

**THE ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS IN PROMOTING POLITICAL**

**TOLERANCE: A CASE OF CRISIS IN ZIMBABWE COALITION**

**By**

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## **ABSTRACT**

*The study sought understanding on CSOs role in promoting political tolerance and focused on CiZC mandate between 2008 to 2020. Problematic and persistent political polarisation in Zimbabwe increase conflict and violence against divergent political views creating need for exploring the phenomena with a view to glean new propositions to political tolerance. The researcher's choice of qualitative methodology was informed by his need of a methodology that traced, explained and gave meaning to growth of crooked political conduct and vices. Main findings revealed that CSOs where ineffective in promoting political tolerance due to political strong liaisons with MDC and disregarded inclusion of all players and caused further polarisation in a volatile conflict situation. CSOs used human rights programmes for posturing to prove and justify continued funding to enrich themselves and sought relevance with zero consideration for communities' represented nor development from programs they requested funding for. The research concluded that CSOs were honeycombed with activist's personal interests of 'crisispreneurs' than group interests that served need of communities. It recommended establishment of multi-sectoral guidelines that determined and regulated roles of of civic interest groups in communities affected by conflict to avoid bias.*

## **DECLARATION FORM**

I, Chester Simbarashe Matsvimbo (B1234454) declare that ideas in this dissertation reflect my original thoughts. I have also acknowledged the thoughts and works of other scholars and research participants. The dissertation has never been submitted at any other university for the award of any degree. It is being submitted in partial fulfilment for the requirements of Master of Science in Peace and Governance degree in Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities.

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Signature

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Date

## **DEDICATION**

This dissertation is dedicated to my late loving mother and father, teachers who socialised me in belief of harmonious community existence and set path for education. Special thanks to my wife Samantha for moral support during the tedious period of study. Appreciation to my sister Tendai for encouraging me to complete the research and set a good example for my kids.

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS**

ACBF	African Capacity Building Foundation
AU	African Union
AusAID	Australian Agency for International Development
CiCZ	Crisis in Zimbabwe Coalition
CNFA	Citizens Network for FA
COE	Council of Europe
CSOs	Civil Society Organisations
DFID	Department for International Development
ECLF	Ecumenical Church Leadership Forum
ECOSOC	Economic and Social Council
EFZ	Evangelical Fellowship in Zimbabwe
EU	European Union
FONGOs	Foreign Organised Non-Governmental Organisations
GONGOs	Governmental Organised Non-Governmental Organisations
LGBTQ	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
NCA	National Constitutional Assembly
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
ONHRI	Organ for National Healing, Reconciliation and Integration
PONGOs	Politically Organised Non-Governmental Organisations
SADC	Southern Africa Development Community
SIDA	Swedish International Development Agency
UN	United Nations
UNDHR	United Nations Declaration for Human Rights
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VCDR	Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations
ZANU PF	Zimbabwe African National Unity Patriotic Front
ZESN	Zimbabwe Electoral Support Network

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## CHAPTER ONE

### 1.1 BACKGROUND OF STUDY

The roles of civil society are determined by operating environs they exist in which makes them institutions that react to situations and circumstances with a goal enforce people centred development. The proliferation of CSOs in Zimbabwe have had significant impact on state and citizens relations from pursuit of socio-economic and political interests of Zimbabwean communities ranging from welfare, capacity building, environmental concerns, rule of law, human rights, democracy and good governance (Murwira, 2019). The expansion became noticeable following conflict, post 2000 that arose from land reclamation induced sanctions, a dwindling and hyper inflationary economy, growing political intolerance and limited space for contestation, intimidation and violence became fertile ground for growth of impunity and polarization (Lewanika, 2016). These developments gave prominence to human rights and advocacy groups to devise approaches that could address the country's problems (Bratton, 2014). This study is encouraged to pursue a research on CSOs role in promoting political tolerance from a critique that, research studies previously conducted are exclusionary of all political players in Zimbabwe and focus on overemphasizing the anti-hegemony approach employed in advocacy and lobbying for adoption of liberal reforms by government whilst sidelining pro-government groups hence perpetuating polarization which is anti-development.

In a people centred society, importance of CSOs rest in their ability to bridge the gaps between the state and citizens (Kensington, 2017). The SADC region has this role urged beyond borders through the SADC CSO Forum which is usually concurrently held with the annual Heads of States Summit to enable civic groups to provide input on issues affecting the region. Though engagement remains limited, a recognised platform exist as SADC Council of NGOs has a

direct link with the Secretariat. At continental level, the relationship between governments and CSOs is fraught with tension over concepts of political liberalisation, accusing governments of retaining mechanisms that erode democracy and lack of transparency (Appiagyei-Atua, 2018). As such, CSOs face regulatory constraints with media reports indicating Uganda deregistering over 207 illegal NGOs operating without licences in August 2020 whereas Egypt maintains permanent strict measures banning civic groups from politics. These administrative procedures arise from accusations on CSOs for being politically organised and using human rights as rhetoric for partisan ends and to destabilize peaceful situations (Appiagyei-Atua, 2018).

The end of Cold War led in Eastern Europe and Asia enabled calls for political reforms based on acceptable democratic governance being and CSOs strengthening their resolve in monitoring, investigating and democratic standard setting from 1991. Governments in Ukraine and Russia with questionable human rights and pluralism records have adopted norms that put them at par with acceptable democratic tenets (Kluyev, Zubko, Blokhin, Petrova and Kuzimina, 2018). From CSOs push, Asian states adopted the Bangkok NGO Declaration on Human Rights calling for eliminating hostile environments and intolerance. CSOs in the region deliberately ignore concerns of governments to protect traditions that upset political tolerance. They continually however face regulatory hurdles with governments in Pakistan, Cambodia, India, Malaysia targeting CSOs foreign funding amidst suspicion of being foreign agents and undermining the state through human rights advocacy and furthering LGBT, ethnic and religious minorities (Kensington, 2017).

For purpose of this submission, CSO categories have been limited to development organisations, service providers and advocacy organisations. Despite challenges of regulations and intolerance of illiberal democracies, failures and challenges to fulfil their CSOs mandate are sometimes internal. These range from corruption, abuse of donor funds and maladministration

of fundsFechter (2012) classifies as a general state of appearing to be doing well out of misery and the suffering of communities they represent.

## **2.0PURPOSE OF THE STUDY**

The purpose of this study is to understand CSOs' role in promoting political tolerance in Zimbabwe, focusing on Crisis in Zimbabwe Coalition's mandate.

## **3.0STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM**

There is a culture of political polarisation, impunity and violence in Zimbabwe based on political and ideological differences towards members of different political parties other than that one belongs to. Intolerance is at the core of Zimbabwean political play. Tendi (2017) explains how this has polarized the nation resulting to a narrow minded political field where supporters of political parties only identify with political parties and ideology rather than pursuit of people centred development. This has resulted to limited political space where dissenting voices are targeted, a lack of tenets of pluralism necessary in democracy (E.U, 2019). Political intolerance has degenerated into challenges for human rights defenders and the government itself. Attempts to uphold inalienable rights to political choices and freedoms of association are continually undermined limited an enforcement remains erratic. Resultantly, beatings, torture and mutilation of political opponents has occurred between 2000to 2008. Nearly 2, 323 are reported to have been permanently injured due to political violence between 2008 to 2019 with a disputed 112 reported dead. Therefore, political violence in Zimbabwe has been pegged at 36.9 percent of the reported 5, 075(RAU, 2018). This has created a tainted human rights record for the country on the diplomatic front as Zimbabwe is continually cited as a pariah state with disregard of human rights. Internal displacement ofpeople fleeing violence from political attacks associated with arson and destruction of property of political players also hamper the

development expected in a democratic society (Bratton and Masunungure, 2011). It is therefore of great significance to scrutinize the ability of civil society in promoting promoting political tolerance amidst such an unfriendly environment with congruent and narrow political sphere.

#### **4.0OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY**

The objectives of this study are underpinned by the purpose of the study which sought to understand the role of CSOs in promoting political tolerance in Zimbabwe focusing on CiZC.

1. To understand the nature of relationships between political parties and CSOs in promotion of political tolerance.
2. To examine the role of CiZC in promoting political tolerance in Zimbabwe.
3. To assess the relationship of CSOs and governmentin the promotion of political tolerance.
4. To explorethe role of diplomatic missions and CSOs in promotingpolitical tolerance in Zimbabwe.

#### **5.0RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

- i. What is the relationship between Crisis in Zimbabwe Coalition and political parties?
- ii. What is the mandate of CSOs in promoting political tolerance in Zimbabwe?
- iii. What is the role of CSOs in the promotion political tolerance in Zimbabwe
- iv. What is the relationship between CSOs and the diplomatic missions on political tolerance in Zimbabwe?

#### **6.0ASSUMPTIONS OF THE STUDY**

The following assumptions will guide this study:

- a) CSOs exacerbate conflicts in Zimbabwe than being enablers of political tolerance.

b) Without CSOs, there will be no political tolerance in Zimbabwe

## **7.0SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY**

This study's targeted beneficiaries are CSOs practitioners, Departments of Social Welfare, political parties ZANU PF, MDC formations and the NCA, researchers and the Bindura University of Science Education if successfully concluded. For CSOs, findings of this submission will redound to the benefit of civic groups considering that political tolerance plays a significant role in development and promotion of human rights. This study shall endeavour to unearth pros and cons to methods CSOs use in dealing with political intolerance and violence as they conduct of investigations, monitoring, report, lobby and or advocacy.

The research will help improve the relationship of political parties and CSOs, attempt to create trust through objectively spelling out challenges and risks of disassociation related to lack of engagement with a view to promote political pluralism, tolerance and a healthy political environment for all Zimbabweans. The relationship between these institutions can assist to professionalise and bring a balance to CSOs practices especially where questionable relations with political parties may exacerbate tensions and violence associated with intolerance. This may need to examine pros and cons both institutions encounter in pursuit of divergent institutional goals through civilized liaison and engagement.

Policy makers like Ministers, Permanent Secretaries, Chief Directors, Members of Parliament, Attorney General's legal experts within government have a greater demand to understand civil society operations and how best they can improve relations with the third sector. This submission will assist to trace the liaison needs and shortfalls leading to a seeming fraught relations between the two for relations. Findings can also be added to standard procedures in dealing with human rights civic groups as administrators will be guided what should be emphasised for better

communities capacitated to adopt recommendations of civic group within confines of both rights and the law as provided by the Constitution of Zimbabwe.

From this study, researchers at Bindura University of Science Education may use findings as referral material in academic studies. The greater demand to understand this vast field of civil society needs a background of study which has been effectively tackled to bring in other approaches in assessment of CSOs participation in political tolerance in Zimbabwe. For academic freedom, this research's findings will not be spared from critiques by other research students with a view to improve whatever gaps the expanse field has to offer, thus a new theories on civil societies may be arrived at.

## **8.0 DELIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY**

The study will be conducted in Harare and will geographically delimit its findings to the metropolitan province alone. The area of study shall be on role of CSOs in promoting political tolerance focusing on the period between March 2008 to August 2020. This area of study has been chosen owing to proximity of data in the province due to multiple operations of CSOs and presence of foreign missions and other international institutions who fund their operations. Conceptually, this submission will not focus on humanitarian affairs and related area of interests by CSOs in political tolerance.

## **9.0 LIMITATIONS OF STUDY**

This study was carried out during lockdowns necessitated by the advent of corona virus (Covid-19). As such, both CSOs and government departments were closed while movement of people for various businesses including academic research were restricted. However, despite this challenge the researcher was able to use social media tools for interaction.

1. CSOs members will not freely avail required data for the study due to contractual confidentiality clauses of their work and fear of exposure. This will be overcome by assurances of protection of privacy of the research participants where their identities and the nature of information provided cannot be traced to them.
2. The research is politically sensitive and charged, thereby respondents are likely to resist availing or cooperating on required data. The research will approach and establish sound relations with research participants by creating an atmosphere that makes them easily open up. Persuasion and identifying to participants' cause will be adopted to overcome boundaries of sensitivity.

## **10.0 DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS**

1. Civil Society Organisations – a wide array on non-governmental and not for profit civic groups with a presence in public life to express interests of the public (Baillie, 2019).
2. Political tolerance - the willingness to extend basic rights and civil liberties to persons and groups whose viewpoints differ from one's on (Davis and Perry, 2020).
3. Conflict- the clash or incompatibility of goals between two or more persons or groups expressed in latent or overt ways (Lederach, 2014).
4. Advocacy- a process focused on educating about a specific issues of interests (COE, 2017).
5. Political tolerance- the willingness to extend civil liberties to all people in societies even those whom you may disagree with (Sullivan, Marcus, Feldman, and Pierson 1982).

## **11.0 DISSERTATION OUTLINE**

The research will be structured in 5 chapters with the following arrangement. **Chapter 1** shall tackle **Background of study** on what motivated this research in seeking to understand the role of CSOs in promoting political tolerance. Relatedly, snippets of CSOs' activities the world over,

regionally and finally drawing down attention to Zimbabwe. **Statement of problem** indicate challenges to political tolerance reveal and subsequent attempts by CSOs in promoting the same. It deals conflict and emergence of political violence, why the scourge political intolerance affects pluralism and the wide concerns and results of the the problem. **Research questions** will help indicate the frameworks and nature of key, questions the study seeks to answer. **Objectives** will analyse the actual role of CSOs in the promotion of political tolerance in Zimbabwe.

**Chapter 2**, focusing on **Literature Review** includes previous and current studies on CSOs in Zimbabwe, at regional, continental levels also considering a worldwide approach for purpose of either validating or disputing finding on CSOs work. The game theory will guide the study to analyse academic journals, research papers and publications by international, regional and local scholars to guide the presentations' flare as much as this submission' own postulations will be highlighted.

**Chapter 3** will have **Methodology** and this research employing the qualitative research methods' **Case Study Research Design**. Subtopics to be found hereunder will include the target population, a sample size of 50 respondents, sampling techniques (purposive and simple random) and data gathering instruments (survey, interviews and document search) as well as data presentation and analysis techniques to be employed.

**Chapter 4's** focus will be on Data Presentation, Analysis and Discussion of Findings. This chapter shall present results from field of study mindful of need to present, analyse and discuss findings obtained in Chapter 3. The study will interpret and giving meaning to data acquired and generated on the role of CSOs in the promotion of political tolerance in Zimbabwe. **Chapter 5** being the final chapter will summarise the major findings of the study. Conclusions of the research and its recommendations will be made based on the data obtained in Chapter 4 as well as from literature reviewed in Chapter 2.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

## **INTRODUCTION**

This chapter relates to review of literature on CSOs promoting political tolerance. Focus is on relevant and reputable research by local, regional as well as international academics, research institutions, international organisations like the African Union, World Bank and United Nations bodies. This chapter also highlights key fundamental studies and case scenarios on CSOs operations in political tolerance in various countries. Although focus is on Zimbabwe, the global perspective on mandate of civic groups with respect to political tolerance will be interrogated amidst challenges arising to peculiar situations. Relevant theoretical frameworks on political science to address political tolerance which is a preoccupation of that study will be juxtaposed along specific themes explaining CSOs' own concerns in peace studies regards various situations and circumstances in modern societies.

### **2.1 THEORITICAL FRAMEWORK**

This study is guided by the game theory which describes how social actors decide on choices to maximise their bearing, opportunities and influence in society (Hayes, 2020). This theory is chosen for this study as it conceives social and political situations among competing players (MDC and ZANU PF) as has been the case in Zimbabwe during the period under study, 2008 to 2020. From apolitical and peace studies perspectives, the game theory helps to explain reasons which drive political parties, civic groups and individual citizens to engage in actions which raise disputes and cause conflict in society (Makwerere, 2017). The game theory has also been used to understand voting patterns, particularly where individual preferences against group choices, which situations also obtain locally as people evaluate alternatives every voting season. Such choices have promoted political intolerance, hence the choice for game theory. In this study, activities of CiZC and related CSOs working in the country are explored in terms of their role to foster political tolerance in Zimbabwe. It focuses on situations regarding players.

Game theory helps describe the conflict arising from competition, how the NGO sector and political parties relate to each other in respect of the political games and competition for citizens they claim to represent (Ross, 2019). According to Raftopoulos, (2014), the voice of opposition political parties and the oppressed is amplified by NGOs in Zimbabwe, while that of ZANU PF is aided by the War Veterans. All these issues epitomise choices taken by CSO entities to analyse political games in Zimbabwe, hence the use of this theory to guide this research project.

Globally, CSOs have resorted to new forms of conflict transformation by seizure of politically motivated conflict situations to their advantage and that of conflict parties (Appiagyei-Atua, 2018). Despite CiZC's efforts to promote peaceful coexistence, it is routinely accused of taking advantage of conflict situations between ZANU PF and MDC to enrich its organisational membership (Sunday Mail, 2013). Proponents of the game theory state that actors in political spheres carefully choose their agenda, situations and platform for positive outcome of their ideas. Seemingly, CiZC has perfected this approach for monetary and material benefit of its benefactors' honest altruism in elections seasons and conflict situations like the intended June and July public demonstrations. Therefore, game theory best describes narratives adopted in this study.

In its complete form, the game theory explains how gainful opportunities are created in times of difficulties. Fisher (2015) explains how a country's political situation can become too complex to comprehend due to distortions by relevance seekers in civil society. To support this theory, an informant within CiZC gave an example of how groups in the organisation take part in falsifying evidence to maintain a steady flow of funding for governance and human rights programs. In the context of Zimbabwean party politics, NGOs have exploited gaps created by the state media which is accused of disseminating propaganda information on the country's political realities (Informant A, 2020). As such, CiZC saw this as an opportunity to maximise its relevance by advocating for political tolerance in the country. The game theory emphasises

on competition, equal participation of all groups in society and the freedom of expression and servitude as principles of the game of politics, (Hart, 2005). On another hand, the theory views conflict in any political establishment as a fertile ground for manipulation (Wallace, 2017), hence its inclusion in this study whose focus is on CSOs promoting political tolerance in Zimbabwe.

## **2.2 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK**

Whereas this study believes in the significance of CSOs in promotion of political tolerance and pluralism in society. It is conceptualised that civic groups in Zimbabwe consider political tolerance programs a game to sway local political patterns and views in line with predetermined blueprints from donors intended to attain results and conditions that have short term benefits to communities but with long term political conduct that is considered acceptable to aid providers. This is in line with Quibria (2014) postulation that aid funders determine conduct of civic group operations. Thus the conceptualization that, there has been an ongoing political game to attain trust of citizens between the state and civil society where the former is at pains to restore economic normalcy and social services since 2017 amidst a CSOs onslaught and narrative indicating alleged deteriorating rights to speech and association (Bloomberg, 2020).

From the aforementioned, this study notes that politics and CSOs are two discourses that have been studied exclusively to each other. The ligament that connects the two has been the missing link by academic ancestors who came before this research. Accusations and counter accusations between the state and CSOs has led to enmity that hamper efforts in tolerance where civic groups accuse government of failure to uphold rule of law and human rights (Heal Zim, 2016). Government accuses CiZC of coordinating the creation of conjured crisis situations and perceptions that justify continued funding of advocacy programs, thereby perpetuating continued polarization. This aspect is closely linked to aspects of corruption Fechter (2012)

notes in Cambodia civic groups where practitioners live extravagant lifestyles amidst poverty situations surrounding them. In Harare parallels are drawn to lavish social gatherings by practitioners at Newlands despite claims of 'living under a police state, in poverty and deteriorating human security' (Informant B, 2020). These activities bring to light that CSOs' cast aspersions upon the government whilst also indicating game theory's prisoner dilemma dichotomy where civic groups 'testify against the state which continually fail to disprove or prove allegations against it'. It can also be conceptualised at this juncture that, CSOs funders are gullible by continually availing aid to concocted project proposal from oftentimes doctored reports by 'crisispreneurs' in the sector (Informant A). Amidst this, there have been limited to no meaningful and tangible political tolerance programs which CiZC has organised for key conflict parties, MDC and ZANU PF in Harare for over 5 years. The conduct of CSOs in this regard, is not only short of criminally defrauding funders but an area which requires extensive research.

### **2.3 ORIGINS/HISTORY OF CIVIL SOCIETY**

It is worthwhile to trace origins of civil society which has impacted on democracy and governance though it should be noted that civil society's origins is contestable. It can be traced to different epochs including the classical period where theorizations by Plato as well as Aristotle's submissions in *Politics*, where reference to '*political community*' now regarded third sector or civil society is made (Paffenholz, 2015). In Aristotle's view, unity or goodness of civil society and the state (political community) ensures human flourishing for common good and free citizens under equal rule of law (Ncube, 2010). The term, 'civil society' is derived from Greek phrase 'koinonia politike' translated to Latin phrase 'societas civilis' by Leonardo Bruni (Spurk, 2016). From the onset, literature on civil society has been closely knitted to democracy and politics with Plato and Aristotle bridging civilised membership in political communities against barbarian ones (Pischikova, 2009). They argued that in civilised communities, citizens

participate in public debates and politics whereas barbarian ones set paths for communities decay and injustice, elements which CSOs have adopted if judging by modern day standards. This submission argues for tracing history of civil society to Judaic biblical times where first signs of common interest to question governance and religious authority emerge. Christian historical records quoted in *Exodus* chapter 14 verses 12 to 14 indicate Israelites taking to task Moses, their leader over trekking policy in Sinai desert amidst pursuit for recapture by Egyptians. This evidences man mastering association for common interests, survival (rights to life) and reveal freedoms of speech indicated by regrets and condemning Moses' decisions that influenced leaving Egypt. A culture of consensus and diversity found within CSOs thereby can be traced before this Christian era.

Ehrenberg (2000) indicates that classical theologians like St. Augustine and Aquinas argue from a Christian point of view where they contend that Godly interventions in affairs of mankind was needed to augment human reason and institutions, hence the idea of 'Christian civil society'. However, influence of religion was challenged by Machiavelli and Hobbes in the middle ages, an era which coincided with end of Christian religious wars in Europe ending with Westphalian treaties of 1648. Hobbes and Machiavelli re-emphasised the intervening role of man in creation of civil society, introducing ideas of social contract, rule of law and a higher political authority. According to them, civil society is a society where individuals come together to make a social contract with the outcome of that contract expressed in rule of law and existence of a state which is subject to law (Gillespie, Georgiou and Insay, 2013). Thus civil society is conceptualized as synonymous to the state.

The modern historical epoch also known as the era of the market refined formative stages of civil society as a western concept (Bald, 2011). Ideas around the subject is inspired by John Locke, Adam Smith, Karl Marx, Antonio Gramsci, Thomas Hobbes and Alexis de Tocqueville who gave meaning and scope to understanding of the concept. Locke indicated that the state

arises from society and is needed to restrain conflict between individuals. From the onset, it is highlighted that the state cannot be given unlimited sovereignty as it will pose a threat to individual freedoms (Paffenholz, 2014). Thereby, Locke suggests a social contract between rulers and the ruled, a condition of a likeable state (Murwira, 2019). According to Locke, this is in form of a constitutional arrangement that both the state and civil society respect in recognition liberal democracy.

Ehrenberg (2000) notes that de Tocqueville refer to civil society as associations which constitute strongest bulwarks against unmediated popular will. He advocates for self-governing associations that educate citizens whilst scrutinizing the state's actions. Hegel, unlike his peers equated civil society with the market postulating that civil society are a natural phenomenon though being a product of specific historical purposes. He emphasises that the state exist to protect common interests of societies, evoking a portrayal of ethically tranquil and humanely society (Gillespie, Georgiou and Insay, 2013). Gramsci's approach remains outstanding through his anti-hegemony stance. Civil society is presented by Gramsci as a spectrum of social groups that either challenge or prop up the existing order. Gramsci however prefers the struggle against hegemony where civil society is a site for rebellion against orthodoxy, constructs of cultural and ideological hegemony that threaten general interests of families, schools, universities and voluntary organisations (Qhadhafhi, 2007).

## **2.4 CIVIL SOCIETY IN AFRICA**

This presentation has noted with concern the silence and historical amnesia of most contemporary studies on the existence and role of civil society in pre-colonial Africa. The existence of civil society in Africa can be traced to African traditional religions, societies and culture which however varied from one region to another (Mare, 2020). In Southern Africa, the traditional systems emphasised civic groups at local family level through the 'Dare' or communal court systems which deliberated communal matters of concerns, interests and

transfer of indigenous knowledge systems to young adults, Mashingaidze (2003). Traditional associations did not however have much room as modern day CSOs with direct participatory governance. The coming in of colonialism and subjugation resulted to crushing the spread and progress of these traditional CSOs (Pul, 2014). The British colonial administrative system which had the majority of colonies on the continent ensured the repression of natives by criminalising any attempt at pursuit of politics, civil and political freedoms, Ranger (2003). Therefore, origins of modern day CSOs in Africa as intertwined with fighting imperial hegemony against the French, Portuguese, Germans, Italians and the British. Formal CSOs were mostly in forms of legal associations and churches began the call for promotion of liberal democracy and majority rule, matters which were in sync with the liberation movements which also promoted democracy and rights of the oppressed people.

During the colonial era, civic groups were regarded as people's movements (Murwira, 2019). Groups like the the Rhodesia Bantu Voters Association made calls for equality in voting rights and so did the the South Rhodesia Native Welfare, a social and economic rights group against economic oppression relating to unfair labour practices on wages and salary segregation. In West Africa, Pul (2014) notes that the Aborigines' Rights Protection Society concerned itself with with land expropriation by colonial authorities in Gold Coast subsequently calling for independence. Masunungure (2014) notes that CSOs remained in infancy stage and had a malnourished growth coming from colonialism and oppression associated with with crushed progress. The UN through the course of history was forced to set up a mechanism whereby NGOs interested in its works can have access and participation in its activities through various organs. Article 71 of <sup>the</sup> UN Charter mandates ECOSOC to grant consultative status to NGOs (UN, 2020). The AU also recognises the role and contribution of CSOs through the charter and treaty systems. The ECOSOC of the AU system also entrusts CSOs with power to facilitate and participate at all organs' procedures(AU, 2019).

Post-colonial African civil society contributed and are associated with politics of democratization and challenging authoritarian regimes in South Africa, Zimbabwe, Nigeria and Cameroon whereas the liberalist views also influenced challenging military dictatorships in Latin America and Eastern Europe (Mare 2020, Murwira 2019, Ncube, 2010). CSOs' growth has always been reactionary to situations from colonial to post-colonial epochs. After fall of the Soviet Union, a rise of liberalism and an increase for calls to democratise in countries which were largely lagging behind with industrialisation and democratic norms made civil societies a viable alternative (Paffenholz, 2015). This is resulted to the evolution of African CSOs which are imitations of international NGOs dealing in narrow civil and political rights issues (Appiagyei-Atua, 2018). These first generation of CSOs under this category are chiefly in humanitarian cluster with operations which began during the colonial times with a mandate to alleviate suffering of the people. Due to colonial legacy and conflict in Africa, a substantial number of CSOs are also involved in peace building and the quantitative rise increase with wars, insurgency and extremism befalling the continent of the years (Murwira, 2019).

Currently, indications reveal that 21<sup>st</sup> civil society is not only concerned with human rights, governance and democracy issues. Issues of climate change, food security, bio diversity, sexual and reproductive rights also form the major stakes contributing amongst the main funded programs in Africa (Kusters, 2020).

## **2.5 DEFINING CSOs**

The concept of civil society is diverse and carries many meanings, as such there is no commonly agreed definition making as to be shown herein. COE (2017) scores that CSOs are a broad domain which also encompass NGOs. Civil society are public bodies which encompass a wide array of not for profit non-governmental institutions with a presence in public life. The World Bank (2019) indicate that CSOs express interests and values of members they represent based

on cultural, ethical, political, religious or philanthropic considerations. Most researchers agree that civil society refers to voluntary participation by citizens to exclude behaviour imposed or suggested by the state. Appiagyei-Atua (2018) defines civil society as private associations which devote significant resources to promotion and protection of human rights and are independent of both governmental and political groups that seek political power, and which do not themselves seek such power. This definition seems suitable mostly for international NGOs than most CSOs in Zimbabwe and other African countries as civic groups normally align to parties. Goel and Tripathi (2010) defines CSOs from Locke's perspective that they are separate domain but parallel to the state where citizens associate according to their own interests and pursue a spectrum of NGO activities.

Paffenholz (2015) defines civil society as a basic pillar of democracy which has gained importance in its perceived ability to facilitate regular and sustained participation by the citizenry. In the context of Zimbabwe, the increased activities of governance CSOs promoting democracy post year 2000 where government's authority and control of state apparatus to stifle democracy can be best examples to support of Paffenholz's assertion. From a 3<sup>rd</sup> world view, UKWELI (2018) says CSOs are gap fillers of deteriorating human rights situations that aim to maintain and uphold sustainable peace. This definition seems fit for governance and human rights related NGOs and ignores other functions of civic groups. Within UN context, CSO includes both business and private voluntary associations (Qadhafi 2007). The London School of Economics say CSOs are an arena of unforced collective action around shared interests, purposes and values. These definitions of may all be considered to employ Gramsci's anti hegemony language where CSOs resist state influence. Goel and Tripathi' (2010) indicate that CSOs should generally have independence from government and donors, non-profit orientation and public interest represented by citizen participation as main characterization. This study has steered clear of semantics and debate attempting to distinguish CSOs from NGOs. There is no

agreement on what constitutes a CSO separate from an NGO (World Bank, 2019, COE, 2017). Thereby, the terms will be interchangeably used.

## **2.6 CATEGORIES/TYPES OF CSOs**

CSOs have never been heterogeneous entities in form and outlook (Murwira, 2019). In that regard, several categories of civil society exist and the classification of types and or categories of CSOs is also contested. Whereas classification by category and types has been attempted, the 1993 UN World Conference attended by 841 NGOs from across the globe could not singularly agree on classification (Goel and Tripathi, 2010). CSOs can be categorised according to functions like intermediation and facilitation, social cohesion, advocacy and public communication, monitoring and service delivery (Murwira, 2019). This study categorises CSOs' in Zimbabwe according to the work they do bearing in mind that whatever these institutions pursue is people centred development. The World Bank (2019) seemingly categorises CSOs into three which are developmental, service providers and advocacy organisations which are further subcategorised to governance and human rights as well as those promoting social and economic justice.

## **2.7 DEVELOPMENT NGOs**

CSOs in this category pursue people centred development which focuses on attaining sustainable development (World Bank, 2019). This is the type of development that improves the quality of people's lives, materially and non-materially. NGOs in this field provide technical training and material inputs to individuals and communities to empower with either self-help small industrial or agro based projects, depending with areas of responsibilities (Mapuva, 2013). In Zimbabwe, developmental aid projects are usually implemented with involvement of local government district representatives. The work of development CSOs has been essential given the country's rising poverty levels and political conflict of the past two decades. Recurrent droughts aided by economic troubles and political polarization has meant limited

support for government support in development programmes (Ncube, 2010). Development CSOs are thereby key in securing livelihoods with contributions towards food security, seed production, sanitation and hygiene, income generation and HIV awareness and treatment.

It has been observed that development related NGOs shun outright confrontation with government related with advocacy work hence their continued work to improve capacity building (Ndayambaje, 2020). Depending with the organisation, activities by most CSOs in the sector are capacity building related, itself an aspect of development. The ACBF for example funds CSOs, local authorities and communities with projects that have potential to upgrade sustainable development. In 2014, ECLF in Lubu ward, Binga conducted sustainable livelihoods program in crop production and animal husbandry in partnership with the Ministry of Small and Medium Enterprises and ONHRI targeting youths and women to support conflict prevention and transformation. CSOs as institutions can receive organisational benefits directly from funders for their own use and development. In June 2020, the Swedish Embassy provided solar panels and other installation equipment to ZESN as an adaptation to climate change. This project was meant at reducing high electricity costs and ease the burden of accessing scarce and expensive fuel for office power through generators (Sweden, 2020). Challenges of development CSOs is poor targeting of beneficiaries and the mismanagement of limited resources which reach the fortunate few (Fechter, 2012).

## **2.8 SERVICE PROVISION ORGANISATIONS**

Service delivery establishes the entry point for CSOs' in security and politically unstable regions which have fragile economies (Spurks, 2016). Service provision eases governments' responsibilities thereby making CSOs a critical assistance channel for community needs. It is critical to note that services rendered can be material and non-material forms. In post war peace building, Paffenholz and Spurks (2015) note Demobilisation, Disarmament and Reintegration as services that prevent relapses to further violent conflicts.

Four countries dogged with terrorism such as Nigeria, Afghanistan and Indonesia service CSOs focus on de-radicalisation to promoting peace, and healing social harmony. Kuster, (2020) however indicate these services as beyond civil and innocent expectations normally associated with NGOs in humanitarian food aid distribution. CSOs in this category are least likely to engage in people centred development though it depends with regions. In Indonesia service CSOs partake in extensive works discouraging terrorism and rehabilitating terrorists and victims of terror (Selim, 2016). CSOs' possess greater levels of trust among the communities they engage than security-centric state agencies could possibly hope to achieve through persuasive intervention strategies appealing to offenders (Sumpter, 2017). These organisations have largely been working parallel to the state and receive little government direction or support.

In Africa, the role of humanitarian assistance as a service has a central role particularly in food aid distribution due to conflicts in war torn regions (DRC, Somalia, South Sudan) or natural disasters like cyclones and droughts. The assistance rendered by service CSOs are corrective measures to shortages created by poverty, natural disasters or war (Newham and Roberts, 2020). Such services are temporary solutions in preparation for initiatives encouraging communities to take responsibility for improving their livelihoods. Where government has fallen short, CSOs often fill the gaps to ensure continuity. In unpredictable economies like Zimbabwe, monthly stipends are donated to families depending with the numbers of each household (RAU, 2018). These are temporary mitigation strategies to curtail cash shortages which determine price of basic goods. Such service can also be development oriented as practitioners have been observed offering insight and invaluable experience to government through sourcing funds and materials for reconstruction (The Herald, 2019). Examples can be drawn from Bikita district's Ward 32 post Cyclone Idai where Direct Aid availed funds from the Arab world for reconstruction of classrooms and houses during a time government was hamstrung.

## **2.9 ADVOCACY ORGANISATIONS**

The present work's particular interests in advocacy groups focusing in promotion of political tolerance will overshadow previously tackled types of CSOs. The nature of rights focused by these groups are largely derived from the UNDHR 1948 which sought uniformity of all human rights (Kaulemu, 2007). The Declaration on the Right and Responsibility of Individuals, Groups and Organs of Society to Promote and Protect Universally Recognised Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms adopted in December 1998 has been a key instrument by advocacy organisations (Bald, 2017). Through it, practitioners are regarded 'Human Rights Defenders' as the instrument provides for the right to defend rights of others, hold human rights meetings and Article 6 provides the right to document rights violations (UN 2020). Several other UN instruments enforcing human rights act also act as reference points for CSOs in countries who are signatories (UKWELI, 2017). Key conventions for consideration under are Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966), Convention Against Torture and other Cruel Inhuman/Degrading Treatment (1984), Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966).

Advocacy CSOs put emphasis on rights to political choice and freedom of association, good governance and transparency, accountability, promotion and protection of democratic norms (HRW, 2018). Social and economic rights clamours for social justice, rule of law, fair salaries and pensions, housing, health, water and sanitation. The majority of CSOs in Zimbabwe are advocacy CSOs, in comparison to South Africa and Namibia who have seventy percent more service CSOs (SAPES, 2017). Advocacy CSOs also engage in various activities including and not limited to policy dialogue and sectors analysis, independent research and monitoring on human rights and democracy compliance or observance matters, championing good governance, transparency and accountability programs. This study has attempted to record a number of methods which are employed by local CSOs to influence their intended programs

through processes indicated in Bow

Table 1

<b>CATEGORY/TYPE</b>	<b>METHODS</b>	<b>ACTIVITIES</b>
Human-Rights, Democracy and Governance	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Investigations</li> <li>2. Campaign and lobby</li> <li>3. Demonstrations</li> <li>4. Rights education</li> </ol>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Collect information</li> <li>- Public address, Letter writing, meetings, rights education</li> <li>- Media coverage</li> <li>- Seminars, road shows, community broadcasts</li> </ul>
Socio-Economic Rights	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a) Direct assistance</li> <li>b) Industrial actions</li> <li>c) negotiations</li> </ol>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Humanitarian assistance</li> <li>-Lobbying</li> <li>- strikes, sit ins, go slows</li> <li>- looting</li> <li>-social media warfare, transitional justice and TRCs</li> </ul>

**Source:** Author’s own.

In Zimbabwe, several civic groups have devoted significant resources to promote and protect human rights. The activities of rights based advocacy CSOs basically seek to address challenges to democratic deficits found in governance procedures which deny people of such rights (Murwira, 2019).

## **2.10 POLITICAL TOLERANCE**

When I thought about choosing a research topic on CSOs’ role in political tolerance, I had a recollection of news bulletins on Studio 7, a ‘pirate radio station’ reciting gory reports of widespread violence pitting MDC and ZANU PF supporters during elections. My conscience had been socialized to presumewhat radio presented as tolerance was, ‘acceptance of only opposition views disputing ZANU PF’s ideology’. I had forgotten about that trail of thoughts until I took a course in Political Science as an undergraduate where Samuel Stouffer’s perspectives on political tolerance dawned a new chapter to my previous media political

orientations.

Peterson (2020) traces the concept of political tolerance to have emerged in response to religious strife and violence in Europe between the 16<sup>th</sup>, 17<sup>th</sup> and ended mid 18<sup>th</sup> centuries with 1648 Westphalian Treaties. Calls for tolerance were thus an effort to moderate harmful and violent effects of the religious conflicts that neared barbarism on European continent. In modern times, Samuel Stouffer's 1955 seminal work, *Communism, Conformity and Civil Liberties* invoked a whole new paradigm shift in political science particularly on tolerance. Writings by Stouffer coincided with growth of calls for civil rights by blacks in USA as well calls for independence and liberation of African countries from colonialism.

## **2.11 DEFINING POLITICAL TOLERANCE**

It is pertinent to explore the multiple definitions giving meaning and scope to political tolerance. Stouffer described political tolerance as, 'to give a sober second thought to dangers involved in denying civil liberties to those whose views they dislike'. From a game theory perception, Stouffer's suggestion can be inferred to mean that irrational conduct of denying freedom to one's political choice leads to conflict and violence. ZPP (2019) notes that the majority cases of political violence reported in Harare's Epworth and Ushewokunze where ZANU PF youths barred political paraphernalia and meetings of the MDC led to 34 cases political clashes with open violence amongst party supporters resulting to gruesome injuries, arson and death of one in April of 2008. In Rwanda, Amnesty International (2019) reports of increasing persecution to opponents who challenged Paul Kagame in the 2017 elections through arrest of Diane Rwigara and invasion of her privacy through publishing her nude pictures.

From a social psychology perspective, tolerance is shaped by an array of personal factors such as character and attitude, social orientation related to upbringing including manners, communication and aesthetics (Kluyev et al, 2018). The position by Kluyev's implies that well-mannered people are tolerant not only to divergent political views but other people or groups'

religions, culture and social orientation. Peterson (2020) believes three variables to have taken over in guiding political tolerance in the past six years. These are perceived group threat which relates to an individual's perceptions towards them as threatening hence the tendency to be intolerant. The second variable is democratic norms where an individual has internalized democratic norms such as respect for freedoms of speech, minority or groups rights and institutions like political parties. Peterson adds personality trait as the last variable whereby low levels of political tolerance are higher among individuals with stern child rearing techniques or those towards pessimism.

Psychological insecurities may also explain one's personality and measures towards tolerance if Rokeach's dogmatism scale (D-Scale) is adopted. The D-Scale measures a person's tendencies towards authoritarianism, a personal trait associated with intolerance and absence of democracy (Peterson, 2020). Outside these variables, religion has been identified to play a critical role in political tolerance or intolerance. Whereas the theory is to fully develop, Peterson suggests that regular church attendees were less politically tolerant than non-attenders. Kaunda (2017) supports this assertion noting that the 1991 declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation and the subsequent demographic growth of same religion has resulted to corresponding shrinking of political space which is not in line with the high moral standards associated with the Christian religion.

In democratic societies, citizens freely reap benefits of civil liberties and political tolerance protects such freedoms, Neely (2018). Besides liberties, political tolerance is also associated with social tolerance. In social tolerance, Wildmalm (2016) observed that it reflects general tolerance which is accepting that people have different persuasions, practices and thoughts. However, this study subscribes to going beyond acceptance but will to extend freedom of choice to all. Sullivan's definition that political tolerance is the willingness to extend civil liberties to all people in society, even to those whom you may disagree with is more credible. Therefore,

political tolerance is a key cog and lubricant to the liberal democratic machine.

Kluyev et al (2018) observed that pluralism and tolerance are intertwined as they act to keep communities informed that varied viewpoints be taken into consideration than ridicule them. Political tolerance focuses on having regard for ‘political others’ against the ‘us-them’ dichotomy (Elseev and Ustinova, 2017). However, it is critical to note views of the conflictology theory by Schmidt which indicates that political conflict does not end with adopting models good models for political tolerance but what Peterson (2020) suggests to be continued institutionalization and regularization of systems promoting a thriving tolerant culture.

## **2.12 POLITICAL INTOLERANCE**

By definition, political intolerance is trampling on freedoms to political choice of political opponents through ill practices that discriminate by partisan preferences such as intimidation and violence to dissenting voices (Horwitz, 2018). Intolerance threatens positivity to pluralism and brings dysfunctional conduct and conflict to communities. Abramowitz (2018) says that there has been a decline in democracy the world over in the past twelve year led by increased incidences of political intolerance. The EU Charter of Fundamental Rights (2018) gives evidence that support Abramowitz’s position where it highlights growing trends in antisemitism in Europe, particularly Sweden and Turkey. Neely (2018) agrees to the fact of waning democracy alluding to emergency of populist leaders and parties that are gaining substantial power as cause for intolerance. Examples of US President, Donald Trump’ extremist comments on Black Lives Matter demonstrations are indicative of widespread intolerance black minority’ civil rights.

As intolerance is cast in lack of pluralism and rude depreciation of views. Political parties are not the only organisations capable of intolerance but media houses and government entities who glamorize it through dividing communities into ‘us’ and ‘them’ by identifying with either

perpetrators or victims (Kluyev et al,2018). This study believes institutional intolerance and violence are equivalent synonyms in politics. Heal Zimbabwe (2019) gives examples of party-military conflation of by ZANU PF and the state in recorded incidences during 2008 election campaign where senior military commanders accompanied by party officials campaigned for ZANU PF in Bikita, Zaka and Muzarabani threatening civilians if they voted for the MDC. Zimbabwean media (print, electronic and broadcast) is accused of dramatizing intolerance in political and social issues (MISA, 2019). This is borne of situations polarizing mind-set is masked as media freedom or opinion pieces by practitioners wearing political robes and mistaking their views for investigative pieces and regular bulletins. The practice breeds negative emotions, causing aggression and violence (Dzyaloshinskii and Dzyaloshinskaya, 2007). However, not all political intolerance through media can be construed with depreciation of opinions but as mere attempts at undo others' political views. Kluyev et al, (2018) notes that the 'us-them' polarisation is naturally inherent to all members of society as people instinctively classify family, friends and objects of affection as 'us'. It only becomes retrogressive when relationships with those harbouring different views turns into violent conflict.

This research has observed intolerance in Zimbabwe has four stages. These are hate speech, intimidation, violence and displacement. Informant C, (2020) indicates that in societies where hate speech is not punishable by law, individuals or groups openly promote impunity. Examples given relate to Morgan Tsvangirai who was caricatured by his facial attributes as 'Chamatama', translating to 'fat faced one' whereas Robert Mugabe was discriminated on age basis as a 'senile geriatric', all pointers to intolerance. Intimidation could arise from cases where supporters from either side make threats. ZANU PF supporters in 2008 are accused of threatening opponents with arrests whereas MDC would indicate sanctions and retaliatory measures through right to protect by the USA and Britain.

On the world scene, religion has been blamed for fanning political intolerance. Davis and Perry

(2020) demonstrate that white Americans who subscribe to Christian nationalism tend to hold exclusionary, authoritarian and overtly prejudiced thinking against blacks' in political leadership. The Charlottesville 2017 riots where neo Nazi and white supremacists calling for a fusion of Christianity and civic life resulted to deaths when blacks supported the removal of a slavery statue from a park. Religion is further accused of promoting extremist views that denies other groups' civic rights and seek to promote vices that include racism in western communities and ethnicity in Africa, (Sherkat and Lehman, 2018).

### **2.13 ABDUCTIONS AND POLITICAL INTOLERANCE**

On this research component, the study looked at 'self-abductions' as a political weapon for political intolerance. The concept of victimhood can be traced back to USA where the strategy was employed by political players colluding to present themselves as victims of the state in order to gain sympathy or justify themselves as political actors (Horwitz, 2018). It is a status that is established before political claims can be advanced that an individual or group suffered wrongs. In Zimbabwe, victimhood is associated with abductions which are used to gain an unfair and upper hand on opponents in political playfield if borrowing from game theory. Robert Mugabe tried to define this concept he dubbed the 'Madhuku strategy' explaining circumstances enabling political players to use self-abductions as political capital. He posited that victimhood had become a refined tool for intolerance such that when political activists fall on hard times, they feign abductions and arrest for monetary gains from funders who are defrauded from dramatized crisis situations. Desk top research to tap from open social networking tools (Twitter) perspectives since there is no academic literature giving counter narratives of self-abductions in Zimbabwe besides secondary data from CSOs and official government publications.

A Twitter blogger, Madzibaba Simba (2019) making reference to abduction of Dr. Peter Magombeyi in September 2019 observed that intolerance has evolved to uncouth forms

perpetrated by opposition MDC as a form of courting sympathy by manipulation. The same observer noted that the May 2020 abductions on MDC trio (Cecelia Chimbiri, Joana Mamombe and Netsai Marova) was staged and questionable, a position the government through its own channels supports. Matigary (2020) emphasised on intolerance arising from victimhood arise from ‘invented victims’. Informant D narrates a self-witnessed incident in July 2020 whilst coming from covering remand court,

*‘the MDC trio approached a uninformed soldier, began crying, feigning assault and attempts to ‘abduct’ them upon noticing presence of multiple news agencies. On learning that rolling cameras were local ZTN crew, they stopped ‘crying’ and approached a BBC journalists who also had witnessed their actions and refused attempts to make news of the occurrence’.*

This signifies an issue this study argues signify controversial and contentious issue of contentious theatrics perpetuating political intolerance through staged abductions. Whereas genuine abductions may not wished away, weaponization of victimhood as aforementioned is thereby used to justify this new phenomena in opposition political play in Zimbabwe. Whereas civic groups have largely condemned the ‘abductions’, their positions have largely been not from position of fact.

## **CHAPTER SUMMARY**

This chapter highlighted the key theoretical framework used, the game theory which has been used to analyse and reviewed an array of literature on definitions of CSOs their categories, origins traced to pre-colonial Africa, biblical Christian era and the pre modern, classical and post-modern epochs associated with Marx, Gramsci and other. Perspectives on political tolerance and intolerance in relation to CSOs in the Zimbabwean as well as regional and global trends in an effort to give balanced comprehension of the situation.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY**

#### **INTRODUCTION**

This chapter will dwell on various means in use to contextualize the research design, methodology, population and sample size, pre-testing and validity to be adopted by the researcher in carrying out the study with a view to produce maximum data to establish the role of CSOs in promoting political tolerance in Zimbabwe with a particular focus on CiZC in Harare. Data collection methods and tools, interpretation of the data and ethical considerations for academic research processes shall be covered under this chapter. Research methodology is the embryo of any research project.

#### **3.1 RESEARCH DESIGN**

Bell, Bryman and Harley (2018) define research design as a framework for collection and analysis of data. The choice of research design reflects decisions about the priority being given to a range of dimensions of the research process. Research design is also defined by Thornhill (2017) as a conceptual structure with which a research is conducted. Thus, the design constitutes

a constitutes a blueprint for the collection, measurement and analysis of data. This study employs the case study approach which Gerring (2007) describes as intensive study of a single case where purpose of the study seeks to use part studying to shed light on a larger class of cases or population. Yin (2014) defines case study as an investigation of a phenomenon within its real life context. The choice of case study research design is premised on the fact that the approach relies on multiple sources evidence and a prior development of a theoretical framework to guide data collection and analysis. In a case study design, data collection methods (surveys, interviews, and documents search) are often qualitative, a methodology this study will adopt.

### **3.2METHODOLOGY**

Methodology is the framework for carrying out a research inquiry that involves analysis of principles and procedures which in turn determine application of those methods. Hebening (2004) defines methodology as way of obtaining, organizing and analysing data. This dissertation will adopt the qualitative methodology. According to Miles and Huberman (2004), qualitative methodology are frameworks of research that involve intense and prolonged contact with field or life situations which are open and involving compared to other strategies. The choice of qualitative methodology is influenced by pragmatism and its suitability regards what Snape and Spencer (2003) say ensures a suitable fit between research methods and research design.

In addition, qualitative methodology best suits precepts of the game theory as key defining moments of interaction are rarely ever qualified. Therefore, qualitative methods give meaning and purpose of human action because knowledge claims are derived from varied constructed and interpreted perspectives of research participants (Creswell, 2007). Qualitative methodology

permits collection of perceptives from different people within a chosen sample population, allowing an easier triangulation of data (Lewin and Greenwood, 2015).

### **3.3 POPULATION AND SAMPLE**

Population is defined as an entire group of people or of analysis with characteristics a researcher wishes to study and draw conclusions about (Bhattacharjee, 2012). It has also been defined as number of elements that possess characteristics of interest to the researcher existing at the time of study (Bloor and Wood, 2003). This makes a sample a chosen population from a bigger population from which basis of predicting prevalence of the unknown is made (Kumar, 2019). A sample of fifty participants drawn from CSOs, Department of Social Welfare, diplomatic corps, political parties members and Harare residents is chosen for this study.

### **3.4 SAMPLING**

Bhattacharjee (2016) defines sampling as a process of selecting a subset (called sample) of a population of interest for purposes of making observations and inferences about that population. For that reason, this study adopts simple random sampling, a probability sampling technique which entails availing of randomized equal chance and likelihood of inclusion of population units into the study sample. To maintain a balance, purposive sampling, a non-probability model which prescribes the selection criteria of units and sample size shall also be used.

#### **3.4.1 SIMPLE RANDOM SAMPLING**

Thus, random sampling describes the selection of respondents in an unstructured manner (Kumar, 2019). Random sampling is chosen because it limits representation bias as respondents are randomly picked without considering their knowledge on the matter under study. This method will enable the study to gather raw information from respondents without pre thoughts. The respondents intended for this sampling method are ordinary citizens or general participants

residing around Harare metropolitan where CSOs carry out political tolerance educational campaigns. These are to assist the study with information relating to effectiveness of tolerance programmes and education, questions on what impact has political tolerance induction have in political in respondents' current conduct with other players. The nature of respondents' relations with CiZC and frequency of interaction will be sought

### **3.4.2 PURPOSIVE SAMPLING**

It is defined as a procedure used to select respondents who are known to exhibit knowledge in sync or needed and relevant to the purpose of inquiry (Flick, 2014). Purposive sampling is employed in this study because of flexibility the model permits the researcher to freely target or pick respondents with in-depth knowledge about a phenomena. Participants for this method include CiZC Country Director, Chief Director Department of Social Welfare, Dean of Western diplomats, Political Commissar for ZANU PF and Secretary General for MDC. These have been as participants in the study for the fact that because they direct participants and technocrats in the area of concern under study. All participants chosen are also at decision making levels and have all knowledge about all organisational activities. These participants are to assist the study with information and answers to questions such as, which approaches or models are used in promoting political tolerance in Zimbabwe, sources CSO funding and relations between CiZCs and political parties amongst others. Sector specific questions will be asked however for each of the aforementioned participants.

### **3.5 DATA COLLECTION METHODS**

Data collection is a methodical process of gathering and analysing information from relevant sources, test theories, find answers to research problem and evaluate the outcomes (Baral, 2016).

This study employs mixed modes which include surveys collection and key informant interviews for primary data and whereas documents search is adopted for secondary data collection.

### **3.5.1 SURVEYS**

Couper (2017) defines surveys as collection of information from a targeted group of people to understand their opinions, behaviours and knowledge through questionnaires, telephone interviews and electronic means. Surveys have been chosen because the researcher can determine appropriateness of tool before the study is conducted. This allows adjustments on instruments like questionnaires. The targeted participants for surveys in this study are ordinary citizens or general participants who reside in Harare metropolitan where CSOs conduct political tolerance educational campaigns. These have been chosen for the reason that they are direct beneficiaries of the tolerance programmes and have first-hand information about realities of population under study.

### **3.5.2 KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEWS**

Key Informant Interviews are conversations between two people with a sole purpose of collecting relevant information to satisfy the research purpose (Bloor and Wood, 2016). This study's key informant interview participants are drawn from case organisation CiZC's Country Director, Department of Social Welfare's Chief Director, Dean of Diplomats for Western bloc, Political Commissar for ZANU PF and Secretary General for MDC. These have been chosen for the knowledge abounding in their strategic positions and roles. (CiZC has first-hand information on political tolerance and exercises in communities, Department of Social Welfare, custodians of PVOs, the diplomatic corps as major donors to CSOs political tolerance programs).

### **3.5.3 DOCUMENT SEARCH**

Document search which is the use of external sources of information to formulate the context and analysis of an academic work through assessing and using documents to carry out the research (Alasuutari, 2018). This is secondary data collected from academic journals and books, published articles, e-research, government and CSOs publications as well as policy and media reports. The current presentation will focus on examining previous research on CSOs mandate, human rights and promotion of political tolerance conducted elsewhere with a view to draw parallels with the study at hand. Specific sources relating to this study is drawn from Appiagyei-Atua' Human Rights NGOs and Their Role in the Promotion of Rights in Africa, Lewanika's Democracy and Civil Society, a study of hegemonic contests in Zimbabwe, Masunungure's Changing role of Civil Society in Zimbabwe as well as Kluyev et al' Political Tolerance in Mass Media amongst others.

### **3.6 VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY**

Validity can be defined as the truth or commonly accepted meaning of a concept (Babbie and Mouton, 2001). It brings to light the trustworthiness of research findings. Validity is about convincing that research findings are based on critical investigation and not biased. Creswell (2007) emphasises that triangulation is the closest method in attempting to obtain in-depth understanding of the problem under study and done to enhance validity of findings. The purpose of triangulating documents and interviews in this study will be an attempt to minimise elements of bias considering possibility of different responses that may arise from interviews, for example where CSOs or party participants may not bring out or overemphasize issues of selective favouritism in tolerance programs. Paton (2017) supports this position saying it is important to use multiple methods of collecting data so as to obtain the best results. No single method can adequately tailor a solution without wider consultation with other instruments.

Reliability refers to a degree on consistency (Silverman, 2015). It is about applying a technique that if used repeatedly, it will yield the same results as was attained using the first technique, (Babbie and Mouton, 2001). Reliability involves checking if the process of study is consistent and reasonably stable over time. The purpose of reliability is to avoid random errors while validity aims at preventing systemic errors (Babbie and Mouton, 2001). Thus, a degree of consistency in use of many instruments was achieved through pre-testing of the guides as well as open ended questions.

### **3.7 DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS**

Data presentation is processing of raw data for interpretation and analytical purposes which makes it more comfortable and easier to understand through narrative or statistical means (Flynn, Albrecht and Scott, 2018). Thematic analysis will be used for data presentation this study. Thematic analysis is a method of identifying, organising and analysing data applied to a set of texts such as interview transcripts and survey responses (Nowell, Norris, White and Moules, 2017). Thematic analysis is adopted herein for the reason that the approach is flexible and best suited for finding out people's viewpoints, opinions and knowledge making it more useful for examining different perspectives. Murwira (2019) defines data analysis as steps taken after organizing raw data, narrating and giving meaning to it through processes of examining and interpreting observed data with goal of getting deeper patterns of relationships and meanings. It can also be a process of collecting, transforming, cleaning and modelling data with the objective of discovering the required information by the researcher. This research adopts qualitative analytics where data will be analysed through thematic coding, that is according to specific objectives of the study as well as emerging themes on the behaviour and interactions of CSOs and government in political tolerance matters in Zimbabwe. Thus, the

process involves collecting qualitative data using different methods, processing data and analysing it into clear, understandable and trustworthy analysis.

### **3.8 PILOT TESTING**

Pilot testing is as a small scale trial before the main investigation intended to assess the adequacy of instruments to be used in data collection (Wilson and Sapsford, 2016). In this study, interview questions will be sent through electronic mail platforms to respondents. Each respondent will be required to answer and return responses within a day. Answers will be subjected to scrutiny to establish validity and accuracy on responses provided. Pilot testing is necessary as it allow the researcher room to determine where corrections are required in respect of questioning technique, language used and if respondents understand questions raised. The aims of pilot testing can be summarised to cover issues relating to, does the instrument take too long to complete in time such that respondents are still patient, what is the best order of questions and do the respondents understand the questions as phrased (Chikutsa and Chingozha, 2011).

### **3.9 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS**

Ethics are defined as principles or considerations that are adopted in a research that involves human subjects or participants (Walton, 2018). At the core of ethical principles adopted by this study is right to respect for anonymity and confidentiality due to volatile and polarized nature of Zimbabwean politics. This encourages participants to volunteer information of sensitive nature as the researcher guarantees holding the information in confidence through protection of their identities by use of pseudonyms and codes to represent their responses. Any identifiers to names and positions shall be avoided. Chikutsa and Chingozha (2011) emphasize that it is mandatory for researchers to work within the framework of acceptable practices, hence the need

by this study to guarantee respondents' anonymity and confidentiality that at no time will their identities be publicized or made known.

The principle of beneficence or minimising risk of harm whereby the research strives to avoid harm to respondents will also be adopted with a view guard against physical harm, social disadvantage and psychological distress. Whereas the research itself does not seek to harm participants, Payne and Payne (2004) indicate the risk of harm is reduced through seeking rights to informed consent for participants. Informed consent refers to research respondents being allowed chance to agree participation in the research process. Participation in the study is therefore on voluntary basis and no monetary or material rewards will be promised or given for participation. The right to withdraw will also explained to the participants.

### **3.10 CONCLUSION**

The chapter described research design and methodology that guide my study. The design used is exploratory which gels with objectives of the study. The methodology of study was qualitative. Data collection instruments like key informant interviews, surveys and document search was used. Pre-testing to ensure reliability while methodological triangulation ensured validity. The selection criteria for participants rests on probability simple random sampling and non-probability, purposive sampling techniques. A snapshot of data analysis showing detail is also contained. Research ethics unpacking the need to emphasize issues of confidentiality and the right to consent is also subject of this chapter. The next chapter will focus on data presentation, analysis and interpretation.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS**

#### **INTRODUCTION**

This chapter focuses on presentation of data on the role of CSOs in promoting political tolerance collected through key informant interviews, surveys and document searches. As such, thematic analysis is used to organise the identified data for the purpose of narration and giving meaning to the information through analysis. Figures, tables and pie-charts will be adopted in various sections to indicate views of divergent demographics and attributes of research respondents as data is presented and assessed in revelation of discussing findings. From such presentations, the chapter gives answers to research questions on the role of CiZC in promoting political tolerance in Zimbabwe and assessment of relations with the state in government in the promoting political tolerance.

#### **4.1 DATA PRESENTATION**

Data was presented in five major themes that addressed research objectives and questions. These include, origins and organizational structure of CiZC, activities and model of CiZC in tolerance,

diplomacy and political tolerance, state-CSOs relations and tolerance. Analysis is derived from opinions and responses availed through surveys and key informant interviews. An inclusion of document search for triangulation balance is considered through discussions as the researcher's analyses understandings of the result and previously establish trends.

#### **4.2 ORIGINS OF CRISIS IN ZIMBABWE COALITION**

In response to a question seeking factors leading to origins of CiZC, a key informant traced the genesis to CiZC to Nordics and United Kingdom embassies to have influenced formation and naming the civic group though motivation arose from local groups' confronting socio-economic and political hurdles bedeviling Zimbabwe in early 2000. CiZC was formed as a counter-hegemonic CSO to address governance and democratic deficits that limited political pluralism. Informant revealed that increases in political violence across the divide coupled with economic meltdown associated land reclamations, corruption and imposition of sanctions are key reasons that led to formation of CiZC to replace NCA as a conglomerate CSO.

#### **4.3 DISCUSSION**

The research noted anomalies between reasons for CiZC' formation in literature and key informant interview' revelations. Common positions in document search indicate reason for formation to diminishing democracy, lack of government welfare programs and decreasing social development to have motivated the rise of CiZC (Lewanika, 2016). Such postulations are biased and untruthful to hide umbilical links of CiZC to foreign aid and ideas, a position normally used as autocratic state propaganda.

The period leading to formation of CiZC was steeped in conflict amidst shortage of basic commodities, incessant price increases and urban riots. Amidst the problems, the involvement of western foreign missions led by Britain, Netherlands, Sweden and Norwegian embassies with

interests in Zimbabwean governance roused and accelerated the formation of CiZC. This presentation indicates that the NCA, a previous leading umbrella body for CSOs was dislodged from leading local groups for considered '*failures to give weight and amplifying Zimbabwean crisis to desired internationally expected levels that would precipitate dislodging the socialist leaning ZANU PF government and ensure the coming in of an MDC administration*'.

Thus, establishment of CSOs is not always a local initiative or reflection of needs and decisions community based groups. Views and needs of funders are key determinants in this case. The push for an alternative civic group resulting to formation of CiZC indicate that advocacy organisations can be established to ride on local needs or conflict via foreign need for 'right to protect'. CiZC was formed on 4<sup>th</sup> of August 2001 as a broad civic group with over 87 affiliate organisations focusing on democracy and human rights, peace building, labour and sustainable development.

Its formation was through a wholly funded conference resolution dubbed '*The Crisis in Zimbabwe, A Time To Act*' presided by Thoko Matshe (CiZC, 2003). Interviews findings indicate that by time of registration, CiZC had an equivalent of 295 thousand United States dollars deposited in a bank account, an unprecedented figure for a newly formed civic group. Multi-pronged socio-economic and political reasons presented by academics and CiZC for instigating its origins and formation are not exhaustive and limit influence formation to domestic reasons alone without questioning the astronomical rise in capacity. Arguments by counter hegemonic researchers like Lewanika (2016) and Ncube (2010) that overemphasize the *crisis* narrative in formation of CiZC and CSOs post 2000 but ignore critical facts and have become obsolete in understanding CiZC.

This presentation established previously ignored facts key informant say have been conveniently ignored with a view to portray the groups' strategies as purely indigenous. In essence, CiZC was primarily formed to push 'a country in crisis political narrative that justified any resultant western diplomatic actions arising from conduct of Zimbabwe'. Informant D however emphasised that

since its formation, 'CiZC has lost the lustre of influence, command and respect it previously enjoyed to new civic groups like Citizens Manifesto lately associated to huge amounts in aid'.

The attached table indicate flow of funds towards build-up to CiZC, an indication of importance associated with the project. Informant D indicated that money was donated in cash to avoid Reserve Bank' Financial Intelligence Unit's regulations and monitoring of foreign funds.

Table 2

<b>Embassy Donating</b>	<b>United Kingdom</b>	<b>Netherlands</b>	<b>Sweden</b>	<b>Norway</b>
<b>March 2001</b>	USD\$ 8.700	USD\$ 4.000	USD\$6.000	USD\$5.500
<b>April 2001</b>	USD\$ 2.300	USD\$ 6.500	USD\$6.800	USD\$1.500
<b>May 2001</b>	USD\$ 4.000	USD \$500	USD\$1000	USD\$7.500
<b>Total</b>	USD\$15.000	USD\$11.000	USD\$13.800	USD\$14.500
<b>Grand Total</b>	USD\$54.300			

**Source:** Author's own

#### **4.4CSO-POLITICAL PARTY RELATIONS**

In addressing objective number one which seek to understand relationships between political parties and CSOs in promoting political tolerance, the study established bi-pronged results. Key informant from ZANU PF indicated that antipathy and discordia existing between the party and CiZC have grown natural. Hostilities arise from the CSO's '*subversive inclined agenda seeking to chart the removal of a ZANU PF constitutionally elected government*'. Political socialization at party level reveal that CiZC is regarded an extension of the opposition, MDC. Thereby, ZANU PF party relies on 'neutral civic players', internal commissariat structures and NPRC for peace building initiatives and political tolerance education. As such, no tolerance program that includes ZANU PF and MDC has ever been suggested CiZC.

Keyinformant indicated existence of cordial relations with service provision and advocacy local CSOs, INGOs with two being keyrights groups. AnMDC key informantexpressed was positive on relations and cooperation with CSOs describing them as *‘the bulwark that has stood firm in defence and protection of human rights and democracy enunciated by MDC in Zimbabwe’*. The MDC in alliancewith CiZC co-sponsored voter mobilization campaignssuch as *Feya Feya, XIG* in the 2013 and 2018 general elections whereasthe*Social and Economic Justice Program* focusing on demand for economic, health and labor rights through demonstrations and e-campaigns has been ongoing since 2018 to present. In turn, the MDC also seconds its members to CiZC and other interest groups whom key informant indicated take part in or fund major party events. As a show of goodwill, a number of CSOs have also fielded MPs under the party.

#### **4.5DISCUSSION**

The hostile relations existing between the two institutions is informed by CiZC’ failure to distinguish a governing party from government in conflict situations. This had led to accusations of intimidation and violence against CSOs blamed on ZANU PF and government despite the two being two separate institutions if the August 2018, January 2019 and intended July 2020 demonstrations are used as examples. The failure by CSOs to maintain neutral approaches in tackling human rights issues is a major cause for concern which seemingly make ZANU PF regard civic groups extensions of opposition MDC. Key institutions within CiZC are manned by individuals with linkages to MDC. A survey respondent gave examples of youths within opposition aligned student movement and independent electoral bodies under the conglomerate banner.

In light of politicalsquabbles facing Zimbabwe, the bi-pronged results of party-CSOs relations indicate a partisan approach and preferences by CSOs in pursuing peace building initiatives that favour MDC interest position against ZANU PF. Survey results proved a faulty CiZC’ tolerance

template that perpetuated conflict and intolerance. Through EFZ, the CSO embarked on the ‘*I pray, I prove*’ campaign targeting Christian youth voters MDC strongholds urging them to vote for ‘democratic change’ whilst avoiding areas perceived ZANU PF. Thus, party civic groups’ significance is between the opposition and CSOs who indicated exclusionary approaches that do not afford a balanced and neutral a political play in conflict transformation. Lack of any meaningful human rights education and awareness on political tolerance involving ZANU PF and MDC in the 2013 and 2018 elections indicate shortfalls and which give room to beliefs a common belief indicated by 13 survey respondents that NGO falsify intention to promote human rights and tolerance whilst pursuing political agendas. Definitions by (COE, 2018, World Bank, 2019, Appigyeyi-Atua, 2018) revealing an apolitical nature of CSOs should be revisited to show CSOs ‘*political interests and views that guide conduct of civic groups outside state interference*’.

Judging from the above, continued argument that CSOs as are human right defenders is only used for posturing and has been overtaken by events. CiZC’ promotes rights that are in sync with political parties whilst attempting to present an inclusive approach of all people’ rights. In cases of political violence, CiZC affiliated lawyers only represent MDC activists in cases arising from political clashes of the two parties hence showing political preferences. Appigyeyi-Atua (2018) classification of democracy and governance advocacy CSOs as either PONGOs or GONGOs retains decent truths. An analysis that their existence as PONGOs, civic groups retain allegiance to either a party or government. In Zimbabwe CSOs have gone beyond Paffenholz and Spurk (2010) traditional mandate in human rights activism, collecting accurate information, lobby and campaigning as they are conflict parties perpetrating political violence, intimidation and destruction of property if August 2018 and January 2019 demonstrations are used as examples. The failure by CSOs to maintain political neutrality impacts negatively on human rights monitoring and reporting as they are regarded extensions of political parties.

Document searches indicate that post Suharto Indonesia women's interest groups have managed to maintain distant relationships with political parties which strengthens calls for women's rights independent of political influence (Pedana, 2017). Alliances between CSOs and politics result to exertion of influence that limits expression and implementation of independent ideas or programmes by civil society. This in turn inhibits effectiveness of promoting political tolerance as autonomy of CiZC is compromised, one sided and viewed with suspicion. Had political relations been equally balanced, possibilities of succeeding in promoting tolerance would significantly increase. Research conducted in Sierra Leone and Ghana reveal that political parties have trust and confidence in CSOs who invest time and effort in long term working relations with all players (Oppong, Oduro and Awal, 2013).

Counter arguments for close CSO-opposition party relations are traced to the fact that non-state actors seek relevance outside election period thereby need for cooperation to criticise governing parties and government from a combined effort. Relations between MDC and CiZC contradicts several definitions of CSOs that they are private associations independent of political parties, government and do not seek political power (Appiagyei-Atua, 2018). Realistically, CSO practitioners fall far short of such expectations as CiZC office holders have sought political office in 2018 elections going back. That as it may, existence of civic groups like CiZC cannot be separated from politics. In previous years, the groups' website indicated that it sought to promote democracy and to bring change, a euphemism associated with MDC. Gutsa and Mandizadza (2014) argue that formation of CSOs existence are underwritten by political issues of the day, hence whether they are political or apolitical is not important but whose politics.

#### **4.6 CiZC ROLE IN POLITICAL TOLERANCE**

Regards the requirement to examine the role of CiZC in promoting political tolerance, the following data was gleaned. A key informant outlined that in execution of the goal, CSOs under

the CiZC had employed a mixed methodology whereby traditional roundtable meetings, seminars, conferences and education campaign rallies. These have been infused with modernity of print media, electronic and social media engagement, pledge cards, briefing papers and a monthly journals. Advancements of the internet age has worked to the advantage of spreading tolerance messages with a trace of the coalition's media footprints indicating an expansive reach through emails, bulk short messages services, WhatsApp, Facebook and Twitter. Periodic interactive satellite radiobroadcasts editions permitting listeners to engage on trending topics on democracy, human rights and tolerance.

Around Harare, monthly social games and competitions that promote tolerance and diversity cater for thirty percent of tolerance programs as soccer, darts and pool matches are conducted where group project funds are won for political parties since 2013 and 2020. Musical concerts infusing in local genres, urban grooves and '*Zimdancehall*' are also used to drive harmonious coexistence. A musical albums promoting tolerance such as 2006 album '*Ngazviturwe/Lingathuli*' let it be aired out which discouraged political violence, hate speech whilst urging political tolerance.

#### **4.7 DISCUSSION**

A comparison of programmes highlighted as part of CSOs role in tolerance are highly questionable. Survey results are at variance and fall far short with what CiZC publications on actual tolerance programs reveal in light of reports and emphasis on the gravity of an ongoing *crisis* in Zimbabwe. One would expect tangible tolerance programs in respect of severity and publicization of political intolerance. A key informant from ZANU PF together with 23 survey respondents with over 10 years as party members strongly disagreed that CiZC engage in political tolerance. The survey respondents also strongly disagreed that CSOs were fair in exercising their duties indicating that they had not benefitted from any program like their MDC colleagues had. Thirty two survey participants, 19 from ZANU PF, 11 from MDC and 2 from other parties

responded to question 16 seeking importance attached to factors promoting political tolerance in Zimbabwe and indicated political parties as significant. Only 8 agreed to the role of CSOs with the remaining 5 attributing tolerance to government.

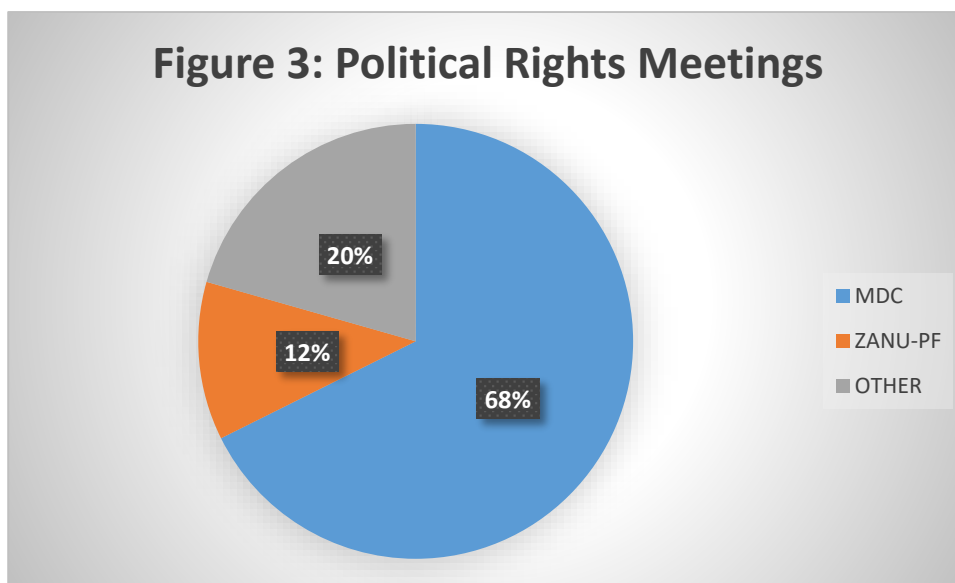
Political tolerance programs by CiZC are thus party specific and not largely inclusive of all players. This factor can be attributed to the previously indicated close relationships with MDC. This makes it easier for CiZC to approach political players they consider friendly though defeating the purpose of the tolerance programmes. The frequency of political tolerance programs themselves are quite insignificant if comparisons of CiZC key informant interview and survey results are analysed. Of the 45 survey respondents, only 6 indicated that they had attended political tolerance programs for over 5 times between 2008 to 2020. Seven participants drawn from MDC and other parties had attended tolerance campaigns 2 times between 2018 to 2020. The remaining 32 were indecisive on the frequency of such promotions. Thereby, the role of CiZC in promoting tolerance is largely cosmetic if not elitist. Limitations to appeal of social media campaigns may be due to wrong target marketing and the debilitating cost of data on part of intended recipients in Zimbabwe.

Due to previous internal challenges around corruption, irregular tender procedure and financial impropriety facing CiZC over misuse of aid. It may be surmised that, shortage of tangible and solid tolerance programs are pointers to resurgence of the vice if presence of ongoing tolerant cannot be widely proved. Such factors give credence to allegations that CSOs doctor reports to justify continued receipt for aid and sustaining livelihoods of careerism in civic activism. Irregular ties with political parties make CSOs deviate from their core purpose of registration through pursuit of politically influenced goals, situations that result in having civil society being guns for hire, losing credibility in the process. Fechter (2013) in analysing similar circumstances in Cambodia indicate that such CSOs and their workforce only care about personal comfort than

executing duties that develops communities around them. The attached chart indicate the number of political tolerance programmes between 2018 to 2020.

In promoting tolerance, the study established from key informant that CiZC uses contextual and Multiple Values Model (MVM). The MVM system targets upholding of tolerance to individual and groups' belief system, shaping and structuring political attitudes. The model has however been criticised by political scientists for lacking linkages between opinions and deeper values (Peffley, Knigge and Hurwitz, 2014). Contextual approach addresses tolerance based on recent past and current pointers to political intolerance. Respondents who affirmed to have participated in these programs indicated that the education received had not only sharpened but strengthened their resolve to uphold divergent views.

Figure 4 below shows human rights awareness campaigns held in Harare by CiZC with 23 of the meetings representing 68 % in Glen View South an MDC stronghold and 4majority of meetings 4 representing 12 % in Harare South a ZANU PF constituency. Disparities in distribution of human rights awareness are based of political preferences of civic group.



#### 4.8 GOVERNMENT-CSO RELATIONS IN POLITICAL TOLERANCE

Key informants were relied on to address the objective seeking to assess relationships of CSOs and government in promoting tolerance. With inception of a 'new' government in November 2017, the Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare seeks to strengthen ties with CSOs and INGOs in terms of Public Voluntary Organisations (PVO) Act chapter 17:05 of 1996. *'Fraught government-CSO relations arise from violation of the PVO Act and terms of references stipulated in Memoranda of Understanding (MoUs) between CSOs and line ministries'*. Despite past conflicts, routine interactive quarterly meetings involving the Executive and line ministries to improve channels of communication and have been adopted. As goodwill, government has shortened registration process of new CSOs to five days with applications for work permits for INGOs expatriates through Foreign Recruitment Committee now processed every two weeks than previous singular monthly sessions. Concerns however abound on part of government regards local CSOs working with hostile foreign INGOs. CSOs on their part remain somewhat circumspect of the state's sincerity.

#### **4.9 DISCUSSION**

This study notes that the thrust of dynamic CSO-state relations depends on perceptions of civil society towards a particular government. The two governance epochs of Mugabe administration and current President Emmerson Mnangagwa indicate how state-CSO relations cannot be judged based on a uniform standard. During the Mugabe era, advocacy groups pursued regime change presented from good governance and democracy front. Currently, CiZC pursue a 'legitimacy and non-violence' drive replacing the euphoria of November 2017 to July 2018. The flip flopping change of relationship approach by CSOs can be attributed to lack of solid values at institutional level. Despite having written values which put them at variance with government, civic groups are situational and their strategies to implement goals are warped. Examples can be drawn from their support of the 2<sup>nd</sup> republic's inception and President Mnangagwa's *'soft as wool'* reconciliatory

approach. CSOs had only adopted lukewarm relations as a strategy arising from a thinking that they could achieve a democratic breakthrough. The approach failed hence presenting an end to amicable relation building post August 2018 election violence.

CSOs in post independent Zimbabwe that had civil society embedded in political party-state relations (Moyo, 2012). Autonomous CSOs became more pronounced following increase of foreign aid after 2000, a factor which bore clashes to CSO-state relations. Despite current improvements, state-CSO relations are always problematic in developing nations for the reason that civic groups are dutiful to external agenda setters (Gutsa and Mandizadza, 2014). CiZC continually accuse the state of harassment, surveillance, arrests of its membership' workforce, legislative instruments and administrative co-option to weaken their mandate.

In pursuing political tolerance, government partners constitutional commissions like NPRC, ZHRC, state media and has agreed to international organisations to fund human rights awareness programmes promoting peaceful coexistence and tolerance. One such programme has been running since 2018 to present. Whereas tensions of state-CSO relations have been overemphasised by civic groups showing the state as the inhibitor to promoting human rights, government document search and key informant interviews indicate other. CiZC affiliate Heal Zimbabwe Trust and Zimbabwe NGO Forum have only approached government to lobby government implement transitional justice drawn from their Transitional Justice Working Group. Strong liaison on strengthening social contract between citizens and the state lobbied through CiZC' National Social Protection Policy has been considered but dropped due to mistrust from the civic group. Government however, denies allegations of harassing CSOs indicating that it seldom invokes the PVO Act that grants the Minister of Public Service discretion to deregister, freeze finances or ban CSOs in association with opposition parties.

Rather, government has acted as an enabler of CSOs by protecting and promoting healthy relations and uninhibited operations. In 2004, amidst a proposal for a NGO Bill with clauses disbanding receipt of foreign funds for CSOs in governance and democracy was only stopped following President Mugabe' refusal to sign the bill into law (Kagoro, 2005). Previous studies fully document state-CSO relations from points implicating government as aggressor. Thereby continued blame on government antagonises relations and is not always based on fact. This study established from unpublished government document search, an underplayed and rare side of CSOs. Government is normally dubbed authoritarian for upholding the rule of law where it comes to CSOs. Case examples are on operations of CSOs which are outside their PVO Act registration. Habakkuk Trust which has since 2013 diverted from governance and community advocacy to take up child and sexual rights without regularisation with government. CNFA, an agro based NGO registered to promote small scale farmers irrigation and mechanization ended up in humanitarian affairs and food aid in Tsholotsho. Illegal broadcasts through Channel Zimbabwe satellite broadcasts without Broadcasting Authority of Zimbabwe approval, smuggling and donating used clothes violating import regulations, corruptly inducing journalists for favourable media coverage and attempts to access classified information by ZimRights form basis of cause for tension.

#### **4.10 DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS AND CSOs IN POLITICAL TOLERANCE**

In response to a question exploring the role diplomatic missions and CSOs in promoting political tolerance in Zimbabwe. A Minister Counsellor Plenipotentiary apprised that 99.9 percent of funding of CSOs governance and human rights operations are western funded. CSOs are considered implementing partners for either funds received directly through embassy or governmental aligned technical cooperation organisations. Due to guidelines and best practices guiding the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations (VCDR), diplomatic staff does not

physically engage in implementation of tolerance programmes but act on advisory basis or use proxies and locally recruited staff in line with Zimbabwean domestic laws.

Depending with nature of proposals and budgets, major funders are European Union, USA, Britain, Netherlands, Sweden, Australia and Germany through their development agencies (USAID, DFID, SIDA and the AusAID. Governance and human rights CSOs rarely approach African missions due to financial constraints, limited budgets and mistrust over use of funds. Arabic and Asian missions were revealed to be more concerned with service provisions and capacity building in training and development.

#### **4.11DISCUSSION**

Whereas foreign missions do not deny funding CSOs and consider the sector as key to functional democracy. What Western embassies deny is using CSOs as conduits for opposition funding to effect government favourable to their strategic interests. These relations are an area of major conflict on state-CSO relations not only in Zimbabwe but Uganda, Egypt, Iran, Russia and Cambodia to mention just a few. Foreign aid and associated programs has been singled out as the major determinant to the allegiance to western funding. Actual figures allocated to CiZC' governance and democracy sector could not be ascertained from either the civic group or foreign missions (who chose to indicate only 20 percent of total annual donations to CSOs budgets). Independent assessments from a CSO informant indicated that democracy and governance funding on protests and civil disobedience have been well funded through third party CBOs in cash to avoid state monitoring and taxation. Judging from prevalence of such programs (demonstrations, interactive social media and information sharing facilitation) which include soft power strategies, the relations or interlinkages of CSOs and foreign missions may be vast and far beyond expectations known expectations.

These liaisons further spill to strained tensions on inter-state relations between several states with Russia classifying such CSOs as agents of foreign influence and imposing heavy taxation on free funds from external sources for civic sector (Kensington, 2017). China and USA have throughout 2020 clashed over civic groups' association with foreign institutions over security laws in Hong Kong whilst Cambodian laws require NGOs to register activities and finances in order to have legal standing yearly. Whereas such laws may seem extreme to free representation of civic interests, cases of foreign missions and CSOs in Africa have been widely reported to impact negatively on national security shown in overthrown governments in Libya and Egypt. Funding to CSOs can be appreciated altruism but the two' relations give pointers to external interference. SADC (2016) highlights external interference involves misrepresentation of political developments, propagation of misinformation and smear campaigns to discredit governments.

These aspects have been increasingly been noted in social media pronouncements where western embassies like the USA, UK, Netherlands and the E.U parrot similarly fashioned statements condemning government human rights observance from CSOs publicized scripts and without verification or consultation. The relationship of CSOs and foreign missions is further negatively viewed owing to the latter's close links with opposition. Thus, CSOs are construed as fronts for foreign agenda, conduits for channelling funds to political parties and pawns to resist and subvert government initiated programmes such as Command Agriculture and Vision 2030. The assertions support the general argument that aid to CSOs is used a political instrument other than just promoting political tolerance.

## **CHAPTER SUMMARY**

This chapter presented, analysed and discussed the research's findings. Relevant results were discussed in thematic form with key issues dwelling on intricate dynamics causing the origins of CiZC, intricate party-CSO relations that hinder wholesome implementation of political

tolerance and the improve state-CSO relations amidst challenges of interference innuendos by foreign missions as they fund civil society in pursuit of democracy and human rights. Charts and tables have been infused to assist give meaning to results.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

## **SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND AREAS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH**

### **INTRODUCTION**

This chapter succinctly summarizes main and salient points on CSOs in promoting political tolerance. Conclusions are drawn from findings with some indicating the political alignment of civic group actions inflaming political conflict. Recommendations on CSO-party and Government-CSO relations to effectively promote tolerance as well as areas of further studies to fill in research gaps on new conflict areas on abductions and methods of promoting tolerance cooperation suggested.

### **5.1 SUMMARY**

This study was structured in five chapters detailing the following: **Chapter 1** introduced the study and tackled the background motivating the study to pursue research on CSOs in promoting political tolerance giving an international flair of activities by CSOs tracing their regional and continental approaches. The statement of problem focuses on polarisation and emergence of political violence as a key challenge to political tolerance and pluralism whilst tracing attempts by CSOs in promoting the same. Main research questions examines relations of CSOs, political parties and foreign missions as main aid funders in promoting political juxtaposed to civic groups' own role.

**Chapter 2** explored literature from academic journals, books, social and print media, governmental and civic group publications records to review mandate and types of CSOs classified into service delivery, developmental and advocacy groups. Literature review was guided by the game theory which describes relations and competition on social actors in deciding choices to maximise opportunities and influence. Major references were drawn from previous CSO studies on human rights and political tolerance as current presentation leaned on postulations by local, regional and

international works by Tendi (2019), Murwira (2018), Appiagyei-Atua (2018), Paffenholz and Spurk (2015), Fechter (2012) and Lewanika (2016) amongst others for either critiques or supporting current work from a game theoretical persuasion. The chapter traced origins of CSOs from pre-colonial African tradition *dare system*, biblical, classical period and the modern historical epoch of Gramsci and others who shaped understanding of modern day civil society. Considerable emphasis was also given to political tolerance. Local examples on abductions as means of political tolerance are also given.

**Chapter 3** conceptualized the structure with which the study was conducted also known as Research Design. A case study research design was chosen to suit the focus put on CiZC as a case research. In terms of Methodology, the study employed a qualitative approach which involves understanding phenomena from intense and prolonged contact in research. From the population around Harare, a sample size of 50 research respondents were settled for using simple random and purposive sampling techniques. Random sampling is selection of respondents in an unstructured manner whereas purposive sampling selects respondents who have knowledge about a research topic.

To achieve a snugly fit of research design and sampling techniques, the research used key informant interviews, surveys and document search as data gathering techniques. Research bias was avoided through validity to attain unbiased findings as reliability was ensured through avoiding random errors. Thematic analysis and coding was used to identify, organising and analysing data from interview transcripts and survey because of its flexibility to finding out people's viewpoints. A pre-trial before main field investigations, pilot testing was used to assess and measure adequacy of instruments or reliability used in data collection. Core ethical considerations in the study were the principle of beneficence and right to anonymity as well as confidentiality as to protect the interest and standing of research participants.

**Chapter 4** dwelled on Data Presentation, Analysis and Discussion of Findings. It organised themes addressing major discussions focused on research objectives drawing need to understand CSOs-Political Party relations. Research results indicate that CSOs are politically biased towards MDC as antipathy for ZANU PF existing. The lack of neutrality increases polarisation and political intolerance as CSO programmes are exclusionary. In discussing and analysing findings, the study dismisses false posturing that presents CSOs as development oriented and urges the inclusion of political involvement in their definition.

It addressing objective two which examined the role of CSOs in political tolerance. Findings revealed that a dwindling number of such initiatives and where they exist, they infuse traditional advocacy campaigns and modern pros of social media and music. The discussion and analysis of findings indicated lack of focus on political tolerance and peace building as CSOs pursue political goals through *Feya Feya*, *XIG* and *I pray, I vote* campaigns. Divergent paradigms are thereby expose undoing of CSOs in what they wish to stand for and what they practice.

From objective number three that sought to assess the relationship of CSO and government in promoting tolerance. The study established improvements in relation perception by government towards civil society through quarterly consultative meetings since 2018. Civic groups adopt situational approaches in reaction to policy and administration changes where government is receptive to their demands. No joint tolerance campaigns have been conducted between the two due to mistrust. In discussion and analysis, state-CSO relations' lack of cooperation traced to external interference in government systems and violation of national laws by civic groups are dutiful to external agenda setting.

The last theme addressed research question exploring relations of diplomatic missions and CSOs. Findings from key informant interviews and document search exposed the dependency syndrome of local civic groups on western aid providing 99.9 percent of CiZC funding. Western foreign

missions however refused molesting autonomy of civic groups. Discussion and analysis of findings revealed that CSOs regard altruism of funders as gullibility as activist align themselves to foreign policies of embassies for courting funding for personal and organisational gains. The study suggests a new classification of civic groups to be regarded FONGOs due to questionable liaisons presented shown from key informant interviews and government document searches. **Chapter 5** contains summarised the dissertation outline' progression from first to last chapter. Conclusions indicating indicating a politicised CSOs promote polarisation than intolerance. of Recommendations on policy guidance on CSO conduct in human rights is also suggested.

## **5.2 CONCLUSIONS**

The study established the following conclusions;

- Political parties and CSOs cannot function independent of each other's influence. Their relations have a direct impact on either promotion or demotion of political tolerance in conflict or peace situations.
- CSOs lack or have no capacity to promote political tolerance in Zimbabwe and require government support and assistance to break the political impasse with the governing ZANU PF party to ensure an inclusive approach if it is to fully engage and implement inclusive political tolerance.
- Government lacks effective, concise regulations and consistent policies that ensure curtailing loopholes which limit CSOs mandate to purposes and mandate they are created for. Relations can never improve without compromising needs of both parties in human rights and tolerance.

- Diplomatic missions and foreign aid are centres of confusion and policy inconsistency to CSOs values and mission as they seek to promote and uphold sending states foreign policy through local adjuncts in form of CSOs.
- Political tolerance can only be achieved in stable and free economies who do not rely on statistical figure of donations which negatively impact and contribute towards envisaged conflict in Zimbabwe due to arm-twisted CSOs involvement in terror activities and staged abductions promoting political intolerance.
- Civil society is used to prove personal interest by ‘*crisispreneurs*’ for illegal activities, fermenting public disorder and ‘lab engineered crisis’, settling personal and political scores factors which are outside proper frameworks for human rights and political tolerance.

### 5.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

The study recommends that;

- Government enact regulatory frameworks or laws that prohibits involvement and participation of civil society in partisan politics or conduct that promotes that discriminates promotion of human rights based on one’s political belief, association and constituency.
- Foreign missions and donor community should support programmes and initiatives that promote human rights and development through joint government-CSO structures that promote community based approaches and interventions which are built upon existing laws and skills for better management of tolerance and human rights.
- The civic society should, private and public sectors should determine and champion establishment of committees that regulate and tailor laws needed in determining role of interest groups in communities affected by conflict to avoid bias.

- Government should come up with laws that compel civil society reports to be annually submitted to responsible ministries with a view to cause improvement of social, political and economic needs highlighted from the reports.
- Community stock of knowledge, skills and ability should be harnessed to form foundations for peace building initiatives that serve as foundations on which CSOs can use to develop and implement their own programmes.

#### **5.4 AREAS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH**

- i. The study suggest political parties and CSOs relations for further research. The research gaps arising from such liaisons can have positive developments in solving conflicts arising from political contestation.
- ii. There is need to explore involvement of embassies in local politics from an analysis of their areas of funding interests through CSOs. International relations is localised to non-state actors making decisions that impact nations either negatively or positively.

#### **CHAPTERSUMMARY**

The chapter summarised the dissertation outline from chapters one to five. It also gave a brief of research findings indicated in chapter four' themes major ones being the challenges to political tolerance due to politicisation of CSO tolerance programmes, improvement of CSO-state relations amidst mistrust and the lack of autonomy by civic group owing to control by western embassies, their major funders. Recommendations on requirement to depoliticise and government policy direction of conflict and political tolerance was also covered.

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## **ANNEXURE: ONE**

## **Interview Guide for CiZC Key Informant**

### **Bindura University of Science Education**

#### **Department of Peace and Governance**

### **Title of Research: The Role of Civil Society Organisations in Promoting Political Tolerance in Zimbabwe: A Case of Crisis in Zimbabwe Coalition.**

The researcher is a Master of Science student in Peace and Governance. The information you are asked to provide is required for research purposes only and will not be used to jeopardise your position or compromise the integrity or status of your organisation. Your responses will be kept in confidence and used solely for the purpose of this study. Anonymity is strongly guaranteed. Your cooperation is greatly appreciated.

1. What is your understanding of Political Tolerance?
2. How is your organisation involved in political tolerance?
3. What have been your experiences with such programmes?
4. Briefly explain how CiZC started in Zimbabwe?
5. What is the organisational structure of CiZC?
6. What is your relationship with political parties, MDC and ZANU PF?
7. Do you prefer working with any particular party in political tolerance programmes?
8. What motivates your organisation to pursue political tolerance programs?
9. How frequent are your political tolerance programmes?

10. What approaches or models do you use in promoting political tolerance in Zimbabwe?

11. How effective are these models?

12. What roles do diplomatic missions play in political tolerance in Zimbabwe that you are aware of?

13. Which other areas of cooperation do CSOs associate with foreign diplomats?

14. What is the major source of income for your tolerance programs?

15. Any other comments you wish to make?

**Thank you for your cooperation.**

**ANNEXURE: TWO**

## **Interview Guide for Diplomatic Corp Key Informant**

**Bindura University of Science Education**

**Department of Peace and Governance**

**Title of Research: The Role of Civil Society Organisations in Promoting Political Tolerance in Zimbabwe: A Case of Crisis in Zimbabwe Coalition.**

The researcher is a Master of Science student in Peace and Governance. The information you are asked to provide is required for research purposes only and will not be used to jeopardise your position or compromise the integrity or status of your organisation. Your responses will be kept in confidence and used solely for the purpose of this study. Anonymity is strongly guaranteed. Your cooperation is greatly appreciated.

1. What is your understanding of Political Tolerance?
2. How is your mission involved in political tolerance?
3. What have been your experiences with funding such programmes?
4. Briefly explain how foreign missions involvement in human rights Zimbabwe began?
5. What is your relationship with CiZC?
6. Do you prefer working with any particular CSO?
7. How much does your mission donate to local human rights CSO per annum?
8. How do you account for funds to local NGOs programmes?

9. What motivates your mission to pursue human rights funding in Zimbabwe?
10. Can a diplomatic mission fund political disturbances through CSOs?
11. Are CSOs mediums for funnelling money to political parties?
12. What role does your mission play on CSO strategic plans in political tolerance?
13. Which other areas of cooperation do CSOs associate with foreign diplomats?
14. Any other comments you wish to make?

**Thank you for your cooperation.**

**ANNEXURE: THREE**

## **Interview Guide for Government Key Informant**

### **Bindura University of Science Education**

#### **Department of Peace and Governance**

#### **Title of Research: The Role of Civil Society Organisations in Promoting Political Tolerance in Zimbabwe: A Case of Crisis in Zimbabwe Coalition.**

The researcher is a Master of Science student in Peace and Governance. The information you are asked to provide is required for research purposes only and will not be used to jeopardise your position or compromise the integrity or status of your organisation. Your responses will be kept in confidence and used solely for the purpose of this study. Anonymity is strongly guaranteed. Your cooperation is greatly appreciated.

1. What is your understanding of Political Tolerance?
2. How is government involved in political tolerance?
3. What have been your experiences with such programmes?
4. What is the nature of government-CSO relations?
5. Do you prefer working with any particular NGO in political tolerance programmes?
6. Which laws or policies allow government involvement in tolerance programmes?
7. How does government monitor the activities of CSO programmes?
8. What approaches or models do you use in promoting political tolerance in Zimbabwe?
9. What methods does government use to monitor diplomatic missions and CSOs?

10. How are CSOs and foreign missions a threat to national security?

11. How does government monitor foreign aid to CSOs?

12. How effective are these models?

13. Any other comments you wish to make?

**Thank you for your cooperation.**

## **ANNEXURE: FOUR**

### **Interview Guide for ZANU PF Key Informant**

**Bindura University of Science Education**

**Department of Peace and Governance**

**Title of Research: The Role of Civil Society Organisations in Promoting Political Tolerance in Zimbabwe: A Case of Crisis in Zimbabwe Coalition.**

The researcher is a Master of Science student in Peace and Governance. The information you are asked to provide is required for research purposes only and will not be used to jeopardise your position or compromise the integrity or status of your organisation. Your responses will be kept in confidence and used solely for the purpose of this study. Anonymity is strongly guaranteed. Your cooperation is greatly appreciated.

1. What is your understanding of Political Tolerance?
2. How is your party involved in political tolerance?
3. What have been your experiences with such programmes?
4. What is your relationship with CSOs in human rights and political tolerance?
5. Do you prefer working with any particular NGOs in political tolerance programmes?
6. What motivates your party to pursue political tolerance programs?
7. How frequent are your political tolerance programmes?
8. What approaches or models do you use in promoting political tolerance in Zimbabwe?
9. How effective are these models?

10. What roles does CiZC play in political tolerance in Zimbabwe that you are aware of?

11. Which other areas of cooperation does your party associate with CSOs?

12. Have you received any source of income or material support from CSO?

13. Any other comments you wish to make?

**Thank you for your cooperation.**

## **ANNEXURE: FIVE**

### **Interview Guide for MDC Key Informant**

**Bindura University of Science Education**

**Department of Peace and Governance**

**Title of Research: The Role of Civil Society Organisations in Promoting Political Tolerance in Zimbabwe: A Case of Crisis in Zimbabwe Coalition.**

The researcher is a Master of Science student in Peace and Governance. The information you are asked to provide is required for research purposes only and will not be used to jeopardise your position or compromise the integrity or status of your organisation. Your responses will be kept in confidence and used solely for the purpose of this study. Anonymity is strongly guaranteed. Your cooperation is greatly appreciated.

1. What is your understanding of Political Tolerance?
2. How is your party involved in political tolerance?
3. What have been your experiences with such programmes?
4. What is your relationship with CSOs in human rights and political tolerance?
5. Do you prefer working with any particular NGOs in political tolerance programmes?
6. What motivates your party to pursue political tolerance programs?
7. How frequent are your political tolerance programmes?
8. What approaches or models do you use in promoting political tolerance in Zimbabwe?
9. How effective are these models?

10. What roles does CiZC play in political tolerance in Zimbabwe that you are aware of?

11. Which other areas of cooperation does your party associate with CSOs?

12. Have you received any source of income or material support from CSO?

13. Any other comments you wish to make?

**Thank you for your cooperation.**

## **ANNEXURE: SIX**

### **Questionnaire for Harare Metropolitan Residents**

#### **The role of CSOs in Promoting Political Tolerance in Zimbabwe: A Case of Crisis in Zimbabwe Coalition.**

The researcher is a Master of Science student in Peace and Governance. The information you are asked to provide is required for research purposes only and will not be used to jeopardise your position or compromise the integrity or status of your organisation. Your responses will be kept in confidence and used solely for the purpose of this study. Anonymity is strongly guaranteed. As party members, it is necessary to gather your views about political tolerance especially at this time the country is working to foster a state of cohesion, unity and healing. Your responses will be kept in confidence and used solely for the purpose of this study. Strict anonymity is guaranteed. Your cooperation will be greatly appreciated.

I thank you for your assistance in the completion of the questionnaire.

Mr. Chester Matsvimbo

Msc. Research Student

Email: [chestermatsvimbo@gmail.com](mailto:chestermatsvimbo@gmail.com)

Province.....District.....Ward Number.....

Please mark 'X' in the appropriate box. For open questions, write your answer in the space provided.

**Section A: Background data about the respondent**

1. Gender

Male	Female
------	--------

2. Marital status

Single	Married	Divorced	Widowed
--------	---------	----------	---------

3. Age group

18-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61 +
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4. Level of education

Primary	Secondary	Tertiary	None
---------	-----------	----------	------

5. Political party affiliation

ZANU PF	MDC	OTHER
---------	-----	-------

6. Major sources of information

Newspapers	Television	Radio	WADCO meetings	Other (please specify)
------------	------------	-------	----------------	------------------------

7. Period as a party member

0-5 years	6-10 years	11-15 years	16-20 years	21 +
-----------	------------	-------------	-------------	------

8. Are you an elected party office holder?

Elected	Appointed	Imposed
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9. (a) If elected, did you get any support from the following people or groups?

People/ Group	Yes	No
Your political party		
Family		
Non-Governmental Organizations		
Church		
Local business people		
National politicians		

(b) If yes, what form of support did you receive?-----  
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**Section B: CSOs Participation in Political Tolerance**

Please read each statement and then put a cross (X) in the box that best indicates how strongly you agree or disagree with the statement. For example, if you put a cross (X) in 1, it means you strongly Agree.

<b>1</b>	<b>Strongly Agree</b>
<b>2</b>	<b>Agree</b>
<b>3</b>	<b>Undecided</b>
<b>4</b>	<b>Disagree</b>
<b>5</b>	<b>Strongly Disagree</b>

10. In your opinion, are NGOs important in political tolerance?

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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a. NGOs presence in communities should be increased to promote political harmony in society?

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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b. What is your understanding of political tolerance?

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.....

12. What is your position with regards to the performance of NGOs in promoting tolerance?

<b>Performance</b>	<b>Strongly Agree</b>	<b>Agree</b>	<b>Undecided</b>	<b>Disagree</b>	<b>Strongly Disagree</b>
Promote fair tolerance					
Staff within NGOs are honest					
Political intolerance and intimidation has reduced					
NGOs hold regular educative tolerance programs					
NGOs are sincere and fair in their engagements					

a. Listed below are four definitions of tolerance. Which one do you think is the most appropriate?

Willingness to extend liberties to those whom you may disagree with.	Acceptance of divergent political views during elections.	Harmony amongst different political players and solving conflicts amicably.	Agreeing to views of party members.
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b. What challenges have you been facing in exercising your political views as a resident in Harare?

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 .....  
 .....

13. NGOs leaders have been described as being extravagant, corrupt, dishonest and sometimes surrogates of political parties and foreign countries. How do you respond to this?

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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14. How often do you meet the NGOs promoting political tolerance?

Once a Week	Once a Fortnight	Once a Month
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15. What issues are usually discussed at these meetings?

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 .....

a. What have been your experiences with such programs and do you agree with discussions you witnessed?

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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16. How would you respond to the importance attached to the following factors in promoting political tolerance in Zimbabwe?

Factor	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

Political party					
NGO sector					
Financial ability					
Political Environment					
Personality					
Government laws					
Other					

17. What is your response to the following factors as barriers to tolerance?

<b>FACTOR</b>	<b>Strongly Agree</b>	<b>Agree</b>	<b>Undecided</b>	<b>Disagree</b>	<b>Strongly Disagree</b>
Polarization					
Political Violence					
Education					
Socialization					
Poverty					
Religion					
Other					

18. What do you think should be done to improve promotion of political tolerance in Zimbabwe?

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**Section C: Representation of NGOs Interests**

19. NGOs have special interests to be represented?

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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20. NGOs can represent their interests better than government?

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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a. What are some of these interests?

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21. Do you think NGOs are more sensitive to local residents' concerns than government?

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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22. NGOs are supportive to local culture, traditions and open to contributions?

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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23. NGOs are able to represent the interests of communities they operate from?

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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24. The current number of NGOs in your district should be maintained?

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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**Section D: Contributions to Community**

25. What projects and programmes have NGOs initiated in your ward?

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a. Have you received any form of support from the following sectors?

NGOs	Council	Donor Agencies	Private sector	Women's Organisations	Central Government	MP/Senator
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b. If you received any support, in what form?

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.....  
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c. How has this support contributed to the development of your ward?

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26. What do you think should be done to improve promoting political tolerance in your area of residence?

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27. Are there any comments you may want to make?

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**Thank you very much for your cooperation**

