benefits of political association membership

The Campaign group draws the most (75.00%) benefit in terms of improved voice in engaging with stakeholders followed by Political party (48.24%) and Social Movement (46.15%).

Political party members saw the most (72.94%) benefit in terms of the defence of their rights followed by Social Movement (61.54%). Members of Political Parties also indicated that they enjoyed other benefits such as Change of government (63.53%) and Better Social Order (54.12%) due to their membership in political parties. Table 17 below summarises the benefits across political associations.

Table 17: Benefits from Political Associations

Political Association	Benefits of membership									
	Collective Security	Organising /receiving welfare support	Improved voice in engaging with officeholders	Exposure to new concept or ideas	Sense of belonging	Defence of rights	Changes / Reforms within community	Change of government	Better social order	Other (please specify)
Campaign Group	33.33%	25.00%	75.00%	41.67%	16.67%	25.00%	25.00%	25.00%	33.33%	0.00%
Political Party	21.18%	36.47%	48.24%	20.00%	47.06%	72.94%	35.29%	63.53%	54.12%	0.00%
Social Movement	7.69%	53.85%	46.15%	53.85%	46.15%	61.54%	30.77%	0.00%	61.54%	0.00%
Joint Public Petition	25.00%	25.00%	25.00%	50.00%	25.00%	25.00%	25.00%	0.00%	25.00%	0.00%
Local Peace Committee	0.00%	0.00%	25.00%	25.00%	25.00%	25.00%	50.00%	50.00%	25.00%	0.00%
Residents Association	54.55%	13.64%	45.45%	27.27%	40.91%	18.18%	31.82%	0.00%	31.82%	4.55%
Online Based Civic Coalition	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	66.67%	33.33%	0.00%	66.67%	0.00%	33.33%	0.00%
Women's Group	13.89%	52.78%	27.78%	61.11%	86.11%	30.56%	27.78%	5.56%	55.56%	0.00%
Youth Group	6.25%	43.75%	31.25%	71.88%	71.88%	28.13%	31.25%	6.25%	59.38%	0.00%

Social Movements helped members to defend rights (61.54%), contributed to Better social order (61.54%) organising/receiving welfare support and exposing members to new concepts or ideas (both 53.85%). Local Peace Committees are viewed as contributing to changes/reforms within the community (50.00%), change in government (50.00%) and less in terms of the establishment of a better social order, providing a sense of belonging and defending rights (25.00%) yet, these are some of the areas in which local peace committees are expected to be key. 54.55% of members of Residents associations find collective security as the key benefit of their membership in this category of political associations and they see the residents associations improving engagement with office holders (45.45%), and they also viewed Residents Association giving them a sense of belonging (40.91%) which is more than what they see the association doing in terms of helping towards a better social order (33.33%), bringing about changes/reforms within the community (31.82%) and defending rights (18.18%).

Online Based Civic Coalitions were viewed mainly as exposing members to new concepts or ideas and helping bring about changes /Reforms within community (both 66.67%) whilst Women's Groups were viewed by most of their members (86.11%) as providing them with a Sense of belonging, helping deliver Better Social Order (55.56%) and Organising /receiving welfare support (52.78%) for members. Youth Groups were lauded for giving the youth exposure to new concepts or ideas and a Sense of belonging (both 71.88%).

4.2.7 Types of problems that need fixing within political associations

Campaign Groups were most affected by Corruption (50.00%), Low levels of Participation, Weak Governance Procedures and Leadership (all 41.67%) while the biggest handicap for Political Parties was Leadership (61.08%) and Social Movements were mostly challenged by Low levels of Participation (53.85%). Weak Governance Procedures and Leadership (50.00%) were pointed out as the biggest challenges faced by Joint Public Petitions.

Gender based discrimination (50.00%) and Weak governance procedures (50.00%) were also flagged as Local Peace Committees' most pressing challenges. Residents Associations

were blighted by an assortment of challenges which coalesced around Funding (36.36%), Weak Governance Procedures (36.36%), Low levels of Participation (31.82%) and the lack of formal registration for the associations (27.27%). The data shows that Funding was a key problem within Women's Groups (50.00%) and Youth Groups (59.38%).

Table 18: Types of problems within political associations

Political Association	Gender based discrimination	Low levels of participation	Weak governance procedures	Leadership	Corruption	Formal registration	Meeting government regulatory requirements	Funding
Campaign Group	33.33%	41.67%	41.67%	41.67%	50.00%	16.67%	16.67%	25.00%
Political Party	14.12%	27.06%	41.18%	61.18%	32.94%	1.18%	2.35%	54.12%
Social Movement	30.77%	53.85%	38.46%	38.46%	7.69%	23.08%	7.69%	46.15%
Joint Public Petition	25.00%	0.00%	50.00%	50.00%	25.00%	25.00%	25.00%	0.00%
Local Peace Committee	50.00%	0.00%	50.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	25.00%
Residents Association	13.64%	31.82%	36.36%	13.64%	13.64%	27.27%	4.55%	36.36%
Online Based Civic Coalition	0.00%	33.33%	0.00%	33.33%	0.00%	33.33%	33.33%	33.33%
Women's Group	5.56%	41.67%	22.22%	16.67%	11.11%	8.33%	8.33%	50.00%
Youth Group	21.88%	31.25%	12.50%	15.63%	12.50%	6.25%	6.25%	59.38%

4.2.8 Discrimination and inclusion in political associations

Members of political associations reported experiencing different forms of discriminatory practices. Age was cited by 100% of respondents who experienced discrimination in Local Peace Committees while as much as 85.71% experienced age-based discrimination in Women's Groups. Defined tribal and ethnic boundaries were the dominant basis of discrimination in Campaign Groups as reported by 54.55% of the participants. Some Youth Groups (50.00%) had Defined Religious boundaries. Other factors such as Language Barriers were cited once (36.36%) in Campaign Groups. Defined Geographical Boundaries (36.36%) in Campaign Groups as well and Membership defined by gender (14.29%) in Women's Groups. It is noteworthy that in these political groups disability and legal factors were never cited as the basis for discrimination experienced by members.

66.67% of people experiencing discrimination in Online Based Civic Coalitions did not specify the reason or form of that discrimination. Table 19 shows the range of discriminatory practices and factors as reported by study participants.

Table 19: Forms of discrimination faced in political associations

Political Association	Forms of discrimination faced in political associations									
	Language Barriers	Prohibitive Membership Costs/Fees	Defined geographical boundaries	Membership defined by gender	Defined religious boundaries	Defined tribal /ethnic boundaries	Age	Disability	Legal	Other (please specify)
Campaign Group	36.36%	18.18%	36.36%	0.00%	0.00%	54.55%	27.27%	0.00%	27.27%	0.00%
Political Party	0.00%	14.29%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	85.71%	28.57%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Social Movement	0.00%	33.33%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	33.33%	33.33%	0.00%	0.00%	33.33%
Joint Public Petition	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Local Peace Committee	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Residents Association	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	50.00%	50.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Online Based Civic Coalition	0.00%	33.33%	0.00%	0.00%	33.33%	33.33%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	66.67%
Women's Group	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	14.29%	14.29%	0.00%	85.71%	0.00%	0.00%	14.29%
Youth Group	0.00%	50.00%	0.00%	0.00%	50.00%	0.00%	50.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%

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4.3 Citizens and Social Support

Besides the economic and political organisations that have been highlighted in the foregoing discussion, citizens also belong to and participate in Social Support organisations. These organisations are mainly aimed at providing mutual support to each other and frequently do so in times of financial or emotional strain, including bereavement, in the case of burial societies.

4.3.1 Membership to, and Year of establishment of Social Support Organisations

Fellowship/Religious Groups (38.33%) dominate in terms of study participants' membership in Social Support Organisations. Most (38.51%) Fellowship/Religious Groups were established between 1990 and 2000 and 16.77% established between 2001 and 2010. School Association Parent-Teacher Associations (6.19%) are the next social support association category with most participants according to the survey data followed by Entertainment Group (5.71%), Burial Societies (5.48%) and Alumni Association (5.24%). The period 1990 to 2000 dominates in terms of associations formed, when compared to 2000 to 2010 and 2011 to 2020. Table 20 below shows the period of formation and membership of the Social Support Associations.

Table 20: Membership and years of establishment of Social Support Organisations

Social Support Association	Percentage of members	Year of establishment			
		1990 - 2000	2001– 2010	2011– 2020	Other (Unspecified)
Fellowship Group / Religious Group	38.33%	38.51%	16.77%	8.70%	36.02%
Burial Societies	5.48%	30.43%	8.70%	13.04%	47.83%
Sporting Association	5.00%	38.10%	9.52%	47.62%	4.76%
Entertainment Group	5.71%	20.83%	29.17%	45.83%	4.17%
School Association Parent/Teacher Group	6.19%	42.31%	7.69%	30.77%	19.23%
Alumni Association	5.24%	22.73%	0.00%	40.91%	36.36%
Book/Reading Club	2.86%	50.00%	0.00%	50.00%	0.00%
Community Development Association	1.67%	57.14%	14.29%	14.29%	14.29%
Service Organisation/ Club	1.79%	62.50%	0.00%	37.50%	0.00%
Neighbourhood Watch Committee	3.36%	33.33%	13.33%	33.33%	20.00%
Communal Granary	1.12%	80.00%	0.00%	20.00%	0.00%
Community Feeding Group	2.24%	50.00%	10.00%	40.00%	0.00%
Community Foundation	0.90%	25.00%	50.00%	25.00%	0.00%

4.3.2 Method of establishment for Social Support Associations

Since they serve a wide constituency of people with varying needs and socio-economic statuses, Social Support Associations are formed and established differently. The survey established the methods of establishment for the 13 types of social support associations which this section (4.3) looks at. Table 21 below summarises these different methods of establishment.

Table 21: Method of establishment of Social Support Associations

Social Support Association	Method of establishment of Social Support Associations					
	Trust	Constitution	Company Limited by Guarantee	Association	No formal registration	I do not know
Fellowship Group /Religious Group	19.88%	27.33%	0.62%	4.97%	11.80%	34.16%
Burial Societies	0.00%	13.64%	31.82%	27.27%	4.55%	22.73%
Sporting Association	9.52%	0.00%	4.76%	28.57%	38.10%	19.05%
Entertainment Group	16.67%	0.00%	8.33%	8.33%	54.17%	12.50%
School Association Parent/Teacher Group	11.54%	15.38%	0.00%	26.92%	7.69%	38.46%
Alumni Association	14.29%	4.76%	0.00%	38.10%	23.81%	14.29%
Book/Reading Club	8.33%	16.67%	8.33%	25.00%	16.67%	25.00%
Community Development Association	0.00%	28.57%	0.00%	28.57%	0.00%	42.86%
Service Organisation or Club	25.00%	0.00%	12.50%	25.00%	0.00%	37.50%
Neighbourhood Watch Committee	13.33%	6.67%	0.00%	13.33%	26.67%	40.00%
Communal Granary	0.00%	40.00%	0.00%	20.00%	0.00%	40.00%
Community Feeding Group	30.00%	10.00%	20.00%	10.00%	10.00%	20.00%
Community Foundation	25.00%	0.00%	0.00%	50.00%	0.00%	25.00%

Most participants in Fellowship/Religious Groups do not know how the group was formed (34.16%) together with 42.86% of Community Development Associations, Neighbourhood Watch Committee (40.00) and Communal Granary (40.00%). 31.82% members of Burial Societies assert that their group was established as a Company Limited by Guarantee. The majority of Entertainment Groups (54.17%), Sporting Associations (38.10%) and Neighbourhood Watch Committees (26.67%) have no formal registration. It is noteworthy that 40.00% of Communal Granaries were established by Constitution according to the members who participated in the survey. The two options of either (a) Constitution, or (b) Company Limited by Guarantee as methods of establishing social support associations are the least favoured of the five options that were looked at in the survey. The route of Company Limited by Guarantee was not used by 6 of the associations with a negligible 0.62%

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(Fellowship/Religious Group) using this method. The Constitution was not used by 4 of the 13 associations covered in the survey. In terms of leadership selection and organisation of the associations, most of associations covered by the survey selected leaders through elections, except Community Development Associations.

4.3.3 Modes and frequency of interaction/meeting in Social Support Associations

How members interact in social networks is pivotal in ensuring the success and strength of the network. The frequency and efficacy of the modes of interaction are also critical. To understand the manifestations of citizenship, the survey established the modes and frequency of interaction among participants in social support associations. These are presented in Table 22 below.

Table 22: Modes and frequency of interaction/meeting in Social Support Associations

Social Support Association	Frequency of meeting/interaction		Mode of interaction		
	Daily	Weekly	Regular Face to Face Meetings	Digital Online Platforms	Combination of both face to face and digital online platforms
Fellowship Group /Religious Group	17%	66%	45%	11%	44%
Burial Societies	13%	13%	45%	27%	27%
Sporting Association	14%	33%	43%	14%	43%
Entertainment Group	13%	74%	38%	21%	42%
School Association Parent/Teacher Group	27%	23%	19%	42%	38%
Alumni Association	25%	20%	25%	55%	20%
Book/Reading Club	0%	50%	58%	8%	33%
Community Development Association	14%	29%	43%	43%	14%
Service Organisation or Club	13%	50%	63%	25%	13%
Neighbourhood Watch Committee	33%	40%	40%	20%	40%
Communal Granary	40%	60%	20%	80%	0%
Community Feeding Group	10%	50%	30%	50%	20%
Community Foundation	0%	50%	25%	25%	50%

Community Granary groups have the highest value (40.00%) among the associations that meet daily followed by Neighbourhood Watch Committee (33.00%). Among associations that meet weekly the School Association/Parent-Teacher Group meet the most (74.00%), followed by Fellowship/Religious Group (66.00%), Communal Granary (60.00%) then Book/Reading Club (50.00%), Service Organisation Club (50.00%), Community Feeding Club (50.00%) and also Community Foundation (50.00%).

In terms of the modes of interaction, respondents were given three options of Regular face to face meetings, Digital Online Platforms and then a Combination of Regular face to face meetings and Digital Online Platforms. Community foundations are the group that most utilised the combination of face to face meetings and digital online platforms (50.00%). They are followed by Fellowship/Religious Group (44.00%), Sporting Association (43.00%) and Entertainment Group (42.00%). Regular face to face meetings have a slight edge over digital online platforms with 7 of the 13 associations preferring regular face to face interaction over digital online platforms. The Community Development Association is the only one with an equal preference for Regular face to face meetings (43.00%) and

Digital Online Platforms (43.00%). The survey findings on modes and frequency of interaction have an outlier where the Communal Granary-which is traditional and rural based association- has 80% of the meetings/interactions taking place on online digital platforms.

4.3.4 The benefits of membership in Social Support Associations

Most social support associations have a hybrid form and structure framed by a combination of some rules and regulations and strong underlying values of reciprocity and mutuality. Fellowship Group / Religious Group members mostly cited spiritual support (85.71%) and Sense of belonging (85.71%) while Sense of belonging was also cited by 80.00% of the members in Communal Granary associations, 75.00% of Entertainment Group and 75.00% of the participants in Alumni Association as a key benefit. Membership in Community Foundation helped 100.00% with their physical wellbeing and 75.00% with Exposure to new concept or ideas which was also a key benefit for 70.00% of Community Feeding Group. The benefits of Book/Reading Clubs included Sense of belonging (58.33%), Exposure to new concept or ideas (50.00%), Physical well-being (50.00%) while the two main benefits for members of Community Development Association were Exposure to new concepts or ideas (71.43%) and Improved voice in engaging with officeholders (57.14%) and Service Organisation or Club members mainly (75.00%) got exposure to new concept or ideas. Table 23 below shows the summary of benefits of membership in social support associations.

Table 23: The benefits of membership in Social Support Associations

Social Support Association	Benefits of membership										
	Collective Security	Entertainment	Organising /receiving welfare support	Improved voice in engaging with officeholders	Exposure to new concepts or ideas	Physical wellbeing	Sense of belonging	Spiritual support	Networking	Improved education outcome / quality of education	Other (please specify)
Fellowship Group /Religious Group	10.56%	8.70%	24.84%	15.53%	22.36%	26.09%	60.25%	85.71%	37.27%	0.00%	0.00%
Burial Societies	39.13%	4.35%	30.43%	21.74%	8.70%	17.39%	43.48%	17.39%	8.70%	0.00%	21.74%
Sporting Association	14.29%	47.62%	9.52%	23.81%	28.57%	47.62%	28.57%	9.52%	38.10%	0.00%	4.76%
Entertainment Group	0.00%	75.00%	29.17%	12.50%	29.17%	45.83%	75.00%	29.17%	33.33%	0.00%	4.17%
School Association Parent/ Teacher Group	19.23%	11.54%	19.23%	38.46%	23.08%	15.38%	26.92%	3.85%	15.38%	57.69%	3.85%
Alumni Association	4.76%	4.76%	14.29%	23.81%	52.38%	14.29%	66.67%	9.52%	47.62%	0.00%	9.52%
Book/Reading Club	0.00%	33.33%	16.67%	0.00%	50.00%	50.00%	58.33%	8.33%	8.33%	0.00%	8.33%
Community Development Association	42.86%	0.00%	14.29%	57.14%	71.43%	28.57%	42.86%	14.29%	42.86%	0.00%	0.00%
Service Organisation or Club	0.00%	25.00%	37.50%	25.00%	75.00%	50.00%	37.50%	0.00%	12.50%	0.00%	0.00%
Neighbourhood Watch Committee	53.33%	20.00%	13.33%	26.67%	13.33%	26.67%	46.67%	0.00%	13.33%	0.00%	0.00%
Communal Granary	0.00%	20.00%	40.00%	20.00%	60.00%	80.00%	80.00%	20.00%	20.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Community Feeding Group	20.00%	0.00%	50.00%	50.00%	70.00%	30.00%	40.00%	30.00%	10.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Community Foundation	50.00%	25.00%	25.00%	50.00%	75.00%	100.00%	50.00%	25.00%	50.00%	0.00%	0.00%

4.3.5 Assets held within Social Support Associations

Some of the social support associations in which citizens participate acquire different kinds of assets for various reasons including logistical use or as investments to earn some income for the associations. The study also established the assets held in common by the 13 social support association groups. Table 24 shows a breakdown of these assets as per study evidence

Table 24: Assets held within Social Support Associations

Social Support Association	Assets					
	Land	Minerals	Water body (Dam)	Tourist Attraction	Grazing Lands	Buildings
Fellowship Group /Religious Group	77%	1%	6%	2%	4%	85%
Burial Societies	44%	0%	33%	11%	0%	89%
Sporting Association	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Entertainment Group	89%	0%	11%	0%	22%	78%
School Association Parent/Teacher Group	83%	0%	17%	17%	0%	100%
Alumni Association	67%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Book/Reading Club	60%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Community Development Association	46%	11%	11%	7%	11%	86%
Service Organisation or Club	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	80%
Neighbourhood Watch Committee	75%	0%	0%	0%	0%	75%
Communal Granary	100%	20%	40%	20%	0%	60%
Community Feeding Group	80%	20%	20%	0%	20%	80%
Community Foundation	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%

Land and buildings dominate the assets that are commonly held by social support associations. An overwhelming 100% of members in Sporting Associations, Service Organisation/Club and Community Foundations indicated that their associations owned land. Sporting Associations and Community Foundations also had 100% respondents indicating the associations owned buildings. One hundred per cent (100%) of members of School Association Parent/Teacher Group, Alumni Association and Book/

Reading Club also had Buildings. Reflecting their operational and thematic focus, other associations such as Communal Granary had a Water Body (dam)(40.00%) and a Tourist Attraction (20.00%) while Community Development Association held Minerals (11.00%) and Grazing Lands (11.00%) together with land (46.00%).

4.3.6 Problems faced within Social Support Associations

The survey explored the challenges faced by the social support associations and these are presented below in Table 25.

Table 25: Challenges faced within Social Support Associations

Social Support Association	Challenges faced within Social Support Associations								
	Gender based discrimination	Low levels of participation	Weak governance procedures	Leadership	Corruption	Formal registration	Meeting government regulatory requirements	Funding	None of the above
Fellowship Group /Religious Group	12.58%	11.32%	9.43%	25.79%	12.58%	4.40%	2.52%	30.19%	38.36%
Burial Societies	4.35%	4.35%	8.70%	4.35%	8.70%	4.35%	4.35%	8.70%	69.57%
Sporting Association	9.52%	9.52%	9.52%	23.81%	9.52%	14.29%	0.00%	47.62%	19.05%
Entertainment Group	12.50%	12.50%	8.33%	20.83%	20.83%	20.83%	12.50%	20.83%	33.33%
School Association Parent/ Teacher Group	15.38%	30.77%	15.38%	26.92%	19.23%	11.54%	7.69%	26.92%	19.23%
Alumni Association	0.00%	33.33%	0.00%	14.29%	4.76%	14.29%	4.76%	33.33%	38.10%
Book/Reading Club	0.00%	27.27%	9.09%	9.09%	9.09%	18.18%	0.00%	9.09%	45.45%
Community Development Association	0.00%	28.57%	0.00%	14.29%	14.29%	28.57%	14.29%	28.57%	28.57%
Service Organisation or Club	12.50%	25.00%	0.00%	12.50%	0.00%	12.50%	12.50%	25.00%	37.50%
Neighbourhood Watch Committee	6.67%	33.33%	6.67%	20.00%	6.67%	13.33%	0.00%	6.67%	33.33%
Communal Granary	40.00%	20.00%	40.00%	40.00%	20.00%	80.00%	20.00%	20.00%	0.00%
Community Feeding Group	20.00%	0.00%	20.00%	20.00%	20.00%	10.00%	10.00%	50.00%	10.00%
Community Foundation	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	25.00%	25.00%	0.00%	0.00%	25.00%	75.00%

Formal registration was singled out by 80.00% of participants in Communal Granary type of association as a major challenge. Other challenges faced by Communal Granary type of association include Gender Based discrimination (40.00%), Weak Governance Procedures (40.00%) and Leadership related issues. The issue of low levels of participation was highlighted as the key challenge in Neighbourhood Watch Committee (33.33%), Alumni Association (33.33%), Community Development Association (28.57%), School Association Parent/Teacher Group (30.77%), Book/Reading Club (27.27%) and Service Organisation or Club (25.00%).

4.3.7 Inclusion and discrimination within Social Support Associations

As established earlier in the background section in this discussion, some citizen-led initiatives and formations emerge out of experiences with exclusion from the economy and an array of other spaces where there is competition for resources or other valued material or intangible items. Consequently, the survey also sought to investigate the forms of discrimination experienced by participants/members of the social support associations. The findings are displayed below in Table 26.

Table 26: Forms of discrimination faced in Social Support Associations

Social Support Association	Forms of discrimination faced									
	Language Barriers	Prohibitive Membership Costs/Fees	Defined geographical boundaries	Membership defined by gender	Defined religious boundaries	Defined tribal /ethnic boundaries	Age	Disability	Legal	Other (please specify)
Fellowship Group /Religious Group	50.00%	0.00%	0.00%	8.33%	8.33%	16.67%	8.33%	0.00%	0.00%	16.67%
Burial Societies	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Sporting Association	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	25.00%	50.00%	25.00%	50.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Entertainment Group	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
School Association Parent/ Teacher Group	25.00%	25.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	50.00%
Alumni Association	42.86%	0.00%	14.29%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	57.14%	14.29%	0.00%	0.00%
Book/Reading Club	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%
Community Development Association	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%	0.00%	100.00%	0.00%
Service Organisation/Club	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Neighbourhood Watch Committee	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Communal Granary	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Community Feeding Group	0.00%	100.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Community Foundation	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%

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The survey evidence highlights that social support associations are very inclusive and quite accommodative of socio-economic differences, and they also have few barriers to entry and participation. Community Feeding Groups were hamstrung by Prohibitive Membership Costs/Fees, Defined tribal /ethnic boundaries as shown by each of these challenges being pointed out by 100% of members of Community Feeding Groups. Age (100.00%) and Legal challenges (100.00%) were pointed out as major challenges experienced by participants in Community Development Associations. Language Barriers (42.86%) and Age (57.14%) were pointed out as problems needing to be addressed within the Alumni Associations.

5. Conclusion

Evidence from the study indicates that the citizens in Harare participate in a wide range of citizen-led formations and they do so with a plethora of driving motivations including exposure to new ideas and concepts, and improved voice in engaging with officeholders and a sense of belonging. These associations hold different forms of assets mainly land and buildings but in their operations, the associations are hindered by some challenges such as low levels of participation, corruption and difficulties with leadership. Social support associations are more inclusive but participants that experienced discrimination within the social support associations are mainly discriminated against on the basis of Prohibitive Membership Costs/Fees, Defined tribal /ethnic boundaries and age. Defined tribal/ ethnic boundaries and prohibitive membership costs/fees account for the majority of incidences of discrimination experienced by participants in economic associations. The economic associations are drawn back by a myriad of challenges such as low levels of participation, funding, weak governance procedures, leaderships issues, lack of formal registration and concerns with meeting government regulatory requirements.

The study also established that citizens in Harare participate in multiple forms of political associations. They join these formations with the hope securing improved voice in engaging with officeholders, exposure to new concepts and ideas, defence of rights and effecting and benefiting from changes and reforms within community, the participants are often discriminated against in these associations on the basis of age and the associations having rigid religious boundaries and defined tribal ethnic boundaries. These serve as barriers to entry and participation in some political associations. Embracing technology and adapting to the political environment, political associations meet regularly using both face to face meetings and digital online platforms.

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